

Ingrid Ullavik Bakken

Local Costs and Benefits from Conservation and Oil Development

- A study from Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve, Uganda

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Academic supervisor: Haakon Lein



NTNU – Trondheim
Norwegian University of
Science and Technology

Abstract

In response to an increasing global awareness of environmental valuation, Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve in Uganda was established in 1996. Parallel to ongoing operations regarding significant oil discoveries in the region, the reserve is today operated through a conservation strategy of wildlife-based tourism. Although the region is expected to experience an increase in oil activities, this conservation strategy has been found to facilitate a win-win outcome for all involved stakeholders. Concerns have, however, been raised in response to local distribution of benefits from both conservation efforts and oil extraction. Through a political ecology approach, using on qualitative methodology, research was conducted in two of the reserve's neighboring villages to shed more light on these concerns.

The purpose of the research was multi-faceted: the first aim was to find out how the establishment of the Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve has affected local access to resources. The second purpose was to investigate whether local communities have benefitted from wildlife-based tourism, either through active or passive engagement. A third aspect examined how oil activity has affected the area through chosen parameters, and lastly, the study aimed to investigate local attitudes towards a future coexistence of environmental conservation and oil development. Regarding the actual establishment of the reserve, findings imply that local interests had to yield to external interests and pressures, justified through "green" purposes. The results further indicate that a substantial portion of the benefits received from wildlife-based tourism is accumulated within the accounts of management agencies. As far as the influence of oil activities, it appears that the environmental impacts have so far been mitigated, but the challenges faced are expected to increase in the years to come. Regarding the possibility of future coexistence between the Kabwoya Reserve and natural resource interests, the findings have indicated varying perceptions, but have not provided any definitive answers.

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List of acronyms

EPS	-	Early Production Scheme
KKGMA	-	Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area
KTCWA	-	Kaiso-Tonya Community Wildlife Area
KWR	-	Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve
LAG	-	Lake Albert Guesthouse
LAL	-	Lake Albert Lodge
LAS	-	Lake Albert Safari
NEMA	-	National Environment Management Authority
NFA	-	National Forestry Authority
NGO	-	Non Governmental Organization
PEPD	-	Petroleum Exploration Production Department
NDNM	-	Norwegian Directorate for Nature Management
USD	-	United States Dollar
UGX	-	Uganda Shillings
UWA	-	Uganda Wildlife Authority

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Conservation has emerged throughout the world during the past century, in an attempt to spare nature from devastating human exploitation. This has also been the case in Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve, located west in Uganda, on the eastern side of Lake Albert. Exposed to a steadily increasing population, combined with several decades of environmental mismanagement, the area received its status as a wildlife reserve in 1996 (Plumptre et al., 2009). Aiming to protect the area from prolonged degradation and overexploitation of resources, local access and utilization from the reserve was initially put under strict regulations. However, in accordance with international changes in conservation approaches during the 1990s, an alternative to misanthropic “hard parks” has been implemented since.

By recovering and preserving the area’s natural environment, it was assumed that wildlife-based tourism could create a beneficial win-win outcome for both conservational agencies and local settlements in the area. Found as an optimal way of unifying interests from different stakeholders through a common sharing of benefits, such measure was found to contribute locally; through improved employment and sustainable ecosystem services, nationally; through increased income from tourism, and globally; through maintenance of biodiversity and recreation areas.

Visiting the area 16 years after the conservation status was implemented, I wanted to find out how successful this strategy has been. Further aware of comprehensive involvement from an external tourist actor, I also wished to investigate how this has affected current management structures in the area. Basing my assumptions upon researches related to similar cases and theoretical aspects, I found reason to raise questions regarding local involvement in management processes, as well as local benefits from the reserve’s operation. Representing a home to thousands of local villagers, I desired to find out whether Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve represents one out of many areas in the world, where local needs have been forced to yield for international valuation of pristine nature.

An additional interesting, but also complicating factor is, however, the recent years’ discoveries of oil in the area. While the main aspect of this study was conservational strategies, I found it inevitable to consider how the findings of petroleum resources have affected the wildlife reserve, and the reserve’s neighboring settlements.

Although information obtained during my fieldwork mainly will be presented in Chapter four and five, some general background information regarding the study area will be presented in the following sections. As parts of this information have been obtained through interviews with local informants, it is necessary to address how this information will be referred to. Due to agreed confidentiality, I have chosen to present local informants anonymously. Exceptions are, however, made with the two local chairmen, who represent the official leaders of the local villages, Kaiso and Kyehoro. Official representatives are further presented with name, as they hold positions which are representative for their belonging departments and organizations. A complete overview of these informants can be found in Appendix II.

1.1 Research objectives and research questions

Several contradicting interests are today found within the Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve, where management agencies, tourist actors and local communities represent three central stakeholders. As the area additionally has been found to host significant stocks of petroleum resources, new challenges and questions have been raised concerning the reserve's operation and future. Like illustrated in Figure 1.1, Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve is therefore not just of great ecological importance. The reserve also represent an important source of livelihood to local settlements, and a potentially enormous source of income for the Ugandan state, in shape of petroleum based resources (National Environment Management Authority, 2010).

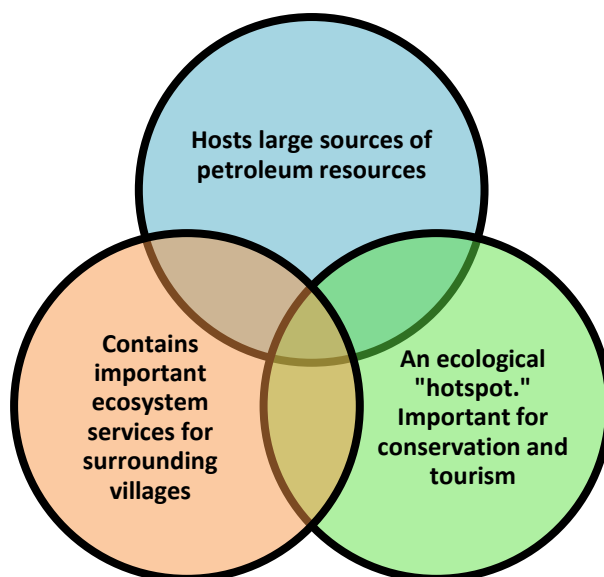


Figure 1.1: Conflicting interests. Based on (National Environment Management Authority, 2010).

With this as a starting point, I wanted to examine some of Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve's surrounding villages with the purpose of finding out how the establishment of the reserve has affected people's access to resources, and whether the implementation of wildlife-based tourism in the area has given the intentional distribution of benefits. Regarding the blooming oil industry, I also wanted to see how this activity is affecting Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve, in regard to wildlife, physical changes and employment. The research questions were therefore formulated as following:

1. How has the establishment of Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve affected local communities around the reserve (regarding resource access and access to grazing land)?
2. Has wildlife-based tourism in the area benefitted local communities (through active or passive engagement)?
3. How are oil operations affecting Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area (regarding wildlife, infrastructural changes and employment)?
4. Can conservational practices and oil recovery coexist in Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve?

1.2 Introduction to the study area

The previous sections have given an introduction to the study's background, as well as a presentation of my research objectives and research questions. I will now proceed by presenting a general introduction to the Albertine Rift, where the ecological background for the comprehensive park establishments in Uganda will be addressed. Thereafter, a presentation of my specific research area, Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area, will be given. As I find historical aspects regarding conservation practices and oil activity in the area relevant, I have chosen to present some general information about these themes in the two following subsections. While the first of these two will revolve around conservation history and current management structures in Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve, the second chapter will give a brief introduction to oil activity in this very region.

1.2.1. The Albertine Rift, physical features and biodiversity

In order to understand the foundation of the ongoing activity within the area of study, it is necessary to understand some of the physical features of the Albertine Rift. The Albertine Rift is also termed “the Western Rift” and represents one out of two northerly branches of the East African Rift, as presented in Figure 1.2. Parts of this Western Branch pass through western Uganda, covering the districts of Masindi, Kibale and Hoima. This branch also incorporates the Central African lakes which are situated along the Ugandan-Congolese boarder, where Lake Albert represents the northernmost of them (Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment, 2013; Wood & Guth, 2013).

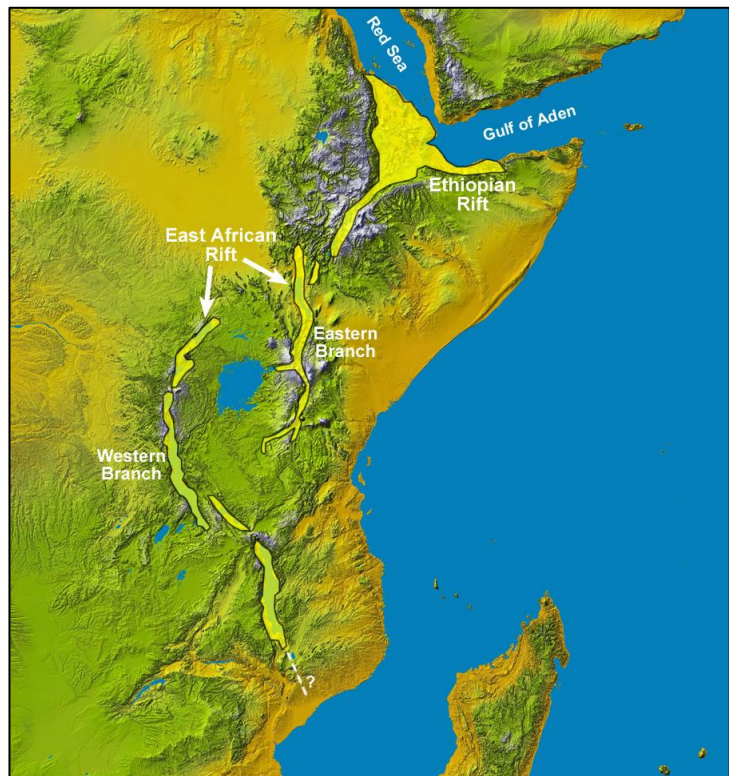


Figure 1.2: The East African Rift (Wood & Guth, 2013).

The unique physiographic conditions in the area has further facilitated a biodiversity which makes the Albertine Rift Region internationally valued. The region has in this regard been classified as a “biodiversity hotspot”, which implies that the Albertine Rift Region hosts at least 1500 endemic plant species, and that at least 70% of its original habitat has been lost (Conservation International, 2013b). This specific region additionally hosts more endemic birds, mammals and amphibians than any other region in Africa, while the Central African lakes hold a total of 617 endemic fish species. These

numbers strongly confirm Albertine Rift Region's role as a global biodiversity bank, which within the western parts of Uganda also is embedded (Hansen, 2007).

1.2.2 Protected areas in Uganda

Related to the widely acknowledged biodiversity of the region, the Albertine Rift Region is in a unique position when it comes to environmental conservation. Uganda has a total of 39 wildlife protected areas, whereby 22 are categorized as wildlife reserves and national parks. Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve is one out of these wildlife reserves. As can be seen in Figure 1.3, Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve is closely connected to a neighboring community wildlife area, named Kaiso-Tonya Community Wildlife Area. Together, these two areas are commonly termed as Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area (National Environment Management Authority, 2010).

Due to the large amount of protected areas in the western part of Uganda, this part of the country is also considered as the main centre of wildlife-based tourism. Tourism is currently representing one of the largest sources of income to the country, and is stipulated to account for about 9% of national gross domestic product (Atuhairwe, 2012). In other words, the Albertine graben poses an extremely important role, both from an ecological and economical perspective.

1.2.3 Description of Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area

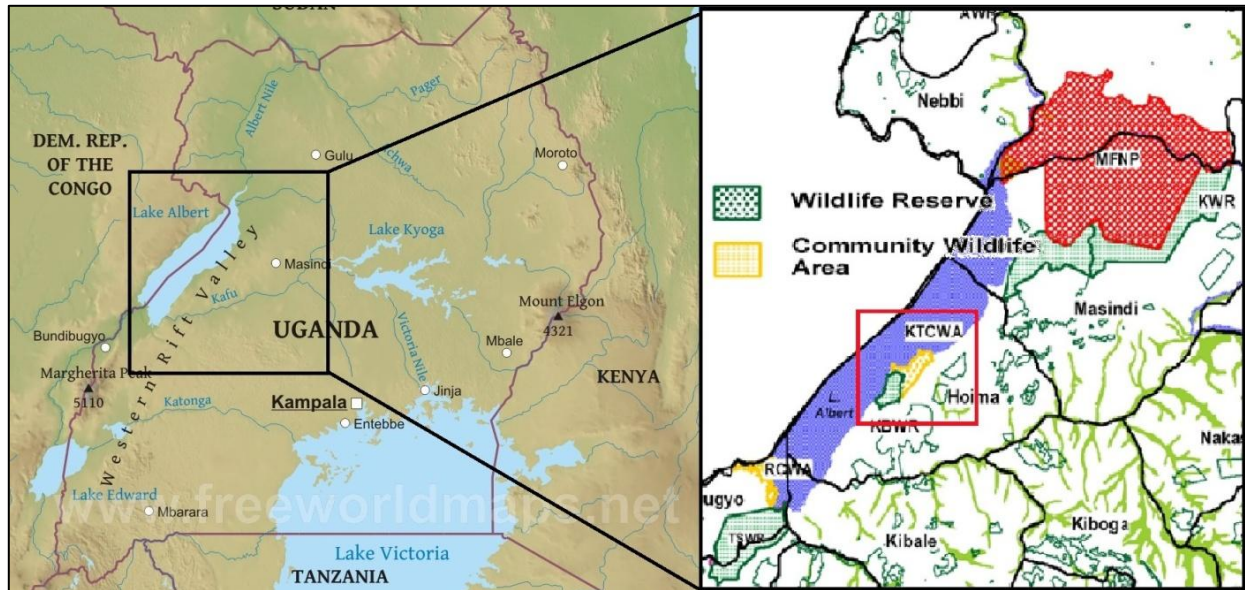


Figure 1.3: Location Left photo: (Free World Maps, 2013). Right photo: (Hansen, 2007).

Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area is located along the eastern shore of Lake Albert, and can be reached by road about 50 km west of Hoima town. The area belongs to Buseruka Sub County, Bugahya County and the district of Hoima (Atuhairwe, 2012). Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area totally covers an area of 194km², and consists of an undulating, flat landscape, delineated by the lake in west, and by steep surrounding escarpments in east (Plumptre et al., 2009). Due to this distinctive environmental screening, the area appear with clear boundaries to its surroundings, and therefore constitute a natural geographic limitation to my area of study. As previously mentioned, Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area is divided in two, where the eastern side represents Kaiso-Tonya Community Wildlife Area, while the western part constitutes the Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve. Considered a small, but significant protected area in the western Uganda, Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve represents the only ecologically intact region of savannah between the Murchison Falls National Park in north, and the Toro-Semliki Wildlife Reserve in the south. This further implies that the area holds an important role as a wildlife corridor in the Albertine Rift (Hansen, 2007).

As most of local people's livelihoods are strongly depending on fish from Lake Albert, the population in the area is highly affected by fluctuations of access. Of this very same reason, a large proportion of local inhabitants are migrants, moving in pace with the resource availability. During good periods, the villages therefore experience fishermen arriving from other villages, looking for optional places to perform their business. As the lake forms the national boarder between Uganda and Congo (Brazzaville), the region also hosts a large number of Congolese immigrants, seeking their fortune among Ugandan fishermen (Informants: A1, B4).

Related to the increasing oil-activity in Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area, the area is additionally attracting a large number of external workers. Linked to the need of specialized labor throughout different stages of the exploration process, the majority of these workers are only temporarily resided in the area. Due to this increasing number of temporarily residents, an increased capacity of the local accommodations, as well as a broader range of local facilities has been necessitated (Informants: T2, M4).

More information about current management structures in Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area will be presented after a short presentation of the area's historical background.

1.3 Conservation in Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area

- Historical background

Conservation thoughts first appeared on the Ugandan political agenda in the 1930s, where the intended objective was to protect the endangered mountain gorilla. Conservational practices then grew rapidly during the post-world war period, where establishments of protected areas became a widely spread strategy to protect nature from “degrading” human practices. Even though preservation of gorilla habitats is still considered important within Ugandan conservation, these strategies have later been broadened to incorporate larger areas, enclosing and involving a wide range of areas and aspects (H. Smith, 2012). The growing prevalence of protected areas has further facilitated a good foundation for wildlife-based tourism in the country, where people from all over the world come to experience landscape scenery and exotic wildlife. This trend was already widely recognized in the late 1960s, when tourism represented the third largest contributor to the Ugandan national economy, after coffee and cotton (Marquardt, 1994).

The historically growing number of Ugandan protected areas can largely be linked to global flows of increased environmental awareness, whereof African regions have received extensively attention from conservationists (Adams & Hutton, 2007). In order to understand the present conservation strategies for this specific area, I find it necessary to draw some parallels to the political history of the region.

The rise of conservation thoughts during the post-world war period led to a growing awareness of environmental management. This resulted in the establishment of several protected areas, where among the Kaiso-Tonya Controlled Hunting Area was created in 1963. This area was set aside to protect important populations of Uganda kobs, Jackson’s hartebeests and buffaloes, and was additionally considered to represent an important wildlife corridor along the eastern side of Lake Albert (Hansen, 2007; Plumptre et al., 2009).

Throughout Idi Amin’s misrule in the 1970s, Uganda experienced severe degradation of national biodiversity and wildlife, as poaching became prevalent in order for people to survive. The civil war was continuously followed by several years of instability, where the outcome was a nation left with a fraction of its former wildlife population. In a conservational matter, this period, combined with the introduction of automatic weapons, represents a period of management anarchy, where Uganda’s wildlife experienced tremendous losses (Marquardt, 1994).

