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Linking Tourism, Conservation and Livelihoods: An analysis of Sport Hunting around Lake Mburo National Park, Uganda

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my family. Thank you for your endless prayers for me and for always encouraging me to hold firm to my dreams.

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Summary

For decades, wildlife management especially outside protected areas posed a greater challenge to both the Lake Mburo National Park Authorities and the Local Communities around the park. Wildlife continuously crossed from the park to community land causing damages to the landowners such as crop damage, loss of farm resources (pasture, grass and salt leaks), disease transmission, loss of livestock and human life as a result of predators and destruction of farm infrastructure. The solution to this problem was seen to be in introducing sport hunting on private land around the park. Sport hunting has been practiced as conservation and livelihoods enhancement tool across the African continent. Countries in the Southern Africa have adopted this strategy and results have been positive, ecologically and economically. Within the Eastern Africa, Uganda started implementing sport hunting on private or communal land in the parishes of Rurambiira, Nyakahita and Rwakanombe in 2001. It was to try and change the long history of human-wildlife conflict and to deliver financial benefits to communities around Lake Mburo National Park.

This thesis, analyses the implementation of this project and evaluates how the benefits that have accrued from it have affected community livelihoods. The implementation of this project is analysed using the Policy Arrangement Approach (PAA) elements (Discourse, Rules, Actors and Resources). The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) was then used to evaluate the impact of this project on the local community livelihoods. Data analysed for this thesis was gathered through document review, 29 interviews with key stakeholders and field observation method.

Study results show that the 'new' sport hunting emerged as a hybrid concept from the changes in the discourse of fortress conservation to a community based conservation approach that recognizes local participation in wildlife management. Through the new community based conservation, the communities in the three parishes have been involved in decision making through their Community Wildlife Associations (CWAs). This has changed the attitude of the communities towards wildlife and a large number of the communities are reportedly protecting wildlife on their farms. The stakeholders in the 'new' sport hunting have also largely been involved in the benefit sharing decisions. Accordingly, they have

participated in the setting of revenue sharing percentages through which the different parties receive the revenues accruing from sport hunting. The local communities in the three parishes have also been able to earn jobs through this project in schools and health centres. Others are employed as rangers, while a large number are involved in various projects started by the park to help improve household income. To a large extent, this revenue has improved community livelihoods as they get to spread risks from wildlife damages to other projects that are not easily destroyed by wild animals.

However, the implementation of this project has not been without flaws. The problem of wildlife damages it was set to address is still prevalent, due to increasing wildlife population on private land. The communities still call for park authorities to take back the animals to the park and also to fence the park boundaries. The communities are also not fully satisfied with the amount of revenue they receive and continue to demand for more changes in the revenue sharing percentages set. This project also still lucks a proper policy to guide it. Resultantly, it is marred with corruption, lack of transparency and accountability, and unreliability in animal statistics among others. It is therefore recommended that a national sport hunting policy be developed, regular sensitization on coping strategies with increasing wildlife on private land be done and more involvement of the communities in policing illegal activities outside the park should be encouraged.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AWF: Africa Wildlife Fund

CBD: Convention on Biological Diversity

CBNRM: Community Based Natural Resource Management

CBWM: Community Based Wildlife Management

CCD: Community Conservation Department

CCU: Community Conservation Unit

CHA: Controlled Hunting Areas

CITES: Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Flora and Fauna

CMPA: Collaborative Management of Protected Areas

CBC: Community Based Conservation

CPI: Community Protected Areas Institutions

CSOs: Civil Society Organizations

CWA: Community Wildlife Associations

ED: Executive Director

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

GTL: Game Trails (U) Limited

FAO: Food and Agricultural Organization

ICCA: Indigenous and Community Conserved Areas

KRS: Kanyanyeru Resettlement Scheme

LM: Lake Mburo

LMCA: Lake Mburo Conservation Area

LMCAM: Lake Mburo Conservation Area Manager

LMCCP: Lake Mburo Community Conservation Project

LMCHA: Lake Mburo Controlled Hunting Area

LMNP: Lake Mburo National Park

MoFPED: Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development

MOU: Memorandum of Understanding

MTTI: Ministry of Trade, Tourism and Industry

NAADs: National Agricultural Advisory Services

NEAP: National Environment Action Plan

NEMA: National Environment Management Authority

NUFFIC: Netherlands Organization for International Cooperation in Higher Education

NRA: National Resistance Army

NRM: National Resistance Movement

NWC: National Wildlife Committee

PA: Protected Areas

PAA: Policy Arrangement Approach

PES: Payment for Ecosystems Services

PMAC: Park Management and Advisory Committees

RWA: Rurambiira Wild Associations

SACOOS: Savings and Credit Cooperative Society

SLA: Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

SLF: Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

UBOS: Uganda Bureau of Statistics

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNP: Uganda National Park

UPE: Universal Primary Education

USD: United States Dollars

USE: Universal Secondary Education

UWA: Uganda Wildlife Authority

UWP: Uganda Wild Policy

UWS: Uganda Wildlife Society

UGX: Uganda Shillings

WCED: World Commission on Environment and Development

WCS: Wildlife Conservation Society

WMA: Wildlife Management Areas

WS: Wildlife Sanctuaries

WUR: Wildlife User Rights

WURC: Wildlife User Right Committee

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

Sport hunting/ trophy hunting as known today is the art of pursuing an animal to capture or kill for pleasure or sport. It is motivated by the apparent thrill of the chase (Loveridge et al., 2006). Sport hunting gained popularity in the late 19th century with the emergence of urban sportsmen during the industrial revolution who acquired a lot of wealth and had the desire for leisure. They believed that the appropriate use of animals was to provide recreational experience through regulated sport hunting (Heberlein, 1991).Traditionally, hunting was carried out for purposes of household consumption, clothing especially fur and skins, trophies for rituals and/ or trade in their related products. It was done with the help of dogs, spears and bow and arrow. This has now been replaced with exogenous technology such as snow-mobiles, motor boats and high-powered rifles where it is done for leisure (Loveridge et al., 2006; also see Stewart & Fay 2001 and Stirling 2001).

The popularity of trophy hunting is increasing a cross the African continent. According to Lindsey et al. (2006), just over 23 African countries practice sport hunting with South Africa as the largest hunting industry, generating up to US$100 million/year of revenues. In Uganda, sport hunting was introduced by the colonial administrators in the early 20th century. It was introduced to control depletion of wildlife species from the face of the earth. This was backed by a belief that Africans 'misused' nature through killing of wildlife for various reasons (Dunn, 2009). But, interestingly, these areas were to provide pleasuring grounds for the colonial masters and traditional kings and their chiefs. Sport hunting then flourished until the late 1970s and contributed a lot of revenue to the government. For example, in the year 1969, sale of game licenses and ivory earned the Government of Uganda some £486,266.83 (NEMA and MTTI, 2008). However, one aspect that it seemed to have ignored was the livelihoods of the communities that lived close to these hunting areas. There is no record of how much the local communities earned from this period. It was

probably because of the laws that fortress conservation operated under. This law portrayed conservation as an activity for government and local people could only get benefits through social services offered by Government. It also never focused much on the objectives of community wildlife management of today; of local involvement in conservation and provision of direct benefits to local people.

Sport hunting is however considered a multifaceted activity that occurs in many ecological and socio-political landscapes with various motives and generates a range of revenues for both conservation and livelihoods (Loveridge et al., 2006). As part of the wildlife management system, hunting is done to control varmint or problem animal populations that have exceeded an area's carrying capacity. Normally, when this occurs, the surrounding communities to such areas tend to complain of losses caused to them by these wild animals and that would require a management intervention. According to Hendee (1974) wildlife management is done purposely to provide benefits from non-consumptive uses as well as from hunting to people (the local communities surrounding such wildlife areas) and also to increase game populations. It has also been hyped as a 'tool' through which the security of wildlife can be 'guaranteed' on community private lands as well as improve the livelihoods of the local people through potential benefits that accrue from it (see Hulme and Murphree, 1999). Because the local people in Uganda and especially around LMNP were not getting any direct financial benefits from sport hunting and conservation in general, many of them resorted to poaching for food, clothing and at times for financial gains. This activity plus others like clearing of bushes for agriculture and settlement decimated wildlife population in the area and caused the government to ban all forms of hunting to allow for wildlife regeneration.

This ban was only reconsidered after several reforms in management policies (i.e. 1995, constitution of the Republic of Uganda; 1996, Uganda Wildlife Statute; 1995, 1999 and 2004, Uganda Wildlife Policy; 1998, Land Act; 1994, National Environment Act; 1997, Local Government Act; 2000, Uganda Wildlife Act; and 2000, Community Protected Areas Institutions Policy-CPI). Government then provided for a reintroduction of sport hunting on a pilot basis to test its feasibility to conserve wildlife outside protected areas and solve livelihoods challenges (i.e. crop damage, loss of farm resources such as pasture, grass and

salt leaks, disease transmission, loss of livestock and human life among others) among the communities around LMNP. LMNP had witnessed a long history of conflict between the park authorities and the communities. These conflicts had posed a great challenge to conservation and survival of wild animals (both in and outside protected areas) as well as the livelihoods of the local communities being negatively affected. The 'new' sport hunting in Uganda was authorized in areas outside the protected areas (i.e. private or community lands). This required that the communities be considered for benefits from these animals and that animals freely live and graze on their land. As noted by Tisdell (2004), the survival of many species requires the use of private land by wildlife as well as preserving those critical habitats. For close to a decade now, the government of Uganda through UWA piloted sport hunting as a new policy scheme around LMNP. The communities in the parishes of Rurambiira, Nyakahita and Rwakanombe therefore embraced this pilot project and have been receiving benefits through their Community Wildlife Associations (CWAs) and also directly as individual landowners. These benefits have been in the forms of direct financial gains, job opportunities, physical and social services. These benefits have also gone ahead to improve the negative attitudes of the communities towards wildlife and reduced losses caused by wild animals in community gardens, and livestock and also improved their livelihoods strategies and outcomes. This study therefore attempts to answer the following main research questions: How has the 'new' sport hunting policy arrangement been implemented and what are the impacts of sport hunting on the local community livelihoods around LMNP?

1.2 History of Lake Mburo Conservation Area (LMCA)

Lake Mburo Conservation Area (LMCA) is formerly a rangeland for the Banyankole (Bahima and Bahiru) people whose livelihoods depended of pastoral activities and cultivation. The LMCA covers the current Lake Mburo National Park (LMNP) and a large part of the surrounding parishes. In the early 19th century, Lake Mburo (LMCA) area was free of any disease causing vector and livestock flourished. However, by the early 1950s, the area was infested with rinderpest that annihilated livestock populations in the area and favoured the growth of wildlife population as there was reduced grazing pressure (Kamugisha et al., 1997). The king of Ankole and other ethnic groups like the Baganda and Bakiga did hunting

here for pleasure, recreation and diet supplement. They were attracted by the presence of large herds of wild game in the area. The continued influx of these hunters forced government in 1958 to declare it a Controlled Hunting Area (CHA). This restricted most Bakooki hunters from Buganda and elsewhere from freely accessing the area for hunting (Emerton, 1999).

By 1960s, the area was declared a game reserve under the management of the Game Department. By this time, pastoral communities were banned from grazing in the area and only some settled cultivation permitted. According to Kamugisha et al. (1997) the Game Department issued renewable permits to 120 cultivator households already residing in the parishes of Nombe and Rwabaraata to remain provided there was no expansion of existing individual land holdings or acquisition of fresh land within the Game Reserve. Due to the 'old' tradition of nomadism and increased number of livestock in areas outside the CA, the herdsmen would cross into the game reserve to water their animals during the dry months of December to January and July to August. They would also burn the dry vegetation to enable new crops to grow with the coming of rainy season. This scenario resulted into bitter conflicts between communities and reserve authorities (Kamugisha et al., 1997 and Emerton, 1999). Remaining areas outside the game reserve were also later turned into both private and government ranching schemes. The ranching scheme is said to have been an initiative from the United States (USAID) and World Bank (IDA) in 1963 where about 50 ranches were set to help the government of Uganda become self-reliant on locally produced beef (Kamugisha et al., 1997). The ownership of these schemes were based on; citizenship of Uganda, sound educational and financial background and reasonable experience in cattle rearing or business management (Kamugisha et al., 1997). This however resulted into conflicting land uses and landownership as most local people were left landless and they continued to illegally cross into the park boundaries to graze and water their animals amidst restrictions from authorities.

It is further noted that the 1970s witnessed escalating conflicts between the CA authorities and local communities (Emerton, 1999) due to the fact that grazing land was not an infinite resource (Kamugisha et al., 1997). Human pressure on land resources continuously increased due to a change in land use patterns in the area. It was then, that government in 1982 turned the entire LM Game Reserve into a national park to increase the safety of the wildlife in the area that faced higher risks of degradation. However, it was done in a forcible manner with 4,500 families evicted without compensation (Emerton, 1999). This resulted into even greater conflicts between the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA), formerly Uganda National Parks (UNP) as the pastoral communities who were neither compensated nor relocated to any alternative grazing field. The relations between park authorities and local communities then worsened (Emerton, 1999). It was also reported that, the people and local authorities in whose area a national park was proposed were supposed to be consulted plus also seeking the consent of the National Assembly. These were not made and the Mbarara District Council debate on this was treated as mere "window-dressing" (Kamugisha et al., 1997). Consequently, the pastoral communities continued to graze their livestock in the park area especially during dry seasons in search for pasture and water. Furthermore, Wild animals also continuously crossed the park boundaries into the neighbouring community land. The continued presence of wild animals outside the National Park boundaries were associated with extreme negative effects as they destroyed crops, competed with livestock for water, pasture and salt leaks, increased risks of infection to both game and livestock and also killed livestock and humans alike(see Ocaido et al., 2004).

When the National Resistance Movement government (NRM) ascended into power in 1986, it attempted to annul the evictions in this area. The new government encouraged the originally evicted communities to reoccupy the land housing LMNP through the formation of the Kanyanyeru Resettlement Scheme (KRS) in 1987. KRS then redistributed land covering approximately 8,000 ha to 700 families (see Emerton, 1999). This therefore reduced park size by about 60% (Kamugisha, et al., 1997). The original landowners then reoccupied their land again but with a spirit of revenge. The former evictees plus several other new comers stormed and destroyed the park headquarters and other infrastructure and killed any

wildlife they came across (Kamugisha et al., 1997). This move decimated the NP and the surrounding private and Government Ranches of its wildlife resources. Predators like lions for example were last seen and killed in the LMCA in 1984 (Muheebwa, 1992; quoted in Kamugisha et al. 1997) although now there are reports that a lion is being seen in the LMCA. This meant that even the few surviving ungulates that were still roaming outside the NP boundaries would soon be wiped out completely. It left conservation and livelihoods outside PA at crossroads with escalating unprecedented high rates of deterioration and environmental instability due to the pressure from over grazing accompanied by soil erosion (Kamugisha et al., 1997). Furthermore, due to continued hostile attitudes of the communities towards wildlife outside the national park, the local landowners continuously called for and aided illegal hunters to kill animals on their farms. They also continuously alienated wildlife by destroying its habitat through burning and clearing of bushes for cultivation, grazing and settlement purpose. These communities also started changing their Land Use in the area from the purely traditional nomadic pastoral system to modern mixed farming (Namara et al., 1998). This scenario meant that wildlife outside the park was more isolated and more vulnerable than ever before to extinction.

To avoid a scenario where the LMCA and especially Private Lands would remain desolate of wild animals, Government through the Uganda National Parks (UNP) with the help of donors like Africa Wildlife Fund (AWF) introduced the concept of Community Conservation as a strategy to improve conservation status around LMNP. This arrangement resulted into the formation Lake Mburo Community Conservation Project (LMCCP) that was initiated in 1991. They also came up with the LMNP Management Plan for the period 1994-1998. In this Management Plan, a number of issues were put into perspective aimed at protecting water, vegetation, fisheries and wildlife both inside and outside the park boundaries (Kamugisha et al., 1997). Local Communities were brought on board as partners in the management of LMCA especially management of wild animals outside protected areas. Several other units followed such as the Community Conservation Unit (CCU) with the aim of involving Local Communities in conservation through education and extension programmes, Park Management and Advisory Committees (PMACs) and later Community-Protected Areas

Institution (CPI) in 2000, whose role was advisory both to the Community and the Park in order to establish a harmonious relationship (Namara & Infield, 1998). This was also backed by the Government ratification of the Convention on Biological Biodiversity in 1993, and subsequent adoption of National Environment Action Plan (NEAP) in 1994 (UWP, 1999). Furthermore, the 1999 Uganda Wildlife Policy also provided for issuing of wildlife user rights (WUR), where the Communities were expected to gain direct economic benefits from wildlife and also tourism activities outside the Park boundaries. WUR provides for six classes of wildlife utilization options (see Box 1) to the general public of which sport hunting is in class A. The six WUR stipulated by UWA has been granted to the Local Community Associations, Private Landowners and the Private sector especially those whose land have been encroached by wildlife. It was seen as a vehicle to encourage private initiative and self-reliance in pursuance of the right to development (Muhimbura and Namara, 2008). Class A option of this new policy (WUR) provides that the local communities be granted permission to rear wildlife on their private farms and sport hunting activity is carried on their farms by tourists who pay money for the activity. The communities in turn would get direct benefits from wildlife on their ranches. It was therefore done as an intervention method to a) continuous illegal hunting outside protected areas by the local communities, b) change land uses and reduce degradation of wildlife habitats outside protected areas and c) improve the attitude of communities towards wildlife outside protected areas through direct financial benefits. It was becoming unconducive for wildlife conservation as well as Tourism Development to flourish largely on Private Land around LMNP and especially among communities who saw their livelihoods as of great concern. Wild animals on the other hand continued causing damages on their farms and ironically, they never received any form of compensation from Government.

1.3 Problem statement

Considering the long history of suffering in the LMCA and especially in the Private Land surrounding LMNP, sport hunting was reintroduced in 2001 as a 'new' policy scheme to generate financial incentives to the Local Communities and encourage them to play a more constructive role in wildlife conservation on private land. The Government of Uganda,

through UWA started implementing sport hunting as a 'new' policy scheme not only to generate financial incentives to the local communities, but also to improve the relationship between them and the Park Management Authorities on pilot basis. However, whether this 'new' policy scheme has caused any positive changes in the relationship between Local Communities and the Park Management Authority remains unknown. Yet an understanding of whether this relationship has improved is necessary in designing appropriate strategies for developing and strengthening of mutual relations between Local Communities and Park Managers, which are prerequisite for effective wildlife conservation (see Agrawal, 1997).

Furthermore, new policy schemes normally bring with them new discourses, new actors, new rules and at times new resources into a policy domain (see Wiering and Arts, 2006). However, the discourses, actors, rules and resources that the 'new' sport hunting policy has brought into the domain of wildlife management outside LMCA remains unknown. As Loveridge et al. (2006 p.229) point out, engagement of Local Communities in wildlife conservation is necessary given the high dependence of these communities on wildlife and other natural resources (see Adams & Hulme 2001 and Hulme & Murphree 2001). However, whether the discourses brought by the 'new' sport hunting policy addresses the pertinent livelihood challenges that Local Communities face remains obscure.

Further still, sport hunting policy should also provide room for sharing of benefits that accrue from wildlife utilization and that Local Communities be directly involved in identifying livelihoods and conservation priorities (see Bingen, 2000; Ashley and Carney, 1999; Ashley and Elliott, 2003; Inamdar, et al., 1999 and Shackleton et al., 2002). However, whether Local Communities are today involved in sharing of benefits decisions and conservation activities is not known. Moreover, the effectiveness of these sport hunting discourses hinges on their transposition into actual rules of engagement and for regulating resource use among the various groups of people involved (see Arts and Buizer, 2009; Wiering and Arts, 2006; Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2004; Arts et al., 2006). To date, however, whether these sport hunting discourses have been transposed into new rules is not known.

Sport hunting discourses and their translation into new rules and the entry of new actors into the sport hunting policy domain may also shift the power balance between stakeholders involved in a policy domain, by giving hitherto excluded actors recognition in a policy process or by availing new resources to them (see Arts, 2003; Wiering and Arts, 2006 and Arts and Buizer, 2009). However, whether the new sport hunting policy has given the Local Communities that were at the periphery of policy processes recognition in wildlife management and decision making remains unknown. Furthermore, whether this new policy has brought with it new resources that have shifted power balance between actors impacted by wildlife and tourism remains largely obscure.

A major goal of Sustainable Livelihood was to improve the livelihood of the local people. As noted by Namara et al. (1998), the traditional boundaries in livelihood and land-use between cultivators and cattle keepers are becoming less well defined. Rural livelihoods outside the LMCA are becoming increasingly diversified, moving towards mixed cultivation and cattle rearing in combination with a range of small-scale and occasional off-farm activities pursued as a strategy to spread the risk of agricultural enterprises and increase household cash income and food security. However, the impacts of the 'new' sport hunting policy on the livelihoods have not been examined. This study therefore seeks to analyse how the 'new' sport hunting policy arrangement has been implemented and to evaluate the impact it has created on the local community livelihoods outside the LMNP.

Research objective and research questions

Against this background, this thesis seeks to analyse and to evaluate the potential of sport hunting as an intervention method to the human-wildlife management conflict outside protected areas (PAs). This objective will be achieved by answering the following main and sub research questions:

1. **How has the 'new' sport hunting policy arrangement been implemented?**

a) Who are the actors involved in sport hunting outside LMNP and what are the patterns in their interactions?

b) What discourses underlie the 'new' sport hunting policy and how have they been transposed into new rules that recognize local community access to benefits from tourism?

c) What are the relations of power between the actors involved in sport hunting and how does this relation affect discourses, rule settings and conservation around LMNP?

2. **What are the impacts of sport hunting on the local community livelihoods around LMNP?**

a) How and to what extent are the parishes surrounding LMNP benefiting from 'new' sport hunting activities on private land?

b) What are the livelihoods strategies and outcomes around LMNP and how has sport hunting affected these strategies and outcomes?

1.4 Significance of the study

Scientifically, this study was carried out as a contribution to the broader understanding of the concept of 'new' sport hunting as an intervention measure aimed at a) solving the human-wildlife conflicts and b) to encourage the local people adjacent to protected areas to conserve wildlife on their private lands and enhance livelihoods through benefits. It applies the Policy Arrangement Approach (PAA) to analyse the discourses, rules, actors and resources and their link to conservation as well as livelihoods issues outside protected areas. It further evaluates the impacts of sport hunting in addressing park-people relationships and improving people's livelihoods by using the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA).

Results from this study are expected to be used by the Government of Uganda through UWA to guide the implementation of the 'new' sport hunting on private lands and to redefine policies on benefit sharing and conservation outside protected areas. These results may also be interesting especially to conservation and development promoters and may help them to alter their strategies in achieving both agenda especially by looking at the performance of sport hunting in conserving wildlife and improving livelihoods outside protected areas.

Furthermore, it will highlight the PAA elements (discourses, rules, actors and resources) in the domain of wildlife management and their potential to contribute to livelihood change. The study will also be used by scholars as a base for future studies as it aims to fill an information gap on the subject under study.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter 1 gives an overview of conservation challenges outside protected areas followed by a historical overview of LMCA. The problem under investigation is also presented under this chapter as well as study objectives and relevance of the study. Chapter 2 follows with theoretical and analytical frameworks for the study. Methods of data collection, types of data, sources of data, and methods of data analysis as well as study limitations are also presented in this chapter.

Chapter 3 presents study findings starting with a presentation of historical developments that led to the discourse of conservation and how livelihoods discourse came into play and ends with analysis of these developments using the four elements of the PAA. Chapter 4 is a presentation of the implication of sport hunting on conservation and livelihoods around LMNP. A presentation is made based on the asset capitals (Human, Financial, Natural, Physical and Social) of SLF. Finally, chapter 5 is a discussion of the study findings plus conclusions and some policy recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reflects on the theoretical underpinnings for this study. It presents the 'new' sport hunting policy as a hybrid concept from the changing narratives of fortress conservation to community based conservation. Furthermore, a discussion is made on the conceptual framework for the study and ends with a presentation of the methods used during the study.

2.1 Community- Based Conservation

Over the years, debates have arisen as to the involvement of the local communities in conservation especially among the developing countries like Uganda (See Agrawal and Gibson, 1999; Hulme and Murphree, 1999; Emerton, 1999; Adams and Hulme, 2001; Kathori, 2008; Leisher et al., 2007; Higginbottom, 2004; and Makindi, 2010). The traditional state-centric conservation in Africa presented a long history of conflicts between the park authorities and the local communities (see Hulme and Murphree, 1999; Adams and Murphree, 2001; Kothari, 2008). For over a century, this tradition vested the governance and management of wildlife both inside and outside Protected Areas (PAs) solely in the hands of the Central and Local Government. It exacerbated poverty among the adjacent Communities as most of them were denied access to the park resources they once owned (Kathori, 2008; see also Colchester, 2002; Colchesster, 2004; West et al., 2006; Lockwood et al., 2006, and Redford et al., 2008) and even utilization of wildlife resources on their private land. It also resulted into increasing "violation" of human rights, disempowerment of the local people, continuous conflicts with park management and inability to use local knowledge (Kathori, 2008). This necessitated the shifting of the paradigm of wildlife management in Africa from a purely 'protected area based' to a new approach that is 'community based'. The new approach recognizes local people's involvement in conservation both inside and outside

protected areas and takes into accounts the livelihoods priorities of the local communities (Hulme and Murphree, 1999).

2.1.1 Integrating Conservation and Community Livelihoods

The notion that rural Africans have been the degraders of natural resources have resulted into decades of hostile relations between park authorities and adjacent communities to protected areas (See Hulme and Murphree, 1999; Redford and Richter, 1999; Kathori, 2008; and Salafsky and Wollenberg, 2000). While conservationists viewed local people as "roadblocks" to their conservation agenda, development activists on the other hand have criticized conservationists for ignoring the living conditions of the local communities. This campaign in the two camps resulted into decades of antagonistic approaches in their activities and subsequent failure in achievement of their goals.

The emergence of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED, 1987) with the theme "Sustainable Development" pointed out the need to integrate economic and ecological considerations in decision making (WCED, 1987). This led to rethinking of the discourses and the merging of ideas among the two protagonists and working towards harmony in achieving both conservation and livelihoods improvements among the local communities (see Makindi, 2010; Young, 2006; and Forysnth and Leach 1998). This realization of the need to integrate development efforts with conservation led to emergence of the concept of new conservation (Hulme and Murphree, 1999) that works towards achieving sustainable development in the world. The new conservation paradigm takes the forms of collaborative management of protected areas (CMPAs) and the indigenous and community conserved areas (ICCAs) all of which are outside the scope of formal conservation policies across Africa (see Hulme and Murphree,1999; and Kathori, 2008).

Collaborative Management of Wildlife Resources (CMWRs)

The new conservation approaches suggested by authors such as Hulme and Murphree and Kathori call for involvement of local communities at all levels of conservation decision since they affect and are affected by conservation activities in their communities. Leisher et al. (2007) noted that key ingredients for the success of co-management of wildlife resources lie in involving local communities through their representatives, involving the entire community, laws that regonise local participation, understanding and respecting customary use and access rights (Cited in Kathori, 2008; p.25). Furthermore, Local communities ought to get direct benefits from conservation activities within their communities if they are to remain in support of any such activities. Park-people relations worsened across Africa because early fortress conservationists ignored community's living conditions and access to resources (see Hulme and Murphree, 1999; Emerton, 1999; Kathori, 2008; Leisher et al., 2007; Higginbottom, 2004) exacerbating poverty within the surrounding communities to protected areas. The new status quo forced many rural populations who could not afford other means of survival to resort to illegal encroachment on wildlife resources to meet their daily demands. Park authorities responded to this through forceful means and at times arresting, imprisoning and killing those convicted of destroying conserved resources (both inside and outside PAs). This was an indication of a weak or a failed institutional arrangement that could be improved by involvement of the local people in wildlife management especially on private lands as is the case in community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) (Collomb et al., 2010). The situation outside protected areas is no different from park areas. It is worth noting that, as protected areas' boundaries were created, animals were not sensitized about the new boundaries; they continually cross to neighbouring communities property and destroy them. This continual destruction by wildlife requires that local communities surrounding protected areas be taught the values of conserving wildlife outside NP boundaries.

Indigenous and Community Conserved Areas (ICCAs)

The use of indigenous knowledge in conservation efforts in Africa has been a forgotten resource that conservationists need to make use of if their efforts to protect African wildlife are to meet its goals and be sustainable. This is especially critical with management of wildlife outside protected areas. Pieces of work from writers such as Child, 1995; and Naughton-Treves, 1999, point to the need to devolve the property rights to provide local communities with the right incentives to manage the wildlife resources. In order to achieve property rights for all local communities, there is need to respect indigenous ecological knowledge and emphasize participatory approaches, and recognize that the state has fiscal crisis and limited managerial capacity (Gadgil, et al., 1993; Nauhgton-Treves, 1999, p.312). These participatory approaches include incentivizing local communities to allow wild animals graze on their private lands. Through the merging of community conservation discourses and the introduction of market economy in conservation, the livelihoods of the local people are bound to be impacted upon. The 'new' sport hunting was reintroduced around LMNP to improve park-people relations as well as provide livelihood incentives to the local communities through benefits accruing from sport hunting. However, for the effectiveness of this 'new' scheme to be realized, there is need to involve different stakeholders (especially the communities) at all stages of decision making. It also requires that a policy scheme is in place that recognizes the input of these stakeholders. It also requires that conservation inside and outside protected areas be incorporated within the livelihoods debates and that policies (rules) and resources be in place to guide the whole agenda.