This era was also highly influential for Kaiso-Tonya Controlled Hunting Area, where the political instability triggered widespread hunger and desperation among the local populations. Lack of regulating agencies combined with a precarious shortage of food, resulted in extensive poaching and uncritical utilization of the area's resources. The stability was first reestablished under President Yoweri Museveni towards the end of 1980s, when park management was successfully reintroduced in the country (Lepp, 2008). Several surveys were done in the following years, which confirmed that hartebeests had been totally extinct from Kaiso-Tonya Controlled Hunting Area. As for the buffalo and kob populations: the numbers were alarmingly low. These results manifested the necessity to stabilize the utilization of the area through conservation management. In 1996, the solution therefore became to split the area in two, where the former Kaiso-Tonya Controlled Hunting Area was "upgraded" to Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area. This generic term does today enfold the two areas; Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve (Kabwoya WR) and Kaiso-Tonya Community Wildlife Area (Kaiso-Tonya CWA) (Plumptre et al., 2009).

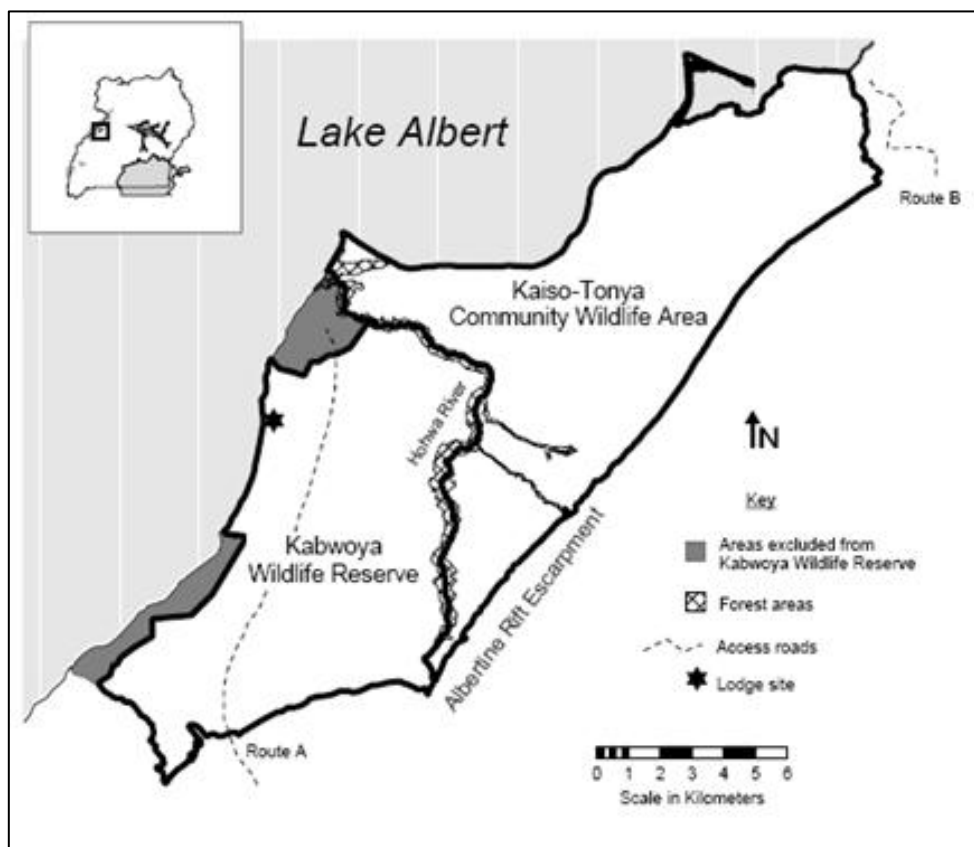


Figure 1.4: Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area (Plumptre et al., 2009).

Figure 1.4 presents an overview of Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area, where the Hohowa River composes a natural division between the Wildlife Reserve on the western side, and the Community Wildlife Area on the eastern. As all activity within Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve is strictly regulated, two buffer-zones have been made around the existing villages. These zones are excluded from the Wildlife Reserve, and are marked by grey on the figure (Plumptre et al., 2009). The northern buffer-zone incorporates the village, Kyehoro, which represents one of the settlements where research was conducted. Kaiso, the second village where interviews were carried out, is located on the opposite side of the river within the Kaiso-Tonya Community Wildlife Area. Here, local communities are still allowed to extract and utilize available resources freely (Informants: M2, A1, B1).

- **Environmental management today**

Today, the responsibility for managing wildlife, forests and resources in Uganda is shared between three different government departments. The first of these, National Environment Management Authority (NEMA), was established in 1995, and represents the disciplinarian mandate for *“coordinating, monitoring, regulating and supervising environmental management”* (National Environment Management Authority, 2013). Secondly, the National Forestry Authority (NFA), holds responsibility for managing forest reserves, and present their tasks as to *“manage central forest reserves on a sustainable basis and to supply high quality forestry-related products and services to government, local communities and the private sector”* (National Forestry Authority, 2013). The third department deals with conservation and park management, and is thereby of largest relevance to this specific research. This mandate is given to the semi-autonomous institution, Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA), which was established through a mergence between Uganda Game Department and Uganda National Parks in 1996. UWA’s main purpose is to *“conserve, economically develop and sustainably manage the wildlife and protected areas of Uganda in partnership with neighboring communities and other stakeholders for the benefit of the people of Uganda and the global community”* (Uganda Wildlife Authority, 2013b). Blomley et al. (2010:9) further presents UWA’s core functions through four bullet-points:

1. Law enforcement and the control of illegal activities;
2. “Community conservation” activities designed to reduce conflict between the park and the local communities and build local support for conservation;
3. Research and monitoring;
4. Supporting tourism development.

In addition to ten national parks, UWA currently manages twelve wildlife reserves, where Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve belongs to the latter mentioned group (Uganda Wildlife Authority, 2013a). As wildlife management is considered a field where several actors have to be involved to achieve the desired prospects; district authorities, communities and private actors has been brought in as concerned stakeholders (Plumptre et al., 2009). Related to Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve, the privately owned Lake Albert Safari has been acknowledged as one such private actor. (Hansen, 2007).

- **Community Conservation Programs, revenue sharing**

As presented in the second bullet-point by Blomley et al. (2010), UWA is additionally responsible for several community conservation activities, seeking to improve and facilitate collaboration between the park management and local communities. These activities comprise Collaborative Management, Program Animal Management, Wildlife Use Rights, Conservation Education and Awareness, and Revenue Sharing. The designation of the latter program is deepened in the Wildlife Act, Section 69(4), which states that the Wildlife Fund should: *“pay 20 percent of the park entry fees collected from a wildlife protected area to the local government of the area surrounding the wildlife protected area from which the fees were collected”*(Uganda Wildlife Authority, 1996:48).

1.4 Oil activity in the Albertine Rift. Block 2

The Albertine Rift is best known for its great conservational interest, but related to its geological soil conditions, the region has however become subject of interest related to oil. While the first references to oil were made by indigenous people living close to Lake Albert, the first documentation of the region's petroleum potential were made in 1925, by A.J. Wayland. After several decades of sojourn, the explorations were rebooted in early 1980s, while the first seismic surveys were conducted in 1998 (Hansen, 2007). At present, the region is divided into ten exploration areas, or "blocks." Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area is located along the western shore of Lake Albert, and is thereby included in Block 2, like presented in Figure 1.5 (National Environment Management Authority, 2010).

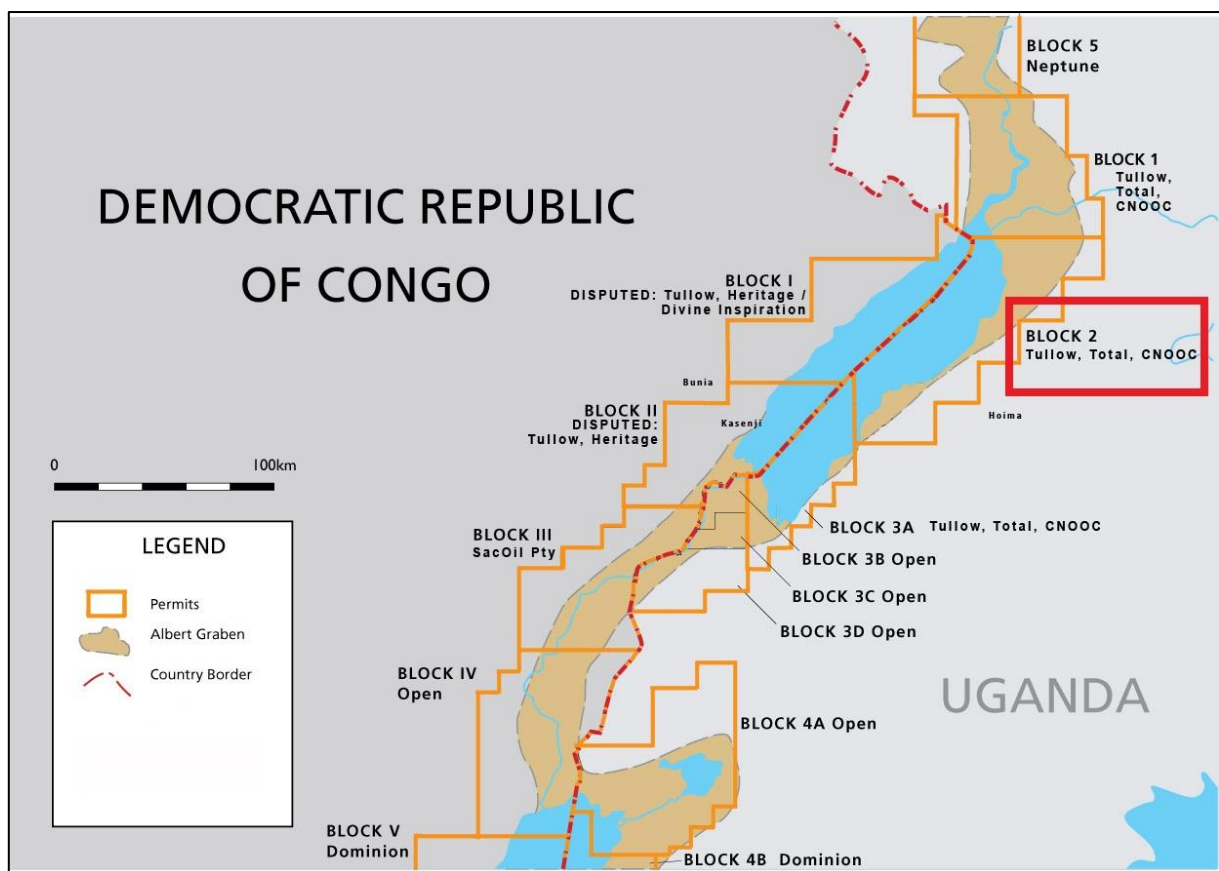


Figure 1.5: Block 2 (Arts Activism Education Research, 2010).

- Tullow Oil

The Irish company Tullow Oil is the leading oil actor in this region, and is, according to their website: “Africa’s leading independent oil company” (Tullow Oil plc, 2013). The company has interest in over 100 licenses divided across 24 countries, and is at present producing from 67 fields. Africa is, however, the primary focus, and in addition to their activities in Uganda, Tullow operations are found in Ghana, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d’Ivoire, Mauritania, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Congo (Brazzaville), Kenya, Ethiopia, Namibia and Madagascar. Estimations show that about 80 percent of the capital expenditure budget are earmarked to projects in African regions, which states the company’s strong commitment in Africa (Tullow Oil plc, 2012).

In relation to the Albertine Rift, much of Tullow Oil’s recent exploration activity has been directed towards the area around Lake Albert, where significant findings have been made through seismic operations. This further led to the identification of several onshore structures, which in 2006 resulted in successful drillings in Mputa, Waraga and Nzizi. These sites are all part of Block 2, and constitute the current onshore exploration fields within the Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area (Hansen, 2007). These sites are presented in Figure 1.6. Offshore surveys conducted in associated parts of Lake Albert have also resulted in the location of the nearby Ngassa field. Although the region has been subject to oil-related investigation through several decades, Hansen (2007:11) describes the Albertine Region as “severely under-exploited.”

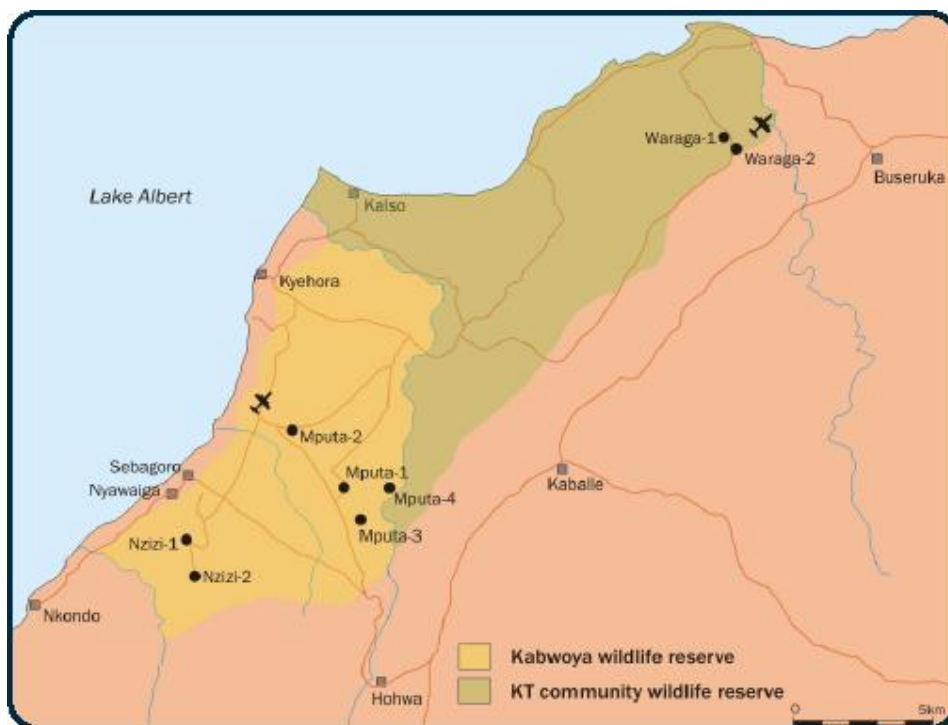


Figure 1.6: Tullow Oil’s activity in KKGMA (Hansen, 2007).

1.5 Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to give an introduction to the background of this research, and to the chosen location of my study. In addition to present my research objectives and research questions, this chapter has also given some general information regarding the two overarching topics in this research, namely: conservation management and the recently implementation of oil activities. This information represents the informational backdrop for the following chapters, where the first of these will present relevant theory.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter will give a presentation of relevant theory regarding my chosen topic of research. As I find the topic of this study to fit well within the frames of political ecology, this chapter will present relevant aspects of political ecology in regard to conservational management. Much emphasize will in this regard be attributed conservation's social impacts, where potential benefits and drawbacks from park establishments represent a central matter. Due to the involvement of external private actors and international companies, I also find it necessary to present an introduction to neoliberal approaches in conservation as well as processes of green grabbing. Starting with a general introduction to political ecology, this chapter proceeds through a presentation of subordinated themes. Including conservational practices, win-win narratives and neoliberal approaches to conservation and green grabbing, this in sum provides a theoretical point of departure for my research.

2.1 An introduction to political ecology

Political ecology is a term which embraces a wide range of definitions and perspectives. Considered a research approach and a tool of analysis, several commonalities and characteristics can, however, be found in relation to research methods and research topics. One foundational hallmark of political ecology approaches is the relationship between human and nature, where studies often are conducted among local people, and within local communities around the world. Benjaminsen and Svarstad (2010) present three different processes that are particularly important for political ecologists, where all of them are targeted towards local conditions, studied in light of national and global influences. The first of these processes regards situations where companies establish businesses in areas where it leads to challenges for the associated local communities. These businesses can refer to activities like mining, commercial agriculture, industry and infrastructural changes. The second theme relates to environmental changes, and how this continuously is triggered by underlying causes. Deforestation, desertification and loss of topsoil due to erosion can be mentioned as a few examples of such environmental changes. Lastly, the third aspect presented by Benjaminsen and Svarstad (2010) relates to the way nature is managed, how conservational establishments are made, and how other environmental initiatives are being conducted.

In my study, political ecology will provide a general framework for understanding the ongoing processes related to management of the protected area, Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve. In order to gain a broader understanding of what political ecology is, Paul Robbins (2011) suggests that it can be necessary with a comprehension of what *apolitical* ecologies are. Such apolitical approaches did

long dominate the debate on environmental conservation, where explanations related to “ecoscarcity” and “modernization” have been two of the most prevalent.

Shortly presented, advocates of ecoscarcity approaches can largely be linked to Neo-Malthusian thinking, which further is rooted in Thomas Malthus’ theory on scarcity caused by population growth. Whereas Malthus focused on food scarcity, the Neo-Malthusians developed this to also involve *environmental* scarcity, or scarcity related to resources. Quite straightforward, the argument is that an increase in human population eventually will outdo the capacity of environmental resources. This results in a human crisis characterized by starvation and diseases, while the overexploited nature is being driven to a point where it no longer can maintain its self-renewal. For proponents of ecoscarcity, this challenge is especially connected to the global south, where population numbers and growth remain high, and where harsh living conditions related to poverty and scarce resources are widespread. Seen from a ecoscarcity perspective, environmental problems and the necessity of environmental regulation can therefore be directly connected to overpopulation and overexploitation of resource basis (Robbins, 2011).

On the other side, “modernization” advocates holds a somewhat more optimistic view on the environmental potential. These approaches unite through a fundamental faith in adopting and implementing “modern” technology and economic techniques in the process of managing and conserving the natural basis. Through innovative techniques and self-regulated prices in an open market, it is believed that economic growth can develop in parallel with environmental conservation, resulting in a so called “win-win” outcome (Leach & Fairhead, 2000). Pointing towards former successful examples in history, such as the industrialization of the “global north”, advocates for modernization approaches argue that this kind of investments gradually will enable people to choose the best and most efficient resources themselves. Through an open market led by modern technology, one believes that the environmental degradation slowly will be tamed due to more sophisticated methods of management and improved techniques (Robbins, 2011).

These apolitical approaches have received extensive critique from several holds, often linked to their simplistic and somewhat naïve appearance. Political ecologists have strongly contributed to this debate, claiming that ecoscarcity and modernization approaches tend to ignore fundamental social and political aspects, and the way these continuously influence environmental processes. It is also claimed that such neo-Malthusian and modernization approaches exclude important questions related to ecological specificity and history (Leach & Fairhead, 2000). This tendency to preclude political economic forces, local differences and historical aspects within environmental approaches, is what Robbins (2011) describes as apolitical ecology.

So what can this tell us about *political ecology*? Referring to Adams and Hutton (2007), political ecology can be described as an approach which deals with interactions between our general perception of nature, and the way environmental action is influenced by political processes. Bryant and Bailey (1997) further state that political ecology: “*accept the idea that costs and benefits associated with environmental change are for the most part distributed among actors unequally... [which inevitably] reinforces or reduces existing social and economic inequalities... [which holds] political implications in terms of the altered power of actors in relation to other actors*” (Bryant & Bailey, 1997:28-29).

Based on these definitions, it is found that the link between the social and the natural is strongly emphasized. These two are considered to be inextricably linked to one another through a mutual dependency, where the relationship is strongly influenced by different mechanisms. A central thought in this matter, is that ecological conditions and environmental changes not can be understood as apolitical, since these approaches tend to exclude social and political aspects, as well as regional varieties. The ecoscarcity approach can therefore be claimed to ignore severe underlying causes, by merely presenting demographic developments, followed by “environmental degradation”, as inevitable and “natural” processes. At the same time, modernization approaches can be accused for ignoring political influences through a one-sided focus on technology and market-based solutions. These are surely two important aspects of the conservational debate, but are, from a political ecology view, not sufficient to understand and justify the way environmental management currently is being carried out (Robbins, 2011).

In order to understand environmental problems, political ecology wishes to indentify the causes rather than the symptoms of problems. In accordance with Bryant and Bailey’s (1997) definition, this process often reveals underlying structures of power, reflected through unjust distribution of rights, goods and benefits. In order to find these structures, political ecology research tend to be based on central issues, seeking to identify hidden costs, winners and losers as well as the underlying forces that shape the environmental and social outcomes. This is done because political ecology believes that it is possible to achieve less exploitive, more sustainable and more righteous systems of environmental management (Robbins, 2011).

2.2 Conservation and political ecology

Conservation of nature is a theme included in political ecology's concerns, as it often implies a significant influence on resource access and distribution of rights. In cases where spatially defined land is being set aside for conservational matters, political ecology aims to reveal how and why these areas so often become object to conflicts and distinctive patterns of management (Zimmerer & Bassett, 2003).

It is often found that the establishment of protected areas is justified through alleged purposes of long-term ecological sustainability and financial advantages. The process of regulating resource utilization does, however, imply a limitation of heretofore commonly shared resources, where a small group of people are set to make decisions on behalf of a greater group. Adams and Hutton (2007) state that this focus on financial and ecological terms, tend to exclude considerations of such social and political contexts, which within the establishment and management of conservation are being made. In order to find these social and political structures, it becomes natural to raise some questions: Who are the protected areas set aside for? Who has made this decision? Who will gain, and who will loose from this arrangement? (Adams & Hutton, 2007). These questions aim to create a better understanding of the establishment of protected areas, and open up for a broader debate on social and economical impacts from conservation. In addition to dealing with the relation between human welfare and biodiversity conservation, the questions also open for a discussion related to the relationship between environmental conservation and alleviation of poverty, as well as the feasibility of successful "win-win" strategies (Adams et al., 2004).

Such "win-win" strategies can further be linked to a type of generalized mindset within political ecology, called "win-win discourses." According to Adger et al. (2001:683), a discourse can broadly be defined as "*a shared meaning of a phenomenon.*" While this phenomenon can be large or small, a shared characteristic is, however, that the phenomenon's understanding is shared by a group of people on a local, national or global level. Political ecology deals with several such discourses, where the aforementioned win-win discourse represents one of them. Win-win discourses are often found in relation to conservational practices, where a central idea regards a common sharing of benefits. These win-win discourses emphasize integration of local interests, but can also involve interests from conservationists, external actors and companies. The main idea is that all stakeholders are supposed to receive their share of benefits from conservation, where conservation additionally is driven by a common implementation of win-win strategies (Svarstad, Petersen, Rothman, Siepel, & Wätzold, 2008).

This link between conservational processes and human wellbeing constitute a highly relevant field for political ecologists, where the political backdrop constantly is present. Considering environmental planning, this indicates that the state of nature not only has to be understood as a physical outcome of political actions, but that the perception of nature itself is shaped by political processes. The latter mentioned relates to our ideas about nature, and the way these ideas are made, shared and applied. Political ecology therefore find great interest in how these ideas are made, and continuously used by leading agents through the work of directing, legitimizing and practicing control and power (Adams & Hutton, 2007). This will be described more thoroughly in a later subsection, but I first find it necessary to give a brief introduction to some historical perspectives on protected areas in relation to human involvement.

2.3 Protected areas

In order to understand present conservational processes, it is necessary to take a short glance back in conservation history. Regarding preserving practices performed across the African continent, this development does for example hold strong ties to the European colonial expansion during the eighteenth century. Rapid industrialization in several European countries required extended trading areas, and necessitated an increased access to resources for the colonial powers. Towards the last part of the eighteenth century, environmental changes were, however, starting to appear as a result of prevalent extractions, and then especially within the colonial power's homelands. Observations of extensive environmental degradation, mainly represented by increasing deforestation, soon became an eye-opener among the colonial powers, where an increasing valuation of "pure" nature gradually was induced (Anderson & Grove, 1989).

The prevalence of regulated land management did, however, first expand notably after the Second World War, and then especially across the African continent. This development was rooted in contemporary American preservation practices, where national parks had been established rapidly during the late nineteenth century (Brockington, Duffy, & Igoe, 2008). Ideas and models of environmental conservation was now adopted and spread globally, where the African continent in many ways represented an "unspoiled Eden" for conservationist advocates. The following establishments of protected areas in African countries can therefore largely be considered a response to the prolonged environmental exploitations during the colonial time, followed by a blooming Western idealization of pristine nature. The increasing scope and the growing variety of conservational implementations did, however, necessitate a categorization of different protected areas. This categorization was later officially formalized by the environmental organization International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), established in 1948 (Adams & Hutton, 2007; International Union for Conservation of Nature, 2012a).

The classification of protected areas has undergone continual updates and changes in hindsight, and does today, according to IUCN, consist of six different categories. This division is based on various levels of management objectives, where guidelines for human activity are emphasized within each of them. While the two first categories represent protected areas that are highly exclusionary for human activities, the remaining categories open for different levels of human involvement (International Union for Conservation of Nature, 2012b). Disregarding the categorical differences, protected areas are today jointly defined as “*a clearly defined geographical space, recognized, dedicated and managed, through legal or other effective means, to achieve the long term conservation of nature with associated ecosystem services and cultural values*” (Dudley, 2009:8).

2.3.1 Human involvement, inclusion or exclusion?

Although the role of people related to protected areas had been a contested topic for long time, the social impacts from such conserved areas were first highlighted during the 1970s. Conservation strategies had up to this point largely focused on protecting “natural” areas from humanly induced degradation, a concern which often was targeted towards what was considered to be primitive knowledge and unsustainable techniques among indigenous people (Hulme & Murphree, 1999). New regulations and guidelines did, however, visible local people’s rights throughout the 1970s. This further led to a paradigmatic shift within conservation in the 1980s, where a paradigm of human exclusion increasingly was replaced by paradigms of inclusion (Adams & Hutton, 2007).

Conservation strategies were in the following two decades dominated by community-based approaches, where IUCN’s World Conservation Strategy (1980) marked a conservational change from limitations of damage, to focus on sustainability for conservation planners. This also implied an increased acceptance for human involvement in many protected areas. This shift in attitude from exclusive protection, to inclusive sustainable conservation, further laid the foundation of substantial economic flows into conservational “community-based” projects during the 1990s. An argument used to promote such approaches, was that “incentive-based conservation” and “sustainable use” could improve the relationship between environmental managers and local people. By giving people an economical interest in conserving biodiversity, advocates for such community-based strategies claim that conservation could be used to secure livelihoods (Adams & Hutton, 2007).

Sandbrook and Adams (2012:915) refer to such approaches as “*conservation with a human face*”, and highlight nature-based tourism as a potential alternative. Through an example from Bwindi National Park in Uganda, it is claimed that this kind of nature-based tourism can be used to create win-win outcomes, where poverty reduction and conservation of nature can go hand in hand. A central idea is that an equitable distribution of benefits provided by park-related tourism, will give conservationists and local communities a mutual interest in preserving natural areas (Sandbrook & Adams, 2012). This conservation strategy is, however, also addressed by Tumusiime and Svarstad in a study from the same area. In this study, findings contrary indicate that nature-based tourism not has given the desired distribution of benefits. Findings in this research further show that local communities feel deceived by management authorities, as they have not been assigned with promised benefits from the park establishment (Tumusiime & Svarstad, 2011). Similar findings have also been made by Laudati, where the situation for local people in Bwindi National Park is described as one of “*inequality, exploitation, vulnerability, and insecurity*” (Laudati, 2010:727). This study does, contrary to Sandbrook and Adam’s conclusion, state that conservation strategies based on park-related tourism, often contribute, instead of alleviate, dependency and poverty among local communities.

While the idea of more open and inclusive parks was positively received by many conservational actors, there were also many who opposed this new approach strongly. This resulted in a parallel reversal trend during the 1990, which contrary to the current arguments of community-based approaches, argued for a return to “traditional” parks, requiring total exclusion of human involvement. Proponents for such “hard parks” justify their views through the importance of biodiversity protection and preservation, and claim that open-park solutions only represent a continuation of the environmental pressure that conservation is intended to prevent (Adams & Hutton, 2007).

Through a political ecology approach, it is found that the relation between conservation in protected areas and people is highly political. Access to land and resources, local rights as well as the state’s role in management, are only a few of such political aspects. In addition, it is found that private actors and non-governmental actors (NGOs) to an increasingly degree is becoming involved in management of protected areas (Adams & Hutton, 2007). The latter mentioned will, however, be described more thoroughly later on, in relation to neo-liberalistic approaches.

2.3.2 Views on nature

According to political ecologists, the ongoing debate on human interference within protected areas can be closely linked to the way nature itself is understood and valued. Said in other words; while conservation strategies largely are shaped by political conditions, these political streams of thoughts are continuously based in people's general perception of nature. Ever since the first period of conservation blooming, a dualistic view on nature has characterized this development. Fortified through establishments of protected areas, a general perception has been that nature has to be divided from human societies. This can be viewed as a way of protecting seemingly unspoiled areas of nature from human exploitation, but it can also be claimed to represent a political way of gaining control over natural areas. Related to the latter, Adams and Hutton (2007) argue that conservation has to be considered historically, in the context of broader political structures of colonial societies, and as an extension of global capitalism.

Adams and Hutton (2007), further referring to Murphy (1994), argue that the modern state depends greatly on mastery of nature, where non-human nature is being shaped and adapted to please human demands. This trend has also colored the development of science, and thereby the mindset in European imperialism ever since the sixteenth century. Through endeavoring for schematic and scientific knowledge of nature, authorities has been able to create an understanding of natural phenomenon, and thereby enabled environmental manipulation and control for social benefit. Through such abstraction and quantification of complex ecosystems, nature has also become increasingly commodified, enabling evaluation and calculations of natural properties in statistic measures. This has further simplified the process of optimizing the relation between nature, state and society, but has additionally provided a knowledge basis, used to argue for human exclusion in conserved areas (Adams & Hutton, 2007; Demeritt, 2001).

The idea of pristine nature, or "wilderness", has like previously mentioned, long been a driving force within conservation (Cronon, 1996). It also became a dominating strategy in the process of establishing protected areas in colonial Africa, where it was considered necessary to protect the "unspoiled nature of Eden" from brutal human exploitation. Paradoxically enough, these areas often became used for leisure and as strictly regulated game reserves for travelers and colonial servants, who wanted to experience true "wild" nature. A lot has happened within conservational thinking since, but the separation of human settlements and nature is still applied today, as it represents a way of organizing, classifying and simplifying the complexity of nature in modern states (Adams & Hutton, 2007). The idea of pristine nature is also still used as an argument in establishments and continuations of protected areas, where concepts such as biodiversity "hotspots" increasingly are being used to justify protected areas' existence (Margules & Pressey, 2000).

2.3.3 Social impacts from protected areas

Conservation is to a large degree influenced by scientific, political and ideological processes, but also has social and economical *outcomes*. Adams and Hutton (2007) do for example state that the establishment of protected areas implies several social and economic impacts related to various groups of people. The prevalence of impacts does naturally enough vary between different types of conserved areas, but some generally shared problems can still be found. It is further worth mentioning that the following examples will be revolved around protected areas in an African context.

Related to wildlife, settlements located close to a protected do for example experience a great risk of disturbance from animals. Such disturbance can be found in various levels, involving anything from simple crop raiding, to life threatening attacks. Wildlife disturbance can continuously affect villagers economically, through expenditures for crop defense and crop damage, or related to health care and reduced capacity for labor. For villages located within or close by the demarcated borders, villagers also risk experiencing corrupt behavior from park staff, often linked to smaller infringements of park regulations. This can be minor violations related to illegal grazing, or prohibited collections of firewood and plants, that often are sanctioned through informal charges or deprivation of personal belongings (Adams & Hutton, 2007).

The impacts of greatest social significance, is, however, those related to human displacement. Such displacement needs to be considered in a broad sense, as the World Bank in 2004 modified the guidelines on resettlement to include “involuntary displacement”, which not only revolved around forced resettlement, but also restricted access to resources within protected areas. Displacement can therefore be attributed to relate anyone who is experiencing restricted access to fishing grounds, cultivatable land or forests, as well as other forms of beneficial drawbacks regarding land and resources (Cernea & Schmidt-Soltau, 2006). The World Bank further states that the term additionally includes people who experience loss of rights related to future use, loss of rights to residence, or loss of access to areas of cultural or religious value (World Bank, 2011). As previously mentioned, human displacement from protected areas has through history been greatly dependent on social grouping and identity. This is also seen in present protected areas, where tourists and scientists often are tolerated in areas where local residents and resource users have been banned from use (Adams & Hutton, 2007).

2.3.4 Benefits through active and passive engagement

Although the process of conserving nature through establishments of protected areas implies a wide range of challenges, there are also many benefits. Some of these benefits can be summed up through what is referred to as “ecosystem services”, meaning provisioning, regulating, cultural and supportive services provided by the surrounding environment. Shortly presented, provisioning services are considered to be what physically can be extracted from nature, like water, food, genetic resources and timber. Regulating services further refer to different natural functions, like climate regulation, flooding regulation, and decomposition of waste. Cultural services are linked to more intrinsic characteristics, like visual and esthetic beauty, used for enjoyment and recreation. Lastly, supporting services refer to features such as nutrient cycling, soil formation and plant pollination (World Resources Institute, 2013). These services each provide indispensable functions and values related to human welfare, but do also represent an inherently value in themselves. Through conservation, it can be argued that such ecosystem services are being regulated and preserved in a way which can benefit a broader range of people (Adams & Hutton, 2007).

There are also several potential *economic* gains from conservation. First of all, landscape and biodiversity kept within protected areas, can for example represent an important resource base for tourism. Conservation proponents argue that such a solution can create economical income through protection, and thereby prevent short-sighted governmental investments in land-intensive activities like agriculture or mining (Adams & Hutton, 2007).

Sandbrook and Adams (2012) further suggest that tourism in conserved areas can benefit economically in two ways. The first of these categories is related to passive engagement, where income is facilitated through different fee systems, which can benefit local communities through economic revenue sharing (Sandbrook & Adams, 2012). This implies that a certain percentage of tourism-based income can be shared and divided between the protected area’s associated communities (Archabald & Naughton-Treves, 2001). In addition, the arrival of visitors and tourists can contribute to give rise in local employment. This employment can be directly linked to tourist activities, or indirectly through locally initiated outlets, catering establishments or accommodations. For land owners, there is additionally a possibility of income through land-leasing practices. Income and benefits gained through such measures, are by Sandbrook and Adams (2012) referred to as active engagement.

Economic benefits are also available through illegal extraction from protected areas. Such extractions can involve activities like illegal grazing, hunting, or collection of regulated resources, and are often carried out by local villagers themselves. Illegal activities committed by local residents can, however, be taken advantage of by governmental officers, who through corrupt practices legitimizes minor bribes in change of illegal access or trespasses. As previously mentioned, similar methods are also used by authorities to cheat money out of local people who have committed minor or imagined violations of other regulations (R. Smith, Muir, Walpole, Balmford, & Leader-Williams, 2003). Such practices are sought defeated through conventional strategies like revenue sharing, more effective policing, and an increased focus on education. These are, however, measures that require substantial resources to follow up. Since the illegal activity additionally often pays off, many therefore calculate the chance of getting caught to be well worth the risk (Adams & Hutton, 2007).

In this way, the establishment of protected areas generates flows of legal, but also illegal benefits. Adams and Hutton, further referring to Paudel (2006) argue that these processes contribute to a reproduction of existing economic differences and inequalities within the local areas, as well as among the wider society. Within local communities, this uneven distribution can largely be explained through uneven relations of power and hierarchical structures. As for benefits received by the wider society, the distributional pattern often reveals a conservational paradox of protected areas: Resources which in theory are available locally, are in practice deposited for relatively wealthy foreigners, researchers and local urban elites. In this way, protected areas provide benefits on a global scale, while the costs largely are attributed locally (Balmford & Whitten, 2003).