2.2 Policy Arrangement Approach (PAA)

A number of factors can be used to account for the success of community based conservation in a policy arena. This study uses the four themes of the policy arrangement approach (PAA) (Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2000) to explain the involvement of Local Communities and other groups of stakeholders in the 'new' sport hunting around LMNP. The main idea behind PAA stems from the existence of Policy Structures and Institutions in

society. The role of policy in development can be to strengthen livelihood, conserve natural resources, and fight social exclusion, poverty, etc. For policy to enhance livelihood, the complexity of livelihood priorities need to be addressed therein. Day to day policy processes and interactions between actors gradually develop into more or less stable patterns. Policies therefore operate in institutional patterns that Arts (2001) labeled as *policy arrangements*. *Policy Arrangement,* thus, is an institutional concept. It can be defined as "the way in which a certain policy domain is temporarily shaped in terms of discourses, actors, resources and rules" (Arts, 2001). It helps in analyzing concrete policy fields where other approaches such as discursive – institutional approach is too abstract. The study about policy originates from the need to create control over humans and objects alike. Policy influences the behavior of a manager or managed objects (Wies, 1994). Furthermore, Wies (1994, p.2) noted that "policies may be used to define a domain but may also be applied to a domain of objects; and policies are an active concept. They can initiate or change the characteristics of ongoing management activities". In the case of wildlife management outside protected areas, the introduction of sport hunting (new policy scheme) has changed the traditional policy of wildlife management resting in the hands of the central government to a new system where the local people are granted permission to rear wildlife on their private lands for economic gains.

Furthermore, policies do exist in different forms in different subjects or fields of study and change according to circumstances and locale of their operation. It is therefore important to understand that policies change and stabilize over time (Van der Zouwen, 2006). This change and stabilization is based on the arrangement in place. A *policy arrangement* according to Van der Zouwen (2006) is presented as a bridging concept, linking daily and structural processes. For operationalisation of PAA in this study, I consider the definition by Van Tatenhove et al. (2000, cited in Wiering and Arts, 2006) that considers PAA as the way in which a certain policy domain (in this case sport hunting) is shaped in terms of organization and substance. Organization here refers to departments, allocation of tasks, instruments and procedures within the domain of wildlife management whereas substance refers to objectives, principles and measures. PAA therefore, consists of four dimensions namely;

discourses, rules of the game, actors and resources (Van Tatenhoveet al., 2000; Wiering and Arts, 2006). As clearly noted by Van der Zouwen (2006, p.29), policy arrangement is "a system of power", it influences the outcome and impact of policy in a locale. Liefferink (2006, p.49) affirms this by stating that policy arrangements, "do not operate in a vacuum. They are part of society." And this means that any change in the structure of a policy arrangement results into broader changes in society which can affect society positively or negatively. These changes in the policy of sport hunting around LMNP are looked at under the four dimensions of PAA (i.e. discourse, rules, actors and resources).

2.1.1 Discourse

Michel Foucault (1980) suggested that discourse expresses how 'facts' can be conveyed in different ways and how the language used to convey these facts can interfere with our ability to decide what is true and what is false (cited in Mowforth and Munt, 2009, p.50). "Discourse is a useful concept in emphasizing how a certain subject or topic is talked and thought about and how it is represented to others". It is also 'part of the way power circulates and is contested' (S. Hall 1992b: 295; Mowforth and Munt 2009, p.50) because they are sets of ideas, concepts, buzzwords and stories which are combined to give meaning to certain phenomenon in the real world (Hajer, 1995; Wiering and Arts, 2006).

Wiering and Arts (2006), point to such discourses as 'sustainability' which is used along with notions of economic, ecological, social, development etc to give meaning to the readers. Discourse, however, theoretically consist of three layers; ontological (problem definition), normative ('ideals' or desired state of affairs) and strategic (solution or roadmap to achieving the 'ideals') (Therborn, 1980; Wiering and Arts, 2006). The existence of different discourses presents a case of 'competition' among the different actors as they try to put across their messages. For example, the rearing of wildlife on private lands could be a scenario where economists and ecologists (conservation and development) are creating a win-win scenario between the survival of wildlife on private lands and livelihoods of the local people. Sport hunting based on wildlife outside protected areas is being presented as a means of

improving local community livelihoods through benefits. However, how UWA presents sport hunting may or may not be the same as the interpretation by the local communities; thus creating a different discourse among the local people.

In this study, discourses refer to the problems that the Sport Hunting Policy is meant to address (ontological), the objective or desired state of affairs (normative), and the strategies to realize the desired state (strategic). The study examined the objectives of the new policy to determine if it provides for local communities to access protected areas for grazing during drought, income from wildlife resources and whether it requires developers to provide social services to the surrounding local communities. This helped to understand the goals of sport hunting and to compare them with what has been achieved on the ground.

2.2.2 Rules of the game

Rules consist of 'legislations', 'procedures' and 'political culture' (Giddens, 1984; Rittberger, 1993; cited in Wiering and Arts, 2006). Rules also define the way the game should be played and within which boundaries. How should issues be framed, agendas communicated, policies formulated and decisions made and through which procedures allocation of resources and division of authority and competencies (Arts and Buizer, 2009, p.4). Legislation refers to formalization and transposition of policy discourses into binding laws (Wiering and Arts (2006, p.329). Procedures refer to organizational aspect of rules (wiering and Arts, 2006, also see Gidden, 1984) and political culture refers to belief held by the actors. Rules may be formal or informal in nature. Formal rules refer to legislations, agreements, and procedures shaping the domain of sport hunting. Informal rules refer to norms and political culture (Wiering and Arts, 2006).

In this study, rules of the game refer to legislations, agreements, procedures for participation, norms and political culture governing wildlife management outside protected areas. Relevant text or policy documents were examined to determine whether they

institutionalize the discourses brought by the new policy by transpositioning them into enforceable rules. Furthermore, the study also examined whether these rules provide for involvement (participation) of different parties in decision making, management and sharing of resources and benefits, who makes final decision and whether there was any change in the 'political culture'. This was done by studying the relevant policy documents and texts to determine how sport hunting is being carried out in Uganda. The study also examined existing societal norms and political culture to determine whether or not they influence the extent to which the local communities participate in sport hunting processes.

2.2.3 Actors

According to Van der Zouwen (2006), actors are "organizations or individuals involved in nature polices concerning a specific nature site". However, policy actors are analyzed on the basis of 'actor constellation', 'interaction patterns' and 'coalitions and oppositions' (Marsh & Rhodes, 1992; Godfroij & Nelissen, 1993; Kickert et al., 1997; cited in Wiering and Arts, 2006). Furthermore, actor constellations centers around who is involved in policy formulation, decision-making, implementation, and agenda setting (both formal and informal) (Wiering and Arts, 2006). Actor 'interaction patterns' reflect both quantitative and qualitative change in the way players interact (Wiering and Arts, 2006). The quantitative and qualitative change results from various actors forming coalitions or oppositions (Wiering and Arts, 2006; also see Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2000).

Although Wiering and Arts (2006) observed that a changing interaction patterns will not necessarily imply emergence of coalitions or opposition among actors, it is however, useful to realize that the number of actors involved in conservation has greatly increased, creating a complexity in their relations and the subsequent policies of wildlife management and livelihood of the local community.

In this study, actor 'constellation' reflects key policy actors in wildlife management outside protected areas who are involved in the agenda setting, decision making and implementation (formally and informally) and their levels of influence. This study examined if there were any 'constellations' within the domain of wildlife management outside protected areas and whether they allow for involvement of new actors in policy formulation and implementation. In terms of interaction, this study examined whether this 'constellations' have led to increase or decrease in their (actor) interaction, new actors joining sport hunting implementation and issues of cooperation (coalitions) or distrust (opposition) among actors etc.

2.2.4 Resources

Resources are elaborated upon in terms of 'indicators' such as resource 'constellation', power relations and political influence (Huberts & Kleinnijenhuis, 1994; Arts, 1998; Wiering and Arts, 2006, p.329). Resources are assets that exist in form of natural, physical, human, financial and social capitals. Resources are crucial in policy formation as they determine who has the political power to exert influence where, when and upon what and whom (see Wiering and Arts, 2006). Different actors have different resources and power within a particular arrangement and this means they exert different (political) influences (especially in defining a policy issue, raising subject of debate and setting an agenda) but, there is always the dominant actor who controls more resources (authority, money, knowledge or technology (see Wiering and Arts, 2006). Drawing from the work of Michel Foucault (1984), Arts and Buizer (2009) observe that there is a strong relationship between discourse and power and that power is in the discourse itself because it 'disciplines' human agencies to think, speak and act in a certain way and not in others. These actions either affect conservation or livelihoods positively or negatively. For example resources availability and access helped to analyse livelihoods debates around LMNP by looking at how finances, power, and knowledge are distributed and how they determine who is involved and what impact they have in decision making. Looking at Arts and Buizer (2009) again, power is also the ability of actors to form discourse coalitions – to mobilise resources in order to achieve

certain outcomes in social systems. This discourse coalition is assumed to strive for hegemony in policy arrangements in order to realize their preferred policies. This hegemony in policy arrangements will subsequently affect the livelihoods decisions especially of the local people who may be left out when it comes to sharing of benefits.

Van der Zouwen (2006) asserts that resources have both 'a formal and informal character'. The formal character of resource is the ability to monitor compliance with national legislation (in this case rules guiding sport hunting). Informal character refers to good relations and trust among opposing parties (in this case coalitions among actors in sport hunting and working relations among actors) (Van der Zouwen, 2006). It must be noted that, resource use, access, and availability are central in many conflicts between human and wildlife as well as between various actors with different interest in conservation areas and therefore result into constellation (interdependence) or opposition (autonomy). However, it must be noted that power (in terms of resources and capabilities is relatively easy to access, whereas it is very hard to measure political influence (Wiering and Arts, 2006). Power in this study refers to who has the ability to dominate public debate (sport hunting), raise policy issues and agenda setting in wildlife management outside protected areas. This study limited itself to only such resources (as political power, money, social capital, knowledge) and power relations outside LMNP. To analyse these resources and power relations, this study examined the various stakeholders involved in sport hunting, the resources they own and have access to, who determines what a policy agenda is, and whether their interaction patterns have led to interdependence or opposition. This study also examined who determines livelihood priorities around LMNP and whether or not these priorities are influenced by power or resource access among the actors.

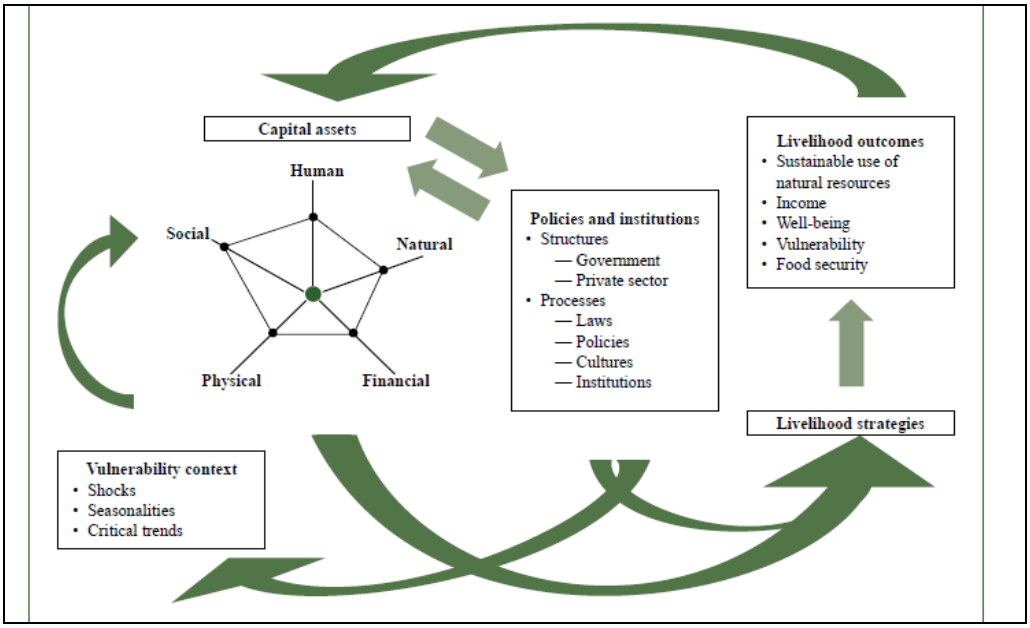
The application of PAA dimensions is critical in analysing livelihoods of the local communities. According to Wiering and Arts (2006), PAA (such as sport hunting) come along with discourses which can either result into positive or negative livelihoods change. Actors involved in a policy domain also transpose discourses into enforceable rules that should be able to impact on the sustainable community livelihoods. The new rules created by actors

may also influence resource allocation and its subsequent impact on the livelihood strategies and outcomes among the local communities owning private property around protected areas.

2.3 Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

The changing discourses among conservationists and development protagonists led to new rules, actors, resources and even new discourses that combine both conservation and development to achieve a common agenda of sustainable development. The Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) (see Figure 1) of 1998 evolved from the Brudtland Commission Report, 1987 of the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development (UNWCED) (1987). It is part of the policy changes that was focused on ensuring sustainable development across the world. Sustainable Livelihood (SL) theory and approaches are therefore based on evolutionary ways of thinking about poverty reduction, the way the poor live their lives, and the importance of structural and institutional issues (Chambers and Conway, 1992; Carney, 1998; Ashley and Carney, 1999; Simpson 2009). The core concepts behind SL approaches to development are that they aspire to be people-centred, holistic, dynamic, and to bridge gaps between macro and micro-development activities (Simpson 2009, p.187) with the benchmark for their success being whether sustainable improvements in people's livelihoods have taken place (Ashley and Carney, 1999). Most importantly, SL approaches aspire to build on existing assets and to be sustainable (Chambers and Conway, 1992; Scoones, 1998; Ashley and Hussein, 2000; Brock, 1999; Carney, 1999; Nichol, 2000; Turton, 2000; Department for International Development, 2001; Simpson 2009).

Figure 1: Showing Sustainable Livelihoods Framework



Source: DFID; Serrat, 2008

The SLA as used in this thesis is seen in light of new policy arrangements (sport hunting) focused on ensuring sustainable livelihoods improvement especially among communities around protected areas. This policy arrangement in place is a result of vulnerability context (shocks, seasonality and critical trends) (Serrat, 2008) and can either support livelihoods improvement or negatively affect livelihoods activities outside protected areas. For example in the case of fortress conservation (Hulme and Murphree, 1999), the livelihoods priorities and activities of the local people were not considered within the arrangement of managing protected areas. This only changed with the introduction of Community Based Conservation (Hulme and Murphree, 1999; Kathori, 2008) that allows for introduction of the market economy and also taking into account the livelihood priorities of the rural poor around protected areas.

SLA therefore points out five key elements such as context (policy setting, politics, history, agro ecology and socio-economic conditions), livelihood resources (different kinds of capital), institutional process (formal and informal institutions and organization), livelihood

strategies (agricultural intensification/extensification, livelihood diversification and migration), and outcome (improved wellbeing, more income, empowerment etc) (Scoones, 1998:3; Solesbury, 2003). The existence of structures and processes influence livelihood strategies and outcome across the world based on the availability of livelihood assets such as human assets (labour), natural assets, financial assets, social assets and physical assets (land). Policies can be conceptualized as planned or concerted action and political factors that affect people's lives, encourage or constrain human development and livelihoods. The role of sport hunting as a policy is to strengthen livelihoods, conserve natural resources, fight social exclusion and poverty reduction, and for this policy to enhance livelihood, the complexity of livelihood priorities need to be addressed therein.

Sustainable livelihood has increasingly gained importance over the years especially in the management of wildlife resources because it provides new approaches to poverty analysis among the local poor especially those around protected areas (see Ashley and Elliott, 2003; Grimble and Laidlaw, 2002; and Shackleton et al., 2002). The living conditions of the local communities around protected areas ought to receive as much attention as possible as conservation itself. The new sport hunting policy in Uganda therefore aims at solving human-wildlife conflicts (caused by fortress conservation) and to enhance the livelihoods of the local people around LMNP through benefits from sport hunting activities. As noted by Ashley and Elliott (2003), African tourism policies tended to focus on tourism as a potential motor of macro-economic growth and employment, and a contributor to foreign exchange earnings. It skewed Wildlife policies to primarily focus on conservation not utilization by the locals. This focus meant that wildlife conservation was being promoted at the expense of the needs of poor people surrounding wildlife protected areas.

Similarly, Carney (1999) argues that earlier efforts to poverty reduction were focused on just one aspect of household activity (e.g. farming systems) and at the same time NGOs working at local level, tended to neglect the importance of the external policy and institutional environment in overcoming poverty. New approaches of SLA therefore addresses this problem by "delinking the concepts 'rural' and 'agricultural' and widening the scope of rural

development activity" and also ensures that "external support works with people in a way that is congruent with their existing livelihood strategies and ability to adapt" (Carney, 1999). The current sport hunting policy recognizes that the achievement of conservation and livelihood goals do not lie in the hands of central government alone; but also in the use of indigenous knowledge and winning of community support. However, the communities' 'will' is only guaranteed in the presence of rewards from the conserved resources and or in exchange of the conserved resources. Based on the above evolution of SLA, I now conceptualize the key concepts of literature on livelihoods as used in this study. These main concepts are used to examine livelihood priorities and Livelihood outcomes in light of a new PAA (in this case sport hunting) aimed at improving local community livelihoods in details. A major goal of sustainable livelihood model was to improve the livelihoods of the poor people. However, whether the living conditions of people around protected areas have been improved remains unknown and is the gap that this study sought to fill. In order to use this framework to explore the impact of sport hunting intervention around LMNP and its impact on the livelihoods of the local community, I focus on two major elements (i.e. Livelihoods strategies/ activities and livelihoods outcomes).

2.3.1 Livelihood Strategies

Strategies are means of achieving a specified goal and are designed by individuals in an organization. Capital assets permit livelihood strategies to be constructed by individuals or households (Bebbington, 1999: 27; Allison and Horemans, 2006, p.759). Strategies for a sustainable livelihood can be through diversification (see Allison and Horemans, 2006). As pointed out by Namara et al. (1998), traditional boundaries in livelihood and land-use between cultivators and cattle keepers are becoming less well-defined with rural livelihoods becoming increasingly diversified, moving towards mixed cultivation and cattle rearing in combination with a range of small-scale and occasional off-farm activities pursued as a strategy to spread the risk of agricultural enterprises and increase household cash income and food security. Strategies are usually decisions made by the local people on use of resources that they have access to. Strategy opens to individuals depending on the portfolio

held and on the household's capability to find and make use of livelihood opportunities which also depends in part on the household's composition (Chambers, 1999; Chambers and Conway, 1992; Rakodiand Lloyd-Jones, 2002, p.4). The concept of strategy according to Rakodi has the advantage of restoring agency to poor people, rather than regarding them merely as passive victims (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002, p.7).

As part of the livelihood improvement strategies around LMNP, the stakeholders such as UWA, local government and GTL in consultation with the local communities in the parish of Rurambiira piloted the first sport hunting project. It was to test the feasibility of using sport hunting as a conservation strategy outside protected areas and to improve the livelihoods of the rural people. The local communities who were seen as mere victims of wildlife losses were for the first time viewed in the new sport hunting as active participants whose role could lead to conservation of wildlife outside protected areas and in return derive benefits.

In this study, livelihood strategies referred to activities undertaken by the local communities to improve their conditions of living; such as operating small scale business in and around protected areas, initiating development projects with or without external support, forms of alternative employment, promoting education, and improving social services within the community. This study therefore, examined whether or not the local communities have diversified their economic activities, run projects from sport hunting, encouraged education, and advocated for social services to be brought nearer to them and also whether these activities have increased their access to resources and decisions making with respect to their livelihoods around LMNP.

2.3.2 Livelihood outcomes

The final element of the SLA which is very critical for poverty reduction is the livelihoods outcomes. According to Allison and Horemans (2006, p. 579), a livelihood is only sustainable if people are able to maintain or improve their standard of living in relation to well being and

income or other human development goals, reduce their vulnerability to external shocks and trends, and ensure that their activities are compatible with maintaining the natural resource base. In the case of the local community surrounding LMNP, the natural resource base that can change their livelihoods is the wildstock that attracts sport hunters, the land they own and their livestock. In this study, livelihood outcomes shall be employment created, knowledge gained from sport hunting trainings, education opportunities, and availability of social services. Others include improved income, revenue sharing opportunities, investment opportunities, empowerment and social inclusion and more sustainable use of their natural resource base. This study therefore, investigated the extent to which the above outcomes are a result of the introduction of sport hunting, and the extent to which they impact on local communities' livelihoods around LMNP.

In order to assess the livelihood outcomes from sport hunting on the local communities, this thesis focused on the asset (capital) pentagon of SLF for analytical purposes. Asset (capital) is known to exist in different forms as discussed below. Important to note is the fact that sustainable livelihoods framework helps to organize the factors that constrain or enhance livelihood opportunities and shows how they relate to one another with a central notion that different households have access to different livelihood assets, which the sustainable livelihood approach aims to expand (Serrat, 2008).

2.3.2.1 Financial Capital

The existence of a firm or organization greatly depends on its ability to secure financial resources to operate. As noted by Coleman (2007) firms that are unable to secure external financial capital may be more vulnerable to the vicissitudes faced by small firms in general. However, it must be noted that this ability will depend on the level of organization of the firm or individual in charge. For the case of the local communities around LMNP, their ability to receive finances (which are a major resource of concern) from sport hunting has been manifested in them formation of CWAs that receives and plans for every bit of the money they get. The individual landowners have also been able to allow wildlife graze on their

farms. These animals in return contribute to the financial revenue that is used to improve the livelihoods of the local people. These finances also help them to gain recognition in decision making especially when it comes to revising the revenue sharing percentages and allocation of animal quotas and price tag per animal.

According to Serrat (2008), financial assets can be looked at based on savings, credit and debt (formal, informal), remittances, pensions, and wages. It can also be inform of economic opportunities, benefits for individual households and the entire community (Simpson, 2007). In this thesis, financial resources refer to number of people who have hunted around LMNP, number of animals that have been hunted, the amount of money that has been generated and how it is shared among the different Community Wildlife Associations. This study therefore examined records for statistics of hunting clients, statistics of hunted animals and income generated from sport hunting in the past, how they have channeled it to other forms of investments and how this has improved their household income.

2.3.2.2 Human Capital

The term human capital surfaced in academic literature about three decades ago especially in the communist countries (see Becker, 1993). It is known to be embodied within the human being and exhibited in different forms such as investment in education and medical care etc. Education and training according to Becker (1993) are the most important investments in human capital. The value of education and training is normally expressed in the nature of jobs done by school dropouts and school graduates.

Simpson (2007) looks at human capital in the form of developed skills. These include availability of health services, nutrition, education opportunities, knowledge and skills, capacity to work and capacity to adapt. In this thesis, human capital is expressed in terms of labour force around LMNP, availability of education opportunities, created job opportunities and ability of the local people to create their own jobs. This study therefore, investigated the

available education opportunities (schools) built from sport hunting money, medical centres from sport hunting money, people in the area being employed because of sport hunting (directly and indirectly) and any other forms of jobs created by the locals due to income received from sport hunting.

2.3.2.3 Physical Capital

According to Lachmann (1978) physical capital is the stock of human-made, material resources that can be used to produce a flow of future income (cited in Ostrom, 2000, p.174). Physical capital does exist in a number of forms including buildings, roads, waterworks, cattle, telecommunication facilities etc. According to Serrat (2008) physical capital indicators include among others infrastructure (transport, roads, vehicles, secure shelter and buildings, water supply and sanitation, energy, communications), tools and technology (tools and equipment for production, seed, fertilizer, pesticides, traditional technology).

In this thesis, physical capital refers to houses that have been constructed from sport hunting generated fees, roads, health facilities, watering points for animals etc. This study therefore, investigated the past and present housing structures in the area to determine the changes brought by sport hunting, road facilities, health facilities, watering facilities, telecommunication facilities etc that have resulted from sport hunting.

2.3.2.4 Natural Capital

Natural capital is the stock of natural ecosystems that yields a flow of valuable ecosystem goods or services into the future (Costanza and Daly, 1992). Natural capital is essential for human survival since they provide food, water, and also act as a laboratory for research. The natural capital bank is known to be getting stressed and scarce world over. This is however resulting from their increasing value and exploitation by humans (see Costanza et al., 1987). Natural capital indicators include land and produce, water and aquatic resources, trees and

forest products, wildlife, wild foods and fibers, biodiversity, and environmental services (Serrat, 2008).

In this thesis, natural capital refers to available land around LMNP for sport hunting (both private and public), wild animals on private land, local conservation activities and energy sources being used by locals. This study therefore investigated the quantity of land available for sport hunting, local conservation activities and its consequence on wildlife population outside protected areas, and alternative sources of fuel wood being used by the locals.

2.3.2.5 Social Capital

Social capital is known to be an essential complement to the concepts physical and human capital. It forms over time and is embedded in common understanding other than in physically obvious structures (Ostrom, 2000). Social capital is defined as the shared knowledge, understandings, norms, rules, and expectations about patterns of interactions that groups or individuals bring to a recurrent activity (Coleman, 1988; Ostrom, 1990, 1992; Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti 1993; cited in Ostrom, 2000). Social capital takes different forms such as networks, shared norms, and social beliefs that evolve out of processes that are not overtly investment activities (Ostrom, 2000, p.177; also see Putman, Leonardi, and Nanetti, 1993). According to Serrat (2008) social capital indicators include; networks and connections (patronage, neighborhoods, and kinship), relations of trust and mutual understanding and support, formal and informal groups, shared values and behaviors, common rules and sanctions, collective representation, mechanisms for participation in decision-making and leadership

In this thesis, social capital refers to the ability of local people to participate in wildlife governance, social networks formed in the area, empowerment socially and politically, leadership trainings and inclusion of marginal people in wildlife management around LMNP. The study therefore examined the level of local participation in wildlife governance issues,

social networks, shared norms and culture resulting from sport hunting, leadership trainings at community levels and inclusion of marginal people to evaluate how much sport hunting has done to change the lives of the people in these areas.

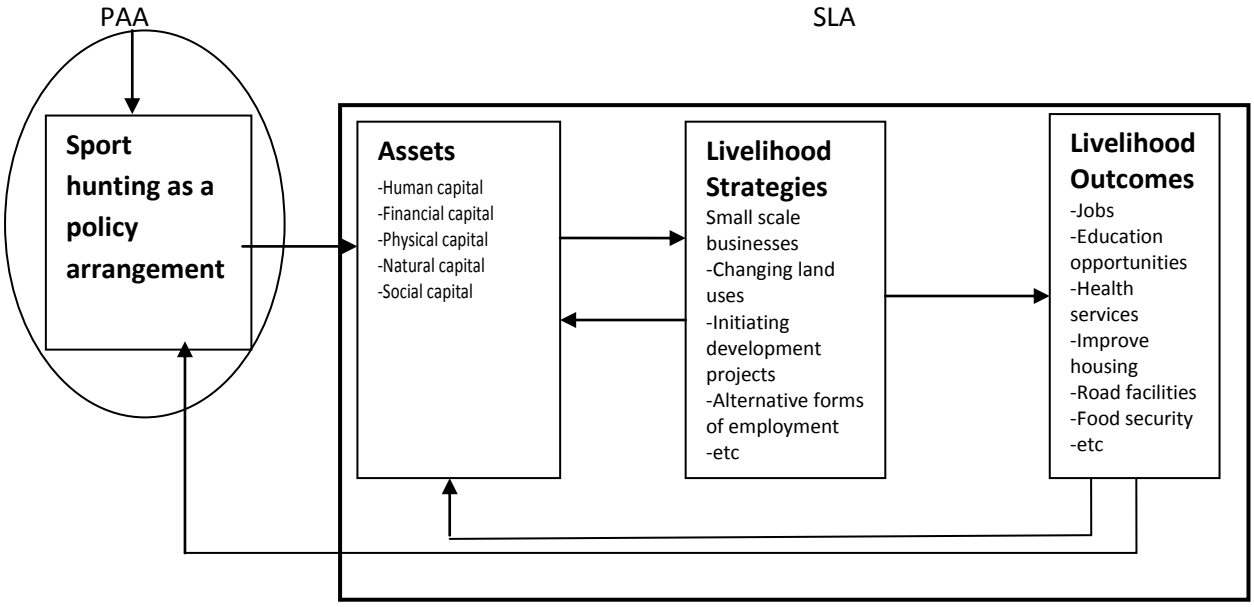
2.4 Conceptual model for analysis

A conceptual framework is a visual or written product that explains either graphically or in narrative form, the main objects under study to show relationships among them (Maxwell, 2004a; also see Miles and Huberman, 1994). This thesis uses a framework that is based on three main concepts (community conservation, policy arrangement and livelihoods). Sport hunting around LMNP is seen in this thesis in light of community conservation which resulted from changing policy arrangement (discourses) within conservation arena and the livelihoods debates. The model used below seeks to visualize the linkages of the concepts used in this study. It shows how the theory of new conservation serves to explain the origin of sport hunting from external policy environment in Uganda. I also try to show how changing discourses around LMNP link to the introduction of community conservation (in this case sport hunting) and what impact sport hunting create on livelihoods of the local people. Finally, I show how changing livelihoods (-/+) impact on the 'new' sport hunting policy in place.

Changes in the policy environment represented using the four PAA elements (discourse, actors, rules and resources) led to sport hunting as a 'new' policy in the first rectangle. The 'new' sport hunting policy environment is filled with vulnerability context (shocks, critical trends and seasonality) of which the 'new' sport hunting responds to. The policy discourses, resources, rules and actors in the implementation of sport hunting then (-/+) affect the livelihood assets in second rectangle. The effects caused in the second rectangle then influences livelihood strategies in rectangle three. The effects on strategies have an opposite (-/+) effects on the available livelihood assets in rectangle two. The resulting effects on livelihood strategies also affects the livelihood outcomes in rectangle four (-/+). Whatever the effects on livelihoods outcomes, there is a direct backward impact on the livelihood assets (as shown by the arrow). This normally happens when stakeholders try to come up

with 'new' assets to influence livelihood strategy decisions and or to ensure its sustainability. At the same time there is a direct backward effect of livelihood outcomes on the 'new' sport hunting policy in rectangle one. This will depend on whether people are satisfied with the outcomes or not. The satisfaction or no satisfaction will likely cause debates, attract new actors, rules and even resources that can be used to drive the 'new' policy to achieve its goal or cause it to be abandoned.