2.3.5 Protected areas and poverty

The previously mentioned rights of local and indigenous people, are also used to consider the relationship between poverty and conservation within protected areas. United Nation´s Millennium Development Goals have made a strong contribution to this topic, where elimination of poverty is presented as one of the most important goals. The World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002, further illuminated the importance of poverty reduction, where poverty´s link to conservation practices was emphasized. While this idea of a win-win solution created widespread engagement, the question on *how* it should be done, did however emerge as more challenging (Adams & Hutton, 2007).

It is for instance a prevalent thought that biodiversity conservation should be used to support poverty alleviation, and that this should be achieved through sustainable use of resources. The underlying idea for such approaches is that conservation actions contribute to sustain a healthy environment. This will further provide a secure base of food and biodiversity, and can additionally

promote good human health through maintenance of ecosystem services. Others do, however, claim poverty and conservation to be two fundamentally different problems, and that park managers not can be held responsible for global poverty. Conservationists are also expressing concern that the dominating focus on poverty reduction has overshadowed the importance of biodiversity conservation (Sanderson & Redford, 2003). Adams and Hutton (2007) underpin this view, by stating that the unproven link between protected areas and poor people's living conditions gives an impression of biodiversity conservation as a constraining aspect of poverty reduction, not a mean to defeat it. This debate shows the complex dynamic between poverty and conservation, where calls for new approaches, and new alternatives to protected areas have been requested.

2.4 Neoliberal approaches within conservation

The political ecology of conservation is obviously diverse and complex. Every level of conservational processes are deeply influenced and shaped by underlying structures of power, which continuously are revealed through the way ideas of nature are purified, formulated and harnessed to social action. These ideas are also what represent the foundation within protected areas, where human needs, interests and rights are customized to fit the conservation landscape. Adams and Hutton (2007) present several trends and issues in this matter, where one of the presented developments is the increasing influence of neoliberal thinking within international biodiversity conservation.

Neoliberalism can be considered a continuation of classical liberal theories, characterized by large faith in open markets, regulations made by civil societies, as well as a general skepticism towards governmental control and substantial involvements from state agencies (Harvey, 2005). It can continuously be practiced in several ways: Neoliberalism is first of all a globalized idea, incorporated in institutional networks, but it can also be considered as a range of outcomes found in policies, like privatization, trade liberalization, outsourcing of state services, and establishments of markets for services and goods (Kull, Ibrahim, & Meredith, 2007).

Neoliberal influence within conservation also takes several forms and shapes. One outcome of such neoliberal flows is for example the steadily increasing number of organizational structures and cultures of non-governmental organization (NGOs). This can largely be linked to the significant competition between NGOs when it comes to gaining support from important aid donors and corporate funds. Changes within conservational planning and what Adams and Hutton (2007:169) refer to as "*science-based solutions-oriented prioritization strategies*", encourage and necessitate stakeholders to develop conservation goals that can match the sponsors' requirements. The same applies to the diversification of different biodiversity classifications, which often are being used by

NGOs to stand out positively. One example of this is the definition of “hotspots” developed by the Conservation International (Conservation International, 2013a). Adams and Hutton (2007) suggest that such “classifications” not necessarily are introduced as a supplement to scientific knowledge, or as a way of improving conservation planning, but that it also can be considered a part of organizational branding strategies, or as a way of promoting the company’s innovative thinking.

Another important effect from the growing influence of neoliberal approaches is that private actors to an increasing degree are involved in the management of protected areas. This has also been acknowledged through the recognition of private actors as participating partners in so called “co-managements” of protected areas. In such co-managements, private sectors often share management authority, responsibility and accountability with other stakeholders, represented by NGOs, government bodies and local communities (Adams & Hutton, 2007). Even though such semi-privatized solutions can be claimed to hold many advantages, the solution does, however, not guarantee reduced impacts, or improved social conditions (Langholz & Krug, 2004). Adams and Hutton (2007) therefore state that the involvement of private actors in many ways can contribute to an even more complex situation of ownership, rights, governance and legitimacy.

2.5 Conservation and “green grabbing”

It can further be claimed that neoliberal thinking not only has affected structures of management, but that it also has led to new ways of valuating and conserving natural resources. During the past few decades, a new political economy, driven by “green” forces has emerged throughout the world. Based on new ways of valuing nature and its associated ecosystem services, nature is to an increasing extent being compartmentalized and commodified as an important piece of the global economy. The reasons differentiate, but can jointly be linked to the increasing number of operators, which imposes a wider scale of appropriation of the natural resources. Related to this accelerating commodification of nature, focus on “sustainability”, “conservation” or simply safeguarding of “green values” are frequently used by the involved actors to justify the current processes (Fairhead, Leach, & Scoones, 2012).

Commodification of natural areas and resources has become big business, where speculations in, and valuations of, resources are being exchanged and traded globally. One example of such is the web portal “Ecosystem Marketplace”, which is offering information updates, as well as price trend data on resources like water, carbon and biodiversity. Referring to their web page, the Ecosystem Marketplace states that “...markets for ecosystem services will one day become a fundamental part of our economic system, helping give value to environmental services that, for too long, have been taken for granted” (Ecosystem Marketplace, 2013). This illustrates how the international economy

constantly is searching for new markets to facilitate economic transactions in the name of development (Fairhead et al., 2012).

The commodification of nature is often linked to processes of “green grabbing.” While the phenomenon of “land grabbing” has been well established within environmental and developing studies, the term “green grabbing” is of relatively recent application, and was first used by the Guardian journalist, John Vidal in 2008 (Fairhead et al., 2012; Vidal, 2008). As land grabbing is being linked to converging global crises, whereby challenges related to food, finance, energy and environment have led to upheavals in land ownerships; it can be claimed that the debate on land grabbing already is involving “green” aspects in the process of justifying appropriations of land for fuel and food (Borras, Hall, Scoones, White, & Wolford, 2011).

The term “green grabbing” does, however, refer to cases where environmental green agendas represent the *core* drivers, or the *goals* of the grabbing process. Such grabbing processes can be related to different scales, from total alienation of land, restructuring of access through laws and rules, to simple changes in management and use of resources. Appropriation of land is a key word in this matter, which, according to Fairhead et al. (2012), imply a transfer of ownership, user rights, as well as control of resources, from poor people to more powerful or influential actors.

Nature is in other words being sold, whereby an accumulation of capital and power is triggered, and where locally associated people risk being dispossessed from their own land. The economic accumulation stretches from simple profits of capital, to larger and continuous reinvestments of capital, where the ownership and profit becomes increasingly concentrated. Another form of accumulation is related to power and access, whereby publicly owned areas or resources are being attached to private owners through allocated appropriation. This further indicates a process where nature and land often are being separated from the proletarian class, which in this matter will refer to local fishermen, herders and farmers (Fairhead et al., 2012).

2.6 Summary

The aim of this chapter has been to give a presentation of theoretical contributions that frame my research. While the first section gave a general introduction to political ecology, the second section explained how political ecology can be used to approach conservation processes. The main part of this chapter has, however, been dedicated to theory concerning protected areas, where social aspects regarding distribution of costs and benefits from park establishments have been presented. I have further chosen to emphasize protected areas which are operated through nature-based tourism, as this holds high relevance for my research objective. Regarding the involvement of private external actors and international companies in my area of study, I have also chosen to include a section on neoliberal approaches. As one of these external stakeholders further has become involved in the management of a foreign wildlife reserve, I considered it relevant to incorporate theory on land grabbing processes, represented by green grabbing. Such land grabbing processes can also be found highly relevant in regard to involvement from an external oil company. With this as a theoretical backdrop, the following chapter will present my personal process of research, where issues regarding planning, implementation and rework of my conducted fieldwork will be addressed.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

While the previous chapter presented relevant theory regarding my research topic, this chapter will address methods, issues and challenges related to the implementation of my study. The purpose is to give an overview of the entire research process, where aspects regarding the process of planning, executing, and the following rework of my fieldwork, will be addressed. I have chosen to divide this chapter into three main sections. These sections will stepwise present the progressing work of my research, where used methods, ethical aspects and faced challenges will be linked to different phases of the process.

The first section will relate to the process of planning, where necessary preparations and considerations made in advance of my fieldwork will be addressed. Key issues in this matter will be the obtainment of relevant background information, the work of achieving necessary research permissions, and the initial phase of accessing relevant contacts. Preparations made regarding health and safety will also be addressed, as well as my personal reflections and expectation, made in advance of the fieldwork.

The following section is attributed to the collection of data, where applied methods, and my role as a researcher will be described and reflected upon. The methods which will be presented are: semi-structured interviews, focus groups, observation, document analysis and use of field diary. In order to achieve an orderly presentation, I have chosen to address associated challenges and ethical aspects in parallel with each of the presented methods. The third part will present issues regarding the following rework of my fieldwork, where the work of processing my obtained information will be addressed. This last section will further present a critical review of my fieldwork, where personal reflections regarding the research process will be given.

I will first start with start with a short definition of the term “fieldwork”, before the aforementioned sections will be undergone stepwise.

3.1 Fieldwork

Fieldwork can be done in a wide range of ways and as a part of very different contexts, where applied methods and styles can vary considerably. Struggling to find a fully fledged definition of the term, Kent et al. (1997), further referring to Lonergan and Andersen (1988:64) define “the field” as any place “*where supervised learning can take place via first-hand experience, outside the constraints of the four-walls classroom setting.*” In my case, the fieldwork was performed in Uganda, where I intended to view and investigate environmental management “first-hand.” Conducting research in a foreign country, further implied that several aspects and potential challenges had to be considered during the process of planning.

3.2 Preparations

During the process of planning my fieldwork, one of the first steps became to gather information about the country, and the region that I was headed off to. Information was obtained through reading relevant literature and reports regarding my research topic, but also regarding more general information about Uganda. While the scholarly reading provided me with a necessary theoretical backdrop for my research topic, “general” literature on Uganda provided me with knowledge about local customs, cultural aspects as well as religious and political relations. Such orientation was important due to practical reasons, but also because it could give me an informational advantage during my time in the field. Certain foreknowledge would save time, and enable me to focus on what I was there to do. It would also make the further work of planning the fieldwork easier, and simplify the process of linking current events to historical development in a later stage of the process.

Preparations further involved gaining an overview of necessary licenses required to conduct fieldwork in Uganda. This was, however, more challenging than I had expected, as I received contradicting information from different quarters. While some contacts ensured that no permits were required at all, others warned about severe penalties if the National procedures not were followed. Conversations with representatives from Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) could though confirm that a formal application had to be submitted in order to conduct research within national protected areas. This information was gained close to my departure, where upon it was decided that I should contact UWA’s office in Kampala after arrival to start the process.

The work of locating potential informants did also start at a very early stage of the process, where Norwegian contacts were used to establish relevant and useful links before departure. This would save time, and simplify the startup upon arrival in Uganda. My intended strategy was to get in contact with relevant “gatekeepers” and then proceed by using the “snowball method.” These two terms will be described more thoroughly in subsection 3.3.1.

3.2.1 Health and safety

Other preparations were also made, where health and safety represented two key matters. The evaluation of safety was largely embedded as a part of the “general orientation-process” presented in the previous section, which also included an overall assessment of the current safety threat. Johanna Bullard (2010) emphasizes the importance of doing a risk evaluation in advance of field-based research in foreign areas. She states that such pre-evaluation is necessary in order to identify potential risks and hazards, and argues that it can enable the researcher to avoid potentially dangerous situations (Bullard, 2010). This was especially relevant since the Ugandan capital, Kampala, has experienced several riots and terror attacks during the past years. One of the most recent episodes happened in 2010, when 74 people were killed in a bombing conducted by the Somali Islamist group, Al-Shabab (BBC, 2012). Information conveyed by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs could, however, confirm that the current risks were relatively low (Utenriksdepartementet, 2012).

Related to health issues, a consultation at a health center was made in order to receive required vaccinations and to gain information about potential health risks. As the region that I was entering hosts diseases that are relatively uncommon in Norway, this could represent a potential health threat. Malaria, typhoid and yellow fever are only few of the prevalent infectious diseases in the area, while other diseases such as rabies and HIV also are widespread (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2010).

3.2.2 My role as a researcher

As the area of study is located within a region where cultural and linguistic matters could compose great challenges for me, it was essential to evaluate how this potentially could affect my research. Related to my status as a white, female and educated researcher, I was prepared to hold a role as an “outsider.” This could be influential in relation to interviews as well as observations, and required some preparations concerning to how I wanted to “use” and cope with it. I assumed that my outsider-role both could be viewed as an advantage, and as a potential drawback. Entering the area as an unknowing foreigner could at best encourage positive curiosity and goodwill, but the risk was that I, by representing something “different”, could be perceived as a potential “intruder.” In addition to being a white, educated female, I was additionally working on a relatively sensitive topic, which I feared could raise prejudices or suspiciousness related to my real “agenda.”

Previously working in different cultures, I did, however, find reason to believe that my outsider-position also could be used to my own advantage. Such advantageous effects could be that my “outsider view” would make me more aware of cultural and social factors, which I might have overlooked if I were from the area myself. I continuously saw my curiosity towards this new area as a chance to strengthen my senses regarding surroundings, and believed that my white skin paradoxically enough could create a beneficial curiosity among some of the local villagers. This could later be used to gain access to the area, and to recruit informants to my interviews.

My outsider-position would, however, depend greatly on how I planned to approach my potential informants, and especially in situations of interviews, where power relations, linguistic and cultural differences easily could put guidance for the way informants responded and acted (F. M. Smith, 2010). Wishing to solve this in a best possible way, I desired to gain insight in cultural codes and, if possible, identify the respondents’ “social status” in advance. This would be useful in order to spot possible hierarchical influences, which would make it easier for me to adjust the structure of the interviews. Afraid to emerge as arrogant, and scared to be perceived as prejudiced and didactic, I wanted to meet the informants in a best possible way, and adjust to their terms. Former experiences, combined with some knowledge on Ugandan customs, further convinced me that a humble but curious approach would be beneficial. Through such an approach, the risk of embarrassing or offending anyone was minimized, whereby the chances of staying out of conflicts also remained small (Crang & Cook, 2007c).

Even though these issues were thought through and reflected upon, I was fully aware that I still would be considered a foreigner, and that it was impossible to foresee and plan people’s reaction toward my presence. Assuming that I would be able to remain totally neutral and objective was additionally unrealistic, as my background and academic belonging unconsciously would emboss

me with established values, norms and attitudes (Crang & Cook, 2007a). Being an “environmentalist” did for example imply that I risked adopting a somewhat biased view on the conservation processes in the area. On the other hand, my origin in a country where wealth is largely based on petroleum resources, would give me reason to exalt the oil activity. Personal meetings with disadvantaged fishermen could further lead to a potentially exaggerated, emotional-based sympathy with local villagers. Through such awareness, I, however, found myself able to better adjust and rectify my own expectations and potentially biased attitude.

3.2.3 Need of an interpreter/field assistant

Made aware of the linguistic diversity related to ethnic groupings, I realized that I would be in need of local interpreter. This could in “worst case” be totally crucial for gaining the information I desired in the field, as I was told that only a small percentage of the local villagers spoke English. Related to the somewhat remote location of the study area, it further became applicable to consider the procurement of an interpreter whom I could also use as a field assistant. Since it was challenging to obtain a potential interpreter/field assistant in advance, I understood that I had to await this search until my arrival in Uganda. Some considerations were, however, made in relation to what kind of role a potential field assistant would hold, and how this potentially could affect my final results.

Several aspects were thought through in this matter. Due to the limited time, I did for example assume that my possibility of being “picky” were relatively small. Acquiring a person who was able follow my work for several days, implied a significant loss of time and income for the one it would concern. At the same time, I would have to require some characteristics in relation to collaboration skills and personal trust. Regarding the process of interpretation, I also had to keep in mind that such “fragmented” communication could lead to an incomplete transfer of information. This concern was based on the fact that receiving “second hand-information” through a third person, implies that the interpreter holds great control over what is being considered as valuable information (F. M. Smith, 2010). I would therefore have to make sure that the interpreter’s linguistic qualifications were sufficient to convey the conversations. Lack of such could easily lead to simplifications, which further could cause severe holes in my holistic perception. The way questions were formulated, responded to and forwarded to me as a researcher, would therefore matter a great deal. This further stated that a common understanding of the implementation had to be emphasized between my interpreter and myself, in order to prevent a failing communication (Longhurst, 2010).

3.3 Data collection

As my fieldwork was closely depending on communicating with people who somehow were related to Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve through work, livelihood or residential matters, the collection of data was primarily based on qualitative methods. Such methods can be linked to humanistic approaches, and aims to uncover and investigate meanings, values, emotions and intentions of human actions (Clifford, French, & Valentine, 2010). As my intention was to look at how different actors in the relevant area view and experience ongoing processes, I found qualitative methods most adequate to gain insight in the present situation. These methods were used to identify individual attitudes and experiences related to the area's conservational situation, as well as attitudes regarding the increasing oil activity. These mappings were made through reviewing former reports and literature, and by interviewing a number of representatives who were related to the wildlife reserve. In addition to this, observation was used to nuance and form an image of physical as well as the social structures. The used methods will be presented more thoroughly in the following sections, where I also will present some of the challenges that I faced during this process.

3.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

The method which was of greatest importance during the fieldwork was semi-structured interviews, where central actors in the area were interviewed. These actors were represented through fourteen local inhabitants divided on two villages, two representatives from the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA), five workers from two different NGOs, and two representatives from local accommodations. In addition to this, two environmentalists without specific knowledge about the relevant research area, contributed with information about general environmental management structures in Uganda.

According to Clifford et al. (2010), semi-structured interviews are considered a good tool in gaining qualitative information, as it enables more complementary feedback than through for example questionnaire surveys. The structure of this type of interview can further be placed in between unstructured and structured interviews, where much weight is placed on the informant's ability to speak freely within frames of a chosen topic. As a more "general" method, interview is additionally considered a good way to gain insight into people's thoughts, feelings, attitudes and subjective experiences.

Based on three beforehand “customized” interview guides, the prepared questions were pointed towards my field of interest, while they at same time avoided conducting or “leading” the informants too much. I chose to structure the interviews in this way, as I had limited knowledge of the topic, and as I assumed that the informants could hold information which not previously had been brought to my attention. Regarding the prepared interview guides, I started with three main templates, which were targeted towards the most relevant sectors, namely: Local informants, environmental managers and representatives from tourist agencies. This was done in order to get as much relevant information as possible from each of the respondents, since I assumed that factors such as background, level of education and disciplinary affiliation would affect the ability and basis of informational contribution. An overview of the interview templates, as well as a complete presentation of informants can be found in the attached appendix I and II.

- **Gaining access**

The arrangement of interviews demanded a wide range of preparations, stretching from how to choose and recruit participants, to merely technical issues, such as making sure that the tape recorder was working properly. Related to the first, the recruitment of informants was largely made through the “snowball method”, which involves using one social contact to get in contact with several other potential informants (Clifford et al., 2010). This process had to be fragmented, as I needed informants from different sectors, and as the division required different “gatekeepers” to gain access to respondents within each of them. According to Valentine (2005), further referring to Burgess (1984:48), a gatekeeper can be defined as “*those individuals in an organization that have the power to grant or withhold access to people or situations for the purposes of research.*” A representative from the Norwegian Directorate for Nature Management, previously working within the relevant area, became my gatekeeper in relation to the management sector, and facilitated contact with a representative from UWA. This representative, located in Kampala, further linked me to UWA’s warden in charge in Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve, whom agreed to attend an interview upon arrival.

As for the tourism sector and the local communities, I was depending on gaining access to the research area before I could locate potential informants. The relevant area was, however, hard to reach without local knowledge because of poor infrastructure, and was additionally located in a region with limited access to electricity, which made it hard to contact people in advance. In accordance with my original plan, I therefore found it necessary to seek a field assistant after my arrival in Uganda. Through practicing the snowball method, I soon got in contact with a local NGO in Hoima, where a young, local girl offered assistance. The girl had formerly conducted research in the same area, related to a similar topic, and was currently working as a volunteer in the NGO,

Chimpanzee Sanctuary and Wildlife Conservation Trust (CSWCT). In addition to hold great knowledge on the area and my topic of research, she also spoke several of the relevant, local languages. Her academic background and experience from an environmentally engaged NGO, had further equipped her with excellent skills in English, and a broad understanding of the disciplinary terminology. Adopting the combined role as a field assistant, interpreter and gatekeeper, she was to become a highly appreciated support. Regarding payment, the assistant and I made a joint agreement in advance. This agreement implied that I was to provide her with necessary transport, food and accommodation for the stay, as well as an adequate sum for her effort and lost working hours.

Allowing me to gain entry in her already established network, the girl constituted an indispensable gatekeeper into Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve. Like previously mentioned, it was in this matter important for me to do some evaluations on how this could influence the research, since the field assistant hereby got the ability to affect my selection of informants. Valentine (2005) stresses this very topic, and states that the gatekeeper's role can influence what kind of information and perspectives the researcher gets. As will be explained more detailed in a later section, this concern was, however, found unnecessary, since the majority of local informants were located randomly. In the cases where my field assistant facilitated contacts through her existing network, it was in relation to relevant key-informants, whom I had wanted to contact regardless of her presence.

According to Ugandan culture, it is for example considered courtesy to seek the local "chairman" upon arrival, to account for your visit. Shortly explained, the "chairman" constitutes the elected head of the community, and should, according to tradition, be informed about ongoing events or visitors (Informant: M4). Desiring to follow the local customs, my first task therefore became to consult the present chairman in the village of Kyehoro. The same procedure was later followed in the neighboring village of Kaiso. Requesting a short meeting, we were warmly welcomed in both of the cases. Both of the chairmen were also more than willingly to participate in an interview, which in both cases were located in their own homes. Representing the tourist and management sectors' closest collaborators from the local communities, they were able to present a quite broad perspective on the historical development and the current situation. After being given the chairmen's approvals, we were now "permitted" to walk freely around the villages to interview the local people.

- **Conduction of interviews**

Linked to the actual implementation of the interviews, I was prepared to meet some challenges regarding cultural matters. Crang and Cook (2007c) do for example warn that the aspect of time can differ from what I am used to from at home, and that an “appointment” easily can be perceived quite loosely and informal compared to my normal perception. This could further have resulted in misunderstandings, or that people simply did not show up as agreed. During the conduct of fieldwork, I contradictionally experienced that the cultural differences gave me an advantage in the search of informants. The advance was especially significant among the local communities, where the aspect of time and the lack of scheduled working hours gave people the ability to devote time for my prepared questions. It is, however, worth mentioning that the meetings not were planned in advance, and that the somewhat spontaneous interviews implied a certain limitation of whom I got to speak with. I did, however, manage to regulate this to some extent, through approaching and seeking potential respondents from different genders and ages.

Another side effect of the spontaneously arranged interviews, was that it became challenging for me to influence the choice of location noteworthy. Most of the local respondents were randomly targeted as we walked around in the villages, where my field assistant approached the selected ones to present our mission in the most prevalent, local language, “lugubara” (Informant: M4). The selection was largely based on age and gender, in order to get a broader variety of respondents. After a short introduction, the majority of those asked were positive to participate in a short interview. Since the respondents first and foremost were local fishermen and women working at home, most of the interviews were conducted in, or close to, the respondents’ homes or workplaces. The limited amount of time, combined with the lack of mobility, also made this the easiest solution.

Although the informants themselves did not seem to reflect upon their interview surroundings, the location was, however, something that potentially could have affected the responses I got. Crang and Cook (2007c) do for example warn that interviewing people in their homes can make respondents feel anxious or vulnerable by the presence of strangers. Possible hierarchical structures within different households can further represent reason of hesitation and reluctance for the respondents. On the other side, Valentine (2005) argues that it can be positive to conduct interviews in familiar and “safe” surroundings, as it can counter disturbance and stress. From my experience, the respondents seemed to be comfortable with the outcome of location. In those cases where the interviews were conducted outside, the informants also appeared seemingly untroubled.

Another dilemma which I had considered in advance, was the possible necessity of offering informants food or a small amount of money. Crang and Cook (2007c) argue that such payment of informants can encourage attendance, and I therefore found it a possible solution if I was to meet reluctance. This was, however, something that I wished to avoid, as I wanted people to participate on a voluntary basis, and since I wanted to prevent people from taking part in the research of economic reasons. Paying off my informants could further have affected the power balance in the interview setting, where the respondent easily could have felt indebted, and thereby given embellished or adjusted answers in order to please me. Luckily, the informants participated willingly without any suggestions of payment, which also avoided uncomfortable situations of “bribing.”

- **Validity**

Regarding interviews and the information which was obtained through this method, “validity” was an aspect that had to be considered. Shortly described, validity holds the same meaning as legitimacy, and relates to the relevance of gathered information. I therefore had to question my results, by asking: Is the information obtained through interviews actually relevant to my research questions? According to Tjora (2010), validity can partially be ensured and controlled through the way interview guides are structured, and through the way the researcher choose to arrange interview settings. As a way of securing valid responses from my informants, I therefore did considerations in advance, regarding how I could formulate questions in a best possible way. This process has however been described more detailed in a previous section, in relation to the making of interview templates.

The second measure made to secure validity, was to consider my behavior towards informants. This was found important, as the way I acted towards my informants easily could influence the way respondents replied. I therefore found it important to express appreciation towards my respondents’ presence, and show gratefulness for lending me their valuable time. I also emphasized the importance of paying close attention to the informant during the entire interview. This was done to ensure that I received all of the information that was forwarded to me, but also because it signaled respect towards my informants. The length of interviews was further considered important, as too long sequences easily could have affected the level of concentration. I therefore found it necessary to set a maximum limit of time in advance of the interviews (Longhurst, 2010).

3.3.2 Focus groups

In addition to semi-structural interviews, I originally intended to arrange a so called “focus group” in one or both of the villages. According to Robyn Longhurst (2010), this method can be convenient when it comes to orient within a new field. Focus groups can further be considered as a “group interview”, normally involving between six and twelve participants. Like with semi-structural interviews, this type of method enables a more informal conversation around a fixed topic. I found this a potentially good tool, since it would enable and encourage discussions between different views, and as it would give me the opportunity to observe interaction between several informants (Crang & Cook, 2007b; Longhurst, 2010).

With the exception of a small meeting with a number of youths, this method was, however, not performed successfully during the research. The mentioned meeting was carried out spontaneously in one of the villages, and should more appropriately be categorized as an informal group discussion. The discussion involved a number of six teenagers in Kaiso, which in fact was a spin-off from an interview with a nineteen year old man. After the introducing questions, several people gathered around us, and got engaged in the discussion. As the actual respondent soon left the conversation, I decided to carry on the debate with the remaining youth. Several issues are, however, necessary to address in this matter, since the situation ended up quite differently than what I originally had in mind.

One of the aspects was that several of the “unintended informants” remained passive observers, while some of the others dominated parts of the discussion. I find reason to believe that this can be related to the dispersal of age among the informants, as well as a suspected horror mixed curiosity towards my presence for some of the youngest participants. Another critical aspect of the way this meeting was arranged, was the lack of preparation for such a spontaneous discussion. This resulted in a situation where I in many ways withdrew from my overarching role as an interviewer, and became more passive than I intended to be. As the debate quickly switched between different topics, I also lost track of the predetermined themes, where the discussion more or less progressed randomly. A third aspect was the need of an interpreter, whereof my field assistant had problems translating rapidly enough. The result was therefore that my interpreter noted down what was being said, while she occasionally summed up parts of the conversation to me. Straight after the meeting, my interpreter and I sat down to evaluate the debate, where she recounted what had been told. I thereby received much of the information from the group discussion, but I also assume that several aspects of the conversation unfortunately got lost in translation.

3.3.3 Observation

Another method, which was used throughout my entire fieldwork, was observation. By observing what was going around me in terms of inter-relational matters, behavioral, attitudinal and physical patterns, I was able to gain a more holistic understanding of the ongoing processes within the area of study (Crang & Cook, 2007d). These observations were done on different levels, ranging from everyday situations made by interacting people, to more profound observations of topographical characteristics.

In advance of my research, several uncertainties had to be reflected upon. One of these uncertainties was how much time I would be able to spend in the area. At the beginning of the process, I therefore evaluated the possibility of considering myself a participating observer of the communities. Based on Crang and Cook's (2007d) presentation in "Doing Ethnographies", a participating observer is defined as someone who tries to approach their field of study from within, where a critical aspect involves immersion into the community's daily routines and rhythms. This process is further divided into three different stages: First of all, the researcher needs to gain access to the community which is being studied. Secondly, the researcher tries to grasp and understand the local mentality and everyday lives. Thirdly, the observer will go back to his/her origin, where he or she tries to interpret and make sense of the experienced culture.

Seen in retrospect, my actual research was, however, conducted in much shorter time than I had predicted, which implies that the second and third stage of the participant observer-criteria must be considered unfulfilled. I therefore find it more proper to merely describe myself as an observer of the communities, since my direct involvement with the local inhabitants was limited to a few activities, where interviews represented the most central part. As the context around an interview further implies a certain hierarchical setting, it was challenging to be perceived as something else than a researcher during my stay. Despite the hectic scheme and limited amount of time, I did, however, try to approach villagers outside research-related matters, where I among other things had informal conversations with villagers, watched local football matches and bought products from the local market. In this way, I was able to observe and take part in small everyday-happenings, which further gave me what I experienced as increased acceptance among the local people.

- **Using observation:**

Related to the conduction of interviews, observation was used diligently to gain information which was not presented orally through conversations. Crang and Cook (2007d) do for example describe how body language can give contradicting signals to what is actually being said. Observation was therefore used to see how people reacted to the asked questions. While the respondents mostly replied straightforward on more “neutral” questions, observations of their body languages revealed what kind of themes that was found uncomfortable, and which topics that engaged them. By observing body language in interaction with the expressed answers, it became possible for me to regulate and adapt the interviews in a best possible way. Mostly “navigating” through interpersonal intuition, I did, however, keep in mind that the respondents’ communicative expressions could bear the stamp of cultural codes which I was unfamiliar with. I was also aware that I had to treat such social signals with great carefulness, and avoid confronting people, even though I suspected them of holding back information. This was important, since I did not hold knowledge about their reasons, or possible motives, for leaving out information.

As for the physical landscape and conflicting situation in the area, observation was used as an important tool in gaining a general overview. Being able to view the actual size of the reserve, as well as the distance from the villages to the demarcated border, gave a whole new perspective on the vulnerability of the research area. It also gave me the ability to view the swarming wildlife and the vegetation cover, as well as the rough conditions for the grazing cattle in the community areas. From the top of the nearby escarpment, I was additionally enabled to view the network of roads from a distance.

A roundtrip within the reserve together with two of the UWA officers, also allowed me to give some of the drilling sites a closer look. Explanations about how the oil activity is emerging in the area, further gave me important information about the forthcoming development related to infrastructure and constructions. This involved the planned route for the upcoming road, the expected enlargement of the local airstrip, and different installations made by Tullow Oil. The guided tour also gave me the possibility to view some of the work that has been done by the oil company regarding restoration of the vegetation cover around the drilling areas. I had previously read detailed descriptions about this topic in Hansen’s report from 2007, but still found it very rewarding to be able to observe the work myself (Hansen, 2007).

3.3.4 Document analysis

Document analysis is yet another method that was used during my fieldwork, which entails use of previously gained information. Information obtained through this method, has often been made for different purposes or within different settings, but has later been made available or accessible for the wider public (White, 2010). In my case, governmental documents, previous consequential evaluations and conservation strategies were of great use, both during the planning, the conduction and in the following work of the process.

White (2010) does however warn that this method requires a certain level of skepticism, where the reliability and validation of the source have to be considered. Questions relevant to ask in this matter are *why* the documents were made, and *who* they were made for. Governmental documents, as well as reports and documents made by interest groups, can always be claimed to contain certain values. It has therefore been important for me to keep in mind that most reports and documents are produced to serve interest purposes, whether it applies for economical, political, social, cultural or other matters. In order to gain a more nuanced and holistic understanding, I have therefore tried to use sources and information from different stakeholders. During the review of reports, articles, literature and documents, I have further endeavored consciousness about the informal purpose of the written material.

The same skepticism has also been performed towards web-based sources. Next to the aforementioned reasons, information acquired from such web-based sources should be treated with particular caution. This is related to the widespread use of internet, which has lead to an “informational explosion”, where enormous amounts of information constantly are exposed and transmitted. As internet enables anyone with access to submit information to the global web, I have emphasized web-sources’ reliability and validity during my search of relevant literature (White, 2010).

3.3.5 Field diary

As a parallel activity to the previously mentioned methods, a field diary was used to keep track of happenings and thoughts during the progressing work. Laurier (2010) presents use of field diary as a useful tool during fieldworks, as personal notes will help recalling information, and help structuring thoughts throughout the work. This diary was used to write down everything from general information, observations and interview summaries, to personal thoughts and reflections. Writing down notes became an important part of recording information for later recognition, and was simultaneously used as an expressional arena for personal thoughts and experiences. To exemplify more specifically; the book was among others used to write down detailed observations of landscape formations, wildlife and vegetation. It was also used in hindsight of interviews, where

it represented an informational backup-safety in case of technical breakdowns, and as a way of storing received non-verbally communicated information. The latter mentioned did for example relate to descriptions of interview locations, how the respondents acted towards me, and what kind of information that was received “between the lines.” By writing down this information immediately, I was enabled to recall the different interviews settings more distinctive subsequently, and it also simplified the following work of analysis (Laurier, 2010).

3.4 The following work of processing obtained information

Although preparations and the actual conduction represented a large part of the research, a lot of work still remained after my return from the field. Arriving at home with a comprehensive material, largely consisting of tape recordings from interviews, and personal notes of observations and experiences; the work of organizing, coding and processing of this obtained information now started.

As 24 out of my 25 interviews had been recorded after approval from the respondents, the first step of the process became to transcribe the comprehensive audio material. This was an essential part of constructing my personal data, which later was to be used for analysis. According to Crang and Cook (2007c), information obtained through interviews has to be noted down or transcribed before it can be considered as data. This further implied that approximately 24 hours of recordings from the field had to be undergone and processed to written documents. Although Longhurst (2010) strongly recommends the work of transcribing material to start as quickly as possible after the conducted interviews, I found this challenging, due to limited time in the field. I had, however, been very accurate with marking the different recordings with name and date, in order to avoid confusion in hindsight. This also simplified my work significantly during the transcription. Afraid to omit important information, and concerned to present information inaccurate; the work of transcribing the interviews was done very thoroughly.

After the prolonged work of transcribing all of the recorded interviews, the next step was to review the produced material, and code the information with relevant labels. Coding can be described as a way of organizing and evaluating data, so that patterns and categories easier can be identified (Cope, 2010). Although several of these categories more or less had been determined in advance, the process of coding my data further gave me the opportunity to see contexts and themes which I not previously had detected. After several reviews of the material, I managed to narrow down a wide number of themes, to a few central topics. These topics regarded the themes: resource access, conservation, conflicts/wildlife conflicts, tourism, oil, development, cooperation between different stakeholders, and future coexistence. Based on these categories, I further created one document for

each of the themes in excel, where information given by each of the respondents was listed.

Although I perceived my knowledge of the material as good in beforehand, this work of processing obtained information gave me new insight, and a far better holistic understanding of my personal data.

3.5 A critical review of my fieldwork

Previous sections have given a presentation of the planning process, the actual implementation of my research, as well as the following work of processing my obtained information. Comparing my expectations and original plans with the actual results from the fieldwork, I consider myself satisfied with the implementation, and the scope of information obtained from the research. Seen in retrospect, there are, however, several aspects and issues related to different parts of the process, which can be highlighted as valuable experiences.