Figure 2: Conceptual model showing graphical representation of the linkages between the three main concepts used in this study



2.5. Study area

This study was conducted in the three parishes of Rurambiira, Nyakahita and Rwaknombe adjacent to LMNP. Rurambiira is found on the eastern side of the park while Nyakahita is in the north east and Rwakanome is found in the northern part of the park (see Figure 3). These parishes were originally part of the Lake Mburo Conservation Area (LMCA) but were earmarked in 1987 after the formation of the Kanyanyeru Resettlement Scheme (KRS) that saw 60% of parking land being given back to the communities and consequently creating what is now called private land around LMNP.

The three parishes (Rurambiira, Nyakahita and Rwaknombe) share almost the same eco-system as the remaining park land and with only a thin line between what is now park land and communities' land. Animal species such as the endangered gigantic eland antelopes, zebra, topi, impala, and warthogs can be seen in these parishes. Several bird species as well as fringing swamps that hide secretive papyrus specialists like the sitatunga antelope and red, black and yellow papyrus gonalek are found in both the park area and the now private lands. Because of the richness in biodiversity in these parishes, it was inevitable that they deserve special attention with the concept of community conservation. They are the only parishes around parks in Uganda with the highest concentration of wild animals found outside park boundaries coexisting with human on their land and providing greater value for tourism, recreation and scientific research.

The three parishes lie near the equator in the rain shadow of Lake Victoria and the Rwenzori Mountains as the remaining park land. They receive on average 800 mm of rain a year. The rainfall pattern being bimodal, with the long rains occurring from February to June, and the short rains from September to December. Much of the rains in these parishes are erratic and unpredictable with more rain tending to fall in April and November. The average recorded temperature is 27.5°C with daily variations ranging from 21.5°C to 34.0°C (Kamugisha et al., 1997). These conditions support the agro-based economy that is characteristic of the population living in the area. Given the poor and erratic nature of rainfall in the area, alternative livelihoods become a critical issue that merit attention. These alternative livelihoods can be in the forms of operating small and medium scale businesses and ensuring that benefits from wildlife reach the local people surrounding the LMNP area (see Namara and Infield, 1998).

The presence of permanent sources of water in the dry enclave surrounded by moister also encourage heavy settlement in the east and north and partly west and south. The perennial vegetation is normally grazed by large herbivores and also provides habitat and refuge to a high concentration of wildlife species (Kamugisha et al., 1997) making it favourable for sport hunting activity if properly planned and managed.

Figure 3: Lake Mburo National Park and the Surrounding Parishes

Source: UWA 2009

2.5.1 Study Design

This study used the cross-sectional study design to generate the required information. In cross-sectional study design, data is collected once from a selected section of the population (Kumar, 2005). For this study, a section of the population living in the parishes of Rurambiira, Nyakahita and Rwakanombe (Rwakanombe comprises of Rwabarata, Akayanja and Nombe) was selected and interviewed. Similarly, a sample of respondents was also selected from other groups of respondents (i.e. UWA, Government, Civil society, and Industry) (also see under 2.5.2.1). The collected data was analyzed to evaluate the changes that have been brought by sport hunting and its potential to contribute to improved park-people relations and to enhance sustainable livelihoods around LMNP. Finally, this study was carried out in a four staged process as summarized in the time frame table (see Appendix 2).

2.5.2 Methods of data collection

This study employed three methods of data collection, namely: interviews, document analysis and observation. It is suggested that although a lot of research has been done in tourism, especially tourism economics and management, the application of western based epistemologies based on a positivistic or post positivistic theoretical paradigm, particularly, the tradition of critical realism is dominant (Jennings, 2007). Representation of the use of a qualitative methodology in core tourism and business research textbooks tended to be somewhat pejorative and/or dismissive in regard to the nature of its potential contribution to research enterprises (Jennings, 2007). However, recent tourism research focusing more on tourist perception and behavior, social and sustainability aspects of tourism have increased the justification of qualitative approach (Jennings, 2007). As noted by Hoepfl (1997), application of qualitative analysis is favoured because it uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in its context-specific settings. In collecting the needed qualitative data for this study, different methods were used as mentioned above to examine changes in discourses, rules of the game, interaction patterns and resources and their effects on the livelihoods strategies and outcomes among the local communities around LMNP.

2.5.2.1 Sampling procedure

In order to conduct the interview, sampling of respondents was done and four groups of people were interviewed for the study. Firstly, a sample of respondents from government (UWA and Local Government) was purposively selected for interview. Secondly, a sample of respondents from the civil society and from the industry was similarly selected for interview. Lastly, a representative number of community members living around the Park were randomly selected in consultation with their leaders. A total of 29 (N=29) people were chosen to participate in the interviews, 2 from UWA headquarters and 7 from LMNP, 1 from CITES/MTTI, 1 from the civil society category, 1 from the industry, 3 from CPI/Local Government and 14 from the community (see Figure 4). Respondents from UWA headquarters, CITES/MTTI, Industry and Civil Society were purposefully selected using judgmental sampling (considering positions they held). For example respondents from UWA,

CITES/MTTI and Local Government were chosen based on the fact they are the implementing authorities. Civil society was chosen because they are considered to represent the interest of the wider public in Uganda and they have been at the forefront in creating awareness about sport hunting and other conservation related issues. Respondent from the industry was chosen because they are the concession holders and are considered knowledgeable in running sport hunting business. The Local Communities were randomly chosen because they have been the people suffering from wildlife related losses and therefore needed solutions to this problem. Their selections were based on network sampling procedure. Here the researcher depended on recommendations of previous respondents to get next respondents and in both cases they were either association executives or landowners in the parishes visited.

2.5.2.2 The Interviews

Interviews were guided by an interview protocol and a data checklist. Two interview protocols were developed, one for the UWA and Industry and the other for local communities and Community based organizations (see Appendix 4). The questions were framed around five themes. These themes include:

(i) Discourses and Rules

Under this theme, the respondents were asked the objectives of the new sport hunting policy on wildlife management in Uganda and why it is important for them. They were also asked whether or not these objectives have been transposed into new rules and whether or not these news new rule recognize local community access to benefits such as grazing during drought, income from wildlife resources and whether it requires that developers provide social services to the surrounding local communities. Furthermore, the respondents were also asked to provide an account of the perceived benefits and the actual benefits on the ground. Respondents were also asked issues concerning legislations, agreements, procedures for participation, norms and political culture governing wildlife management outside protected areas.

(ii) Actors

Un this theme, respondents were asked questions related to actor interaction patterns, whether there are any constellations formed and how these constellations allow for the involvement of the different actors in policy formulation and implementation. They were also asked if relations have improved or it is antagonistic.

(iii) Resources

Under this theme, respondents were asked about ownership and access of resources, who determines what a policy agenda is, and how livelihood priorities influence resource access and utilizations around LMNP.

(iv) Livelihoods Priorities and Outcomes

Under this theme, respondents were asked the activities undertaken by the local communities to improve their conditions of living such as operating small scale business in and around protected areas, initiating development projects with or without external support, forms of alternative employment, promoting education, and improving social services within the community and also steps they are under taking to diversify their livelihoods. Under the outcomes, respondents were asked if they receive benefits such as employment, knowledge, education opportunities, availability of social services, improved income, revenue sharing opportunities, investment opportunities, empowerment and social inclusion and whether they now use their natural resource base more sustainably and whether the outcomes they see now are a result of sport hunting.

2.5.2.3 Document analysis

Two sets of documents were reviewed. These include the Wildlife Policy on Sport hunting and the management documents of UWA and GTL as well as 2008 evaluation report on sport hunting. The Policy documents were reviewed to determine the goal or objective of sport hunting in Uganda, how it is to benefit the local communities, who are to be involved in

decision making and implementation and how. Similarly, it was also to determine whether the new policy provides for resources access by the local communities and to what extent.

2.5.2.4 Field Observation

Field observation was also used in this study. Kumar (2005) refers to observation as a purposeful, systematic and selective way of watching and listening to an interaction or phenomenon as it takes place. Here, I took the role of non-participant observer (see Kumar, 2005) and watched and followed the livelihood activities of the local communities and attended and just listened to two of the proceedings/meetings about wildlife management and sport hunting with pastoralist communities at Kakagate Primary School and at Rwakobo village, Akayanja-Nombe II. I also visited some of the projects that were started as sport hunting initiatives (see under chapter four). This helped me to compare theories with the actual facts on the ground and conclusions were drawn of what discourses, interaction patterns, resources and rules are on the ground and their subsequent effects on local community livelihoods as is presented in the study findings.

2.5.3 Sources of information for the study

The main sources of information for this study were the local communities whose livelihoods have affected conservation and have in turn been affected by conservation in and outside LMNP. Other sources of information considered during the study include; LMNP officials, civil society organizations in conservation, UWA officials from the Headquarters, Local Government Authorities, Land/Ranch owners, and Company carrying out sport hunting. They were interviewed in order to get more insightful on sport hunting around LMNP and its impact on tourism, conservation and livelihoods of the local communities (see Figure: 4 for percentage distribution of respondents by category).

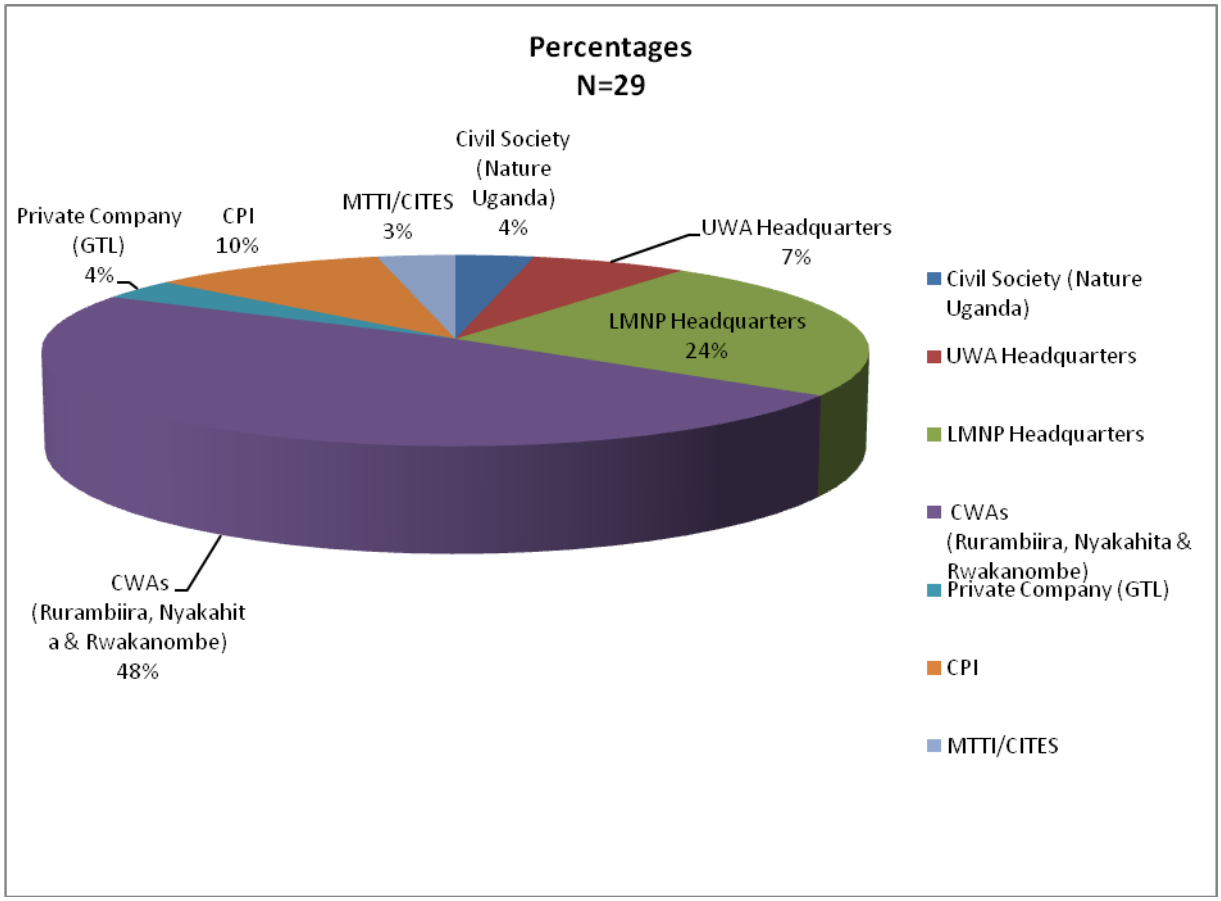


Figure 4: Percentage distribution of Respondents by categories

2.5.4 Data analysis and interpretation

During the analysis stage in this study, emphasis was put on identifying relationships between theory and the collected data. Thorne (2000, p.68) points out that analysis … occurs as an explicit step in conceptually interpreting the data set as a whole, using specific analytic strategies to transform the raw data into a new and coherent depiction of the thing being studied.

It is important to recognize that qualitative data analysis processes are not entirely distinguishable from the actual data. The theoretical lens from which the researcher approaches the phenomenon, the strategies that the researcher uses to collect or construct data, and the understandings that the researcher has about what might count as relevant or

important data in answering the research question are all analytic processes that influence the data (Thorne, 2000, p.68). For example, in this study, the researcher conducted a total of 29 interviews (see Appendix 1) and had the voice recordings transcribed for analytical purposes. Themes were identified during analysis to get similarities and differences in the views of the respondents. The researcher also cross checked after every interview by listening to the recording to ensure coherence in the data that was generated. Data integration was done through constant comparison of what is in the literature, interview transcripts and the observed information. It also involved constant reading of transcribed interviews to understand similarities and differences in the views of respondents.

2.5.4.1 Validity and Reliability

Debate on the usefulness of the concepts of validity and reliability in qualitative research has been undertaken for many years (Kelle & Laurie, 1995; Welsh, 2002) with many researchers preferring to use terms such as "trustworthiness", "rigorousness", or "quality" of the data (Welsh, 2002). Moreover, Patton (2001) states that validity and reliability are two factors which any qualitative researcher should be concerned about while designing a study, analyzing results and judging the quality of the study (cited in Golafshani, 2003, p.601). The terms validity and reliability in qualitative research are used to justify trustworthy, consistency, credibility, transferability and to ensure quality in qualitative research (Golafshani, 2003). Although the ability to generalize findings to wider groups and circumstances is one of the most common tests of validity for quantitative research, triangulation has been suggested as the method to test validity in qualitative research. According to Patton (2001) ... “triangulation strengthens a study by combining methods (Golafshani, 2003, p.603). Furthermore, it is confirmed by (Yin, 2009) that multiple sources of evidence provide compound measure of the same phenomenon and increase the overall quality of the study. In this study, the researcher used triangulation by combining document analysis, interviews plus observation to ensure corroboration of the findings from different sources. Secondly, the study deployed the method of member validation to ensure that the

information from different sources fit into particular categories within the theory being used.

2.5.5 Limitations of the study

Since this study was based on a case study around LMNP which is not representing the whole of Uganda, results may not be representative of the impact of sport hunting as a conservation and development intervention outside protected areas (PAs) as a whole. This research also represents the views of a few stakeholders who were selected for interviews on what livelihoods has been like for them and the changes brought by sport hunting intervention which may not give the same results if interviews were conducted with other respondents from a different case study. However, the researcher employed non participant observation and document analysis to analyse the views generated from the respondents. Furthermore, a comparison of this study findings were made with other countries during the discussion and provide a stronger ground for making generalizations, similarities and differences. This was done through generation of examples from other sources to get comparisons and generalizations.

Another important point to note is that, since most of the data was collected through interviews, the ease with which data was accessed and collected greatly depended on the availability and willingness of the targeted respondents to participate in this research process. There were instances where some identified respondents were not free to give some information on the basis of their political affiliations and offices that they held. This was actually caused by the timing of the interviews. It was at a time when the whole country was going through a political campaign process to elect new leaders at all levels including presidency and some interviewees misinterpreted the research to be promoting interest of certain political parties that they did not belong to. However, the researcher in most instances made prior appointments for interview with respondents through telephone and emails. This helped me to have them readily available for the interviews and explained to them the purpose of the study. I also identified myself as a student from Wageningen

University, doing research for my Master's thesis and assured them of strict confidentiality of their views.

Lastly, this study was hampered by language barrier. The communities where interviews were conducted, being pastoralists, many of them did not go to school and could only communicate in Runyangkore. This made it difficult for me to freely converse and explore some information in depth. However, in most cases, I made sure that I had an interpreter during my interviews. I also did a sound recording of all the discussions and later had it interpreted in English that I can understand best.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF WILDLIFE CONSERVATION AND SPORT HUNTING IN UGANDA

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, analysis of sport hunting around LMNP is made from the perspective of PAA. Data has been grouped under the four elements of the PAA i.e. Discourse, Actors and their coalitions, Rules of the game and Resources and power as earlier discussed and operationalized under chapter two of this thesis. But first, I start by giving historical developments that led to the discourse of wildlife conservation in Uganda, the actors that have been at the forefront, rules of the game and resources that have been in place.

3.2 Status of Wildlife prior to Colonization Period

In ancient Africa and especially Uganda, wildlife roamed freely without much concern from the local people as human population was still low. According to the Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development (MoFPED) (2008), the Ugandan population was at 4.8 million people by year 1950 causing less threat to wildlife population. The forms of land uses were also not varied like today since most people were still fruit gatherers. Some hunting was done for household consumption and clothing especially fur and skins and a few who belonged to the royal families notably Kings from Toro, Ankole, and Buganda among others would do hunting for sport. It was also to show prowess among men and to get trophies for other rituals. They were however guided by the customary rules and practices of the Local Communities (NEMA & MTTI, 2008).

Colonization period in Uganda

The notion about wildlife management in Africa and Uganda in particular emerged between the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The move resulted from the 1872 declaration of

Yellowstone, under the United States law as a public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people (Eagles, McCool, and Haynes, 2002) resulting into a new discourse of wildlife management. During this period, Wildlife Sanctuaries (WS) and Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs) were created such as Ankole Controlled Hunting ground (current LMNP) temporarily in 1958 (Kamugisha et al., 1997) with the aim of having some of the wild species in one place and to avoid extinction (see Salafsky and Wollenberg, 2000; and Naughton-Treves, 1999; Adams and Murphree, 2001**).** They worked along with traditional kings who managed the controlled hunting areas within their kingdoms. This was done based on evidence of declining populations (UWP, 1999). Colonial Administrators also reasoned out that Africans were misusing these wild animals and therefore they needed to ensure their safety in a place where human access would be controlled (see Dunn, 2009). This view is held by Redford and Richter (1999, p.1250), who observed that "…preservation of all components of biodiversity can be attained only in areas largely free of human alteration".

This resulted into institutionalizing a body (Game Department) that managed the newly created wildlife Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs) and other wildlife reserves and sanctuaries. They were guided by the Game Act of 1959, (cap. 226**)** which also encouraged creation of other Game Reserves and later protected areas such as Queen Elizabeth NP park in 1952 (UWP, 1999).This Act also guided off-taking and trade in scheduled wild animals. It was also during this period that Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) a nongovernmental body was formed in 1957 to carry out biological surveys on savanna parks in Uganda and also to help train protected areas' managers. The protected areas managers banked on their technical knowhow to manage these newly created 'homes' for wildlife. However, it must be noted that at this point in time, there were conflicts beginning to brew between the managers of newly created protected areas and the former land owners who were by this time denied access to their original land.

Post Independent Uganda

By the time Uganda gained her independence from the British colonial administrators in 1962, the scene was ripe for tourism to flourish in the country. As noted by Ouma (1970), 'by 1968, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania received respectively about 328, 95 and 140 million shillings of foreign currency from tourism'. This period also saw wildlife and nature tourism ranking third in foreign exchange earnings for Uganda especially between 1967 and 1972 (UWP, 1999) with a total £486,266.83 being earned from the sale of game licenses and ivory in 1969 (NEMA and MTTI, 2008). Uganda had a total of 3 national parks by this time plus several other game reserves and wildlife sanctuaries (see Ouma, 1970) that were very attractive to tourists because of their abundance in wildlife resources (see Tumwine, 1998). The new government continued to work with the Game Department in managing the protected areas they had inherited and also created others formally such as LMCHA in 1964 (Kamugisha et al., 1997). However, this trend drastically changed in the 1970s and early 1980s when the country went through political unrest. There was rampant poaching across the country as there was no mechanism in place to monitor and ensure the safety of wildlife in Uganda. Wildlife population degenerated in most of the national parks and the number of visitor arrivals in the country declined drastically. Considering such unfortunate events, the then government banned all forms of hunting to allow for wildlife regeneration. Government however, provided that this ban could be uplifted in future if deemed necessary.

Current Wildlife Status and Policy in Uganda

According to the 1995 constitution of the Republic of Uganda, Article 237(2) vests the powers and authority to manage all wildlife resources in Uganda in the hands of central and local governments. It provided for the formation of a statutory body (UWA) formerly Uganda National Parks (UNP) that is entrusted with the management of wildlife resources on behalf of government. UWA in its attempt to manage wildlife categorized different protected areas across the country to minimize human interference and promote sustainable use. These areas include; ten national parks, six wildlife sanctuaries, and thirteen controlled hunting

areas which are managed within the provisions of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) (1993) and the CITES (UWP, 1999).

However, after noticing that there was still a missing link between conservation and livelihoods of the local people, government re-assessed the status of all protected areas in the country, taking into account social and economic development needs of the country (UWP, 2004). Institutional reforms were made and Government reviewed and updated Uganda Wildlife Policy, 1995, prepared and enacted the Uganda Wildlife Statute (UWS), 1996, that improved wildlife management especially with the coming into action of UWA in 1996 (UWP, 1999). UWA assessed all protected areas and came up with a new protected areas system under the following classifications; Wildlife Protected Areas (WPA) which include national parks and reserves managed under the primary jurisdiction of UWA and Wildlife Management Areas (WMA) which include Wildlife Sanctuaries and Community Wildlife Areas with UWA as one of the several agencies with the powers to control land use (UWP, 2004). The later (Wildlife Management Areas) incorporated the concept of community conservation (see Agrawal and Gibson, 1999; and Hulme and Murphree, 1999) and now provides for sport hunting around LMNP on both private and government ranches where wildlife grazes freely.

Furthermore, the government of Uganda came up with Community-Protected Areas Institution Policy (CPI) 2000 aimed at reducing community-wildlife conflict. CPI was formed in accordance with the UWA mission statement of sustainably conserving and managing Uganda's wildlife resources in partnership with the neighbouring communities for the benefit of the national and global communities (UWA, 2000). CPI was also formed to create an institutional linkage between protected areas (PAs) and the communities by:

- Facilitating a two way communication and information flow between PA managers, the local governments and local communities around PAs.

- Providing a channel to voice communities' concerns and perceptions in park management and to act as an avenue through which protected areas managers can seek active involvement of communities in protected areas management
- Acting as a forum for mobilizing local communities to participate in various PA and community conservation issues
- Facilitating dialogue and conflict resolution for issues such as problem animals and benefit sharing (UWA, 2000).

The above institutional and policy reforms work to ensure improvement in wildlife conservation status as well as improving the participation of the local communities in enhancing their livelihoods. It further builds partnership with local people and makes sure the communities become more of a "voice" in the process of natural resource management (Barrow et al., 1999).

Wildlife outside Protected Areas

Management of wildlife outside protected areas in Uganda and other Sub-Saharan African countries has presented conservationists with one of the greatest conservation challenges in the last decades. As noted by Adams et al. (2004, p.1164) biodiversity conservation scientists face a dilemma as global efforts to maintain biodiversity conflict with those to reduce poverty. The 2004 Uganda wildlife Policy (UWP) regonises the fact that wildlife is often found on privately owned land outside the protected area systems though the state still owns all the wildlife on private lands (UWP, 2004). The fact that wildlife exists on privately owned land and yet ownership, management and benefits that accrue are owned and controlled by government created an antagonistic relation between the protected area managers and the local people. The local people continued to poach and destroy habitat of wildlife in an attempt to create land for agriculture and defend themselves and their livestock from dangerous wildlife. They also did not see any value in wildlife especially in relation to their livelihoods.

While the Game Department used to manage wildlife outside PAs through controlled utilization (Nyiramahoro, 2002), Uganda Wildlife Policy (1999) and the Wildlife Act (Cap 200 of 2000) introduced six Wildlife Use Rights (WUR) that recognize the significant contributions of wildlife to the indigenous societies and ensures that they have a greater say, and in fact, recover ownership of much of the land they lost in the past (Bauer and Herr, 2004). In Africa, there is now an increasing number of very positive examples of host-community involvement in wildlife management outside protected areas for sport hunting and the derived benefits (Baker, 1997 a, b; Lewis and Alpert, 1997; Baskin, 1994; Child, 1993; cited in Bauer and Herr, 2004) as opposed to the exclusionary protection approach of no wildlife utilization that neither saved nor improved conservation status of wildlife outside PAs (Nyiramahoro, 2002).

However, the status of wildlife outside protected areas is still threatened as human population continues to grow. Uganda's population is fast growing at a rate of 3.4 percent per annum (NEMA, 2006) putting the population status to slightly over 30 million people by 2007 compared to only 4.8 million people in 1950 (MoFPED, 2007). This high growth however is being registered in rural areas with 4.9 persons per household (UBOS, 2006) most of which neighbour protected areas. This has resulted into increasing demand for agricultural and settlement land across the country due to Uganda's agro based economy. FAO reports indicate that Uganda loses about 50,000ha (0.8%) of its … lands each year … in woodlands outside protected areas while 1994 global estimates ranged from 70,000 ha to 200,000 ha (NEMA, 2000; Nyiramahoro, 2002). This loss is even expected to double or triple as population of Uganda is estimated to reach 56.7 million by 2025 and 128.0 by 2050 (UNFPA, 2007; cited in NEMA & MTTI, 2008).

This continued biodiversity loss calls for rethinking of conservation agenda to incorporate the goals of livelihoods change among the local people. The 2004 Uganda Wildlife Policy and the Wildlife Act (Cap 200 of 2000) therefore introduced Six Wildlife Use Rights (WUR) in managing wildlife outside protected areas. In the WUR, sporting hunting is in class A and extends benefits to the local communities (see Box 1). The evolution of WUR was backed by

the emergence of the third strand of new conservation in the late twentieth century (i.e. neoliberal thinking (Hulme and Murphree, 1999). It presents a theoretical perspective where species or habitats are to be exposed to the market forces with hopes that their uniqueness and scarcity will lead to high economic values and consequently enhanced livelihoods (Hulme and Murphree, 1999).

The pilot sport hunting project around LMNP

After a careful acknowledgement that areas outside the LMNP support a larger population of wildlife and yet they continued to be threatened by continued illegal hunting, (which could have led to their complete extinction) Government reviewed all the relevant policy documents (i.e. 1995, constitution of the Republic of Uganda; 1996, Uganda Wildlife Statute; 1995, 1999 and 2004, Uganda Wildlife Policy; 1998, Land Act; 1994, National Environment Act; 1997, Local Government Act; 2000, Uganda Wildlife Act; and 2000, Community Protected Areas Institutions Policy-CPI). It also considered the available wildlife use options (see Box.1) and the results of the 1997-2000 Impala utilization report. It further made consultations with relevant stakeholders who were also concerned that wildlife posed a serious human-wildlife conflict and needed an urgent solution. Government then through UWA in June 2001 licensed Game Trails (U) Limited (GTL) in collaboration with Rurambiira Wildlife Association (RWA) (a community based organization) to implement sport hunting on a pilot basis with an agreed initial quota of animals to be hunted (see Table 1). GTL was granted this concession after going through a tendering process and meeting the required standards (Interview 18). It was also based on the fact that it is headed by a professional hunter in the name of Swaran Kaka Matama who also served as an honorary game warden for the last 34 years in Uganda (Causey, 2011).This was further backed by legal requirements that only a professional sport hunter is supposed to carry out the activity (UWA, 2010).The concession applicant is supposed to provide evidence that their employees are experienced sport hunters and have knowledge of wildlife conservation, possess hunting equipment and that they have a programme aimed at integrating conservation with community livelihood

enhancement(see Annex 2, letter dated 20th January 2010[1]). In fact, during interview with the manager of GTL, he affirmed that sport hunting is being carried out by a professional hunter. He also revealed that as the manager he has qualifications and experience in conservation and professional sport hunting. At community level, the community of Rurambiira was chosen as the pilot sport hunting community based on location factor (Interview 21). They are located right on the Eastern part of the park and it is the closest community to the park (*refer to Figure 3*). The other two communities are located in the northern part of the park. It is also believed that they (Rurambiira community) suffered the most from wildlife losses compared to their counter parts in Rwakanombe and Nyakahita.

"…they had never been able to grow anything like a crop because the animals always feasted on them…they were desperate as they were denied all means of survival and they always complained that they reserve animals for foreigners to view at the cost of their lives" (CWA executive from Rurambiira).

The above quote really shows the dire need that the communities were in to have wild animals removed from their land and better still to be compensated. UWA then along with GTL and RWA set the initial quota based on a limited annual quota of animals considering base line surveys and animal census of 1997-2000 (UWA, 2010). The initial 2001 quota was also approved based on the percentage of the population estimates and the standard recommended off-take of 2-3% (UWA, 2001). Other factors such as birth rate, behavioural, and distribution patterns were also considered (Averbeck undated). However, the data used for this quota was noted to have had standard errors and needed ground truthing to come up with better population estimates (Muhimbura and Namara, 2008). The above quota was however used to test the feasibility of using sport hunting as a tool to improve the strained human-wildlife relations and improve the livelihoods of the local communities (UWA, 2001).

"…since the park was not fenced there was still that movement in and out by animals because it was a national park,…there was still that co-existence between the people and the wildlife. …as land tenure system started changing even the ways of agriculture started

[1] Provisional animal quota for sport hunting in ranches around LMCA: Adopted from UWA records, letter dated 20th January 2010, ref: FOD/138/01/07, Annex 2

changing creating increased conflict between the wildlife and the people. Wildlife on people's property looked as if they were a menace, and there was no way they could survive without them (wild animals) giving value or tangible benefits to people who are living with them on their private land" (park ranger).