Related to the initial phase of the research process, I feel that the preparations and planning was made in a good way. Uganda was up till this point a country which I held relatively little knowledge about, which also implied that I more or less had to start from scratch. Starting several months in advance; utilization of friends, professionals, and peripheral acquaintances, was used to establish a contact network in the country. Strenuous reading of relevant background literature further represented my informational foundation regarding information about Uganda, and regarding my chosen topic of research. Additionally building some of my expectations upon formerly conducted research in other African countries, I found myself well prepared upon departure, both in academically and practical terms. Considered in hindsight, I do, however, realize that coincidental personal meetings and a certain portion of luck made a strong contribution to the positive outcome. Although I believe that my personal characteristics, combined with a proactive work of planning contributed greatly, there were also a wide range of determinant factors which must be attributed to coincidences.

Another challenging aspect of the planning process was the work of acquiring necessary official papers. Upon arrival in Kampala, I knew that the first step was to obtain required official permits from UWA. This process would, however, appear to become one of the most challenging parts of the fieldwork, where ever new requirements were demanded. This work implied several meetings with the Ugandan bureaucracy, which can be experienced as somewhat more bewildering, flexible and random than what I am used to “at home.” The search of required permits led me through a maze of departments and official approval offices, which involved several meetings at Makerere University, UWA’s official office, and at the Ugandan National Council of Science and Technology.

Despite several attempts to find necessary information on relevant web-pages, as well as conversations with Ugandan official officers and Ugandan students in advance of the fieldwork, contradicting responses gave no clear answers to formal requirements. A representative from UWA could, however, assure that these requirements would be accounted for once I got to the head office in Kampala. Receiving great help and extensive goodwill from my contacts at Makerere University, Uganda National Council for Science and Technology and UWA, I did, however, manage to obtain necessary research permissions. Reviewing the process with the knowledge I now have, I realize that these formal requirements could have been acquired at an earlier stage. This would have saved a lot of time and concerns during my time in Uganda. (Obtained research permits can be found in appendix III).

A third issue which I find necessary to address, relates to the process of recruiting informants. As described in previous sections; the snowball method became a highly important part of this recruitment. The process was, however, found easier than first expected, and based on my experiences, I find reason to assume that this largely can be attributed to cultural differences. The outgoing Ugandan mentality and friendly hospitality gave access to new contacts in short time, where people gratifyingly shared contact information to friends and family whom potentially could contribute to the research. Seen in retrospective, I consider this Ugandan goodwill as highly crucial for the positive outcome of my research.

The forth topic found necessary to mention, regards the limited time that I was able to spend within the actual research area. While the total duration of my stay in Uganda accounted for approximately seven weeks, I was only able to spend four days within the actual research area. This limited time can be ascribed to several different reasons. The first of these reasons was the complex process of acquiring research permits, which required more time in Kampala than I had expected. The second influencing factor was the high costs related to reside inside the area. Regarding the area's status as a national wildlife reserve, high charges were required to visit Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area. In addition to expenses regarding research permits, residence permit and a general entrance fee; accommodation, transport and food had to be provided for my field assistance and myself. A third reason was related to my field assistant's limited time. Due to linguistic challenges, and my field assistant's great knowledge about the area, I was largely depending on her help during my time in the field. As she had to return to work after a few days, I decided to use my limited time in the best possible way.

Several weeks were, however, spent in the nearby city of Hoima, both before and after my stay in Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area. From this location, I was able to reach potential informants from the research area, and I was also able to conduct several interviews with relevant representatives from a local NGO. Although I feel that I managed to use my disposable time very well, I also see that more time inside the actual research area would have been highly valuable.

3.6 Summary

This chapter has given a presentation of important aspects regarding the planning, the execution and the following rework of my research. While the first part revolved around preparations and considerations made in advance of the fieldwork, the second part presented issues related to the actual conduction of my fieldwork. In addition to present the methods which were used during different stages of the process, I have also made some reflections regarding my role as a researcher, and how this further has affected my final results. The last part of this chapter addressed the following work of processing obtained information through transcription, coding and classification, where a critical review of the research also was presented.

Giving a short sum-up: semi-structured interviews, observation, document analysis and use of field diary have been the central methods throughout this process. Although I realize that several things could have been done differently throughout the research, I feel satisfied with the way my research was implemented. I have struggled to obtain perspectives from all sides of the case, and I have attempted to present acquired information in a best possible way. Through evaluation of adequate methods, self-evaluation and faced challenges, I also feel that I have gained important experiences which have extended my personal perspectives, and given me a better understanding of environmental management in Uganda.

As a complete introduction of necessary background information, research objectives, theoretical foundation and used methods now have been given, I will proceed by presenting part one of my empirical findings in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: CONSERVATION

4.1 Introduction

While previous chapters have addressed various matters regarding relevant background information, theory and used methods, this chapter will give a presentation of findings and reflections based on my fieldwork. While a general introduction to Ugandan conservation, as well as the historical backdrop of Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve's establishment was presented in Chapter 1, this chapter will relate to issues regarding the actual implementation of the gazettelement, as well as how the management of the area currently is affecting associated local communities. While the first subsection deals with the demarcating process of the reserve, the second section addresses issues related to the following work of removing cattle keepers from the area. The following section will present issues regarding access regulations, whereby the fourth section revolves around how these regulations further are enforced by managing park authorities. Thereafter, cases regarding tourism will be presented, where benefits from passive and active engagement will be discussed.

All of these presented aspects are closely linked to the way Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve currently is managed. This chapter will through specific examples from the area, illuminate aspects of the area's management structures. This will largely be done through presentations of information obtained from relevant stakeholders, and through narratives from local villagers. I have chosen to use such an approach, because it, to a greater extent, enables me to present the case through involved stakeholders' point of view. Although it was found necessary to omit some of the countless aspects from the debate, I have attempted to present the obtained information in a best possible way.

I find the case highly relevant for political ecology, as Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve represents an area where local conditions have been greatly affected by involvement from national and international agencies, and as previously shared resources have been set aside to serve purposes of conservation. Regarding tourism in the area, this can also be closely linked to formerly presented theory on how social grouping and identity decides individual's acceptance in, and access to protected areas.

4.2 The demarcating process

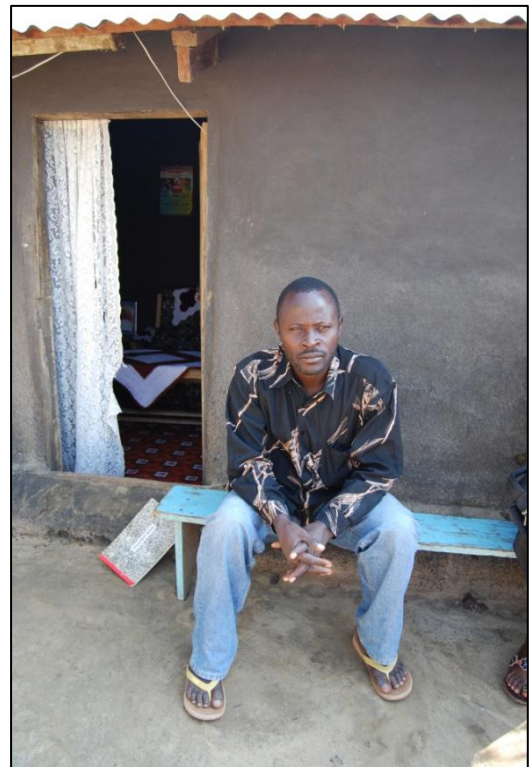
As discussed in Chapter one, the former Kaiso-Tonya Community Hunting Area was in 1996 “upgraded” to Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area. This decision was made after findings from several surveys, showing that decades of extensive poaching and uncritical utilization of the area’s resources, had led to severe degradation of the area’s environment, and caused extinction of local wildlife populations. These findings manifested the necessity to stabilize the area’s utilization through conservation management, whereby Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area was decided established. As presented in chapter one, this generic term today enfold the two areas; Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve, and Kaiso-Tonya Community Wildlife Area (Plumptre et al., 2009).

Although the formal establishment of the Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve was made in 1996, the actual implementation of Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area’s division seems to be strongly connected to the private actor, Lake Albert Safari’s involvement in 2002. Up till this point, resources had continued to be extracted from the reserve, despite the apparently restricted access. In 2002, the South-African initiator of Lake Albert Safari, Bruce Martin was introduced to the area. Aware of Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve’s history as a swarming wildlife area, combined with his interest in establishing a local business, Mr. Martin saw great potential for the region. He soon started his negotiations with Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA), inquiring the possibility to manage tourism and sport hunting in the reserve. In collaboration with the Hoima District Local Government; UWA soon met Mr. Martin’s requests, and thereby made Lake Albert Safari a participating actor in managing Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve (Informants: T3, M2). This tripartite agreement states Lake Albert Safari’s mandate as to manage the reserve through tourism, with the purpose of conserving local vegetation, restore the wildlife populations and generate beneficial revenues for national as well as local interests (Hansen, 2007).

In collaboration with UWA, Lake Albert Safari then started the work of demarcating the reserve’s borders. This process can be said to mark an important conservational statement from management authorities, where local use became subject to strict regulations. Local people, who formerly had been able to utilize local resources freely, were now evicted from the reserve (Informant: A1). This decision of was based on consideration of the significant degradation that the area had experienced during decades of mismanagement and overexploitation of resources (Informant: M2). Regarding this specific process, an interesting story was brought forward by one of the local leaders, who directly participated in the demarcating process.

According to the chairman in Kyehoro, local communities were first consulted about the planned demarcation of Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve in 2002. Local leaders were then asked to participate in a tour around the reserve together with what the chairman referred to as “*a team of civilians from the central government.*” This consultation lasted for three days, where governmental representatives and local leaders exchanged opinions and reportedly agreed on the best possible solution for a demarcation. After about a year, demarcation pillars were put up around the reserve, but were then, according to the chairman, located outside the agreed area (Informant: A1).

During an attempt to confront the ongoing placement the demarcating pillars, a warning shot had allegedly been fired by the workers to keep local protesters away. Still upset about this incident, the chairman argued that the demarcation was made in an undemocratic way, and stated that he feels deceived by the authorities because of the way the process was carried out (Informant: A1). I have not succeeded in getting UWA or Lake Albert Safari’s version of this specific happening, but a representative from UWA stated that the present boundaries of the reserve have been acknowledged and approved by parliament. UWA further claimed that the management of the reserve is done according to the given boundary descriptions, which has been developed in interaction with local representatives (Informant: M1).



Picture 4.1: Chairman in Kyehoro (Private photo).

Today, the demarcation of the protected area is not made through physical obstacles, but through regular deployment of white pillars. Several of the local informants expressed great resistance towards this demarcation, whereof one of them stated that UWA has “*enchained themselves to squeeze our land*” (Informant: A6). The chairman in Kyehoro supported this view, and claimed that the way the demarcation process was executed, has created a strong distrust towards UWA among local inhabitants.

During the process of gazettelement, some consideration was, however, taken towards the protected area’s closely located villages. The western boarder was then drawn about 1 km from the shore, in order to avoid existing settlements. This resulted in the two previously mentioned buffer-zones, which today incorporate a total of four small fishing villages (Hansen, 2007).

By placing existing settlements outside the demarcated borders, UWA managed to avoid forced resettlement of people. According to UWA's warden in charge, direct financial compensation was therefore not granted local communities (Informant: M2). Referring to previously presented theory on resettlement, the deprivation and inflicted losses that these communities have been exposed to, do, however, imply that involuntary displacement has occurred in the area. Regarding the fact that World Bank's definition of displacement first was modified in 2004, UWA probably do not hold formal obligations to the citizens (Cernea & Schmidt-Soltau, 2006; World Bank, 2011).

The way the demarcating process was conducted, seems to have created a long standing local resistance towards the management agencies in the area. In addition to being deprived of areas which heretofore had represented a commonly shared resource base, local villagers feel defrauded by the way the establishment was implemented. While UWA presents the establishment as a necessary measure made in interaction with local villagers, local communities appear to have experienced the establishment as a decision which more or less was strung upon them. Seen from a conservational point of view, there is little doubt that management measurements were found necessary in the area. The way this implementation was done, does, however, appear to have created lasting management skepticism among local villagers. I find this implementing process to hold strings to formerly presented theory by Adams and Hutton (2007). Based on long standing environmental degradation, the case of Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve represents an example where park establishment has been justified through the purpose of long-term ecological sustainability, and where external actors' interests have been strongly influential in the establishing process. Information given by local villagers, has further implied that the establishment of the protected area was a decision made by a small group of influential actors, on behalf of a larger group of people. This can indicate a "top-down" approach among management stakeholders, where local interests and attitudes seemingly were marginalized in the establishing process.

4.3 Management related to cattle and grazing

The second conflictual theme related to management in Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve, relates to the large number of grazing cattle in the area. Conflicts related to grazing practices flared up around year 2005, when Lake Albert Safari became responsible for evicting local cattle keepers from the reserve (Informant: M1). Although the eviction of domestic animals has improved the situation greatly within the protected area, this chapter will also show how this statute has caused negative ripple effects within local settlements.

4.3.1 Background and implementation of the eviction

After the establishment of the demarcating borders, one of the first priorities became to evict local cattle keepers from the reserve, which then constituted a number of approximately 8000 animals. According to Lake Albert Safari's daily manager, this decision was largely built on observations of the scarce vegetation in the area, which was strongly influenced by years of overgrazing (Informant: T3). Other informants have strongly supported this statement, through the referring of previous grazing practices as "severely degrading." One informant from a local NGO even claimed that the reserve was "*turning in to a desert*", and described the vegetation as practically absent before the gazettelement (Informant: M7).

In addition to cause significant impacts on the vegetation cover, the large numbers of cattle was also found to impact the reserve's wildlife. In absence of grazing areas within the reserve, wild animals crossed over to the Community Wildlife Area in search of food. Next to causing disturbance and danger to the local communities, these animals also became exposed to an increased risk of being hunted by local villagers (Informant: T3). In collaboration with UWA, Lake Albert Safari was assigned the work of removing the large herds of cattle from the reserve. Senior Planning and EIA-officer in UWA, Justine Namara, described this as a conflictual process, where representatives from Lake Albert Safari physically had to force the cattle out of the area:

"That was really a very big problem before the concessionaire [LAS] came in. But when they came in, they tried to really force the cows out, physically. He [Bruce Martin] would find people there and chase them away from the reserve. So cattle grazing was a big, big problem, which was pushing animals outside the reserve, because they were depriving them with grass" (Informant: M1).



Picture 4.2: Herd of cattle in Kaiso (Private photo).

4.3.2 Present cattle grazing and UWA policy

Cattle are today kept in the Community Wildlife Area, which have led to an enlarged pressure on the resources on this side of the river. While vegetation within the reserve has recovered after the gazettelement in 2005, the vegetation cover in the Community Wildlife Area is suffering under the increased pressure from grazing herds. Arriving in the middle of the rainy season, I was personally not able to see considerable differences between the two areas. Several respondents have, however, described observable vegetation disparities between the Wildlife Reserve and the Community Wildlife Area during the dry seasons. A representative from Chimpanzee Sanctuary and Wildlife Conservation Trust (CSWCT) did for example describe his first visit to Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area in 2008 as following:

“I went there during the rainy season, but you’d see clearly that in the wildlife reserve; there is grass and everything is growing on, but in the hunting area, it is totally dry. So that clear distinction really struck me the most” (Informant: M7).

The same respondent also told about his own research in Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area, where he had been in contact with several local cattle keepers. They had among others expressed great concern and frustration related to the lack of pasture land for their animals. Another aspect of this issue was reportedly the helplessness they faced with UWA when unattended cattle crossed over the river and into the reserve (Informant: M7). Cattle farmers today risk severe fines if their animals are discovered inside the protected area, where the financial punishment is set to

10.000 UGX for each cattle. Per April 2013, this equals about 3, 85 USD. I was also told that UWA officers occasionally confiscate cattle that are illegally located within the reserve. This account for significant losses for current owners, both through deprived access to food and through loss of economical investments (Informant: M4). Local villagers are, however, not assigned with compensation for physical or economical losses inflicted by wildlife coming out of the reserve. The chairman in Kaiso, Mr. Irumba confirmed this information, and stated that local villagers find the practice deeply unfair (Informant: B1).

This practice is based on UWA's policy, stating that government authorities hold no financial responsibility for wildlife causing damage outside the reserve. Outside residents are, however, held economically responsible for domestic animals entering the protected area, since the reserve is considered national property (Informants: M1,

"When your own child steals food from your own house; the food is yours... the child is yours"
(Informant: M3).

M2). Several representatives from the management sector commented on this practice, where justification was made through an underlying ideology of wildlife as a commonly shared resource. UWA's warden in charge for Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve, did for instance explain this practice by saying that: *"The animals are theirs [local people]. Even the resources around here; they are theirs"* (...) *"We [UWA] are only controlling them on their behalf"* (Informant: M2). A management worker from CITES, previously working for UWA, further supported this view by comparing the absent of compensation with conflicts within a household: *"When your own child steals food from your own house; the food is yours... the children is yours"* (Informant: M3).

There is in other words a great discrepancy between the management sector and the local communities' view in this matter. For many of the local cattle owners, the practice is experienced as deeply unfair, especially since the reserve represents their former grazing land. As most local residents are low-income households, largely building their livelihoods upon fishing and cattle farming; economical sanctions can easily represent a devastating burden for many (Informant: M4). The chairman in Kaiso, Mr. Irumba could in this relation tell about a neighbor who's cows unattended had moved across the demarcating borders. Being sanctioned 10.000 UGX for each cow, this man were required to pay about 500.000 UGX for the entire herd (Informant: B1). This equals about 200 USD, which according to numbers from UN, constitute about 38% of an average yearly Ugandan income (UN Data, 2009).