The initial pilot project then ended in 2002 and the results were very positive (Interviews 5, 6). Animal population had gone up and community attitudes towards wildlife conservation and park management had improved tremendously (UWA, 2010). However, it must be noted that it is not clear by how much this said population of animals had increased. It was also revealed that much as UWA takes annual censuses, "*locally, people look at how many zebras or buffalos are on their land in comparison to the past years*" to determine increase or decrease in wildlife population on private ranches (Interview 6). Results from the initial quota were shared with other stakeholders at a workshop on management of wildlife outside protected areas in 2002. It was this same workshop that recommended for an extension of the project so that more people can get to understand how it works and the benefits that accrue from it (Muhimbura and Namara, 2008). It should be noted that, the community based on this said "increase" in number of animals to demand for increase in quota allocation in the preceding years. GTL also believe that more animals should be allocated on the quota so as to increase amounts of benefits to the communities. However, this already creates a weakness in allocation of annual quotas since they stand a risk of over utilizing the animals without considering how sustainable their population can support the activity. It also raises a question of whether the same animals counted on private land are not the same animals counted in the park.

Furthermore, the local communities in Rurambiira were also able to build a school at Nyanga village and two dams for watering their animals with money from initial sport hunting revenues (Interview 21). The 2002 evaluation report therefore paved a way for another additional one year pilot project that ended in 20003. By this time, local communities in Rurambiira had started seeing the monetary value of wildlife on their farms and another

community association was formed in Nyakahita in 2003 motivated by the results in Rurambiira and was followed by Rwakanombe association (Muhimbura and Namara, 2003).

"…we can now kill animals outside the park and benefit from them financially because there are people who buy their meat and give us money" (Community member from Rurambiira).

"…they were not expecting that big or small money from the animals and so they were convinced that sport hunting was good…" (Community member from Nyakahita)

The three associations have now been in existence for close to a decade managing the sharing of sport hunting revenues within their respective parishes.

Table 1: Approved hunting quota for June 2001 to June 2002 for Rurambiira Block

SN	Species	*Approved Quota
1	Baboon	15
2	Buffalo	10
3	Bushbuck	10
4	Bushpig	15
5	Duiker	4
6	Eland	7
7	Hippo	6
8	Impala	50
9	Oribi	6
11	Topi	4
12	Reedbuck	5
13	Warthog	14
14	Waterbuck	10
15	Zebra	31

***Quota covered only the Rurambiira Block:Source: Adopted from professional hunting agreement, 2001 between UWA, GTL and Rurambiira Wildlife Association. *The above quota was determined based on the percentage of the population estimates and the standard recommended off-take of 2-3%**

Box 1: Available Wildlife Use Options in Uganda

1. Class A WUR (Sport hunting): Sport/tourist/safari hunting where the benefits include food/protein, trophies, leisure or economic gain. The granting of such use rights depends on viable population of target species and appropriate monitoring and enforcement systems.

2. Class B WUR (Farming) is done under a controlled environment: Class B WUR holder does not require large land unit to implement wildlife farming activities. Breeding stock may be obtained from the wild but with a percentage of the offspring to be returned to the wild as the case for crocodiles. The "farmer" relies on captive breeding to replenish stock. Other than crocodiles, the other current licenses include ostrich farming and butterfly farming.

3. Class C WUR (Ranching): This is generally maintenance and propagation of wildlife in a natural setting on large tracts of land that have been set-aside for that purpose and involves some form of extractive utilization. UWA has already licensed some private sector with land of over 42Km2 to introduce wildlife for economic benefit.

4. Class D WUR (Trade): This is one of the main classes that has been widely implemented in Uganda. This is a direct benefit to individuals involved in the trade of wildlife and wildlife products. Individuals and companies are given licenses to collect various non-endangered wildlife species for export. The wildlife is always collected from areas outside protected areas. Communities benefit directly in that they are involved in the capture and maintenance of the holding grounds. The implementation of this class is also subject to requirements under CITES, other international agreements, and the observance of national standards, regulations, guidelines as well as requirements by the destination country.

5. Class E (Using Wildlife for Research and Educational purposes): All Ugandan students are allowed free entrance into protected areas for educational purposes. In addition Uganda undergraduate students are not charged fees while conducting research in protected areas. Protected areas have continued to provide research opportunities to Ugandan students.

6. Class F Wildlife General Extraction (resource access in protected areas): Communities living near protected areas are allowed to access some resources at no cost on a regulatory basis. Resources accessed by communities vary from protected area to protected area but generally include firewood, fish, medicinal plants, grass, water and handcraft materials among others.

Source: Lamprey et al. (2003)

3.3 Sport hunting as seen from the perspective of a Policy Arrangement Approach (PAA)

This section analyses and explains sport hunting around LMNP from the perspective of PAA. Field data was grouped under the four themes of the PAA as will be discussed below.

3.3.1 Discourse

Theoretically, a discourse consists of three 'layers': ontological, normative and strategic (Therborn, 1980; cited in Wiering and Arts, 2006). The discourse of wildlife management and the losses caused by wildlife is a reflection of the turbulent history of LMCA. Historical

developments presented under 3.2 show that the debates about park-people relationship that the current sport hunting is set to address dates back to early 20th century. Areas with limited human access were created in the former Ankole hunting grounds for the safety of wild animals that were seen to be gradually disappearing from the area. These areas became known as 'protected areas' and any land outside that was 'unprotected area'. 'Protected areas' were created on the premise that rural Africans were 'misusing' the resources at their disposal. This new development led to exclusion of rural people from further debates and access to these 'protected areas'. While some community members retained their land, some animals also remained in the 'unprotected land' and even those animals from the 'protected land' continued to cross to the 'unprotected land' causing damages such as crop loss, disease transmission, livestock loss, infrastructure and human life loss. This later led to the discourse of '*wildlife on private lands'* around LMNP. The situation even became worse in the late 1980s when close to 60% of park land was earmarked and distributed to resettle the landless communities. This resulted into several years of conservation and livelihoods being at crossroads in and around LMNP. The communities close to the LMNP were not able to have meaningful livelihoods as most times their livestock competed with wild animals for pasture and even their food crops got destroyed by wild animals. The community therefore wanted a society free from wild animals and where they would not experience any more losses from wild animals.

"… before LMCA became a national park, all these animals were in the same area and a proportion of the whole area was partly gazetted as a national park and part of it a community area, but the wild animals which were living in the community area were not brought back to the park. Since the park was not fenced, there was, and still is that movement in and out of the park by animals. Later on, as land tenure system started changing, even the ways of agriculture started changing leading to increased conflict between the wildlife and the people and so wildlife on people's property looked as if they were a menace…" (Park official)

"…wild animals disturb the farmers so much that they cannot get food for themselves, no water for their livestock and pasture and when one is not rich enough they cannot survive here…" (Community member)

From the above quotes, the problem of wild animals was presented in a way that depicted that the communities would never be able to grow any food and or have any meaningful livelihoods with wild animals in place. However, it should be realized that wild animals that occupy the now 'private land' were not sensitized about the new changes in wildlife boundaries. They have since continued to roam and graze on 'private land' as if it is still their 'home'. They have also continued to cause losses to the communities and they therefore needed a lasting solution to be able to derive some meaningful livelihoods from the area. Because of the losses caused by wild animals, the communities also started to revenge by killing wild animals through poisoning, poaching and even by destroying the wildlife habitats as they sought land for agriculture and settlement. To make matters worse, wildlife management system at the time never considered community concerns over wildlife. In fact, wildlife management was taken as the sole responsibility of Government. Rangers were militarily trained and deployed around LMNP to deal with any illegal activities towards the wild animals by the Communities. Community members were ruthlessly arrested, imprisoned and even killed for illegally encroaching on wildlife in protected areas. This scenario gradually degenerated into bitter relations between Park and the Communities. They started seeing each other as enemies instead of neighbours and resulted into a lot of discussions to improve this conflict. These discussions then led to formation of Lake Mburo Community Conservation Project (LMCCP), Park management and Advisory Committee (PMACs) and later Community Protected Areas Institution Policy (CPI) (see Namara, 1998).

Using the normative layer of discourse analysis, UWA saw it necessary to come up with means of solving this long standing conflict. The solution to the LMNP-Community problems was deemed to be in shifting from the paradigm of fortress conservation to Community Based Conservation (see Hulme and Murphree, 1999). In order to implement this, UWA through its newly formed programmes i.e. Lake Mburo Community Conservation Project (LMCCP), Park management and Advisory Committee (PMACs) and later Community Protected Areas Institution Policy (CPI) started involving them (local communities) in achieving conservation agenda especially outside protected areas. The communities were encouraged through these programmes to actively participate in handling challenges of

wildlife management. Park Authorities started holding regular meetings with these Committees to get solutions and also started extending benefits to the community through CPI. This was also to encourage positive attitude among the communities towards the park and to make the communities appreciate the importance of the park to them. Another way to handle this challenge was through introduction of WUR (see Box 1) with several use options of which sport hunting is in class A. Here the communities were expected to derive economic benefits in return for the losses from wild animals that invaded communities' property. This would later cause the communities to adapt to living with animals on their farms as opposed to earlier suggestion of returning these animals to the park. UWA also believed that the benefits would eventually improve the livelihoods of these communities. And consequently they would desist from depending on these animals for survival especially those that practiced poaching to supplement their diet.

Furthermore, officially UWA reintroduced sport hunting to achieve the following objectives: to provide incentives to landowners to manage and protect wildlife on their land by giving wildlife as a resource an opportunity to demonstrate its economic value to landowners, to contribute towards reduction of human-wildlife conflict, to change attitude to the communities and to provide lessons and information to guide UWA management (see Box 2).

Box 2: Objectives of the sport hunting pilot project around LMNP

1. Provide incentive to landowners to manage and protect wildlife on their land by giving wildlife as a resource an opportunity to demonstrate its economic value to landowners.
2. Contribute towards reduction of the human-wildlife conflicts among the people surrounding Lake Mburo national park.
3. Positively change the attitude of the residents on ranches towards wildlife and conservation.
4. Provide lesions and information that would guide UWA management in developing guidelines and procedures for implementation of Class A (hunting) wildlife use right as a wildlife management and conservation tool outside protected areas.

Source: Lamprey et al. (2003)

Using the third (strategic) layer of discourse, stakeholders like UWA thought that the most plausible end to this debate was in introducing economic rewards to the communities.

Through piloting sport hunting, it was deemed that the 'ideals' of Community Conservation and Livelihoods would be achieved. Reintroducing sport hunting also meant a change from 'colonial thinking' where conservation was viewed as a 'thing' for Government only to involvement of the Community. Fortress conservation was purported to protect wild species from disappearing from the face of the earth. However it put less concern on the future of the Local Communities. It instead promoted the interests of the rich families who wanted to derive their pleasure from hunting for sport. With the new sport hunting in place, recognition of the role of the community in wildlife management is taken into account. The 'new' sport hunting is therefore based on the principles of neo-liberal thinking (see Hulme and Murphree, 1999). According to neo-liberalism, the market concept is introduced in conservation arena with a dictum that once species are exposed to the market, their uniqueness will lead to high economic values which in turns would enhance their conservation. The economic values derived from incoming visitors would also in turn enhance the livelihoods of the surrounding communities. Because of this, wild animals in the private lands outside LMNP started getting price tagged. And each time sport hunters come, the community gets financial benefits which are used to improve livelihoods.

Apparently, all stakeholders interviewed hold the discourse that sport hunting was reintroduced around LMNP in 2001 to solve wildlife-community conflicts. The Communities wanted all the animals to be returned to the park and have the park fenced. UWA then carried out several field visits to countries within Southern Africa such as Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa and others like Tanzania (Interview 2, 11, 17). It was to try and understand how these countries handle park-community conflicts. The new pilot project aimed at changing the negative attitudes of the communities towards these wild animals into a benign one. This was supposed to be done through involvement of the communities in wildlife management strategies and sharing of financial benefits that accrued from these animals. Furthermore, after introducing sport hunting, the communities perceived it as a means of reducing wildlife from private lands on top of the benefits they received (Interview 10). UWA on the other hand saw it as a means of curbing illegal hunting from private farms on top of rewards to the communities. According to UWA and GTL, when the local people

realized the benefits, they started to control poaching. The communities started reporting illegal hunters to the park authorities (Interview 2, 5, 6, 18, 19, and 29). Interviews conducted also revealed that the numbers of animals have increased outside protected areas due to controlled hunting. The too many animals on private farms are unfortunately becoming a problem to both UWA and the landowners. The communities are once again getting concerned about the risks they face from this increasing number of animals on their livelihoods activities.

"…we were optimistic that it was going to be a channel to raise the money we needed for projects like school infrastructure and the Health Centre, and our hopes were realized. However, two years after the launch of the project, it turned out to be a nightmare when the animals began to leave the park area and invade our community. The zebras, impalas, waterbucks and especially buffaloes devastate our crops and also bring ticks which have infested our exotic breed livestock, causing deaths…we hate these animals" (community member from Rurambiira).

From the above quote, the communities perceived that by accepting sport hunting they would be able to raise money to meet their demands and also reduce the number of animals on their farms. It is also clear that the initial benefits motivated them to accept these animals on their farms. From the interviews conducted, it was also discovered that the benefit that went to the landowners had more potential to secure the safety of the wild animals on private lands. Many of the direct beneficiaries from the landowner's category now allow wild animals to graze on their farms alongside their cattle (Interview 5). It is indeed believed that, landowners suffered more consequences than UWA and other members of the communities. Besides benefits from sport hunting, they have also been allowed access to the park during dry seasons to graze and water their cows, but a license must be secured to get permission (Interviews, 1, 5).

The implementation of the 'new' sport hunting involved a number of stakeholders (see under 3.3.2, Box 3). The involvement of these stakeholders was officially to reduce human-wildlife conflict and change the negative attitude of the communities towards the park and wildlife on private land. However, these stakeholders on different occasions have held

diverging discourses about sport hunting. It is evident from field interviews that sport hunting has not really reduced the human-wildlife conflict. UWA claims that locals now allow animals to graze on their farms, but the communities still hold it that wild animals are still a big threat to them; the communities claim they still lose crops and livestock to wild animals (Interview 21). They are also angered by the fact that they do not receive any compensation from either the park or Game Trail (U) Limited (GTL). They have also pointed that some children were not attending school due to fear of attack by wild animals. The communities further call for park authorities to take back all the animals and fence the park to solve this problem permanently. They also accuse the park of making empty promises to them of returning the animals to the park and not acting (Interview 15, 21, 24). This has even created more hatred among the communities towards wildlife and all stakeholders are being forced to begin thinking of other options to handle the challenge. Possible options are being seen in introducing game ranching, game cropping and maybe giving hunting concession to a second hunting company (Interview 2, 3, 6 & 18)

"The animals have been invading our farms and killings our animals. Buffaloes are very notorious for this....the zebras, impalas, and waterbucks devastate our crops and also bring ticks which have infested our exotic breed livestock, causing deaths…we hate these animals. They even attack and hurt the locals, sometimes even killing them. Unfortunately, neither the park authorities nor Kaka have any form of compensation for the victims of such attacks…The authorities then promised to come and shift about 100 Zebras and some Impalas to Queen Elizabeth National Park, but it has been five years since the promise was made and no action has been taken to that effect" (community member from Rurambiira)..

"…we came up with a resolution to go to the government so that they can take back the animals in the park, after writing to them a letter, we were then called for a meeting in Kampala with the government officials who then promised to take back the animals in the park as they look for the money to fence it off but they have not yet fully answered our requests" (another community member from Nyakahita).

These quotes from the communities make it clear that much as sport hunting was perceived to change the attitude of the communities towards wild animals, greater losses are still

caused by these animals to the communities. Interviews with GTL and UWA also reveal that wild animals are still a problem to the community. But what remains to be asked is, if these animals continue to cause problems to the communities, what do they (UWA) intend to do to permanently solve this problem. Furthermore, local communities perceived that sport hunting would reduce the number of animals on their farms. To the communities, this has not been achieved. They also thought that UWA would pay them monthly for the damages from wildlife as opposed to the current system where they only get paid when an animal is fell on one's farm (Interview 25).

"…people thought that the park would pay them some money monthly because one can have over one thousand zebras in a farm, so if you grow crops sometimes you spend the whole night hitting jerricans just to scare the animals a way of which they are not doing because the animals spoil crops and all pasture is finished" (Community member from Nyakahita).

Interviews with UWA and GTL also reveal that the number of wild animals has been increasing in the last decade which is a good indicator ecologically to UWA and conservationists. They however maintain that sport hunting should not be looked at as a means of providing only benefits to the community, but also as conservation tool. They want to see the community continue to benefit from these wild animals but they are also interested in seeing that these animals are safe outside national park boundaries.

"Sport hunting in general can conserve the animals: one because of policing. Wildlife habitat is very big and the key player UWA is a limited entity and maynot cover all places where there is wildlife. But when you involve sport hunting, it puts in the emphasis of incentives (adding values to animals) so that everybody who participates benefits directly or indirectly and at the same time they conserve…" (Respondent from industry)

The quote from GTL suggests that they realize that UWA cannot control illegal hunting single handedly but would require the cooperation of all stakeholders. It also acknowledges the potential of sport hunting to contribute to livelihoods changes as well as conserving the wild animals outside protected areas. This is backed by the fact that communities who have

received direct benefits show a more positive attitude towards wildlife outside protected areas than their counterparts who have not.

As part of the neo-liberal agenda, sport hunting is supposed to extend financial gains to all stakeholders and especially the communities who suffer losses caused by wild animals. However, sport hunting initially started with its own challenges of unequal sharing of benefits. The landowners who are the target of neo-liberal thinking were not considered during initial allocation of benefit sharing percentages (see Table 3). Landowners were excluded because it was believed that they would benefit from the Community Wildlife Association (CWA) pool. However, there emerged an argument; landowners believed that stakeholders like UWA were getting a larger percentage than them. They believe that UWA just like CPI does not bear the costs of these wild animals directly like them. This argument caused changes in revenue distribution percentages as can be seen from the following percentages indicated in Table 3. Interestingly, this is still a debatable issue among the stakeholders with landowners still advocating for a revision of this revenue allocation percentages. They actually demand that stakeholders like CPI be scrapped off from the list of beneficiaries because they do not see much benefit they get from CPI.

"…what we agreed upon is not really working for us and we want a change. We want the percentage to the landowners to be increased and reduce percentages to UWA and Local Government. CPI should be scrapped off because since we started contributing money to CPI, they have not done anything for us except constructing a small house for a doctor that doubles as a health centre" (Community member from Rurambiira).

However, on the overall, the majority of the communities are happy with sport hunting so far. They appreciate that sport hunting has brought tangible benefits to their communities in terms of physical structures and financial benefits (Interview 5, 6, 11, 13, 21). They also believe that the terms of sharing benefits are well stipulated and they are appreciative.

"I think the working terms are very clear. We work well with Kaka. He pays the associations depending on where he has hunted. If he gets game from Nyakahita, payment is made to

Nyakahita Wildlife Association and when he gets from Rurambirira, he does the same (...) Some money is also demarcated for Uganda Wildlife Association (UWA) and some for the Local Government" (community member from Rurambiira).

The above quotation is indicative that the communities appreciate the solution brought by the 'new' sport hunting. They also allude to the fact that working relations with UWA and GTL have improved. They also confirm that they are participating in sport hunting decisions (see under 3.3.2). However, it can be drawn that although the stakeholders generally like the solutions to human-wildlife conflict in sport hunting, the whole process of implementation is still debated. The communities still do not see 'real' change in their view from sport hunting. Ontologically, the problems caused by wild animals outside LMNP have not been solved by sport hunting. Local communities still see these animals as a threat to their livelihoods activities. They complain of increasing number of wildlife outside protected areas and claim they lose crops, livestock and even sometimes lives are lost due to animal attacks. Much as it is within the confines of community conservation to involve the local communities in all decisions and sharing of benefits from sport hunting, initial implementation of this project has been partly exclusive. It is apparent that landowners were left out on the initial list of direct beneficiaries. The landowners even still claim that the park authorities have not come up with any meaningful ways to compensate those who suffer losses by wild animals. They also continue to see that the 'solution' to the problem of wildlife outside protected areas is in returning all the animals to the park and fencing off the park boundaries. The neo-liberal approach brought in community conservation also has its own flaws. It works on the assumption that once species are in the market, they will automatically attract revenue to the communities. This has not been the case. The clients who come for sport hunting have preference for certain hunting environments and not others. For example they prefer hunting in areas known for wilderness experience. They are also inclined to pay higher prices for some animal species than others. This approach also fails to account for cultural differences in the world. For example, communities around LMNP attach more values to cows than wildlife and would rather have cows than wild animals on their farms. All these

factors when put together plus others can determine the success of any community wildlife project in delivering financial returns under neo-liberal approach.

3.3.2 Actors and their Coalitions

Actors in a nature policy (sport hunting) are individuals or organizations involved in a nature site (LMNP) (Van der Zouwen, 2006). They are analyzed based on 'actor constellation', 'interaction patterns' and 'coalitions and oppositions' (Marsh & Rhodes, 1992; Godfroij & Nelissen, 1993; Kickert et al., 1997; cited in Wiering and Arts, 2006). In this thesis, several actors have been identified to be involved in sport hunting issues around LMNP from the time of its inception to implementation (see Box 3 for Summary of forefront stakeholders and their roles). In trying to promote a smooth interaction patterns, Key players such as Nature Uganda (NU) a civil society organization has been at the forefront in creating awareness to the larger public in Uganda about sport hunting on how it has been implemented and managed. They have done this through public debates and writing of articles in news papers and at times they call researchers to present findings on sport hunting and the public get to debate on unclear issues on the project (Interview 1, also see Jordahl, 2010).The debates organized by NU has indeed created more awareness about sport hunting in Uganda and more interactions and involvement of people are now beginning to show especially on following ongoing issues and is improving the management system. UWA has also encouraged the involvement of other stakeholders so that they can get views that can promote successful operation of sport hunting. These stakeholders (especially CWAs representatives) also bring back the views from UWA to their association members and the larger communities. This has been noted to be encouraging a smooth and constant flow of information. This is especially made possible by the fact that UWA encouraged and supported formation of Community Wildlife Associations that represent local interests, involved private sector through granting concession to GTL and also by working hand in hand with local government (CPI) to run the affairs of sport hunting.

"…everyone who has land around the park is a member of the association, but the leaders, we chose those who are familiar with the government leaders and can work on our issues

and the district committee which gets back to the sub counties and later to parishes" (Association executive from Nyakahita).

Further still, when it comes to problem solving, UWA and the local communities have resorted to use of dialogue to come to an understanding. They now hold regular meetings with the communities to discuss issues affecting their relations and then they reach a consensus through voting (see Plates 1 & 2). Where they fail to reach an agreement, matters are always referred to local government level for further mediation. For example, in Rwakobo village Akayanja-Nombe II, a committee was formed in 2008 to help local people raise their voices, at the same time UWA uses this association to help in handling cases where illegal grazers come and settle in the park. In Rurambiira parish, it was discovered that stakeholders use a "triangle of concession" to solve problems and to promote smooth interaction patterns (Interview 11). In this 'triangle', both the community and the local government are at the bottom; when matters are raised, it is discussed with the community leaders and local government representatives where an agreement is reached and then they call UWA to come and sit with them for further discussion. This according to some stakeholders is promoting transparency and sharing of ideas especially where park officials also depend on the communities to get suggestions that can simplify their work. Furthermore, it is also one of the mandates of CPI to facilitate dialogue between the communities and UWA. However, amidst all this, the community still accuses UWA of neglecting their pleas. They also accuse their community representatives of conniving with UWA and not representing their interests. On top of that they point lack of frequent meetings as a challenge to their smooth interaction and benefit sharing.

"…the best we can do is raise issues and forward them to UWA, but they have not done anything yet…we have not had meetings in over a year. Morale has gone down and UWA does not call us anymore for dialogues" (community member from Rurambiira).

"Sometimes they hold meetings but information is only kept in the association so people like me who are not members will never get to know what goes on" (another community member from Nyakahita).

From the above quotes, the communities raise the fact that much as there is dialogue and regular meetings, UWA still takes and upper hand in implementation of decisions. This also means that a lot of community views can be left unattended to. In fact, during fieldwork, one of the concerned community members asked me why we (researchers) disturb them that we are collecting their views about sport hunting and yet we do not help them in any way to get their views to UWA. He went ahead to say that we just do research for our personal gains and not to present their concerns. Their concern is that whatever they suggest to UWA should be responded to. For example they bitterly raise cases where they suggested to UWA to fence the park and UWA has not responded until now.

At governmental level, sport hunting has brought together institutions like National Environment Management Association-NEMA, MTTI-CITES, UWA, Ministry of Land Water and Environment, Ministry of Agriculture, Uganda Export Promotions Board, Uganda National Council for Science and Technology, Uganda Investment Authority, Local government-CPI etc working to achieve the objectives of sport hunting and above all to manage wildlife and trade in wildlife related products. A Wildlife User Right Committee (WURC) has also been formed to check the activities of all stakeholders. WURC is a multidisciplinary committee composed of wildlife biologist, researchers, veterinary doctors and social scientists that is responsible for guiding and facilitating implementation of the wildlife use rights programme (NEMA & MTTI, 2008). This committee is guided by the following objectives:

- To ensure that wildlife utilisation is in conformity with the existing national and international social-economic, legal and ecological environment.
- To ensure that UWA's vision and mission of conservation does not adversely affect the communities and Private Sector interests to natural resource use

In order to achieve the above objectives, the WURC (see Box 4 & 5 for composition and specific terms of reference for the WUR Committee) works hand in hand with local communities from the parishes of Rurambiira, Nyakahita and Rwakanombe and their Association Representatives who are vehicles for community involvement and advocacy.

WURC also closely monitors benefit sharing in the three parishes. This committee also encourages the culture of transparency and accountability for any decisions taken. Furthermore, WURC uses an inter-disciplinary approach to arrive at informed decisions based on advice from members and ensure co-operation and participation between different departments and stakeholders (see Box 3). This Committee also monitors the sharing of benefits among the communities as well as ensuring that there is proper accountability and transparency among the stakeholders.

Box 3: Forefront Stakeholders and their roles in Sport Hunting around LMNP

Game Trails (U) Ltd

- Carry out professional hunting in the project area
- Record hunting activities on daily basis and submit the data to UWA for quarterly analysis
- Providing quarterly operational reports
- Enforce wildlife laws on the clients and ensure that personnel they employ abide by the law
- Ensure that animals wounded by clients were humanely handled and accounted for
- Maintain appropriate camping facilities for clients, in the hunting blocks where necessary

UWA

- Grant use-right and license professional hunters
- Monitor the professional hunter's activities and advising accordingly
- Determine the animal and area booking fees -in consultation with the professional hunter and the community association
- Conduct wildlife management related training for community association members - together with the professional hunter
- Control illegal hunting in the project area
- Build capacity among stakeholders to monitor and evaluate the project operations

Local Government (Local Councils and Sub-County Adminstration)

- Facilitate registration and legalization of the associations
- Provide guidance and support to the project to ensure sustainable utilisation of wildlife
- Assist in policing and monitoring illegal activities in the project area

Commuinity Wildlife Assocations (CWAs)

- Ensure wildlife within the hunting blocks is protected against illegal hunting through participating in policing and monitoring of project activities
- Report instances of poaching
- Ensure land use practices that are consistent with promotion of wildlife conservation
- secure protection of clients and employees of the professional hunter while within their hunting block – working together with local authorities
- Keep proper books of accounts and granting UWA access thereto
- Provide information to the professional hunter and UWA on the status and distribution of wildlife within the hunting blocks

Community Protected Area Institutions (CPI)

- Ensure project activities are integrated into local government (sub-county and district) development plans
- Facilitate dialogue and conflict resolution
- Represent local community interests and concerns with regard to wildlife conservation
- Mobilise local people to support project implementation

Source: UWA, 2008; NEMA & MTTI, 2008

Box 4: Composition of WUR Committee

- Director Conservation Senior Monitoring and Research Coordinator
- Community Conservation Coordinator
- Conservation Area Manager- Lake Mburo Conservation Area
- Adonia Bintora-Mt. Elgon Conservation Area
- One representative from CITES Management Authority (MTTI)
- One Represenative from Makerere University Institute of Environment and Natural Resources
- One Private Sector (Breeders and Exporters) Representative
- One Private Sector (Professional Hunting) Representative
- Representative from Uganda Wildlife Society (Non-Governmental Organization)

Source: UWA, 2010

Box 5: Specific terms of reference for WUR Committee

- Initiate policies on Wildlife Use Rights
- Provide technical advise and backstopping to UWA on Wildlife Use Rights
- Monitor and review performance of wildlife use right program
- Set and allocate annual Wildlife utilisation quotas

Source: UWA, 2010

Actor coalition was also observed to be present especially among the community associations, UWA, CPI and GTL. All of them have come together to promote the objectives of sporting hunting; to provide incentives to landowners to manage and protect wildlife on their land by giving wildlife as a resource an opportunity to demonstrate its economic value to landowners, to contribute towards reduction of human-wildlife conflict, to change attitude to the communities and to provide lessons and information to guide UWA management (see Box 2). UWA and CPI play the legal role but also work hand in hand with the community representatives especially when it comes to patrol and monitoring of illegal activities from the communities. Also, all the three parishes formed CWAs based on criteria of landownership and they work together to promote their interests because they believe

that they suffer from most of the consequences of wildlife related losses. These CWAs have also gone ahead to form an umbrella association to strengthen their bargaining power in as far as benefits from wildlife and their livelihoods are concerned.

"we have a good working relationship…we are working with poachers to promote sport hunting and also ensure that they benefit from sport hunting…in fact now they are fighting poaching, only that because of different backgrounds, some fear that since wildlife population is growing, the area may be turned into a park so some have developed a negative attitude that they may again be chased from the area…" (Respondent from industry)

"I think the working terms are very clear. We work well with Kaka. He pays the associations depending on where he has hunted. If he gets game from Nyakahita, payment is made to Nyakahita Wildlife Association and when he gets from Rurambirira, he does the same. Some money is also demarcated for Uganda Wildlife Association (UWA) and some for the Local Government" (respondent from community Rurambiira)

From the two quotations above, various coalitions among the stakeholders seem to have improved the working relations by drawing from the efforts and wisdom of different stakeholders to promote conservation and livelihoods activities around LMNP. Several stakeholders have already been identified to be playing complementary roles **(**see under 3.3.2, Box 3) in promoting conservation outside protected areas. The communities themselves have also had a change in attitude towards wildlife; many of the former poachers are now helping to report illegal hunters in the area. Some have even abandoned poaching and taken up employment with UWA and GTL to earn a living. In general, they have joined the coalition of stakeholders working to end illegal hunting.

However, it is also interesting to note that there are already some elements of oppositions among stakeholders involved in sport hunting. Because of the ongoing awareness about sport hunting around LMNP and across the country, different groups and individuals have risen to criticize the implementation of sport hunting. They for example largely accuse UWA and CWAs of lacking transparency, accountability and a strong management system and for

being corrupt. They mention that UWA is 'easily corrupted' and tend to favour other people than others (Interviews 18, 20, 25). The communities especially cite incidences where rangers arrest poachers and illegal grazers but then they end up being released without being prosecuted. This is said to happen when rangers receive bribes from the culprits. Further still, the community also accuses influential people in their communities of having spies among the rangers at LMNP who report to them when and where UWA plans to carry out operation against poachers and illegal grazers. The communities also further accuse UWA of letting big people in government and their relatives to freely graze in the park and government ranches. They question why they are arrested when they try to graze in the park and are asked to pay a fine which is usually between 50, 000 to 100, 000 UGX, and yet other people are never arrested and do not get to pay these fines. This was noted to be causing defiance among other members of community to start illegal hunting and grazing in the park surrounding areas. This kind of scenario will most likely have an impact on game population on private lands.

"Like you know corruption is all over here…they allow government officials and their relatives to graze in the park and government ranch illegally and local people are arrested. This is even causing more local people to go in the park to look for where to graze…" (Respondent from Nyakahita)

The game rangers don't care, because there are many animals in peoples farms but they cannot come down to the villagers and ask what the problem is, but villagers have started hunting the animals down…without a license but they hunt normally wild pigs because they over destroy peoples crops…but even the sport hunter may not hunt the animal which destroys the crops but the village hunters look for that animal which destroys crops…" (Community member from Rurambiira)

"…when we started sport hunting, they were saying that the population is very low…because they were not protected then they said they have rangers…they have rangers but they don't have an interest in conservation and this is leading to reduction in the game population…but now the population has increased…" (Respondent from industry)

These quotes from both GTL and community seem to suggest a strong weakness on the side of UWA, the implementing authority. UWA needs to have stronger working relations with the communities to manage sport hunting and also needs to distance itself from the circus of corruption.

Because of the ongoing 'weaknesses' in UWA and CWAs, a new umbrella association has been formed since September 2010 by the Kampala elites. This group largely comprises influential figures in government and those who own huge chunks of land around LMNP. Their main objective is to bring all the existing CWAs under one umbrella. This group is also formed to manage all the revenue from sport hunting in one pool and it is said they will be responsible for budgeting for all the parishes, as well as monitor their activities and general streamlining of sport hunting operations. They are to do this by checking issues of accountability and transparency which was cited to be lacking in most of the associations. However, the motive for forming this association has been questioned by some section of the community and GTL. They state that this association is not focused on livelihoods improvement. It is claimed that their aim is to make GTL lose its concession since the management of GTL is not from their community. Better still, they want GTL to pay more money to be granted another concession to operate (Interview 19). The community also believes that this association just wants to get ways of taking away money from them and instead promote more corruption since they did not vote for the members and they will not directly be reporting to them (Interviews 2, 18, 21). This is however contrary to the UWA document dated 26th April 2010 stating that ranches owners agreed that they need to be organized into one association that can address their problems to UWA (UWA, 2010).

"*…there are those who think what GTL is doing they can do it better, not because they want to conserve but because of the monetary values and the benefits…they have a negative attitude and some have started forming new associations…writing in the press that sport hunting is bad…if people could understand sport hunting then they would support it but the problem is, they see sport hunting as a money making business and they do not see other things like conservation in it...*" *(Respondent from industry)*

"Am not happy with sport hunting because the people who handle our money eat it…they disappear with our money…" (Respondent from community Rwakanombe)

"…the association was formed illegally, we didn't know much about it, we just saw the association in place, I even wonder why the government doesn't fence the game park because they are the ones to gain from tourists" (Another community member Nyakahita)

From the above quotes, it is clear that much as the new umbrella association may have been formed with a clear motive of rectifying the wrongs of the existing three CWAs, there are those who are skeptical about its underlying motives. Some members of the communities rather prefer to have the old associations in place than the new one. They point to the fact that this new association comprises of high profile figures; some of who are government officials who own larger chunks of land and they suspect that these individuals may overshadow their interests and redirect the money for community activities for their personal gains.

All in all, stakeholder interactions seem so much to rotate around power/authority and access/ownership to/of resources. For example when it comes to issues of sustainability of wildlife outside protected areas, sharing economic profit, how hunting is to be conducted by the sport hunting company, and general attitude of the stakeholders, the views of the people vary. In terms of animal sustainability and conservation, it is normally UWA that takes an upper hand to determine the statistics of animals through conducting animal census and then determines how many can be hunted in a quota. At the community level, it is interesting to note that the landowners seem to disregard the non landowners on account that they do not lose anything to these wild animals (Interview 21, 25, 26).

"The association comprises land owners. This is because it is them that are affected by the animals. A squatter or tenant may not have so much to lose as compared to owners of large farms" (Community member Rurambiira).

"…they don't own land and this sport hunting work with people who own land and the animals are just destroying their farms…those are the ones who should benefit according to our constitution…" (Association executive Nyakahita)

The owning of land around LMNP seems to be one of the greatest resources that one can own now with sport hunting in place. If anyone from the community is to have influence in the running of sport hunting, then it is evident that they should be holding land. They (non landowners) have therefore been excluded from landowners associations and they can only benefit from the social services put up by the CWAs. The landowners have even on many occasions accused non landowners of sabotaging their plea to have all animals returned to the park and having the park fenced on account that they were not consulted during the formation of associations and are therefore not benefiting from sport hunting (Interview 26). It is also interesting to note that landowners have also gone against fellow landowners. It is claimed that only the popular landowners are actually benefiting much from the landowners' category. Even when it comes to distributing of acaricides, still it is they who are given priority (Interview 25). Landowners also claim that all animals should be returned to the park and have the park fenced on account that giving money to the associations is not of much benefit to them since the association does not lose anything but the farmer. And that the farmer should share the biggest portion of the revenue (Interview 15).

"The community is asking the government to take back the animals to the national park because the land on which they live belongs to the people…we also suggested to the government that they should fence off the park land so that when an animal is got on community land we then invite the sport hunter and raise up the prices other than giving the money to the associations yet they don't lose anything but the farmer, and if they are to share the biggest portion should go to the farmer" (Community member Nyakahita).

In summary, the working relations among the stakeholders seem smooth as they now hold meetings and reach concession on matters concerning them. UWA also admits that their relation has improved over time especially now that the community can allow wild animals to graze on their land and also go ahead and report to them illegal hunters and residents in the park. However, this is marred with lots of accusations and counter accusations. Issues such as lack of transparency, accountability in allocation of quota, equal sharing of benefits and corruption still top on list of matters that need to be dealt with in sport hunting if it is to continue successfully running and delivering the intended benefits to the communities.

3.3.3 Rules of the Game

Rules as elaborated under 2.2.2 consist of legislations, procedures and political culture. They define how the game should be played and marks the boundaries. Sport hunting in Uganda for example is being carried out in accordance with the CITES rules and regulations alongside article 237(2) of the 1995 constitution of the Republic of Uganda and the local government Act of 1997. These rules stipulate the species of animals that should be hunted in Uganda and who should hunt them and what time of the day (only during the day) and where (only outside the park) they should be hunted. For example, it is provided within the sport hunting guidelines that only a professional hunter carries out the activity and a registered professional sport hunting company in the name of Game Trails Uganda Limited (GTL) has been granted the concession. Furthermore, Sport hunting around LMNP is being guided by other set rules by the actors and all the activities involved are being monitored by UWA in accordance with the CITES rules and regulations guided by MTTI. For example, these other set rules stipulate how much money should be charged per animal (see Table 2) and in what percentages the accrued revenue should be shared among the stakeholders involved (see Table 3). Furthermore, it also requires that GTL works in collaboration with CWAs (Rurambira, Nyakahita and Rwakanombe Associations) and the Local Government to implement sport hunting on both private and government ranches around LMNP (also refer to Box 3 stipulating roles of actors).

Table 2: Animal prices charged since 2001

Animal	Animal Fees		
	2001	2006	2008
Baboon	90	90	90
Buffalo	600	650	900
Bushbauck	250	300	500
Bushpig	150	150	150
Duiker	130	150	200
Eland	600	650	800
Hippo	500	500	600
Impala	250	300	350
Leopard	NA	NA	3,500
Oribi	150	150	300

Reedbuck	250	300	400
Topi	350	400	650
Warthog	250	300	350
Waterbuck	500	550	600
Zebra	500	500	550

Source: Muhimbura and Namara, 2008

Table 3: Percentage of revenue share since 2001 by stakeholders

Stakeholders	**Percentage share**		
	2001	**2003**	**2008**
Wildlife Association	65	65	45
UWA	25	15	15
Land Owner	0	10	30
CPI	5	5	5
Sub-county	5	5	5

Source: UWA, 2008

Further still, a yearly sport hunting quota is proposed and approved by the government before GTL brings in clients to hunt (see Table 4 for 2010 quota)**.** Conditions for implementation are also set such as; GTL submitting application for hunting permit before the start of hunting, providing evidence of employees experience in sport hunting, possession of right hunting equipment, providing a separate report for each sport hunting safari conducted with specific information per client to the CITES Management Authority (MTTI) while applying for CITES Export permit, providing quarterly reports on the company hunting activities, collection, maintenance and submission of hunting records to UWA after every hunting expedition that must include trophy measurement. GTL is also required to use sport hunting safari data sheet designed by UWA for recording such information as: date of hunting, hunting block, species hunted and its sex, number hunted, and the trophy value plus other information such as; name of the land owner and the percentages of income distribution (see Appendix 3). Further still, GLT permits unrestricted access to the company premises for inspection by UWA staff, and above all abides with conservation laws and

tourist hunting regulations around LMNP. Other strict rules include hunting of only male species within the provided hunting quota for every year and hunting of juvenile males and female tantamounting to cancellation of hunting permit by UWA (see UWA letter dated 20th January 2010, Annex 2[2]). However, this law is contested by the community who believe that hunting of only male species creates room for easy multiplication of animals on their farms.

"Kaka has been hunting only male animals and leaving the females…he takes the older males and leaves the young ones with a higher mating ability…this method should be revised to help curb the problem of too many animals " (community member Rurambiira)

The above quote indicates that stakeholders like GTL are adhering to the stipulated rules of engagement. It is required that only males and older animals be hunted and that young ones and females are left for reproduction. This will help to maintain the population outside protected areas other than having indiscriminate hunting which can end up depleting all the population within a short time.

Table 4: Provisional quota (class A) 2010 for Ranches around LMCA to Game Trails (U) Ltd

NO.	Common Name	Provisional Quota	Animal Fee (USD)	Remark
1	Baboon	20	20	Vermin
2	Buffalo	30	900	
3	Bushbuck	25	500	
4	Bushpig	30	150	Vermin
5	Duiker	15	200	
6	Eland	8	800	
7	Impala	80	350	
8	Topi	7	650	
9	Warthog	20	350	
10	Waterbuck	20	600	
11	Zebra	100	550	
12	Oribi	5	300	
13	Sitatunga	2	1500	

[2] Provisional animal quota for sport hunting in the ranches around LMCA : Adopted from UWA records, letter dated 20th January 2010, ref: FOD/138/01/07, Annex 2

14	Hippo	10	600	Only problem animals
15	Leopard	4	5000	Only problem animals

Source: Adopted from UWA records, letter dated 20th January 2010, ref: FOD/138/01/07, Annex 1

Politically, the culture of managing wildlife has changed over the years in Uganda. While government was seen as the centre of authority in managing wildlife, (as in the case of fortress conservation, Hulme and Murphree, 1999) the role of civil societies and local communities is increasingly being recognized by conservationists around LMNP. The local communities are now recognized as part and parcel of wildlife management system in Uganda. They also admit that the park authorities have consented to use of dialogue as a mechanism to improve their relations and also recognize their participation (role) in discussing conservation challenges and they are always asked to raise their views which the park takes into account(Interview 3, 10, 21, 27). These activities are being facilitated by the Community Conservation Department (CCD) in LMNP. As testimony to this, during fieldwork, the researcher attended two meetings; one at Kakagate Primary School on the 10/12/2010 and another at Rwakobo Village Akayanja-Nombe II on the 07/01/2011(see Plate 1 & 2). These meetings were between Park Authorities; community conservation (CC) department and pastoralists communities aimed at promoting harmonious coexistence between the two parties. Issues of rights and access to the park during dry seasons were discussed and the park also asked the community leaders to report all illegal grazers in the park, and members of the communities unanimously agreed to do (Interview 5 and Field observation). The communities have also been motivated by the park to report illegal hunters through giving of some transport refunds and airtime fee if they report and the poachers are arrested. The amount however varies depending on the distance, and the means of transport the reporter uses, since it is not documented anywhere that they should receive compensation (Interview 5, 10).

Plate 1: Meeting between Park officials and Local Communities at Kakagate Primary School

Source: Field Research

Plate 2: Meeting between Park officials and Local Communities at Rwakobo Village Akayanja-Nombe II

Source: Field Research

Community Wildlife Associations (CWAs) such as Rurambiira, Nyakahita and Rwakanombe have been formed to encourage local participation (role) and right to access to sport hunting benefits. GTL is required to work with these associations in carrying out its activities since they are the landowners where sport hunting takes place. They also guide GTL on places where there is urgent need for hunting **(**in the cases of problem animals) as well as reporting any illegal hunters in their communities. It is however the primary role of UWA to manage all the sport hunting activities outside protected areas and assisted by Local Government and the communities. They do so by granting a yearly hunting quota as well as going ahead to monitor the off-take in this quota. It is also to ensure that no off-take is done outside the allotted quota and species. They also by sensitize the communities on the benefits of having wildlife outside protected areas.

Furthermore, it is also required by the current institutional reform in Uganda that any form of wildlife use concession being granted to an individual or organization, the individual or organisation must work hand in hand with the local communities. Some of these reforms are addressed in the Guidelines for Revenue Sharing around Protected Areas (UWA, 2000a), the Community-Protected Area Institution Policy (UWA 2000b), Strategy for Problem Animal Management and Vermin Control (UWA, 2001) and the Strategy on Collaborative Management (UWA, 2000c) (Blomley and Namara, 2003). In accordance with the requirements of Collaborative Wildlife Management Policy, Local communities must be allowed access to natural resources and they must share in the benefits accruing from natural resource utilization within their communities. The community is therefore being given priority in accessing employment in new ventures directly and also at times through supply of food items if it is a restaurant or hotel. GTL for example directly employs 13 people from the communities in service provision some of whom are ex poachers (Interview 18).

3.3.4 Resources

As operationalised under 2.2.4, resources refer to power relations. Power relations are determined by actors' ability to access, possession or mobilize and allocate resources and to

influence decision making (Wiering and Arts, 2006). Examples of resources mobilised and allocated by actors include finances (money), authority, knowledge, political, technology, land, or belonging to an association (in this case CWA) and culture etc (Wiering and Arts, 2006). In this thesis, power refers to the ability of stakeholders to dominate public debate on sport hunting. Their relations range from independence to interdependence among stakeholders with regard to resources access and sharing of benefits. The involvement of the CWAs and Landowners in sport hunting portrays an element of interdependence among stakeholders in sport hunting. It is above all a sign of a shift from bi-and/or multilateral management to a "Mixilateral" system of management (UWA, Annex 11, in Nyiramahoro, 2002). The local communities have been noted to own one of the major resources for the survival of sport hunting, Land (Interview 5). It is on local communities' land (ranches) where wild animals graze and therefore they ought to be included in every decision making about sport hunting because their action can greatly affect its operation.

Further still, local people and local culture also provides one of the greatest resources that can achieve both the goals of community conservation as well as improve the livelihoods of the people. The communities around LMNP have a very positive culture that has favoured conservation and survival of wild animals outside protected areas. In the Bahima culture, eating of wild meat is forbidden and so they distance themselves from illegal hunting for meat (Interview 9).

"Our culture doesn't allow us to eat wild animals so all we are doing is protecting them from poachers" (community member from Rwakanombe)

It is further argued by UNESCO, that culture is the very substratum of all human activities because humans derive their meaning and value from it (UNESCO, 2009). This culture can also be used to achieve livelihoods change and development at a wider level. It is further argued that cultural diversity is not simply an asset to be preserved but a resource to be promoted, with particular regard to its potential benefits (UNESCO, 2009). The culture of the original inhabitants (the Bahima) for example has been at the forefront in favouring conservation of wild animals outside protected areas' boundaries. As pointed earlier, the Bahima tradition does not condone eating of wild meat. They see no need of killing wild

animals to supplement their diet. They depend on their cows for meat. They also point out that the people who hunt in their communities are actually the migrants from other areas who do not share the same tradition with them. They also affirm that when animals became many on their farms, they did invite hunters from other regions such as Buganda, Tooro etc who eat wild meat. This also makes it complex as whether the meat that is left behind by the sport hunters actually supplements the diet of the locals. It is clear here that the people who benefit from this meat are actually people from other cultures and they do not own land around LMNP and therefore do not suffer any losses from these animals. In fact, during field visits to Rurambiira, it was revealed that at times the meat is buried in the bushes or left unattended and ends up causing bad stench to the communities. They actually blame GTL for this. They claim animals like Zebras are not even preferred by the communities that feed on this wild meat and in most cases it is left in the bushes if not buried and the stench disturbs the community.

Other stakeholders like UWA, Local Government are seen to have the financial resources, political power and technical competence to enforce laws that govern sport hunting, but still, they also need the 'good will' of the local people to support their activities. However, this "good will" can only be guaranteed if local people are assured of direct rewards (benefits) from sport hunting. Civil Societies like Nature Uganda (NU) also have technical know-how and can influence sport hunting through organizing forums for public debates to disseminate information and create public awareness about sport hunting and its benefits. In fact, NU has earned itself credit for exposing some of the 'loopholes' within sport hunting that the public did not know. NU has also acclaimed itself as the only party that is neutral at this point in sport hunting debates (Interview 1) and of course leaving aside issues such as; they (NU) also having hidden agenda/motive in these debates. GTL is a stakeholder with financial resources that has been invested in operation of the activity and they have the technical know-how in running conservation activities (and especially sport hunting activity). They have employed professional hunters to run this activity in Uganda and also employ other people in service provision at their camp. Generally speaking, stakeholders in Uganda's sport hunting are interdependent and have complementing roles (see Box 3) that ensure successful sport hunting and continued benefits. They for example came up with

percentages to share revenue that accrue from sport hunting and they all agreed to these percentages (see Table 3) and is having positive economic impact in the surrounding communities.

What is interesting to note about resource ownership, access and utilization is that it affects how benefits are shared and consequently the livelihoods of the local communities. On issues concerning allocation of quota and prices per animal, it was done at first by GTL who proposed and sent it to UWA for approval. UWA in consultation with MTTI and other stakeholders like WURC then made comments and recommendations before it was passed. It is even more interesting to note all this was done with little or no input from the communities. Because of these initial procedures, land owners were left out on the initial revenue sharing percentages and yet they owned the land where animals grazed and had reported several complaints about these wild animals causing damages to their farms. The communities realized that they own one the valuable resources (land) of which sport hunting survives. Without landowners' input, it would have probably been hard for this project to last for long and bring the benefits that people now enjoy. This caused the changes in the initial revenue sharing percentages, animal quota and initial prices set. Therefore, it has substantially improved the income levels of the local communities and consequently their livelihoods. However, the communities still continue to press for more animals to be included on the quota and also for an increase in the prices tagged per animal.

3.4 Discussion and Conclusion on PAA around LMNP

The preceding analysis of sport hunting around LMNP exposes elements of stakeholders' involvement and participation in the entire sport hunting process. The four elements of PAA (Discourse, Actors, Rules of the game and Resources) were used during the analysis. A brief discussion is here provided for each of the four elements with a conclusion on the chapter.

It is evident that so many stakeholders have been involved in sport hunting debates around LMNP. However, there is little sensitization and awareness on the side of the communities. They still call for a need for more mobilization and having strong committees to implement whatever they suggest or plan. The reason for this arises from cases where association

committees have been elected and they fail to mobilize their people to be sensitized about sport hunting and its benefits. Cases were cited where executives meet only as executives and they don't inform the communities of what is taking place. This is known to be affecting smooth flow of information and interaction patterns with other stakeholders like UWA and GTL. CPI however has tried to promote these interaction patterns through small sensitization workshops they organize and also through financing small projects within the communities by putting in place a small budget under conservation fund where they give small tokens of compensation to those who lose their crops or animals to wildlife. They also together with UWA facilitate a programme called Rwabarata Revenue Sharing Scheme-where a track is available at LMNP headquarters to ferry water and firewood to individual homes in case of a party or funeral occurrences. This has been noted to be a good sign of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) on the side of UWA and CPI. However, the activities of CPI are hampered by her small budget making it to have very minimal in such a big community. For example, between 2001 and 2007, CPI was only able to earn 14, 120 USD from sport hunting (see Table 8) and it has to budget this money for all the three parishes plus its other administrative costs. However, besides this budget being in place, the frequent meetings are still needed to create smoother information flow around LMNP.

"We need to have regular meetings so that the community gets to understand the benefits of sport hunting, of course we need to have panel beatings so that the communities know what sport hunting is and what they benefit from it…" (Community member Rurambiira)

Furthermore, the way issues are interpreted and discussed among stakeholders and the way power circulates is still contested. The discourse of using wildlife outside protected areas for sport hunting and consequently providing benefits to the surrounding communities is noted to be some form of wielding authority over the surrounding communities by the park. Park authorities explicitly knew they had no way of stopping wildlife from crossing to communities' land and the plausible way they could keep having control over this wild animals and stop the local communities from destroying them was to introduce a means through which the communities would learn to coexist with the animals.

"…because we share the same ecosystem, we wanted also those animals to survive, and there was no way they could survive without giving them value or tangible benefits to people who are living with them on their private land and that's why we came up with a policy on user rights and we were looking at several options like ranching, farming, sport hunting and other categories… so we said let's try out sport hunting because it is between the client, the business person and the community" (Park ranger).

UWA also used their authority to reintroduce sport hunting and to explain to the communities the benefits of sport hunting. However, this is now being contested by the communities; they have started complaining just after a short period of time (less than 10 years) of enjoying the little benefits from sport hunting. They state that the animals have even become more of a burden to their farms than before, creating increasing competition with livestock for pasture. In the past, the communities would just invite in poachers to come and hunt when the animals become so many on their farms, but now they are restricted and have led to more animals on their farms. This now raises the question of whether this project is actually meeting its original objectives and whether it is a feasible project to be extended to other parts of the country.

Further still, the idea of having a set quota and a price tag on every animal species seem to bring a clash in resource sharing. The issue of having clients demanding for animals with certain trophy measurements have affected greatly landowners who do not have such animals on their farms and yet they could be having problem animals on their farms and causing damages on their farms and they need to get rid of them. Ecologically, having a quota and price tag per animal is indeed a great way to monitor the off-take per species and also to ensure their regeneration and sustainability. However, economically it is affecting the farmers who continuously get problem animals destroying their crops and yet they take so long to have them killed by the hunters so that they can get some money to compensate the loss. Many landowners also complain that the professional hunter takes so long to hunt from their farms and yet at times he 'over hunts' from some farms. They accuse the professional hunter (GTL) of favouring some popular figures by hunting frequently from their farms and also point the lack of agreement on frequency of hunting by GTL on their farms. The

professional hunter however claims that in most cases such farms do not have animals that meet the specification of their clients and that some farms are inaccessible for them.

"…there is no agreement with the sport hunter to hunt from an area after a period of time because he can come and he rejects the animals in your area and one can even stay for 2-3 years without being visited by the hunters"(community member Rurambiira).

The procedure for transpositioning discourses in this area into enforceable rules however seem to be changing goal posts. It was formally the vested authority of Government to make decisions concerning wild animals and Communities' Livelihoods with no community involvement, as evidenced from creation of protected areas during colonial administration up to 1980s when Lake Mburo Game Reserve (LMGR) was declared a national park. This is now changed with the 'new' sport hunting where the communities are more involved. However, this area being predominantly occupied by the Bahima who are herdsmen and Bahiru cultivators plus other ethnic groups who are immigrants, clashes over land use and ownership is predominant. It is even interesting to appreciate that during the declaration of the LMGR as a national park, none of them (communities) was consulted; they were driven out forcefully and without any form of compensation (see Emerton, 1999) resulting into what sport hunting is trying to solve today. With sport hunting in place, the communities have been brought at discussion tables to forge a way forward for the continued survival of wildlife outside protected areas and improve livelihoods conditions of the communities.

Resources to most PAA analysts explicitly refer to issues of power relations. However, it is interesting to realize that resources do not refer to only wealth or capital and/or power. One aspect which should be taken note of is the social resource. Historically, the original inhabitants of LMNP area were pushed out to the edges of LMNP and they lost their sense of belonging, tradition, friendship and touch with their kinship. Many of them have since felt powerless and have become squatters on the land which was originally theirs. They have also since lived in fear of physical harm from wildlife as many of their relatives have been lost due to physical attack by wild animals. The fact that they live in this fear is evidence that their bodies and lives are very much of 'precious resources' that need to be kept jealously if these communities are to live and ensure continuity of their cultures and people.

"The animals have been invading our farms and killings our animals… They even attack and hurt the locals, sometimes even killing them. Unfortunately, neither the park authorities nor Kaka have any form of compensation for the victims of such attacks…some children in the villages (up to almost 240) fear to come to school because of the bushes and animals they may encounter on their way. We also have thugs that waylay people in these bushes. Even in March this year, a Primary Seven pupil was killed by thugs as he returned home from school" (Community member, Rurambiira).

In conclusion, sport hunting is surrounded by different stakeholders with different interests and several discourses and counter discourses. For example, much as all stakeholders believe that sport hunting provide economic benefits to the communities, the communities still do not believe that sport hunting has benefited them enough. They continually demand for the return of all wild animals in to the National Park and having the Park fenced. However, to the Park Authorities and GTL, sport hunting has led to increase in number of animals outside protected areas and the communities are now appreciating the benefits they get from sport hunting. This is known to be a positive outcome ecologically and economically, but, socially, the Communities believe they still live in fear of these wild animals. They mention that the wild animals have always killed their relatives as well as their livestock and they continue to see wildlife as an undesirable in their communities. Further still, much as rules have also been set to guide the operation of sport hunting, it is also imperative to appreciate that power play here is still very much a question of ownership of resources and Park Authorities still appear to wield more power since they control the number of animals to be hunted per quota and what species and who should hunt. This quota has also been contested by other stakeholders like the communities who continue to demand for increase in the quota. They also point that the current quota has had little impact to them. One is only left to speculate whether the solution to this problem lies in increasing the quota or increasing the price tags on animals or increasing percentage shares that go to the communities and of course it is something that can be tested and proven with time.

CHAPTER FOUR

SPORT HUNTING IMPLICATIONS ON CONSERVATION AND LIVELIHOODS AROUND LMNP

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the implication of sport hunting on conservation and livelihoods around LMNP. I start by discussing the livelihood strategies around LMNP, followed the impact of sport hunting on the local communities' livelihoods. The main framework for analysis here is the SLF. Data presented under livelihood outcomes are also grouped under different themes of the Asset (capital) Pentagon of the SLF.

4.2 Livelihood Strategies around LMNP

Livelihood strategies as discussed and operationalised under 2.3.1 refer to activities undertaken by the local communities to improve their conditions of living. During fieldwork, quite a number of livelihoods activities were discovered to be taking place in this area such as cultivation and grazing which are done on individual farms and other activities not done on the farms such as doing business and fishing as will be discussed below. However, it is vital to understand the nature of land ownership in this area to appreciate land use and livelihood strategies of the local communities adjacent to LMNP.

The area housing current LMNP was a free range land for hunting by the Ankole king. It was mostly considered a communal land under the central authority of Ankole chiefs or egalitarian set up under elders' councils with limited power of rule enforcement through loosely knit and changing coalitions (Kisamba-Mugerwa, 2001). A few nomads occupied this area seasonally especially during dry seasons in search for pasture and water for their livestock. The area therefore saw little or no human inhabitation in late 18^{th} and early 19^{th} centuries because it was also believed to be infested with the deadly tsetse flies (see Kamugisha et al., 1997 and Emerton, 1999). Individual land ownership emerged only after the 1901 Ankole Agreement which alienated part of the land as *mailoland* (private estates)

especially for Ankole chiefs and the rest was termed as *Crown land* (land under the British Colonial Administration control) (Rugadya, 2003). The remaining pieces of land were also grabbed by the influential people (especially those known to the king and his chiefs) and the poor especially pastoralists were left landless (Kafureka, 1992; cited in Ayorekire, 2000) although some squatters continued to access it during dry season. However, with the delineation of this area as a Controlled Hunting area (CHA) in the 1960s under the British Colonial Administration, forms of restriction to access in this area started emerging as the nomads who used to freely come and graze and water their livestock were now denied free access and could be allowed only upon acquisition of permits. To make matters worse still Government went ahead and declared the area a NP in the 1980s and part of it as a Government Ranching ground. This further constrained access and pushed the remaining pastoralists to the edges of the park. By this time, this area was fully under legal forms of ownership.

The formation of Kanyanyeru Resettlement Scheme (KRS) in 1987 even brought more complexity as 60% of what was NP land was earmarked and relocated to landless individuals who were displaced from this area earlier. This has resulted into so many small plots of land being held by individuals with varying thoughts in terms of land use and livelihoods activities. It is probably because so many different ethnic groups gained ownership of land around LMNP and especially the President Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA) bush war veterans who were resettled from 'Luwero triangle'. It has therefore resulted into so many land uses ranging from LMNP land, Government Ranches, Pastoralists' grazing land, Cultivators' land and now even land where people are settled such as trading centres like Sanga, Nyakahita and Nyakashashara. The land tenure is therefore majorly individualistic with little or completely no communal land any more. The other pieces of land are owned by Government in form of NP land and Government Ranches where sport hunting also takes place plus private lands owned by individual community members.