- **Increased competition between herders?**

One informant additionally drew parallels to the tragedy of the commons, arguing that the increased scarcity in the Community Wildlife Area is causing growing competition between local cattle owners. His argument was that this “competition” sooner or later will lead to a commonly shared crisis, represented through a total decomposition of local pasture soil (Informant: M7). UWA representative, Justine Namara expressed strong sympathy with the local challenges, but uttered that management authority constantly is searching for better ways of implementing such regulations. She further emphasized that local cattle owners are fully aware of the demarcated borders, as well as the potential sanctions:

”Two, three, four, five years down the road; they’re not going to have the grass. They’ll not be able to feed their animals. But look on the other side [Kabwoya WR], the resources that are available (Informant: M7).

“Those communities, they know the boundaries of the reserve, but for them, they come in, saying “for us, we did not know that this was a part of the reserve”, but in actual sense, they know!”

(Informant: M1).

UWA’s representative also informed that some compensational exceptions are made. The given example was related to cases where wildlife is causing serious injuries or death to local villagers. In such cases, UWA will occasionally provide families with help based on humanitarian grounds. This can allegedly include assistance related to health transport, and economic contributions made through sharing of expenses, or costs related to burial ceremonies. As for the latter mentioned, Mrs. Namara additionally emphasized that such ceremonies, as well as other ceremonial happenings normally provide temporarily valid ground for increased extractions from the reserve. UWA see this as a way of contributing the local communities (Informant: M1).

4.4 Local access to resources

The establishment of the park has not only impacted local cattle keepers, but also all of the surrounding villagers through restricted access to resources. This subsection will deal with how this access is regulated, and how the regulations further affect local communities.

As there are no physical fences around Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve, people are today able to move freely within parts of the reserved area. Subjected to strict regulations related to activities and use, some movement within the protected area is however found inevitable, since the reserve hosts one out of two roads in and out of the Community Wildlife Area. In addition to this, the village of Kyehoro is largely enclosed by the park, which implies that villagers occasionally have to cross parts of the reserved area in order to get access to required resources on the opposite side of the river.

Interviews with local inhabitants from Kyehoro and the neighboring village of Kaiso, implied that grass, firewood, soil, fish and water represent the most important resources utilized from the surroundings. As a large portion of the villagers subsist as fishermen, fish is, however, considered an easily accessible resource of food. The lake further provides people with sufficient water for general use, while a recently established borehole gives access to drinking water (Informant: A1). Grass used for house thatching; soil needed for constructions, and firewood used for food preparations further appeared to represent the largest challenge for most local villagers (Informants: A1-A10, B1-B5).



Picture 4.3: Kyehoro (Private photo).

Even though all resources within the reserve are under strict regulation, local villagers draw some benefits from the protected area's local user right, allowing them limited access to a few chosen resources. This access is continuously controlled by UWA and Lake Albert Safari through different means, individually regulated for each resource. While local communities are totally prohibited from extracting some of the resources from within the reserve, other resources, such as grass, firewood and soil, are regulated through governmental access schedules. These schedules are supposed to arrange and regulate local utilization through a set of criteria, often based on considerations of the resource's scarcity. According to the warden in charge of Kabwoya, this system allows women to enter the reserve on a regular basis (about once a week), to collect resources under supervision from a park ranger. He does however emphasize that the regularity of this access varies strongly between the dry seasons and the rainy seasons (Informant: M2).

The daily manager of Lake Albert Lodge (also representing Lake Albert Safari), confirmed this practice, but contradictionally remarked that much of the scheduled extractions made by local villagers is based on trust. He further added that the current system had been introduced after repeated complaints from local villagers, claiming their need of increased access. In collaboration with Lake Albert Safari, UWA agreed to make some adaptations that could benefit the local settlements in a better way. Emphasizing the reserve's role as a local resource, Lake Albert Lodge's representative further claimed that the present system: "*give local benefits from the reserve, while we [UWA and LAS] can take care of the nature in the reserve*" (Informant: T3).

Conversations with local villagers in Kyehoro and Kaiso showed a quite ambiguous view on this practice. The majority of those I spoke to expressed appreciation towards the benefits provided by the current system, but did simultaneously emphasize corresponding deficiencies and problems with the way this practice is carried out. As for the villagers in Kyehoro, all of the informants stated that the park borders are located too close to the village, resulting in rapid depletion of the nearby resources. The assigned benefits given through UWA's distribution system, was continuously expressed as way too marginal to cover local residents basic needs of resources (Informants: A1-A10). This further implied that women on a daily basis have to walk from three to five kilometers in order to supply their family with firewood and grass (Informant: A1). Several of the informants did, however, confirm that they occasionally enter the reserve without supervision, where they retrieve grass and firewood illegally (Informants: A2, A4, A6, A8, A10).

In the neighboring village, Kaiso, issues related to firewood appeared as less prevalent. Here, the concerns were rather directed towards their enforced obligation to share the resource base with villages located “within” the reserve (Informant: B4). Related to the heavy grazing from cattle, lack of access to grass appeared to represent the largest concern in Kaiso. Making use of UWA’s scheduled access, some of these needs were however provided by grass from the reserve. For villagers in Kaiso, the aforementioned concerns were also reinforced by an increasing population pressure, caused by migrants from neighboring villages and foreign oil workers. Villagers in Kaiso were also familiar with the practice of sneaking into the reserved area illegally (Informants: B2-B5).

4.5 Enforcement of park regulations

So how do park officers respond to such violations of park regulations? According to the warden in charge of Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve, UWA currently has fourteen people working in direct connection to the reserve, whereas the community conservation ranger is responsible for following up local access to, and utilization of the resources. Mr. Katamigwa, further referring to UWA’s act, stated that people who are caught while performing illegal activities within the reserve are met with sanctions based on the level of crime, and that these cases are supposed to be processed through court. The quote below is an example of how this process reportedly is made:

“The act states: If you are found in the park, maybe first of all you should be charged for illegal entry, charged for entering with dangerous weapons, and then taking the resource without permission. So those would be three counts, and then the court will decide on what to do”

(Informant: M2).

As most local cases appears to evolve around smaller infringements like collection of firewood and grass, the normal practice, however, appears to be that the local managers make own evaluations for each incident. Conversations with representatives from local communities confirmed this assumption, as several of the respondents claimed that sanctions for illegal activities normally are given promptly (Informants: A2, A4, A10, B2, B5). As for extraction of grass and firewood, this will imply that the illegal resource is divested from the person, and that the tool or harvesting device is confiscated before he or she is relegated from the area. A woman from Kyehoro further told that villagers in such cases often experience direct threats from UWA officers, but justified this behavior through stating that such threats represents a self-inflicted consequence of violating park regulations (Informant: A8). I do find it important to stress that none of the informants had ever experienced or heard about physical punishment from park staff.

Also noteworthy is the fact that several of the informants, from both Kyehoro and Kaiso, described minor bribes to park officers as an apparently common practice. Such briberies were described both directly and indirectly through personal stories, where narratives of people “trading” goods for resources with representatives from the park were presented. A group discussion with several youths in Kaiso, did for example reveal that women and children often went to UWA’s camp to trade water for firewood and grass (Informant: B5). The chairman in Kaiso, and a woman from Kyehoro further described how local people occasionally got away with minor trespasses in the protected area, by giving a share of their extracted resources, or giving a small amount of money to park officers (Informants: A2, B1). Similar information emerged during an interview with an elder man in Kyehoro, where he claimed that “some” of the villagers [implied; the local leaders] were receiving informal advantages from park managers (Informant: A6).

”You can collect them [resources] yourself, sometimes you pay them [UWA] a little money, and we are allowed to collect firewood. Also sometimes, the reserve management remains with some, and we get some” (Informant: B1).

Such examples can indicate a culture among park officers, where extraction exceptions are being made as long as it provides the officers with personal benefits. This trend of accepting bribes for minor trespasses can further be claimed to support formerly presented theory on economic benefits from protected areas (R. Smith et al., 2003). This is both applicable for benefits achieved by local villagers through illegal extractions of resources, and for management authorities, who are taking advantage of minor park violations to benefit themselves. If it also is applicable that local leaders are receiving extra benefits from park authorities, this can further substantiate formerly presented theory on uneven distribution of goods from protected areas.

4.6 Tourism

In addition to consequences which can be directly linked to the park establishment, the gazettelement has also led to several other changes in the area. Many of these changes can directly or indirectly be linked to the reserve’s increasing attraction of tourists. Labeled and promoted as a Wildlife Reserve, the area has during the recent years received a growing number of visitors. According to formerly presented theory, it is found that such nature-based tourism potentially can generate local benefits through active and passive engagement, and represent a possible win-win outcome (Sandbrook & Adams, 2012). This subsection will take a closer look at how nature-based tourism has affected local communities, where local benefits from increased employment and implementation of revenue sharing represent two key issues.

4.6.1 Emergence of local accommodations

Several local accommodations have been established during the recent decade, which largely can be related to the growing number of visitors. During time of the conducted research, two “official” accommodations were provided in Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area, namely: Lake Albert Lodge and Lake Albert Guesthouse. These two accommodation alternatives will be presented in the following section, where contributions related to environmental issues, as well as local communities will be described. It is, however, relevant to assume that several private accommodations are offered.

Lake Albert Guesthouse (LAG)



Picture 4.4: Lake Albert Guesthouse and Kyehoro (Private photo).

Lake Albert Guesthouse is an accommodation located in the fringe of Kyehoro village. Looking at the picture above, the guesthouse represents a relatively lush oasis in an otherwise dry area, at the small hilltop behind Kyehoro village. The guesthouse is located right next to UWA’s camp, and is placed only a few hundred meters from the demarcated boarder of Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve. The guesthouse was established in 2008, and is presently managed by Mr. Martin Kataryeba, who acquired the responsibility in 2012. Lake Albert Guesthouse daily provides accommodation to tourists as well as foreign oil workers, whereby Mr. Kataryeba estimates that the guesthouse hosts

an average of 20 visitors per month (per August 2012). According to Mr. Kataryeba himself, a large percentage of these visitors can be related to a recently signed agreement with the oil company Tullow Oil. This agreement has given Lake Albert Guesthouse an accommodate advantage for Tullow Oil's workers, who are temporarily residents in the area while participating in different oil-related operations (Informant: T2). Considered to be a budget alternative to the somewhat more expensive Lake Albert Lodge, Lake Albert Guesthouse also represented my accommodation during my stay in Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area.

In addition to accommodate tourists and Tullow Oil's staff, Lake Albert Guesthouse's daily manager informed that the enterprise also wish to make a contribution to the local community of Kyehoro. Such contributions are given through provision of local employment, and through offering various services to local inhabitants. Ten workers are currently employed at the guesthouse, where most of them are local villagers. The provided services are further explained to involve facilitating premises for social activities like weddings and meetings. Since electricity still is considered a rarity in the area, Lake Albert Guesthouse additionally appears as a local rallying point, where people gather to view sport events, news or simply socialize with other villagers (Informant: T2).



Picture 4.5: Lake Albert Guesthouse in green surroundings (Private photo).

After the establishment in 2008, Lake Albert Guesthouse implemented several measures in order to restore the vegetation in the area. According to Mr. Kataryeba, these measurements involved tree-planting in the close-by hills, as well as small-scaled irrigation of nearby plots. In accordance with formerly presented descriptions of the area, Lake Albert Guesthouse explained the necessity of restoration with the longstanding degradation. This degradation was further linked to severe deforestation, overgrazing and subsequent drought in the years before the gazettelement (Informant: T2).

Lake Albert Lodge (LAL)

Lake Albert Lodge represents the second accommodation alternative in the area, and can be found along the shore of Lake Albert, only a short drive Southwest of Kyehoro village. The construction of the lodge started in 2005, shortly after Lake Albert Safari had started their collaboration with UWA and Hoima District Local Government. The lodge is today considered a recognized enterprise in the area, and offers all year around-accommodation to their visitors. Lake Albert Lodge is operated by the formerly presented Lake Albert Safari, where Mr. Bruce Martin is regarded the official manager. The daily operation has, however, been handed over to Mr. Muhammad, as Mr. Martin currently is committed in other projects (Informant: T3).



Picture 4.6: Lake Albert Lodge (Lake Albert Safari Lodge, 2013a).

In similarity with Lake Albert Guesthouse, Lake Albert Lodge claimed to put much effort into the work of supporting local villages. In addition to constitute a central actor in the management of the reserve, support is largely given through local employment. A conversation with Lake Albert Lodge's daily manager stated that the lodge primarily targets local recruitment of their workers, with the exception of a few acquired experts. This can also be confirmed by the lodge's employment numbers: Per August 2012, Lake Albert Lodge had a total of 22 workers, whereof the majority had been employed from local settlements. The manager further emphasized the lodge's effort in educating and developing the staff, whereby he explained: *"If we bring you in here, you can be like a kitchen helper. So if you like your job, or love your job... You keep on training. Tomorrow: we promote you to be a chef"* (Informants: T3). In this way, Lake Albert Lodge enables workers to advance over time, so that they can gain increased responsibility if stability and effort is pursued.

According to Lake Albert Lodge's website, the enterprise is also involved in several local community projects. These projects involve a small-scale vegetable farming project, a grass cutting project for local women, and a tree-planting project in the nearby Mukihani Forest Reserve. Lake Albert Safari has additionally engaged two community officers in educating the local communities about environmental awareness (Lake Albert Safari Lodge, 2013b). I have not been able to get any comments from Lake Albert Lodge about the actual implementation of these projects, but Mr. Muhammad confirmed that Lake Albert Safari occasionally arrange informative meetings for local villagers, where environmental issues are being discussed (Informants: T3).

4.6.2 Lake Albert Safari's work of restoring vegetation and reintroducing wildlife

Chapter one described Lake Albert Safari's role in the current tripartite management structure of the reserve. This subsection will, however, take a closer look at other operations and functions of the lodge, as well as Lake Albert Safari's wider contribution to the local area. In addition to accommodate tourists and offering activities such as game driving, wildlife viewing, bird watching, horseback riding, village tours and fossil hunting; Lake Albert Safari has also contributed a lot to the surrounding environment (Informant: T3). The importance of this has earlier been exemplified through Lake Albert Safari central role in evicting local cattle keepers from the reserved area, but can additionally be found in several other measures.

In the years after 2005, Lake Albert Safari made a strong engagement in restoring the reserve's vegetation, and did additionally put much effort into the work of reintroducing several of the reserve's endangered species. During the time of constructing of the lodge, local wildlife populations had dropped to critically low numbers, where some of the species had become entirely extinct from the area. According to Mr. Muhammad, the population of kobs had at this point dropped to a number of about forty individuals, while the number of warthogs was reduced to two. Animals like buffaloes, bushbucks, waterbucks, hartebeests and art ibis had become totally extinct, where the situation was found to hold close strings to the longstanding traditions of poaching (Informant: T3).

The following reintroduction of animals was done in cooperation with other national reserves, whereby individuals from protected areas like Murchison Falls National Park were transported to Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve. Keeping the newly arrived animals inside a larger fenced area nearby the lodge, the animals were gradually accustomed to their new habitat. Lake Albert Safari's representative further explained that the animals then were released to move freely around the reserve (Informant: T3).

Since the startup of the reintroduction, Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve has experienced a resurgence of its former wildlife. Lake Albert Safari estimated that the population of Uganda kobs and warthogs currently equals about 5000 individuals for each of the species. The formerly extinct art ibis has also been brought back to the area, and is today represented by a number of thirteen animals. In addition to this, populations of bushbucks, waterbucks and buffaloes have successfully been reestablished within the park (Informant: T3). Several of the informants have commented on this development, and most of them seem to find the blooming wildlife very positive. A representative from CSWCT did for example refer to Lake Albert Safari's reintroduction of animals as following:

"I am very impressed with what has happened in the reserve, with the issues of reintroduction."

(...) "Within a scope of say... six-seven years, there has been a remarkable difference in population. So I think with management, if you have restrictions, especially with communities, you are able to restore the wildlife within that landscape" (Informant: M7).

The local communities also seem to support this view, stating that the reintroduction of wildlife has made a positive contribution to the area. This perception is based on interviews with local villagers, whereby several of the respondents listed "wildlife" as one of the most appreciated characteristics of the reserve. A young lady from Kyehoro did in this regard say that she *"enjoys watching the wildlife"* (Informant: A2), while an older man from Kaiso stated that the reintroduction *"will give a better opportunity for my children to see animals"* (Informant: B4).

Lake Albert Safari's work of reintroducing wildlife populations and reestablishing vegetation appears to have made a positive contribution to the reserve, but has the establishment of accommodations, and the following increase of tourists benefitted local villagers in other ways? This question will be discussed in the following section.

4.6.3 Local benefits from tourism?

Based on interviews with representatives from local accommodations, it is found that local villagers benefit from tourism through employment, and through safeguarding of local ecosystem services. Regarding the ratio between offered workplaces, and the total number of

“When you are a casual fisherman, that is not easy business. You are like a prostitute lady, living on the streets”
(Informant: A1).

villagers; benefits provided through employment do, however, appear as limited. Conversations with local villagers could further confirm that underemployment is a widespread problem in the area. As most of local villagers provide themselves as fishermen, employment and income is largely decided by weather conditions and fluctuations in access of fish. The chairman in Kyeohoro further explained why the labor market is characterized by great uncertainty for many fishermen:

“We have two or three types of fishermen. We have the one who is called a fisherman, who is a man who is capable of buying a boat, buying fish net, fishing gears and other materials. And then there are all those who are called casual fishermen. Those are the people who work in those boats... they are working on your behalf.” (...) *“So the casual fishermen are not permanent people in the landing sites. For them, they go with the catch of the fish.” (...)* *“The more they get, the more they get paid. It is a daily business. Almost 20% of our residents are casual fishermen.” (...)* *“When you are a casual fisherman, that is not easy business. You are like a prostitute lady, living on the streets”* (Informant: A1).