Furthermore, it is important to appreciate that the Communities adjacent to LMNP are mainly the Banyankore (Bahima-herdsmen and Bairu-cultivators) who constitute 45% of the

area's population and other immigrants such as the Baganda-mainly agriculturalists and a few who are fishermen, Bakiga and the Banyarwanda who sought refuge in this area in the 1960s (Kamugisha et al., 1997). Others only joined this area after the formation and enactment of the KRS in 1987. As a cattle corridor, this area has about (20,000 sq. km) of land extending from the Tanzania border through Mbarara District to Luwero, Nakasongola and Kiboga Districts in Central Uganda (Lamprey et al., 2003). This alone has led to the increasing number of illegal residents and grazers in the park. Therefore, this area being predominantly a pastoral community means that a lot of cows are grazed by the communities. In fact, all the people interviewed in these communities own cows and they depend on milk as source of food and also sell the milk to dairy factories across country to earn a living. They also supply cows to butcheries around Uganda. The high number of cows was noted to be causing more grazing pressure inside and outside the park as cows are competing with wild animals for pasture. For example, in a letter dated 19th November, 2010, by the residents of Akayanja, Nombe II to Lake Mburo Conservation Area Manager (LMCAM), ten (10) people were discovered to be illegally residing within the park with their cows. These cows automatically compete with wild animals in the park for pasture and water and could also be the reason for high number of wild animals outside the protected area of LMNP as they (wild animals) search for better pasture and water.

The LMNP adjacent communities are also known to have shifted from the primarily cattle keeping and cultivation to mixed farming (Interview 6). The various ethnic groupings around LMNP are beginning to diversify their economic and livelihoods activities; with the traditional cattle keepers now combining both livestock management and crop cultivation (Emerton, 1999; also see Namara *et al.,*1998 and Kamugisha *et al.,*1997). These activities include mainly small scale cultivation for subsistence consumption and at times for sale. The main crops here include cereals and bananas (Matooke) which is supplied to markets in Mbarara, Kampala and several other districts in Uganda. Other crops include beans, maize, cabbages and so on (Interview 28). Some members of the communities are also known to be using the money they get from sport hunting to buy more exotic breeds of cows to replace their traditional long horn Nkole cows (Interview 20). This is boosting milk production for

most farmers and is greatly improving their livelihoods and reducing the need for very wide areas to graze as is the case with the traditional long horn Nkole cows and their old tradition of nomadism. However, the community still notes that they have not made much progress because of the challenges that they still face such as limited capital and poor road networks.

"We wanted to start a milk processing project but realized we did not have enough money to buy the cooler, let alone the generator to support it. We would have to gather savings for about five years before achieving this" (community member from Rurambiira)

The view expressed by communities above indicate that amidst their willingness to change and or diversity their livelihoods, they are still faced by such challenges as lack of investment capital to start projects. The poor road networks also hinder communication among the communities.

Off-farm activities were noted to include operating small scale businesses in the surrounding trading centres of Nyakashashara in Rurambiira, Nyakahita and Sanga. Mainly these small scale businesses were noted to have been started up by the land owners who benefitted from sport hunting (Interview 11). Some members of the communities are also having licenses to fish on the Lakes in the Park of which 32 boats have been licensed and are helping to complement their income from sport hunting (Interview 5). However, according to Kamugisha et al. (1997), just over 8% of population around LMNP practices this. Other members of the communities were noted to have gone into Bee keeping and it is earning a great deal of livelihoods income to them. UWA-LMNP also facilitates a Goat rearing project in Isingiro district at a place called Masha, with a group of reformed poachers who were given improved goat varieties. This project is also being supported by National Agricultural and Advisory Services (NAADS), a Government programme, which offers communities in rural areas opportunity to rare goats for commercial purposes to improve their standards of living. This programme is run under the government programme of 'prosperity for all' and the communities admit that it is doing a great job to improve goat varieties in their communities because one goat can be sold at about 70,000 Ug. Shillings. This money is helping to improve their livelihoods along with the little revenue they get from sport hunting. Another group was revealed to be in a village called Kiribwa who were also given an

Acacia uprooting project which earns them about one million shillings in a month (Interview 5, 6, 10). The only thing they are required to do is to get clearance from the park then they are allocated an area where they can uproot Acacia from. Further still, some members of the community have put up commercial houses for rent, bars, restaurants and accommodation in the neighbouring trading centres. Other notable activity is the operation of transport business where locals have acquired motor bikes and small cars that they use to ferry visitors to the park and also other people who are travelling within the community (see Plate 3). However, the communities still complain of lack of or limited transport means to help them participate in other activities within and outside their parishes. They therefore call upon UWA and Local Government to come to their aid.

"We would love to (...) however most of the activities take place at the trading centre or sub-county headquarters. The transport system here is pathetic, there are no cars or motorbikes to take us to these places and as such, we usually do not participate…we also had thought of working on our road. But once again, funds limit us. We wish government could work together with UWA and get for us tractors to fix the road" (Community member from Rurambiira)

Plate 3: A motor cycle man transporting a client to LMNP

Source: Field Research

The above highlighted nature of livelihoods activities around LMNP have helped to off shed high dependence on the park for survival and thus favouring sport hunting as animals are left to freely graze on their farms. The Communities are also not only depending on sport hunting revenues, but have become empowered to look for other alternative sources of income elsewhere. This has restored the agency of the local people (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002) to plan to improve their own standard of living by being involved in a number of activities and also to spread their livelihoods risks over different livelihoods activities. However, it must be noted that livelihoods here still face a great challenge. The majority of the community members do not have enough land to graze cattle and wildlife and at the same time grow some crops. Besides, they still live in fear of wildlife destroying their crops and livestock. Furthermore, as noted by Emerton (1999) opportunities for local people to earn substantial income and gain meaningful employment around LMNP are limited due to poorly developed infrastructure, transport and communications facilities. In the areas visited during fieldwork, most of the basic necessities such as clean water, health services and roads were noted to be inaccessible. In fact, it is possible to find some of the constructed health centres without drugs. Furthermore, some health centres and schools are understaffed because a lot of qualified personnel do not want to work in such remote areas on the basis that they lack basic necessities. For example, Nyakahita health centre has got only one nurse serving the whole community. This implies that the day she does not work, the community will not be able to get any medical services. On this basis, the communities call upon Government and UWA to construct for them roads within their parishes so that tourists can come and view their daily household activities such as grazing, milking cows and also the local process of making ghee. However, in order to ensure constant food supply, the communities have resorted to selling their cows and milk and in return buying maize flour (Posho), beans and other grains from neighbouring communities. The few who attempt to grow some crops by themselves have to fence off their gardens to prevent wild animals from destroying them. This is however noted to be expensive in terms of time and finances and only the few who are well-to-do practice it (See Plate 4).

"Most people here are pastoralists. We do not do a lot of farming, and we usually buy the food we eat. We buy posho (maize flour) and beans from businessmen from Lyantonde. We

cannot grow our own food because these animals devastate the farms. The wild pigs are a menace" (community member from Rurambiira)

The community also blames UWA for their long term suffering (especially in terms of food and livestock losses) due to its reluctance to provide them with fencing materials. They believe this can enable them to grow some food for themselves and avoid depending on other communities for food.

"We asked UWA to provide us with fencing for family farms so that we can also cultivate our own food and protect it from the animals, but they have paid a deaf ear. If they do not want to buy us the fencing material, then they should fence the park so that the animals do not stray into our farms. We would have done it ourselves, but …the money we get cannot suffice, and the little we had gathered was used to build the schools" (community member from Rurambiira).

The above quotes show community dismay towards UWA and shows how fragile their livelihoods are. They still have to fence their farms if they are to grow any crop and harvest it. This even makes it hard for those who do not receive direct revenue from sport hunting to change or diversify their livelihood activities.

Plate 4: Banana plantation fence in Rurambiira parish

Source: Field Research

Plate 5: Maize and banana plantation in Rurambiira parish

Source: Field Research

4.3 Sport Hunting and Local Communities' Livelihoods around LMNP

This section of the thesis focuses on the impact of sport hunting on the livelihoods of the communities around LMNP. In order to get the discussion started, data has been grouped under the following subheadings of the *asset pentagon* of the SLF.

4.3.1 Human capital

In this thesis, human capital is expressed in terms of labour force around LMNP, availability of education opportunities, created job opportunities and ability of the local people to create jobs for themselves. During fieldwork, it was discovered that sport hunting has created employment directly and indirectly to members of the communities surrounding LMNP. Game Trails (U) Limited (GTL) for example was discovered to be employing 13 staff directly to handle its daily activities. Others are indirectly employed but on contract basis as and when there is demand for their services (Interview 18). This has helped to complement the communities' income from other sources as well as what they get from sport hunting. UWA which is responsible for managing wildlife both inside and outside LMNP, also directly employs members from the communities as rangers. It was also mentioned during interviews that the junior employees especially rangers at LMNP come from the local communities and the other senior posts are taken by both the locals and people from other parts of Uganda (Interview 13). Above all, it was also revealed that some of the employees at LMNP and GTL are known to be reformed poachers (Interview 18).

Other reformed poachers are also known to be involved in other economic activities such as making bricks and slaughtering of sport hunted animals (Interviews 18 and 28). During interviews with the manager of GTL, he revealed that members of the communities supply them with firewood, poles for fixing tents, food stuff etcetera. It was further revealed that the locals have also been able to start small scale businesses, such as retail shops, restaurants, and operating transport businesses. Some of the community members have been able to sell their cows and added to money they received from sport hunting to buy motor bikes that they use for transport business within the communities (Interview 28). This has eased movement within the communities. Through a Government programme of 'prosperity for all', the communities also rear goats which have improved the breads they have and thus their income. They have also started buying Frisian cows which have improved their milk production greatly and many have formed village milk collection centres where

they collect their milk for easy distribution. These activities are helping the communities to supplement their income from sport hunting though still on small scale.

"…people are now moving to buying Frisian cows to improve on milk production along with National Agricultural and Advisory Services (NAADS) programme but on small scale…" (A gentleman from the Nyakahita)

The idea of buying Frisian cows along with the National Agricultural and Advisory Services (NAADS) programme is a great way to reduce grazing pressure outside protected areas and also in the park. The exotic breeds of cows do not require vast land to graze as opposed to the traditional long horn cows that have to move from one place to the other to get enough grass. In fact these breeds just require grass to be brought to them in one place and they will get to move less. This will also leave the grazing fields to remain for wild animals which will subsequently favour sport hunting.

Schools have also been built in each of the parishes where sport hunting is taking place. These schools help to bring education nearer to the communities and especially children of the former poachers who now go to school with hopes that they will be able to get meaningful employment after school. These children are also taught the values of wildlife to community livelihoods enhancement and the need to conserve wildlife outside PAs. In Nyakashashara, (Kashenshero primary school) for example, a total of 320 pupils are known to be attending school (Interview 21). Other facilities like health centres have also been constructed to help in treating major killer diseases in the communities such as malaria which is so common in the tropics. These health centers are base on the premise that a healthy population can be an asset in future. The built schools and health centres have also created direct job opportunities for the local people as teachers, school cooks, matrons, nurses and cleaners. In Rurambiira for example 14 jobs have been created for teachers, 10 are paid by Government, 2 by the community from sport hunting money and 2 are paid by parents. They also employ a cook who is paid from the money contributed by parents for the boarding section and their teachers get a monthly allowance of 20, 000 Ug shillings from the community pool (Interview 11, 21).

"…we have also been able to contribute money among ourselves to pay the teachers here at the school. Some of them have since been put on government payroll but we still have two that we are catering for" (community member from Rurambiira).

However, it is worth noting that these figures are still way too low to create meaningful impact in the employment sector among the locals. In Rurambiira for example, only two teachers are directly paid with money from sport hunting. The other two are indirectly paid with the sport hunting money because it is a contribution from parents who are land owners. The 20,000 Ug shillings monthly allowances also appear to be too little to sustain these teachers in a month. Further still, it is hard to attribute that this contribution is really from sport hunting money especially in a country where Government provides that every child of school going age must benefit from the Universal Primary Education (UPE). It further raises the question of monitoring to ensure that UPE support is not disguised as support sport hunting and that the actual sport hunting money is not misappropriated especially in a community where it has been noted to lack transparency and accountability.

Besides that, the community still maintains that amidst these schools being in place, some pupils still live in fear of wild animals and that some people from the community waylay and kill pupils on their way from school and they want to have schools with boarding section to avoid such scenarios. This calls for a Government intervention in providing security even in such remote areas and also to support these schools especially in providing facilities and services that support boarding sections.

"…some children in the villages (up to almost 240) fear to come to school because of the bushes and animals they may encounter on their way. We also have thugs that waylay people in these bushes. Even in March this year, a Primary Seven pupil was killed by thugs as he returned home from school. That is why we want to ensure that all the schooling age children can attend boarding schools. The children are on UPE programme, but the money we pay is for welfare" (community member from Rurambiira)

This situation may cause many of these schools to remain just structures without any pupil attending school. The respective Local Governments need to come up and tighten security in these villages.

During the initial sport hunting project in 2001, UWA held sensitization meetings with the community of Rurambiira to get them to understand the new project and the benefits it would bring to the community (Interview 21, 28).

"They convened a meeting and explained to us the terms, how we would be treated, how much money we would be paid per animal killed etc. We had to understand all these things before starting off" (Association executive from Rwakanombe)

These sensitization meetings helped to get the attention of the communities and since they (communities) also needed a solution to wildlife on their farms, they believed that the promised benefits from the 'new' sport hunting would help them to at least get *something* in return to the lives, livestock and crops lost to these wild animals. Furthermore, it was revealed that sport hunting has given some 25 members from the three Associations the opportunity to receive training on book keeping, monitoring and supervision skills to help them run the sport hunting projects within their communities (Interview 11). Some Groups have also been invited from Mozambique and Namibia to train the locals especially those from Rurambiira parish on Game ranching (Interview 11) but they (community) still call for a need for more training to help equip them better**.** However, due to budget constraints on both sides of UWA and Communities, the trained people have not even been able to extend the skills they have acquired to train other members of the communities, thus leaving other members of the community to live without any knowledge of running sport hunting projects. Even the association executives also believe that they still need further training to be able to handle their duties efficiently.

"The only training that has been conducted before was for LCIII chairmen going upwards… We ourselves need training in all sorts of things before we think of impacting the community. We would appreciate if we received this kind of training" (Association executive from Rurambiira).

Absence of training needs to be handled and it is not surprising that these projects lack transparency and accountability. People need to be trained about the project they are benefiting from and they ought to understand its mode of operation so that when things do not go right they can come up and question what went wrong and correct it.

4.3.2 Financial capital

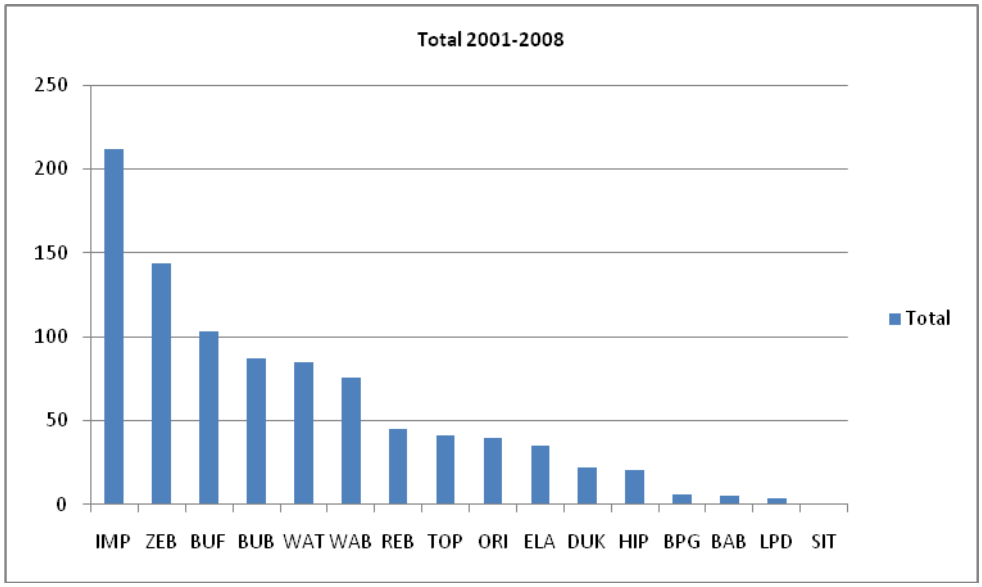
Financial capital as discussed and operationalised under 2.3.2.1 of this thesis refer to number of people who have hunted around LMNP, number of animals that have been hunted, the amount of money that has been generated and how it is shared among the different Wildlife Associations. Since sport hunting started around LMNP, between 2001 and 2008 a total of 135 clients (sport hunters) have participated in the activity (see Table 8) and hunted various species of animals during the same period as shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Showing Statistics of animals hunted from June 2001 to 2008

Animal Species	code/key	price in USD	Number of animals utilized per fiscal year								
			2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Grand Total
Baboon	BAB	90						2		3	**5**
Bushpig	BPG	150		1		1			2	2	**6**
Bushbuck	BUB	500	5	5	11	14	9	12	13	18	**87**
Buffalo	BUF	900	2	7	12	12	16	17	17	20	**103**
Bush Duiker	BUD	200	1		4	1	3	5	3	5	**22**
Eland	ELA	800	4	2	5	5	4	6	4	5	**35**
Hippopotamus	HIP	600	1	2	2	2	4	5	2	3	**21**
Impala	IMP	350	5	15	20	21	26	30	46	49	**212**
Leopard	LPD	3,500							1	3	**4**
Oribi	ORI	300	3	3	6	2	6	7	6	7	**40**
Reedbuck	REB	400	2	2	6	3	7	9	7	9	**45**
Sitatunga	SIT	NA									**0**
Topi	TOP	650	3	1	5	5	7	9	6	5	**41**
Warthog	WAT	350	3	7	11	8	9	9	12	17	**76**
Waterbuck	WAB	600	2	11	9	5	14	15	13	16	**85**
Zebra	ZEB	550		5	6	7	19	22	35	50	**144**
Grand Total			**31**	**61**	**97**	**86**	**124**	**148**	**167**	**212**	**926**

***The prices shown are based on new rates effective 2008; Source: UWA records, Accessed December, 2010**

Figure 5: Species hunted since 2001-2008



Source: UWA, 2011

Table 6: Number of sport hunters since 2001

Year	No. of Hunters
2001	6
2002	11
2003	14
2004	17
2005	17
2006	20
2007	22
2008	28
Total	**135**

Source: UWA, 2011

From the above Tables and Figure it is clear that a lot of species of animal (a total of 926) have been hunted over the years. However, the community still calls for more increase in the quota. It is clear from the Table 5 and Figure 5 that more off take has been from the species of Impala, followed by Zebras, Buffalo, bushbuck and warthog. This means that only landowners with more of these species have been able to benefit more financially from sport hunting compared to their counterparts who have suffered more in the hands of baboons and bushpigs which are virmins and Hippopotamus and leopards which are problem animals. The landowners with more of these species (Baboons, Bushpigs,

Hippopotamus and Leopards) on their farms have not been able to benefit much as shown in Table 5 and Figure 2 and yet they suffer more losses from these species. Animals like leopards are known to be killers of livestock and humans alike and the communities in the past targeted and killed most of them through poisoning. Furthermore, during field interviews, a lot of complaints were raised about baboons, buffalos and bushpigs destroying people's crops and at times killing live stock.

"The animals have been invading our farms and killings our animals. Buffaloes are very notorious for this. They even attack and hurt the locals, sometimes even killing them. Unfortunately, neither the park authorities nor Kaka have any form of compensation for the victims of such attacks" (community member from Nyakahita).

"…we have seen an increase in invasions by the wild animals on the community. This has come about because of the pressure that the animals are facing from the hunters (poachers) within the game park areas. Also, sport hunting has declared poaching illegal and yet poachers (local hunters) used to help us in controlling the numbers of animals. They are reproducing and increasing by the day, posing a danger to the community. This method should be revised to help curb the problem of too many animals" (community member from Rurambiira)

This issue of animals causing damages to the communities has been in this area since the creation of the NP in 1982 and has persisted till to date. The locals have blamed this on the reluctance on the Government side to come up with a law on compensation from wildlife damages. This law is not provided for in the Ugandan constitution and whether an animal kills a person or destroys a crop, no one is held accountable and yet they have a law against any intruder in the park areas. Because of the escalated intrusion into park and killing of wild animals, the then Idi Amin Government passed a presidential decree that banned sport hunting and all other forms of hunting throughout Uganda.

As shown in Table 8, the accrued revenue (a total of 393,620 USD) has been distributed among the stakeholders on the basis of the stipulated percentages under section 3.3.2 Table 3. For example, in the last 8 years, the three CWAs have been able to receive direct revenue

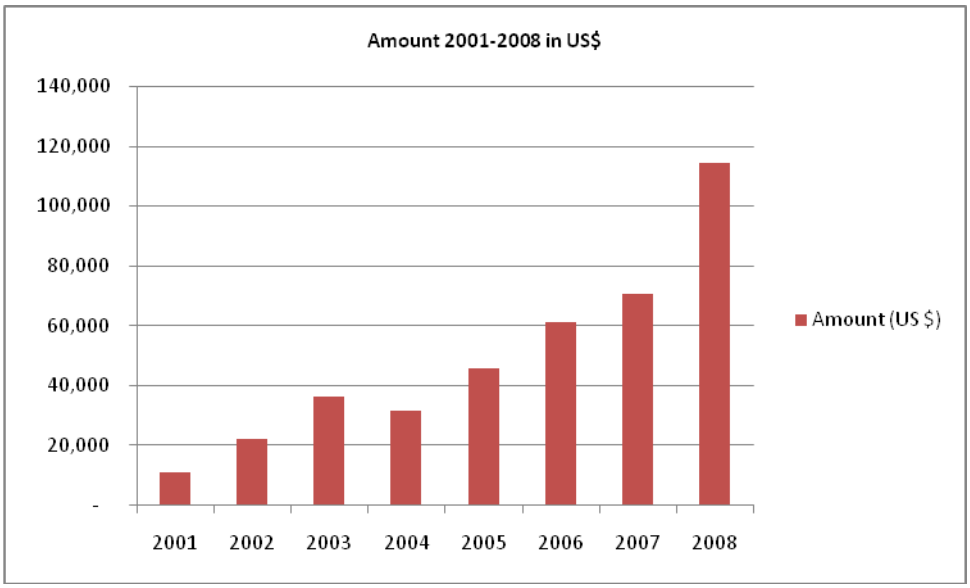
from sport hunting to the tune of 193,984 USD that was invested in various activities/projects as highlighted in Table 11. The category of individual landowners has been able to earn up to a total of 19,362 USD in the last 8 years and was invested towards individual livelihood enhancement. The amount that has been earned by CPI is to the tune of 14,120 USD and was also used to support Local Government activities in the communities such as the operation of a truck in collaboration with UWA to transport water and fire woods to individual homes in case they have any functions. A small percentage of CPI's money was also set aside to make small compensation especially now that Government has no law that guarantees compensation in case of wildlife damage. All these activities of CPI are geared towards promoting Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and also aim at promoting a positive working relationship between the Community and UWA. A total of 49, 210 USD also went to UWA and was used to supplement its administrative costs especially paying rangers to monitor illegal encroachers and they also offer it as airtime fee and transport refunds of members of the communities who report to them illegal encroachers.

Table 7: Total revenue generated per fiscal year from sport hunting (USD)

Year	Amount in USD
2001	10,930
2002	22,350
2003	36,470
2004	31,780
2005	45,740
2006	61,430
2007	70,500
2008	114,420
Total	**393,620**

Source: UWA, 2011

Figure 6: Amount of money that have been generated from sport hunting since 2001 to 2008



Source: UWA, 2011

Table 8: Distribution of income USD from sport hunting between 2001 and 2007

Recipient	2001/2	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	Total
CPI	1658	1672	1762	2333	3069	3626	**14,120**
Landowner	0	0	3,528	4,674	3,900	7,260	**19,362**
Nyakahita	0	0	4,760	7,406	11,655	14,385	**38,206**
Rurambiira	21,568	21,757	13,251	14,917	16,821	21.000	**109,314**
Rwakanombe	0	0	6,685	10,395	14,530	14,854	**46,464**
Sub-County	1,658	1,672	0*	0*	0*	581	**3,911**
UWA	8,421	8,369	5,294	7,015	9,217	10,894	**49,210**
Total	**33,305**	**33,470**	**35,280**	**46,740**	**59,192**	**72,600**	**280,587**

***Paid through the associations; Source: Muhimbura and Namara, 2008**

However, it is interesting to note that much as the agreed percentage in Table 3 is being used to distribute this money, it is still a contested issue. The communities have on many occasions strongly questioned how benefits are shared and how quotas are allocated. They believe that the allocated quota is not sufficient to reduce the number of wild animals on their farms and to make matters worse, sometimes the allocated quota is not even fully exhausted. They cite constant losses they face from these wild animals and that the money they receive from sport hunting is not worth the losses. They also mention that the frequency at which they receive this money does not also motivate them to keep wild

animals on their farms. They therefore accuse GTL of taking too long to hunt from their farms and for not hunting from some farms completely. This according to them does not favour their household productivity. Landowners still advocate for revision of revenue percentages. They also demand that other stakeholders like UWA and CPI be scrapped off from the list of beneficiaries. However, they blame all this on the limited number of animals allocated on the quota and the fact that GTL is the only licensed company to carry out sport hunting. They therefore call upon UWA and GTL to consider seriously their complaints and increase the amount of game on the quota and also to make a balance between male and female species. Furthermore, the communities note that, if possible, they should give concession to more sport hunting companies in their communities (Interview 21). This continued debate is causing the community to start focusing on individual household income as most important to them compared to the money being given to the association that does not lose anything. They also mention some forms of irregularities when it comes to sharing the money from sport hunting. It is mentioned that members with small pieces of land always suffer while those with big plots of land enjoy because it is normally on their farms where the hunters go.

"We as members sometimes cannot access our money and we are simply manipulated by one or two individuals… The problem is that some of us own smaller plots of land than others. Now, the animals may have spent the night in my land causing havoc but by morning they have crossed over to another person's land. When the sport hunters come, they find the animals in the other person's land (because his land is vast) and he is the only one that is paid and not me, yet I have also suffered. I suggest that the money be apportioned to benefit each member equally and not depending on the size of their land, since we all suffer the consequences of the animal activities. I think this explains why some members have not been getting any money (community member from Rurambiira).

"…what we agreed upon is not really working for us and we want a change. We want the percentage to the landowners to be increased and reduce percentages to UWA and Local Government. CPI should be scrapped off because since we started contributing money to CPI, they have not done anything for us except constructing a small house for a doctor that doubles as a health centre…the money they give us is not so much…, generally we earn very

little. Kaka has several areas where he hunts, so he only comes to us once a month or even after 3 months… money from this activity cannot really sustain us (another community member from Rurambiira).

The scenarios being raised by the communities make sense per se. But what should be realized is the fact that many of these people hold small plots where the hunting clients may not be interested in. Even if they are to distribute the money that went to association account to each member of the community, the impact would even become so minimal. For instance, if all the money that went to the landowners' category was divided amongst all the landowners, each member would end up getting approximately US$ 20 in a period of 10 years and if animal fees were also left to community alone, still each household would have taken home approximately US$230 over the same period (Muhimbura & Namara, 2008). This still leaves the question of whether the person whose land the animal destroyed the night before hunting is the one to benefit or the one whose land the animal was fell is the beneficiary unanswered. There is no mechanism in place to monitor animal movements so that one can claim that the animal that is fell on Y's land is the same animal that destroyed X's crops the night before.

Furthermore, the communities also dispute the prices attached to animals around LMNP. They claim that these figures are way too low to deliver any meaningful financial benefits to them. They especially compare these prices with what is charged in other countries (see Table 9). UWA and GTL however maintain that the price charged per wild animal in Uganda is a function of the ecological beauty around LMNP. GTL strongly challenges the communities' position by stating that the sport hunters consider the naturalness of the environment where they will hunt from. For example GTL cites such incidences when motor cycles pass by and sometimes they get local people walking through the bushes when clients are hunting. This according to GTL takes away the pleasure/thrill associated with hunting in a natural environment with less or no human interference during the expedition. They also further mention that LMNP environs are now becoming more urbanized with more human settlement than before. This scenario, they mention is different from other sport hunting

destinations like South Africa, Botswana, Namibia and Tanzania. According to Muhimbura and Namara (2008), LMNP area is becoming increasingly more urbanized with farmers putting up fences in their ranches and that it is reducing the wilderness value that the hunters would be looking for during the activity.

"…for these sport hunters who come (…), a natural environment takes more…for example when you are hunting and aiming at a buffalo…then a motor cycle passes by and sometimes you get local people walking through the bush…so these people don't pay for only the animal they pay to conserve…this area is now like a town, when you walk around, you find small trading centres coming up and yet in Southern Africa when you are in the bush, you are there alone with the clients. Nobody will come when you are aiming at an animal or go to the camp unless they are a visitor of the camp…" (Respondent from industry)

Table 9: Uganda's Animal Fees in Comparison with other African Countries

Animal		Animal fee US $[5]					
Common		Botswana	Ethiopia[6]	Namibia	S. Africa	Tanzania[7]	Uganda
Baboon		300	50	200	50	200	90
Buffalo	1st		1,500			2,375	600
	2nd					2,500	
	3rd					2,800	
Bushbuck		960	350		775	800	250
Bushpig			200			550	150
Duiker		420	180	600	225	650	130
Eland		2,000		2,000	1,875	2,600	600
Hippo			600			2,500	500
Impala		360		750	275	700	250
Leopard		5,000	2,300	4,500		5,500	3,500
Oribi			120			400	150
Reedbuck			350 - 700		575	600	250
Topi						1,200	350
Warthog		360	200	600	225	600	250
Waterbuck		2,000	450	2,500	1,450	1,200	500
Zebra	1st	1,400		1,100	975	1,500	500
	2nd					1,600	

** ***The figures in red are those thought to be far lower when compared across the region. Ethiopia had lower rates than the other countries apart from Uganda***

Adopted **from Muhimbura & Namara, 2008**

On top of the direct cash benefit that is paid to the stakeholders from sport hunting, other forms of revenue were also noted to be accruing to these stakeholders (see Table 10). This is money paid in form of entrance fee to the hunting block, trophy handling fees, user right grant and professional hunter's license. For example since 2005 GTL has been paying a fixed fee of 300 USD to the Associations for entering a hunting block irrespective of the number of clients, 100 USD is paid by clients for transporting their trophies, 100 USD as annual WUR fee and GTL pays 1500 USD to UWA as professional hunter's license once in a year. This money is shared among the stakeholders also on agreed percentages (i.e. 70% to Association, 15% to Local Government and 15% to CPI) except for the WUR fee and professional hunter's license which is paid directly to UWA as administrative cost. These other fees chargeable for sport hunting have been generated to the tune of 31, 250 USD since 2001 to 2008 (see Table 10). Their totals have also been increasing gradually since 2001. For example in 2001 it was only 3, 400 USD and has now reached 9, 500 USD in 2008.

Table 10: Other fees from sport hunting between 2001- 2007 in USD

Category	2001/2	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	Total
Entrance	600	550	1,300	1,500	3,900	4,500	**12,350**
Trophy handling	1,200	800	1,100	1,100	1,700	3,400	**9,300**
Use Right Grant	100	100	100	100	100	100	**600**
Professional Hunter's License	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	**9,000**
Total	3,400	2,950	4,000	4,200	7,200	9,500	**31,250**

Source: GTL Records; Muhimbura and Namara, 2008

4.3.3 Physical capital

In this thesis, physical capital refers to structures that have been constructed from sport hunting generated fees such as roads, health facilities, and watering points for animals. The surrounding communities to LMNP are receiving benefits in form of community projects that have helped in providing social services within the communities and also improving their livelihoods through sharing of perceived benefits from sport hunting. During fieldwork,

various facilities were noted to have resulted from the sport hunting fees. Notably, there is a great change in the housing structures of the communities where sport hunting is taking place. The communities of Rurambiira for example have now started settling in one trading centre in Nyakashashara and they have started putting up semi permanent structures which are used as retail shops as well as for accommodation (Interview 5, also see Plate 5). Before sport hunting, the communities were living in makeshift houses (grass thatched huts) and today, many of them have started building semi and permanent houses. This is greatly improving the health and living conditions of the communities as many of them are now beginning to afford decent housing (see Plates 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11). During interviews, it was revealed that most of the owners of these houses are actually landowners who have benefited from the sport hunting money (Interview 21). Furthermore, a marram road that connects Rurambiira and Nyakahita has been constructed and is being maintained with money from sport hunting through cost sharing with Kirihura district local government funds (Interview 6, 15). All the three Associations were also noted to have used the money they received from sport hunting to construct several schools and health centres in their communities money.

"These people have built for us two schools: one here (Nyakashashara) and one in Nyanga and also two dams. We have also been able to contribute money among ourselves to pay the teachers here at the school. Some of them have since been put on government payroll but we still have two that we are catering for" (Community member from Rurambiira).

The local people also mentioned that animal watering points have also been put in their communities to cater for the dry seasons when they cannot have enough water for their animals. This is also reducing dependence on the park for water during dry season for their huge number of cows. Further still, part of the sport hunting money was also used to build bridges like one in Nimasha village and a football pitch has been put at mineche village and kabata parish (Interview 5) (see Table 11) for projects that were done using sport hunting revenue). Above all, it is worth noting that the communities own land which is a great asset for the survival of sport hunting outside LMNP and also cows which help them to supplement the income they get from sport hunting. They have therefore been granted

permission to graze and water their animals in the park during dry seasons and they sell their cows and milk and have used that money plus money from sport hunting to build houses, schools, health centres, dams, roads, and buy food for their daily consumption.

"One sells the few cows they have, build a house or two and rent them out to these businessmen who come to start their projects here. That is how we survive" (community member from Nyakahita).

Table 11: Projects that have been funded by the sport hunting revenue since 2001-2008

Parishes (CWAs)	Community Projects
Nyakahita	– Construction of a health centre with staff house, kitchen, water tank and 2 latrines. – Construction of a classroom block at Karengo Primary school.
Rurambiira	– Construction of a dormitory, latrines, staff kitchen, a water tank at Kashenshero primary school. – Fencing and provision of mattresses, beds at Kashenshero primary. – Construction of 2 water dams – At Nyanga primary school contribution made to, school running costs, teachers' salaries and teachers' lunch. – Carried out cattle vaccination against anthrax – Supplementing administrative costs (stationary, office rent, compound maintenance and transport costs at the sub-county headquarters – Paying salaries for two teachers at Kashenshero primary school and monthly allowances to 14 teachers at the same school.
Rwakanombe	– Completion of girls' dormitory at Sanga Senior Secondary school – Construction of two class room blocks at Ntura and Kigarama primary schools – Construction of valley water dam. – Grading of 21 km road from Sanga to Kibuza – Carried out cattle vaccination against anthrax – Supplementing administrative costs at the sub-county headquarters such establishing offices, coordination allowances, facilitate community education meetings

Source: Muhimbura and Namara, 2008 & Field observation, 2010

However, much as these facilities have been put in place, the challenge now is on maintenance. Some of the said roads are really in poor states. For example the community maintains that the roads that connect Sanga, LMNP and Rurambiira is already in bad conditions and is always impassible during rainy seasons. This means that transportation between these areas is disrupted; and they are calling upon government and UWA to construct this road so that they can tap more from the tourism market. Some of the school blocks visited also looked like structures that had not been used for long. Some window

glasses were already broken and yet they are said to be dormitory blocks. Besides, grass had also over grown around them and they have not been slashed. Window glasses at a dormitory block in Sanga secondary school were also already vandalized during field visit and the in-charge said the students went on strike over poor management. This exposes the children to more risks of contracting malaria and also reduces their concentration at school as many of them will end up spending more time in medical centres than in classrooms.

The communities also strongly hold it that Government has neglected its responsibility to develop their areas through provision of social services. They think it should be the role of government to build schools, pay school fees and even teachers' salaries and allowances. They refer to the current government policy of providing free education to all school going children at primary level under the Universal Primary Education (UPE) and also the Universal Secondary Education (USE). Furthermore, it was also noted that support hunting money is being used to supplement administrative costs at the sub-county headquarters. This money has been use to establish offices, pay coordination allowances and to facilitate community education and yet government budgets for such costs and money is sent to the district. The community instead thinks that the best thing they can do now is to refocus on their individual household income so as to improve their standards of living. It is even on this basis that landowners are advocating that government, UWA and CPI be scrapped off the list of direct beneficiaries and if possible benefits should go to only landowners so that they can get 100% direct benefit from sport hunting. Despite the attempt by CPI and CWAs to construct these facilities and provide social services which otherwise government would have taken long to provide. To make matters worse, some members of the community still express ignorance about the activities of these parties (i.e. CPI and CWAs). They even question why they should continue being a part of the direct beneficiaries. It is because they fail to get a distinction between projects supported by the Revenue Sharing Scheme and those from Sport Hunting. They claim that these two parties should not be part of the beneficiaries and that their percentages should be redistributed among the landowners. They also claim that the projects they claim to provide for them are actually projects provided by the original Tourism Revenue Sharing Programme that gets 20% of park entry

fees (see Ahebwa et al., 2008). This misunderstanding unfolded during field visit to a girl's dormitory block at Sanga secondary school. I was led by one official from Rwakanombe Association to show me the dormitory block they built for their community. To my surprise, the lady in charge started defending that the block was built with the Revenue Sharing Money and the official had to deny it and said it was actually their project from sport hunting money. The official then said that Revenue Sharing only built for them the water tank which was at the same school.

Plate 6: Showing trading centre at Nyakashashara, Rurambiira Parish

Source: Field Research

Plate 7: Dormitory block in Rurambiira from sport hunting revenue

Source: Field Research

Plate 8: Health centre in Nyakahita parish from sport hunting project

Source: Field Research

Plate 9: Dormitory block in Rwakanombe parishes from sport hunting project

Source: Field Research

Plate 10: Grass thatched house originally used

Source: Field Research

Plate 11: New housing structures

Source: Field Research

4.3.4 Natural capital

Under 2.3.2.4 of this thesis, natural capital is operationalised and discussed in light of the available land around LMNP for sport hunting (both private and public), wildlife species outside LMNP boundaries, local community conservation activities and sources of energy being used by the local communities. During fieldwork, it was discovered that sport hunting is done on both private and government lands outside the LMNP areas. These lands have been marked into ten hunting blocks (however, the sizes of these hunting blocks are not

known). These blocks cover a large part of the areas in the three parishes (i.e. Rurambiira, Nyakahita and Rwakanome). They are known to house abundance of wildlife species like zebras, impalas, warthogs, and buffalos etc. In a way, these animals have become property of the landowners because once it is killed, the landowner claims right over the revenue accruing from it (Interview 1, 5, 10). In fact, during a field visit to Rwakobo village Akayanja-Nombe II, the locals were overheard trying to lobby their members to come up and form an Association so that they can also begin to benefit directly from sport hunting. They were referring to the example of progress made in Rurambiira as a result of sport hunting. This is indeed in line with the dictum of community-based wildlife management (CBWM) that if local people can own the wildlife that lives on their land, they will be more inclined to protect it (Kiss 1990; IIED 1994; in Lamprey et al., 2003). Besides, these lands also provide grazing ground for the cattle which also account for the natural assets owned by the communities. However, the challenge they still face is that wildlife outside the park compete with their other land use activities such as farming and pastoralism. Wildlife instead destroys these other activities and thus creating unfair competition. Furthermore it was also noted by Norton-Griffiths, 1995; in Emerton, 1999) that if communities are to sustainably utilize wildlife for their own benefit, then wildlife must successfully compete with other land use options. As part of the activities that promote survival of sport hunting, the communities now take it upon themselves to report illegal grazers in the park and poachers within their communities. The residents of the three parishes have also started regulating on the number of trees they cut (Interviews 10, 11, 28). However, it is still a challenge that they use firewood for cooking and some burn charcoal both for sale and their home use. This may have long term environmental impact in the parishes.

"…they also burn charcoal around here and sell it in the neighboring districts and Kampala because they are poor and that is why we don't have forests here and it is very hot here"
(community member from Nyakahita)

However, this pure dependence on firewood for cooking and burning of charcoal is becoming a threat to the environment; more trees are cut with few and sometimes none being planted to replace them. However, what the park authority has done is to enter into

an agreement with the local communities to collect dead wood from the park and with restriction not to cut fresh ones (Interview 6). They have also been trained to prevent bush fires and to protect wetlands around their communities (Interview 6). However, some individuals still carelessly cause bush fires as they clear their fields for fresh and tender grass to sprout for their cows. These fires at times spread into the park areas and kill the slow moving creatures.

4.3.5 Social capital

Social capital as operationalised and discussed under 2.3.2.5 of this thesis, refers to the ability of local people to participate in wildlife governance, form social networks in their area, get empowered socially and politically, receive leadership trainings and inclusion of marginal people in wildlife management around LMNP.

The communities in the three parishes have in the last decade shown substantial effort to participate in wildlife management issues around LMNP. They have done this through formation of CWAs mainly comprising of landowners from the three parishes. These associations oversee the operation of sport hunting within the communities and also ensure that the community voices are heard and benefits reach the intended groups. Apparently, because of sport hunting, some community members have become so keen on poachers and directly report them to UWA, GTL and local government officials who arrest them. This has led to increased animal population outside protected areas (Interview 5, 28).The communities are also participating wildlife management through raising issues and voting. They get to vote during meetings on issues that favour their livelihoods improvement and also vote for political positions such as local government and CPI representatives who are supposed to represent their interests at local government levels. Furthermore, the communities also get to vote executives of the CWAs and they work hand in hand with UWA, GTL and the district environment officers of the affected districts to monitor ecological changes and benefit sharing systems in the area.

Furthermore, while government used to be considered as the main provider of solutions on issues concerning wildlife management, the involvement of other stakeholders like communities means that solutions can now be derived from any level of authority and will positively favour the management of sport hunting. As noted by Saito, (2007) governance changes what "public" is all about, because entities other than government offices participate in the process of discussing and implementing solutions to resolve issues which affect different constituent members. The Community has therefore been able to participate in the governance of wildlife outside protected areas in four different stages; Local Government, CPI, Associations, and Land Owners. At all these stages, they complement each other as discussed under 3.3.2. They are therefore active in the planning, defining the benefit sharing scheme, carrying out hunting expedition, ensuring consensus on where the animal falls, and taking of the animal carcass for consumption (NEMA & MTTI, 2008).

In terms of social networks, the communities of Rurambiira have also established a Savings and Credit Cooperative Society (SACCOS) which brings the communities together to work towards poverty reduction. In this programme, they get to collect money in one pool and at the appointed time they give it to one individual and later to the next person until every member has received a contribution. However, it has one weakness that most of the members rarely earn enough money from sport hunting to even save anything. So most of the time the account is empty because people cannot keep banking the little they have and yet they are lacking so many other basic necessities. The other associations did not mention that they have such a saving scheme for their members on grounds that they do not earn enough from sport hunting to even think of banking some.

4.4 Discussion and Conclusion on impact of sport hunting on conservation and Livelihoods

Literature search and fieldwork reveal that the livelihoods of the communities around LMNP greatly depend on livestock farming. The LMNP surrounding communities are largely pastoralists with just a few who are cultivators and businessmen. The pastoralists by

tradition tend to own large herds of cattle and they move from one place to another to graze and water their cattle. This also means that they do not construct permanent houses and do not spend time on cultivation and their major source of food is the milk from their cows. The tradition of livestock farming among the communities can indeed be exploited for sport hunting. For example, animals such as Zebras, Impalas and Warthogs freely graze alongside livestock. This could be an opportunity where farm owners can rear these animals together with their cattle and have sport hunting done on their designated farms and they can also begin practicing game cropping since the animals will already be part of their farms. Furthermore, the introduction of sport hunting has now led to some evidence of these communities moving from purely pastoralism to mixed farming. However, they are mainly doing subsistence farming for their consumption besides raring cattle. They also sell their cows and milk and in return buy food stuff from neighbouring communities to meet their daily food demand as well as other necessities of life. This changing livelihoods is explained by increasing population due immigrants from other communities into this area which has resulted into increasing shortage of grazing land and settlement. As a result some of the locals have ventured into fishing and have been granted permission to fish on the lakes within the park and 32 boats have been licensed and this money is subsidizing their budgets for daily living.

In terms of conservation, this area has faced a big challenge in the last decades as there was and still is increasing human population and increasing demand for agricultural land and settlement. Human-wildlife conflict sparked out due to increased competition for grazing land with wildlife. The communities responded to this through poisoning of most mammals and decimated their population a great deal (see Kamugisha et al., 1997). It was only after the reintroduction of pilot sport hunting in 2001 that some change in the attitude of the communities towards wildlife manifested. The communities started seeing some economic value from wildlife and sometimes far above what they get from the sale of their cows. This has resulted into increase in the number of wildlife outside protected areas as more people now allow wildlife to graze alongside their farms. Furthermore, others have now started rearing the exotic breads that do not require very huge chunks of land to graze and this

creates more room for wildlife to graze freely without much competition from livestock for pasture.

The livelihoods of the communities have also been greatly impacted by sport hunting in the last decade. The local communities have used the money from sport hunting to construct school blocks in different parishes around LMNP, health centres, watering points for their cows and even roads that connect the villages are being maintained with money from sport hunting. Local people have also gotten jobs directly and indirectly in sport hunting related businesses although still in small numbers (see under 4.3.1). If more opportunities can be exploited, more jobs are likely to be created for these communities. Further still, poaching has to some extent been reduced within the communities as most members now report illegal hunters to the park and they are prosecuted in the courts of law. Illegal grazing has also been minimized as few people now enter the park illegally and the few who go into the park first acquire permission from the park authorities. Further still, the locals have also been involved in the management of LMNP and surrounding environs through the formed CWAs in all the parishes. They also get to elect CPI representatives from every parish and this has improved their relation with the park as they through the CWAs and CPI get to directly air their views to UWA and Local government.

In conclusion, many changes have taken place as per the livelihood strategies around LMNP. More and more people are moving into mixed farming and other activities to diversity their sources of income and also to minimise the losses they suffer from wildlife. However, what needs to be explained is the fact that human population in this area is increasing everyday and more competition is already being witnessed. The number of wildlife outside LMNP is also growing faster and may soon surpass its carrying capacity and that will mean that the communities will begin experiencing the same losses they did years back before sport hunting. This requires that all the stakeholders combine efforts to come up with new alternatives to handle this challenge and ensure that all the stakeholders and especially the communities continue to see value from these wild animals.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This thesis analysed the potential of the 'new' sport hunting as an intervention to human-wildlife conflict around Lake Mburo National Park. The 'new' sport hunting has attracted a lot of debates in Uganda since its time of inception. As to whether it has really achieved the objectives it was set remains subjective. To those who have seen and gained direct financial benefit, they will advocate for sport hunting to be continued. To those who have not got direct benefit and yet they were expecting to get it, sport hunting is the worst thing that has ever been reintroduced around Lake Mburo National Park. However, it was the goal of this research to answer two main questions by analyzing how sport hunting has been implemented as a 'new' policy arrangement in wildlife management especially outside protected areas and to examine its impact on the livelihoods of the local communities around Lake Mburo National Park. Presentation of findings was made to reflect on key discourses, policy actors and their coalitions, rules of the game and resources shaping the implementation of the new sport hunting policy. Furthermore, more presentation was made on the impact of sport hunting on livelihoods of the communities around Lake Mburo National Park and conclusions drawn. This chapter therefore offers a brief summary of the main findings, followed by discussion and some conclusions on the implementation and achievements of the 'new' sport hunting. It then ends by making some policy recommendations.

5.1 Main findings

The 'new' policy on sport hunting in private lands around Lake Mburo National Park has been implemented for close to a decade. It was initiated mainly to test its feasibility as a 'tool' to improve the negative human-wildlife attitude. The 'new' sport hunting emerged as a hybrid concept particularly from changes in the narrative of fortress conservation to

community based conservation. The community based conservation approach puts emphasis on communal involvement in the management of wildlife inside and outside protected areas. It was further backed by neo-liberal thinking (Hulme and Murphree, 1999). Accordingly, wild animals are exposed to the market with an assumption that their uniqueness will lead to high economic values. The high economic values in away have enhanced wildlife conservation as well as local livelihoods. Ontologically, wild animals outside the boundaries of LMNP were perceived as a threat to community livelihood activities. They damaged crops, farm resources such as pasture, grass and salt leaks, transmitted disease, caused livestock loss and killed humans around Lake Mburo National Park. They were therefore a burden that the communities needed to get rid of. The Local Communities never saw themselves as 'neighbours' but as 'enemies' to Park Authorities. A viable solution to this problem was seen to be in introducing financial incentives to the communities through attaching economic values to the wild animals on private or communal land. Uganda Wildlife Authority introduced the pilot project in 2001 to achieve four main objectives (see chapter 3, Box 2). It is being carried out on both Government ranches and communal lands or individual land around Lake Mburo National Park and involves several stakeholders, who are interested in changing wildlife management system outside Lake Mburo National Park.

In conclusion, the 'new' sport hunting is being implemented within the policy arrangement framework. Various stakeholders have been involved in the implementation debates, rules have been set to guide their operation, and different wealth of resources combined to implement this project. Several discourses have also emerged that have been transposed into enforceable rules to guide actors, such as changes in the revenue sharing percentages and increases in the animal prices. These rules have greatly impacted on the livelihoods of the local communities through benefits that they have received. However, some of the challenges that have been identified in its implementation must be addressed. These can be addressed through; regular sensitization and mobilization of stakeholders (especially communities). Furthermore, solutions and decision making power need to arise from bottom-up. Stronger rules that emphasize that community benefits and other rules are not violated also need to be in place.

In terms of livelihoods, this pilot project clearly has brought a change in the livelihood strategies around Lake Mburo National Park. The communities that were purely cattle grazers with a little cultivation are now moving towards mixed farming with wildlife being reared alongside cows. Importantly, they have adopted off-farm activities mainly as teachers, nurses, rangers, fishermen and operating small scale businesses, bee keeping, goat rearing, etc to off-shed risk of wildlife damage to agricultural products. To a small extent, it has created job opportunities for the local people who would otherwise have remained unemployed. However, these jobs are mainly in the informal sector. Revenue generated from sport hunting has also been used to enhance livelihoods through construction of other infrastructures like roads and animal watering points. Some individuals have also used this money to construct better houses as opposed to the traditional makeshift houses. Other members have used it to send their children to better schools and to access better medical services. Furthermore, it was also revealed that some farmers have acquired plots of land in neighbouring trading centres and towns where they have built houses for rent. Others have bought more cows (especially the exotic Friesians) that have improved on the quality of their breed and increased milk production. Others have used this money to buy acaricides for spraying their cows against ticks. Besides, they have also become more food secured through buying food stuffs like maize flour, beans etc from the neighbouring communities especially in seasons when they are not able to harvest due to crop losses to wild animals.

Conclusively, it is no doubt that the 'new' sport hunting has registered impact on both the livelihood strategies and livelihoods outcomes around LMNP in the past decade. Jobs have been created, financial benefits accrued and shared among stakeholders. Infrastructures have also been put in place such as schools, health centres, roads, and animal watering points. The accrued revenue has also been used to supplement administrative costs at these facilities and also in government offices especially at sub county headquarters. Sport hunting has also revived the culture of the local people and its potential to contribute to conservation of wildlife outside protected areas. They have been able to preserve their culture of pastoralism by rearing their cows alongside wildlife. They are also proud of their culture of not eating wild meat. This therefore puts their focus on only rearing these animals

for ecological reasons and associated financial gains. However, this has been done just to a small extent, rendering the project's sustainability questionable.

5.2 Discussion: Sport hunting as a Policy Arrangement

Literature recognizes that the 'new' sport hunting within the realm of community based conservation should involve local people in conservation agenda and sharing of benefits. Around Lake Mburo National Park, the communities and several other stakeholders identified in chapter three have been actively involved in defining the problem of wildlife outside Lake Mburo National Park, designing strategies such as granting user rights to the communities and implementing these strategies through the 'new' sport hunting. To a recognizable degree, this has been achieved. The communities have been granted permission to rear wild animals on their farms for economic gains and they have been able to derive financial returns out of the sport hunting activity. The hitherto excluded community members are now key stakeholders in wildlife management outside protected areas and sport hunting implementation. Strategically, granting the Wildlife User Rights (WUR) and sharing of benefits with the communities meant that government had recognized the role that the local communities can play in wildlife management. It is also based on the fact that wildlife activities (sport hunting) can contribute to alleviation of poverty among the rural populations as well as changing their long negative attitude towards wildlife. The communities have been greatly involved through their Community Wildlife Associations (CWAs) and even as private landowners in the sharing of benefit debates. Both the communities and the park now look at themselves as 'partners' in wildlife management. This is reflected by the fact that Uganda Wildlife Authority set up a community conservation department that works hand in hand with the community wildlife associations to identify illegal encroachers. If well nurtured, this will go a long way in saving the wildlife populations outside Lake Mburo National Park boundaries.

However, this has not been achieved without criticisms. The 'new' sport hunting to some is seen as an imposition on the communities. It is not what they really wanted. It is claimed that Uganda Wildlife Authority did not involve the community from the very stage of

conception of the idea. This still puts the objectives of this project in a balance as the whole problem of human-wildlife conflict is bound to keep reoccurring. Several other discrepancies in discourses among the stakeholders further weaken the implementation of this project and its outcomes. While Uganda Wildlife Authority claims that sport hunting has led to increase in the number of wild animals outside protected areas, the communities on the other hand are angered by the same fact. The communities initially perceived that sport hunting would bring financial benefits on a monthly basis. But, in the long run they expected the number of animals on their farms to reduce. They also expected Government to come up with a mechanism of compensation for wildlife losses. Government however has remained aloof to calls by the communities to get compensation for enormous wildlife losses. Instead, arrests and imprisonment of encroachers on protected resources were made. Even in the presence of the 'new' sport hunting, Government still arrests and fines and even prosecutes offenders in courts of law. All this is happening amidst increasing animal population both inside and outside protected areas coupled with continued wildlife threats to the communities. From study analysis, it is also evident that little sensitization and mobilization is being done by Uganda Wildlife Authority and even the Community Wildlife Associations. In a society with such a turbulent history, it is inevitable that constant sensitization on how to minimize risks from wild animals is done.

At a stakeholder level, various groups have been involved in promoting this pilot project. For example, Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) in collaboration with CITES-Ministry of Trade Tourism and Industry (MTTI) have been at the forefront in setting polices that govern sport hunting. In order to implement these policies, they have granted a hunting concession to Game Trail (U) Limited (GTL) to carry out the pilot project. UWA also together with Wildlife User Right Committee (WURC) encouraged the formation of Community Wildlife Associations (CWAs) in three parishes around Lake Mburo National Park (LMNP). These CWAs work under close monitoring by Wildlife User Right Committee (WURC) who manage issues of sharing benefit, allocation of quotas, setting prices per animal and other rules as well as working as a link between the Government and the Communities. WURC also guides UWA and the other stakeholders to ensure a smooth interaction patterns among them. To avoid conflict of interest, WURC members are by law barred from any private involvement in

sport hunting related affairs. However, the working of WURC and other stakeholders have been met with some challenges. Among them is the fact that WURC does not have decision making powers and only makes recommendations which can either be accepted or rejected by the other stakeholders like UWA. It also lacks specific times set for their meetings and can only afford to meet when chief wardens are holding their quarterly meetings which also depend on availability of pending issues (Muhimbura and Namara, 2008). Because of these challenges, WURC have not been able to monitor and take action against cases of corruption and lack of transparency in sport hunting. Complaints have also been raised on how UWA has been running sport hunting in the "dark" without informing the general public of the achievements of sport hunting and if at all it (sport hunting) has credibly increased the number of animals outside LMNP.

Further still, the communities also observe a change in their relations with other stakeholders due to political interference. This is especially with politicians coming in to be part of the Associations which is causing resentment among the communities. The coming in of these politicians is claimed to be worsening the corruption incidences in the operation of sport hunting. It is mentioned that these politicians tend to influence Game Trail (U) Limited (GTL) to frequent sport hunting on their farms and in the process they end up being the only beneficiaries. For example it was noted that during the sharing of acaricides, it is only influential landowners with large herds of cattle who were considered and the other unpopular landowners were always left out. This evil is cutting across all the camps of stakeholders. As noted by Saito (2007), environmental governance in Uganda's localities is facing serious challenges as resources are exploited for personal gains by the powerful officials and that such exploitation undermines efforts to establish common public interests. In fact, some respondents did not want to (and others did not) speak about this on record as they thought it would jeopardize their positions since some of the culprits were their seniors. According to Lindsey et al. (2006) corruption affects the allocation of hunting concessions in various countries. It causes management to compromise their positions and responsibilities in monitoring over exploitation of game and at times in allocation of

concessions. In a study by Ahebwa et al. (2008) corruption was also noted to be one of those issues surrounding the 20% revenue sharing programme around LMNP.

However, the involvement of stakeholders in the implementation of sport hunting will help to achieve its main objectives as highlighted in Chapter 3, Table 2. Civil Society Organizations like Nature Uganda have helped to bring to limelight the activities of sport hunting through their Forums for public debates. Sport hunting had already been in place for some years without the general public being aware of it. It was only after such forums coming up that more people joined the debate. Because of this involvement, the civil society and even the communities now advocate for use of bottom-up approach to solve sport hunting issues. They believe this will provide lasting solutions to wildlife-human conflicts and will also encourage more people to air out their views. Detrimental to the bottom-up approach however is the fact that Uganda Wildlife Authority still wields supreme authority in running sport hunting. In the event that authority is tilted towards one direction, it is most likely that corruption and abuse of rights of other stakeholders will continue. In the long run, other stakeholders, especially the communities, will continue getting dissatisfied with the whole idea of the new pilot project. Solutions and decision making power need to arise from bottom-up. The communities have got a great wealth of indigenous knowledge that need to be exploited to ensure success of this project and smooth interaction patterns.

Several rules were also noted to be guiding the sport hunting process around Lake Mburo National Park (LMNP). The 'new' sport hunting is required under article 237(2) of the 1995 constitution of Uganda and the CITEs rules to be carried out by a registered professional hunting company and only in areas outside protected areas. These rules have ensured continuous monitoring of population off-take and sharing of benefits. Interviews also show that stakeholders have adhered to these rules and where disagreements emerge, dialogue is applied to reach a concession. Adams et al. (2002) note that use of dialogue provide a basis through which management of common pool resource is effective among stakeholders especially where such resources are subject to contestation among multiple users and conflict between multiple uses. They further note that dialogue also helps specific decision-

makers to define the decision problem, and consider possible responses to it. However, the provision and implementation sport hunting rules have been contested by the communities and Nature Uganda. They note that much as Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) monitors all off-take outside LMNP boundaries, they accuse it of conniving with Game Trails (U) Limited (GTL) to illegally hunt some species of animal without accounting for them on the allocated quota. This nature of rule violation contradicts views by Hendee (1974) that game managers should focus their efforts on increasing the amount of game available for harvest with logic that human benefits which management sought to increase are equated with the amount of game harvested. The communities further claim that the limited benefit they get is a result of fewer animals being allocated on the quota. They also claim that the benefits they get are not enough to equate to the losses they suffer. This is however happening in the face of extra numbers of animals added by UWA to GTL after the official approved quota. The communities therefore continue to demand that more animals be allocated on the quota and if possible a second company be granted hunting concession. The case of UWA and GTL here can lead one into a temptation of imagining that the extra quota allocated by UWA is not accounted for on the benefits that the communities receive. It could only be extra quota for the benefit of some individuals in UWA. The challenges highlighted are examples of issues that arise from vulnerability context/external factors surrounding policy environment and can either affect livelihoods negatively or positively. If the communities do not receive the promised benefits, their livelihoods will most likely remain unchanged.

There is therefore a need for government to come up with stronger rules that emphasize that community benefits and other rules are not violated. As noted by Lindsey et al. (2006), “the greatest threat to the sustainability of trophy hunting on communal land is the failure of Governments and hunting operators to devolve adequate benefits to local communities, which reduces incentives for rural people to conserve wildlife”. Interviews conducted with the communities and GTL also point out that there is reluctance on the side of government to come up with strong enforceable rules to guide sport hunting and to ensure that more benefits reach the intended communities members. If these rules are lacking in place,

corruption and lack of transparency will most likely continue; the communities will not see the benefits they ought to get from sport hunting.

This study also shows that resources availability and access play a central role in the project implementation, sharing of benefits and its impact on livelihoods assets. These resources also determine who has the power to exert influence and decisions on livelihood capitals discussed in Chapter Four. These resources also manifest in forms of power. During sport hunting implementation, power seems to rest in the hands of Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA). They make the final decisions on the number of animals to be allocated in the quota and who should actually be handed a hunting concession in the area. They also carry out animal censuses both in and outside the park to determine population dynamics. This is also used as a basis for granting the **q**uota. This set quota has always had an effect on the amount of revenue that accrues to the other stakeholders as well as how Game Trails (U) Limited (GTL) should conduct its activities since they are also monitored by UWA. As noted by Arts and Buizer (2009) power is regarded as the ability of actors to form discourse coalitions and to mobilize resources in order to achieve certain outcomes in social systems. These discourse coalitions in UWA have strived for hegemony in sport hunting policy arrangements in order to realize their preferred objectives in Chapter 3. Further still, much as UWA with the help of Wildlife User Right Committee (WURC) allocates quota and also work with the Local Government to monitor sport hunting and ecological changes in these parishes, the communities have also come together through their Community Wildlife Associations (CWAs) to demand for their livelihoods benefits. They even now expect to have a stronger say in sport hunting with the formation of the new umbrella association that is supposed to unite all the three associations. It will also ensure that the issues of lack of accountability and transparency that has been so common among the three associations are dealt with.

5.3 Discussion: Sport hunting in relations to livelihoods strategies and outcomes

The 'new' sport hunting has brought significant changes in the livelihoods strategies. In the 'new' project, the communities are seen as partners other than mere degraders of wildlife outside protected areas. The 'new' sport hunting therefore works under the provisions of community based conservation with devolution of rights and access of resources to the local people. Because of this devolution of rights and access, the communities have been able to exploit several opportunities to enhance their livelihoods. However, the sustainability of these activities is influenced by other external factors referred to as vulnerability context or risk exposure (Allison and Horemans, 2006). In the sport hunting example around LMNP, it is evident that the communities already suffer from seasonality factor. The landowners reveal that there is no agreed frequency upon which Game Trails (U) Limited (GTL) is supposed to bring clients to their farms. In fact, they mention that GTL can take several months to years without hunting from their farms. Because of this, some of their activities slow down during seasons when they cannot have enough capital to invest. This therefore requires that the communities diversify their activities to reduce risks of seasonality in sport hunting revenue. Sport hunting implementation and livelihood outcomes are still affected by changing political environment and or even other Government policies such as irking of the animal prices in attempt to compete with other countries in Africa. The likely effect of this can be a reduction in the number of clients to Uganda. In terms of shock, the prices of game around Lake Mburo National Park (LMNP) are determined by the factor on naturalness of the hunting environment. This naturalness of the environment is reported by Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) and GTL to be the sole reason for lower prices of game around LMNP in comparison with other African countries like Botswana, South Africa, Tanzania and Namibia. This factor can have both direct and indirect impact on the livelihood strategies/activities of the communities. For example the current laws that provide for only hunting of male animals and providing a limited quota per fiscal year also means that only a few households can benefit from sport hunting per fiscal year. This also means that some sections of landowners who will not receive any revenue in that fiscal year will probably have their livelihoods remaining unchanged. However, there is a need to come up with an agreement between the communities and GTL that stipulates the frequency of hunts per parish. This

will help to solve allegations that GTL is not hunting from some farms and yet they over frequent others. It will also help to avoid greater exposure to risks of seasonality since the communities can then be able plan ahead for the time when GTL is not hunting from their farms.

In terms of human capital development, the 'new' sport hunting created mainly few job opportunities. It has created instead so many informal opportunities (such as bee keeping, fishing, other retail businesses etc) around Lake Mburo National Park (LMNP) for the communities that when properly exploited, can also go a long way in enhancing their livelihoods. This activity has enabled the communities that did not have close access to education facilities to have schools built within their reach. At least a school has been built in each of the parishes using sport hunting fees. This is improving literacy levels among the pastoralist communities who were known not to value education in the past. Their children are now taught the values of wildlife conservation and they hope they will get meaningful employment after school. These schools have also created employment opportunities for teachers, cooks, cleaners and matrons alike especially for the boarding sections. However, these figures are still small to make significant impact on employment sector among the local people. Much as Government may posts teachers and nurses to these parishes, fewer people are willing to work in these areas because of their remoteness. The salary that would motivate these workers is also still a big challenge. The communities pay 20,000 UGX as allowances to teachers in Rurambiira but this is too little to help these teachers live a decent life. However, if the communities can be more involved in alternative employment, it will greatly reduce dependence on park resources for a living and henceforth favouring the survival of wildlife outside protected areas and sport hunting activity. Further still, it is not possible to conclude that sport hunting has indeed changed the formal employment structure around LMNP. The communities are majorly employed in the informal sector. Just a few are formally employed. Besides, Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) has not done any study to establish official figures of formal employment created. It is important to establish how many people are formally employed. If these figures are not established, it will be hard to convince the villagers that the 'new' sport hunting has created for them jobs. Many of

them may continuously resort to illegal hunt where they can get quick money and without taxation. For example it was pointed out that an illegally hunted kob can be sold between 40,000 UGX and 50, 000 UGX. Government also needs to come up to remunerate the staffs employed in the sport hunting built facilities. Local people will not see any point in becoming teachers or nurses and having to depend on 20,000 UGX as monthly allowance offered by the communities. They would rather hunt illegally and get 40,000 UGX or more per hunt.

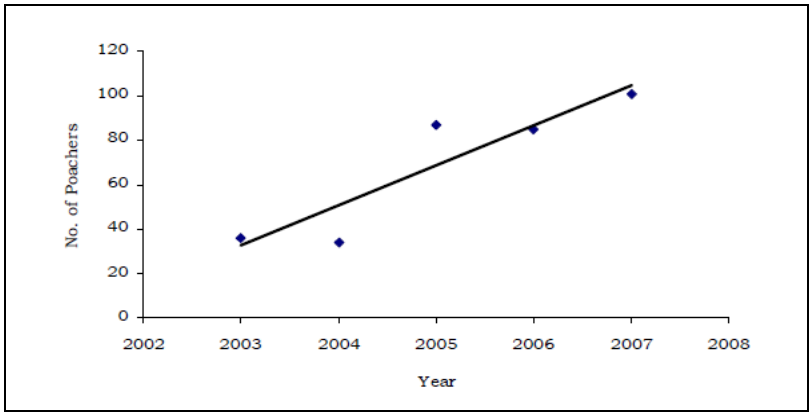
The form of sport hunting that was practiced in 1960s and 1970s was still under the fortress system of conservation and did not attach much concern on the livelihoods of the local people. The new community conservation agenda with neo-liberal thoughts attach much concern to the livelihoods of the communities. It also requires that community land uses be compatible with conservation activities. As noted by Young (2006, p.323) there are innovative projects in African savanna ecosystems that are turning the profits of biodiversity back to local people through hunting in an attempt to integrate rural development and conservation. Furthermore, it is also making alternative land uses less attractive due to biodiversity profits that accrue from them. However, it was discovered that the distribution of revenue around LMNP is unequal. It is dependent on sheer luck rather than legibility. The generated revenue also depends on which species and how many of them have been hunted. It is worth noting that there is no natural control over which species can be distributed on individual farms. It is possible to fine one farm with only zebras and another with only impalas. If the clients were looking for a mature Sitatunga, both farms would miss out on the client and therefore the revenue. The problem animals and or vermins also seem to bring less revenue to the farmers as much of the hunt statistics show less of these species of animals. These factors could explain the continued cry by farmers about more attacks from animals amidst sport hunting. One other interesting finding from this study is based on the figures of animals hunted in the last 8 years. Official documents indicate that a total of 926 different species have been hunted in a period of 8 years by only 135 clients. Statistically speaking, each client was able to hunt about 7 different species of animals. This leaves a lot of questions in one's mind concerning the reliability of the statistics of hunted animals and amount of revenue generated in the past.

It is important to have accurate data to monitor population rate of regeneration and off-take so that it does not reduce beyond acceptable limits. It also avoids situations of “blindly” setting quotas and hunting without really knowing how many individuals are available for hunt and how sustainable they are. If this data is accurate, it can also help to clarify on mobility characteristics of these individuals. It is for example mentioned by some analysts that the increasing population outside park boundaries is a result of increasing poaching and grazing in the park. Others also say that the vegetation in the park in most times is thick, unpalatable and ‘unsafe’ for some grazers. So they tend to move out of the park boundaries in search for tender grass and also for safety; where they can easily monitor their predators. These analysts therefore claim that there is no evidence of increasing population around Lake Mburo National Park (LMNP). They also point that there is no evidence of published data on population increase inside and outside LMNP and if so by how many. An example is when one of the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) officials presented the status of wildlife outside protected areas at a public forum in Kampala; he is quoted by Jordahl (2010) to have showed graphs that showed a more-than-tenfold increase in some species in five years. This is said to have left many participants in doubt of the system of census they used. During fieldwork, it was also discovered that the quotas are based on total populations in the area (both inside and outside the park). An interesting question therefore popes as to why UWA bases on census figures both inside and outside the park to set quotas for hunting outside the park. This system overlooks errors in double entry of the same animals in the chat (i.e. both inside and outside the park) since they don’t have a mechanism of marking the counted animal. This already indicates lack of a strong monitoring system to check how hunting is carried out, data recorded and how much benefits accrue. In the absence of this system, there is bound to unfold a scenario where sport hunting will continue with a lot of animals being hunted but with less or no monitoring of species off-take and accruing revenue properly recorded. This also violates the aspiration of Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) of building on existing assets to deliver sustainable benefits to the stakeholders.

Because of this lack of off-take monitoring system, it is contradicting to note that much as Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) claims that sport hunting has increased the number of

wildlife outside protected areas, illegal hunting still appears to be on the increase (see Figure 7). This even creates more impasses on the future of wild animals outside protected areas and sport hunting itself. While it used to be only illegal hunting affecting animal population, this time it is a combination of the two. With unclear methods of detecting population decreases in the area, it is most likely that the populations will be depleted within a short period of time. It also raises the question of whether sport hunting has really reduced poaching in this area. Worse still, the community will continue disputing the prices set per animal and the percentage they get from these animals. This may also go a long way in fueling the negative attitudes towards wild animals and sport hunting. However, there is need to conduct a detailed assessment of this persistent poaching in the presence of sport hunting.

Figure 7: Wildlife poaching in and around Lake Mburo National Park



Source: Atukunda and Namara. 2009; Kaggwa et al., 2009

Further still, more loopholes are identifiable in the management of sport hunting. For example it was noted that the concessionaire Game Trails (U) Limited (GTL) signs a 24-month agreement, which allows them to immediately begin operations. But Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) takes over 24 months to come up with a management plan that is supposed to guide the implementation of the awarded concession. This basically allows GTL to operate without a management plan for the duration of their concession (Jordahl, 2010). As noted by Barrow et al. (1997, p.19) community conservation needs to be set in an appropriate and acceptable policy environment. They further note that the degree to which

community conservation has been integrated into the policy and practice of conservation authorities is one important gauge of its sustainability. Furthermore, Lindsey et al. (2006) note that inequitable distribution of hunting revenues is caused by inadequate legislation to enforce community benefits and failure of Governments to devolve ownership of wildlife to communities. UWA therefore needs to learn from the experience of the past sport hunting in Uganda and compare with current results to develop a management plan for the 'new' sport hunting. These lessons if well studied can lead to better and equitable distribution of revenue among the stakeholders and subsequently lead to a sustainable livelihood change around LMNP.

As part of the natural assets, the communities own land around Lake Mburo National Park (LMNP). This is land that was redistributed to them by Government through the Kanyanyeru Resettlement Scheme (KRS) in 1987. It is this piece of land that is used by the communities to build homes, grow food, rear their cows especially the pastoralists and is also the same piece of land where wild animals are left to graze outside protected areas for sport hunting. The possession of this land by the communities means that the communities should be able to see tangible benefits from these animals. The benefits should motivate them to continue preserving these animals and to allow sport hunting to compete with their other land uses. If this is not done, then the wildlife population will most likely be decimated. As noted by Eltringham (1990), sport hunting can greatly survive in most rangelands because the mammal populations are usually greater than those outside protected areas. It is also because human interference is controlled. This therefore means that the communities who own pieces of land outside LMNP should be encouraged to be a part of the sport hunting agenda so that they are willing to allow wild animals to graze on their land. This will also increase population outside protected areas to support sport hunting. The communities should also be willing to accept sport hunting as another alternative land use that they can adopt. It was also revealed during fieldwork that the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) is working with all the other stakeholders to ensure that communities appreciate that the ownership of these animals belong to them and they have the right to access any benefits that accrue from them.

Sport hunting has impacted a great deal on the social scene in the parishes around Lake Mburo National Park (LMNP). The communities that were originally viewed as “enemies” of the parks are now seen as “partners” in conservation. They have been empowered through sensitization, mobilization and short trainings held in their communities. The trainings were set to help them appreciate the values of wild animals to their livelihoods. As discussed under 4.4.5, the communities have been able to organize themselves and formed Community Wildlife Associations (CWAs) which have been working along with other stakeholders to promote sport hunting. Above all to promote community goals of livelihood change and ensure that the money that comes from sport hunting gets to benefits a wider community. They have done this through holding of regular meetings with stakeholders like Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) to discuss the needs of the association, build structures that provide social services like education, health, road networks and animal watering points. Sport hunting has also revived the culture of the local people and its potential to contribute to conservation of wildlife outside protected areas. The local communities are also participating through their CWAs and through other individual means to ‘community-police’ illegal hunters and grazers in the area and subsequently reporting to UWA for action. The communities have also been able to preserve their culture of pastoralism since they can still rear their cows alongside wildlife. They are also proud of their culture of not eating wild meat. This puts their focus on only rearing these animals for ecological reasons and associated financial gains. Through the use of “triangle of consent” in Rurambiira, the role of the communities is becoming more recognized as they make suggestions to both UWA and CPI and even to GTL. This was not the case before but now it is happening and needs to be maintained.

5.4 Recommendations

Based on the study findings, discussions and conclusions drawn from this study, the following can be recommended;

To address the problem of continued negative attitude towards wildlife, Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) should carry out regular sensitization of the communities on the values of wildlife. The communities need to know that these animals belong to them and that their (wildlife) survival will go a long way to enhance their livelihoods. It should not be taken for granted that the benefits from sport hunting have helped to change the attitudes of the communities towards wildlife. They should be continuously sensitized and even trained on how to cope with increasing wildlife population in their farms amidst restrictions on illegal hunting. They should also be clearly told that sport hunting is a conservation tool besides providing them with benefits. They should also be able to digest UWA's discourse that sport hunting is not an end in itself; it is a means to an end. The expected end results from sport hunting are the benefits and the increasing safety of wildlife on private lands. But this requires ecological considerations so that the animals are not over depleted to gain benefits. In the event that there is no more regular sensitization and mobilization of stakeholders (especially communities), it is likely that the old conflicts will be reignited and more illegal hunting will rise. This can cause sport hunting to again suffer a ban by government like it happened in 1979; of course bearing in mind that it is still a pilot project.

Sensitization and mobilization should also ensure continued use of dialogue to encourage more community involvement in wildlife management issues. An innovation such as use of "triangle of consent" by the community is one of such ways that may restore the community willingness to participate in wildlife management. They also need to know that these other stakeholders like UWA bear administrative costs and still need to be kept on the revenue sharing list.

To address the challenge of unequal representation of actors, stakeholders especially UWA, CPI and CWAs should empower other groups like women, youth and the disadvantage to take a proactive role in sport hunting. Women especially need to be involved because they are the major users of these resources where wild animals survive. They are for example the ones who are involved in collection of firewood, and cultivation work. If they are not trained then most likely this activity will not maintain the trend of benefits it brings at the moment.

In order to address the challenge of unreliability of animal census and lack of transparency in running sport hunting affairs, there is an urgent need to avail annual reports on sport hunting to all stakeholders for discussion. These reports should show trends in the increase in animal population by species, how many have been hunted and what their rate of regeneration is. It should also include generated revenue per fiscal year and how the money was distributed among stakeholders. This will keep all the stakeholders following debates and progress of sport hunting. At the moment it appears that these reports are only discussed in UWA board meetings and others are locked out on the progress of this activity. When this happens, it will most likely reduce the rates of accusations and counter accusations that have been a part of the stakeholders. There is also need to involve more technocrats in survey of animal population. This is also a way of having annual audit of sport hunting and its impact on population.

In order to address the lack of policy guidelines in sport hunting, Government should come up with a proper policy embedded within the constitution to guide this activity before it is taken up as one of the poverty alleviation tools around protected areas. This policy should spell out strict codes of conduct that must be followed. It should also provide that in the event that it becomes evident that a certain population figure (a set limit) is reached, the activity must stop for a period projected that the game population will regenerate to support the activity.

In the event that wildlife population continues to increase and more wildlife damages are experienced, Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) should adopt the strategy of shooting ring-leaders of problem animal kraal. This should also be included in the management agreement and quota provisions to the professional hunter (GTL). It should be purposely to scare away more animals from coming outside of the park and causing more damages. But the problem with the current sport hunting is that the sport hunters are given the freedom of shooting the animals of their choice. Furthermore, to handle the problem of increasing wildlife population, UWA should train vermin guards and employ them along with the park rangers. These could be community members trained in village patrolling of illegal grazers and hunters. This of course will come with a need to set aside a budget to facilitate these people.

On the issue of running sport hunting projects and sharing of revenue, there must be a clear distinction of the activities and projects run by sport hunting and the 20% revenue sharing programme. This will help the communities to best understand what these programmes are doing. If the 20% Revenue sharing programme is providing schools, health centres etc, Community Protected Areas Institutions (CPI) and Community Wildlife Associations (CWAs) should redirect sport hunting money into some other activities other than what Revenue sharing fund does. The problem at the moment is that it is the same CPI executive that handles the 20% revenue sharing fund that also handles sport hunting money. They also need to open up different accounts for these projects for easy accountability. It is evident that the association executives are not actually people who are qualified to run the association and are not very conversant with the issues of accountability. It was even shocking when an executive from CWAs admitted that for them they only pick money and put in a project without taking note of how much is taken and left. He went ahead to mention that after all what the communities need is the structures in place. Whether the money is underutilized seemed not to be their problem.

In order to provide more evidence on the feasibility of extending sport hunting to other protected areas in Uganda, Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) should conduct more studies on sport hunting complexities in other countries before it is extended to other parts in

Uganda. For example before the plans to introduce game ranching in Katonga game reserve materializes, UWA should understand how sustainable the populations there can be. What is there breeding rate, carry capacity of the areas should also be understood?

To address the challenge of limited revenue to the landowners, Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) should increase benefits to the communities through training the communities in wildlife ranching and also to encourage value addition on these animals. For example, other countries that practice sport hunting add monetary value to the animals even through sale of their carcasses. Besides, UWA should introduce trading in wildlife credits payment for ecosystems services (PES) scheme to communities. This will enable those who preserve a certain number of animals on their farms get additional revenue. In fact, this can be done alongside sport hunting for now. But it can be a much better option to be tested in other areas in Uganda instead of implementing there sport hunting which is already showing signs of weaknesses in its potential to address human-wildlife conflicts. Government should also come up and begin to remunerate the staffs employed in sport hunting built facilities as well as maintain them.

For the case of unequal revenue sharing among the communities, this can be solved by merging of all the hunting blocks in the three parishes and designing better methods of sharing benefits among landowners. This method should see that even those farms that may take so long without receiving sport hunters and or because they lack the big game and/or appropriate trophies can still get a share of what is hunted in other parishes directly not as a community.

In order to handle the problem of unclear frequency in sport hunting and to ensure constant supply of revenue, Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) should come up with an agreement that is signed between the communities and Game Trails (U) Limited (GTL) stipulating the frequency of hunts per parish. This will solve allegations that GTL is not hunting from some farms and yet they over frequent others. Above all Government should develop a strong

monitoring system to check how hunting is carried out, data recorded and how much benefits accrue and how they get distributed among stakeholders. This should ensure a more people-centered approach of sport hunting and that the benefits sustainably improve the livelihoods of the local people.

In summary, sport hunting seems to prove its worth as a conservation and development approach among rural communities in Uganda. However, the implementers of this project appear ill prepared to take up the challenge. They seem so much to focus on how much they can earn from it, other than how much they can make it achieve its intended objectives.

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APPENDICES

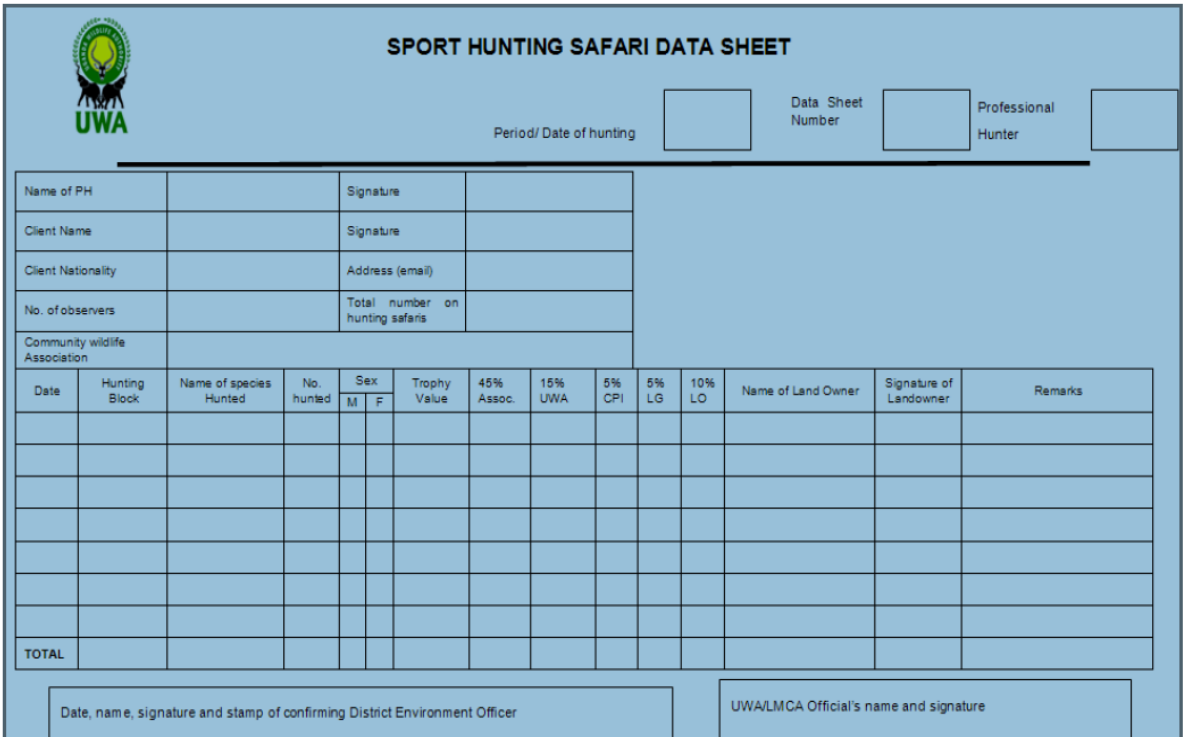
Appendix 1: List of Respondents

No.	Name	Organization	No.	Name	Organization
1	Byaruhanga Achilis	Nature Uganda	2	Musumba Christopher	UWA-LMNP
3	Mugume Donald	Rwakanome	4	Muhereza Mukama	UWA-LMNP
5	Murindwa Michael	UWA-LMNP	6	Abaho Noel	UWA-LMNP
7	Asiimwe Enos	CPI	8	Mzee Baguma John	Nyakahita
9	Mugenyi Safari	Rwakanombe	10	Bagaya Robert	UWA-LMNP
11	Kiriman Gordon	Rurambiira	12	Bagwanji David	Rwakanombe
13	Musana Yoweri	UWA-LMNP	14	Asiimwe Emmanuel	Nyakahita
15	Byentalo James	Nyakahita	16	Amanya Samuel	UWA-H/Q
17	Masereka Johnson	UWA-H/Q	18	Naniragaba Michael	GTL
19	Tindigarukayo Justus	MTTI-CITES	20	Kakuru Steven	Nyakahita
21	Tumwiine Enid	Rurambiira	22	Bagatuzayo Wilson	CPI
23	Taremwa Yorukam	Nyakahita	24	Rwakarongo George	Nyakahita
25	Mugisha Nathan	Nyakahita	26	Kashashemera- Chairman Nyakahita	Nyakahita
27	Luwomuhanda Benard	CPI	28	Rugumire Julius	Rwakanombe
29	Oryema Andrew	UWA-LMNP			

Appendix 2: The research time frame and activities

Activity/Time	Aug-2010	Sep-2010	Oct-2010	Nov-2010	Dec-2010	Jan-2011	Feb-2011	Mar-2011	Apr-2011	May-2011	Jun-2011	Jul-2011
Proposal Writing												
Data Collection												
Data Analysis												
Report Writing												
Report Submission												

Appendix 3: Safari data entry sheet designed by UWA for recording details of species hunted in an expedition



SPORT HUNTING SAFARI DATA SHEET

UWA

Period/ Date of hunting | Data Sheet Number | Professional Hunter

Name of PH		Signature	
Client Name		Signature	
Client Nationality		Address (email)	
No. of observers		Total number on hunting safaris	
Community wildlife Association			

Date	Hunting Block	Name of species Hunted	No. hunted	Sex		Trophy Value	45% Assoc.	15% UWA	5% CPI	5% LG	10% LO	Name of Land Owner	Signature of Landowner	Remarks
				M	F									
TOTAL														

Date, name, signature and stamp of confirming District Environment Officer

UWA/LMCA Official's name and signature

Source: UWA records, 2010

Appendix 4: Interview Protocols

UWA, Government and& Industry

a) What new discourses have the sport hunting policy brought in the wildlife management in Uganda and how have they been transposed into any new rules that recognize local community access to benefits from tourism?

1. You introduced sport hunting around LMNP in 2001, could you please explain why
2. Could you please give an account of what sport hunting entails currently
3. What has changed in wildlife management over time in Uganda in terms of norms, political culture and how it is viewed by the local community?
4. How do you rate your relationship now with local community since the introduction of sport hunting?

5. What are you doing to ensure that this relationship is improved?
6. What new rules/laws have emerged as a result of sport hunting?
7. How do these new rules/laws ensure that the local communities benefit from sport hunting?
8. What are the actual benefits local people get as a result of sport hunting?
9. How are these benefits shared among the different parties involved?
10. What are some of the things that the local people do now that they were not doing before sport hunting?

b) Who are the actors involved in sport hunting outside LMNP and what are the patterns in their interactions?

1. Please give an account of the stakeholders involved in sport hunting and why it has been necessary to involve them?
2. Do you give provision for new members to easily join and what are the criteria for joining?
3. How do you describe the interaction between park authorities and the local communities?
4. Do you hold regular meetings?
    a. What is normally the procedure of these meetings?
    b. What is always the stake of the local communities in these meetings?
    c. How do you ensure that the voices of the local people are heard and suggestions taken into account?

c) What is the relation (power relation) between the actors involved in sport hunting and how does this relation impact on discourses, rule settings and livelihoods around LMNP?

1. What are the main resources around LMNP?
2. How are they owned?
3. How are these resources accessed by the different stakeholders?
4. What new resources have emerged in this area as a result of sport hunting?
5. How do these resources impact on the sharing of benefits among the actors?
6. Do these resources lead to emergence of new policies in this area?
7. How do you determine what a policy is or will be?

d) Livelihoods strategies and outcomes

1. What livelihood activities are carried out by the local people around LMNP?
2. How is sport hunting complementing the livelihood activities of the local people around LMNP?
3. What are the benefits the communities get from sport hunting?
    a. How are these benefits shared among the communities?
4. How has sport hunting improved the lives of people in the following areas;
    a. Human capital improvement
    b. Social capital improvement
    c. Financial capital improvement
    d. Physical capital improvement
    e. Natural capital improvement
5. To what extent are the above outcomes a result of sport hunting?

Local Communities and Community Based Organizations

a) What new discourses have the sport hunting policy brought in the wildlife management in Uganda and how have they been transposed into any new rules that recognize local community access to benefits from tourism?

1. Sport hunting was introduced around LMNP in 2001, could you please explain why
2. Could you please give an account of what sport hunting entails currently
3. What has changed in wildlife management over time in Uganda in terms of norms, political culture and how do you view it?
4. How do you rate your relationship now with UWA since the introduction of sport hunting?
5. What are you doing to ensure that this relationship is improved?
6. What new rules/laws have emerged as a result of sport hunting?
7. Do these new rules/laws ensure that you receive benefits from sport hunting?
8. What are the actual benefits you are receiving as a result of sport hunting?
9. How are these benefits shared among the different parties involved?
10. What are some of the things that you are doing now that you were not doing before sport hunting?

b. Who are the actors involved in sport hunting outside LMNP and what are the patterns in their interactions?

1. Please give an account of the stakeholders involved in sport hunting and why it has been necessary to involve them?
2. Do you give provision for new members to easily join and what are the criteria for joining?
3. How do you describe the interaction between park authorities and the local communities?
4. Do you hold regular meetings?
    a. What is normally the procedure of these meetings?
    b. What is always your stake in these meetings?

c. How do you ensure that your voices are heard and suggestions taken into account?

c. What is the relation (power relation) between the actors involved in sport hunting and how does this relation impact on discourses, rule settings and livelihoods around LMNP?

1. What are the main resources around LMNP?
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d. Livelihoods strategies and outcomes

1. What livelihood activities are carried out by the local people around LMNP?
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