Although employment appears to be a significant problem among local communities, I wanted to find out whether local settlements benefited through tourism in other ways. Aware of Lake Albert Lodge’s so called “village-tours”, I found it reasonable to assume that local settlements could benefit directly from tourists through trade, or through receiving small gifts. Even though respondents expressed great curiosity and pleasure towards visitors, none of the respondents could, however, inform that the increased number of tourists had been beneficial to them. A general perception appeared to be that visitors largely stay at their accommodating sites, while visits to local settlements are limited to photographic activities. Several of the respondents in Kyeohoro told about visitors arriving in the village, but stated that these visitors normally returned to their accommodating residence after a short stay. All of the respondents from Kyeohoro and Kaiso further claimed that tourism not has contributed in any way to local communities.

Based on this information, it appears as though local benefits from active tourism-engagement are very limited in the area. Although a few villagers are provided with jobs through local accommodations, the majority of people in Kyehoro and Kaiso have so far remained more or less unaffected by the increasing number of visitors. This can further imply that much of the money generated from tourism in the area, quite likely is being accumulated in the hands of the two local accommodations, as well as in the hands of management authorities.

4.6.4 Revenue sharing

While the previous section looked at benefits from active engagement regarding tourism, this section will revolve around benefits from passive engagement, presented by revenue sharing. Section 4.4 showed that local communities to a certain degree benefit from the reserved area through regulated access schedules. These user rights are stated as a part of UWA's Community Conservation Program, where several other privileges also are featured. "Revenue sharing" represents one of these privileges, which, according to the Wildlife Act, implies that authorities are obligated to share 20% of collected entry fees with the associated local government (Uganda Wildlife Authority, 1996). While most of the larger protected areas in Uganda have established such entrance fees for external visitors, Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve represents one of the smaller reserves which not yet have been able to implement such scheme (Informant: M2). The present system requires that tourists and visitors have to contact UWA's local office upon arrival, whereby an official entrance fee is paid. This formal obligation does appear to be rather trust-based, and enables ignorant as well as dishonest guests to avoid payments. A respondent from UWA could, however, confirm that the wildlife authority currently is planning to establish an entrance gate system in Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve:

"We have proposed two gates as you enter the reserve. One gate from the western side, and another gate from the eastern side. So, there will be two entrance gates, and these gates will be managed together with the local communities. So that the money that is collected, a small percentage goes to UWA, but the biggest percentage goes to the communities" (Informant: M1).

In addition to benefit local communities through increased income from visitors and tourists, the gates are indented to provide UWA with improved control over the reserve, which also makes it easier to prevent illegal activities. UWA's warden in charge further stated that entrance gates will enable UWA to require more specified charges from tourists and visitors, where various fees can be linked to different activities (Informant: M2). None of my informants were however been able to state *when* this system will be put in place.

Meanwhile, an alternative system of revenue sharing has been developed in the area. This implies that traditional revenue sharing temporarily has been replaced by a practice whereby income from local sport-hunting is being shared with associated communities. Sport-hunting is a touristic activity, which allows visitors to hunt for payment, and constitute a central part of the reserve's income. In addition to paying a general entrance permit set to 600 USD per week, sport-hunting tourists additionally pay a predetermined fee for each animal they wish to hunt. According to UWA's warden in charge, these fees are currently set to 1500 USD for one buffalo, and 450 USD for a Uganda kob (Informant: M2).

Considered as a quite unique activity in a Ugandan context, sport-hunting yearly attracts a large number of international hunters and adventurous tourists to the Wildlife Reserve (Informant: T3). This activity also represents one of the essential tasks in Lake Albert Safari's mandate of managing tourism and wildlife in the area. Put under strict regulations and referrals from UWA, Lake Albert Safari is allowed to offer a certain amount of hunting permits to their visitors each year. UWA's warden in charge, explained the regulation of the yearly assigned permissions as following:

“The hunting quarter is based on the animal population that we have, and we normally do a counting of these animals at least every three years. So that guides us on what we should be offering the concessionaire [LAS] for hunting. Now, on each animal; it should be at least two percent or below” (Informant: M2).

These numbers were confirmed by Lake Albert Safari's representative, whom further argued that the offered sport-hunting constitutes a beneficial solution of controlling the reserve's wildlife populations, as well as generating financial income to local interests. This claim was further justified through the need of preserving healthy populations of wildlife in the area. In order to maintain wildlife's grazing and breeding areas, the regulating authorities need to keep the populations from growing too numerous. By providing paying visitors with this regulating job, UWA and Lake Albert Safari are thereby enabled to kill two birds with one stone (Informant: T3).

Regarding the distribution of gained income, UWA's warden in charge explained that the money is split between four different receivers: While the local districts of Buseruka and Kabwoya each receive 7, 5% of the total income, the remaining percentages are split between the Wildlife Association (20%), Lake Albert Safari (15%) and Uganda Wildlife Authority (50%) (Informant: M2). A second respondent from UWA supported these numbers, further arguing that contributions from local revenue sharing constitute great help for all the involved stakeholders. Regarding the local communities, the same respondent claimed that the earmarked allocation likely had benefitted villages through different community projects (Informant: A1).

In addition to the financial gains, I was also told that local communities benefit from sport-hunting through access of meat. Lake Albert Lodge's daily manager related this practice to what he referred to as "trophy hunting", meaning selective hunting, where chosen parts of the animal is being kept as a "souvenir." Describing Lake Albert Lodge's average visitor as a white, "adventurous man", the respondent further stated that these visitors often singularly visit Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve to gain such trophies from "exotic" species. This further implies that leftover meat is being handed over to Lake Albert Safari after the removal of the iconic body part. The meat is then brought to the local communities, whereby it is divided between local villagers (Informant: T3). These descriptions clearly indicate that management agencies consider the current system as a win-win strategy for all involved stakeholders.



Picture 4.7: Wildlife in Kabwoya WR (Private photo).

Finding the local award surprisingly modest, I confronted several of the local villagers about their beneficial experiences of revenue sharing. The responses I got were quite discouraging: While most of the respondents somehow had benefitted through the division of meat, only a few of the local villagers were at all *aware* of the financial benefits provided by sport-hunting. An elder man from Kyehoro was one of those who were informed about this practice, and explained that it has been brought to his attention during a meeting with the park authorities in 2008. Local representatives had then been informed that the community of Kyehoro was to receive 20.000.000 UGX from the revenue sharing, which equals about 7.800 USD. As far as the man knew, this money had, however, never been received by the community, whereby he sarcastically added: "*It [the money] is probably still on its way*" (Informant: A6).

The chairman in Kyehoro was one of the others who knew about the revenue sharing, but also he claimed that the money seldom reaches the local communities. Strong accusations were in this regard expressed towards the sub-district authorities, who are responsible for the further distribution of the revenue funds:

“The district people, they’re doing their own business mindless, without informing these other stakeholders that are supposed to be a part of them. And to my understanding, their [district authorities] revenue collection that they are getting from sport hunters... They’re given money at least once a year, but they don’t inform others. It’s like they’re using money for their own business” (...)
“We have not achieved anything from that revenue collection” (Informant: A1).

Confronting UWA’s Senior Planning and EIA-officer with the local allegations, she admits that the distributive system is challenging, and that very little of the revenue sharing actually reach the local communities (Informant: M1). This perception was also shared by CSWCT’s Project Manager, who blamed governance’s lack of accountability for the missing funds (Informant: M5). A prevalent perception, seemingly shared by local villagers and parts of the management sector, appears to be that submitted revenue sharing “get stuck” in the system. Obviously aware of what is referred to “internal priorities” and “corruptive practices” at sub-district level (Informant: M5), it becomes natural to question

“We as Kyehoro, WE are supposed to be the first village on their list. Because this is where the Safari Lodge is, this is where UWA is, this is where the warden is living. This is the place where our people are facing a lot of problems” (Informant: A1).

management authorities’ level of control over the revenue funds. I have not succeeded in accessing information related to the actual size of these revenues, but considering the size of required fees paid by visiting sport hunters, I find reason to believe that it evolves around substantial sums.

Another aspect found remarkable with the current system of revenue sharing, is the highly uneven distribution between different stakeholders. Although sport-hunting is said to be a temporarily replacement of the intended entrance fees, I find it hard to understand why governmental agencies, represented by UWA, Lake Albert Safari and the Wildlife Association, receive 85% of the total revenue. Leaving a modest share of 15% between the two local districts, the local communities are deprived with promised benefits in favor of more powerful stakeholders.

4.7 Summary

This chapter has given a presentation of some of the existing challenges related to the establishment, and further management of Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve.

Regarding the establishment and the process of demarcating Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve, this process seems to have been done with limited local participation. Local interests appear to have been ignored throughout this process, whereby justification has been made through purposes of long-term ecological sustainability. Paradoxically enough, interests held by the external stakeholder, Lake Albert Safari's do, however, seem to have been taken into consideration during the process of implementing regulations for the reserve.

Although the eviction of local cattle keepers has led to a reestablishment of vegetation and wildlife within the reserve, this process appears to have caused an increased pressure, and a growing competition regarding resources within the Community Wildlife Area. An accompanying problem with this eviction of cattle, is the disparity between local obligations, and those obligations attributed to management authorities. While government authorities hold no responsibility for wildlife causing damage outside the reserve; local residents are held economically responsible for domestic animals entering the Wildlife Reserve. This practice is found deeply unfair among local villagers.

Regarding local access to resources, benefits provided through the reserve's local user rights, are found insufficient to cover basic needs for local communities. Due to the limited access to resources, local villagers are indirectly forced to extract resources illegally from the reserve. This illegal activity is also seemingly encouraged by corrupt behavior from park officers.

The strategy of achieving a win-win outcome from wildlife-based tourism, do not seem to have provided local communities the intended, and promised benefits. Only a few fortunate villagers benefit through active engagement through employment. The majority of villagers appear more or less unaffected by tourism, and the area is struggling with a high level of underemployment. Most of the direct income from tourism is assumed accumulated within the accommodation sites, and within management agencies.

Local villagers express great dissatisfaction with the current system of revenue sharing. Although UWA strongly emphasize the local benefits from revenue sharing, an overwhelming 85% of these revenues are given directly to management agencies. A modest share of 15% is given to local communities, but these revenues appear to disappear on the way, due to corrupt practices and internal priorities at sub-district level.

CHAPTER FIVE: OIL

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented some of the challenges and conflicts related to the establishment and continuous work of managing Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve. I do, however, find it necessary to also examine how the currently ongoing oil-activity within the area is affecting the situation. This chapter will therefore present some of the changes that oil-operations have led to within Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area. I will look at how activities related to oil are affecting the area in terms of employment, wildlife, infrastructure and future prospects. As I have not managed to obtain informants from the current oil company, the presented information will be based on personal observations, interviews with representatives from the area, and information obtained through relevant reports.

The first section will present some of the environmental challenges related to the performed drilling operations, whereafter my own observations of these drilling sites will be presented. The following part will present issues related to infrastructural changes in the area, where information concerning the construction of a recently built power-plant, and a planned refinery, will be presented.

Thereafter, issues regarding the ongoing road expansion, and the planned enlargement of the local airstrip, will be addressed. The last section relates to local views on Tullow Oil, where a possible coexistence between conservation and oil activity will be discussed.

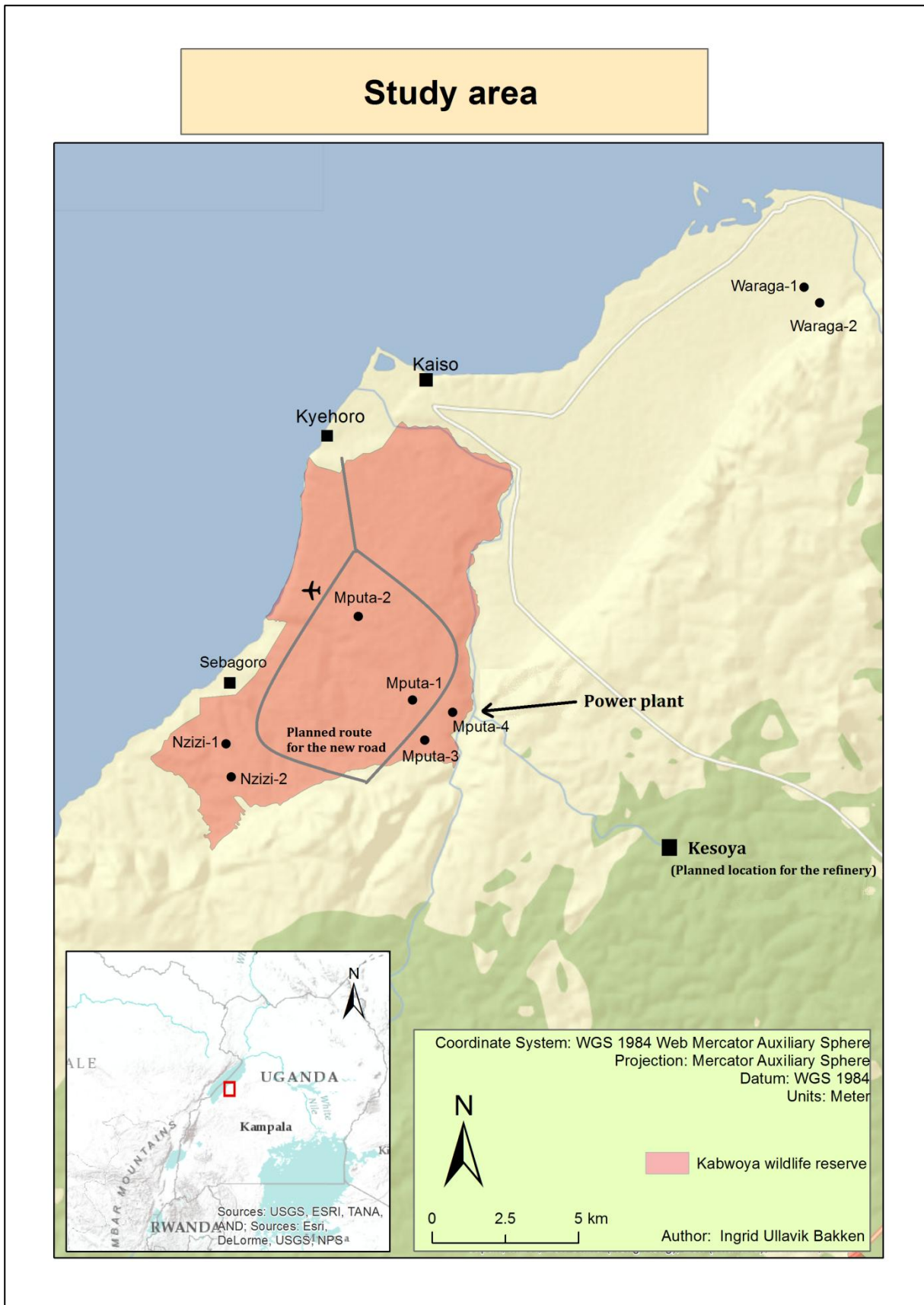


Figure 5.1: Map over Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area

5.2 Preparations, implementation and restoration

Like presented in Chapter one, activity related to oil operations has been found in Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area for about a decade, whereby substantial discoveries have confirmed the regions potential for future oil extractions. According to representatives from UWA, production is expected to start in few years, but is still within an initiative phase, where infrastructural preparations are being made (Informant: M2). Several informants have expressed great concern in this matter, mostly regarding the limited scope and environmental vulnerability of the reserve. These concerns are further divided and linked to different phases of the exploration activity, which all can be described as time-consuming and land-intensive operations. That six out of eight wells have been drilled within the demarcated borders, implies that severe activity already *has* been performed in the reserved area, but it also implies that substantial activity is expected in the years to come. Presenting challenges from oil exploration up till this point of the development, UWA's warden in charge explained that environmental impacts currently can be linked to three different phases of the process:

Phase 1: Preparations

The first phase relates to preparations of the exploration area, which implies that seismic surveys are being conducted to identify potential stocks of oil. The performance of such seismic surveys is allegedly made through a process whereby explosives are placed along dug drains in areas where oil is expected to be found. Through detonating these explosives, Tullow Oil is able to detect the best location for the following establishment of drilling-sites. In order to reach these areas with vehicles and necessary equipment, small gravel roads additionally have to be constructed. UWA's representative described this phase of preparations, and the consequences as following:

“When they are exploring, that's what they call seismic surveys, whereby they draw lines and employ many people... very many people. So you'll find they're like chasing animals there. They're disturbing the animals the whole time, until they finish with that exercise. And then they are detonating these bombs to detect where the oil is. So alone that affects the animal behavior, feeding patterns and eventually the reproduction” (Informant: M2).

Phase 2: Drillings

After preparations and seismic surveys have been implemented successfully, the next step becomes to construct drilling sites. When necessary permissions for further activity has been granted by governmental authorities, the oil company then clear an area around the discovery's location. These clearings are set to 100 X 100 meters, where vegetation is totally removed to free space for workers and machines. As large construction machines easily will sink into the porous soil; large "platforms" of concrete are temporarily made while the work is in progress. UWA informed that this activity normally proceeds over at least three months, where light and noise from the construction sites often chase away surrounding animals. The large occupation of land areas does additionally represent a significant impact of herding and breeding areas for associated wildlife (Informant: M2).

Phase 3: Restoration of the area

When drilling operations have been conducted, and the wells have been successfully established, the remaining work account for operations related to restoration. After removing machines and equipment from the site, redundant concrete which has been used during the drillings, is demolished. Some of the roads are also removed, before the work of restoring the plot's vegetation starts. UWA's representative referred to this process as a "*temporarily environmental degradation*" (Informant: M2).

Activities related to oil are in other words impacting the reserve in several ways already, even though the actual production not yet has been started. Although all of the three aforementioned operations can be considered as temporarily, the work of locating, constructing and restoring such drilling sites often stretches over several years (Informant: M2). Use of large machines and significant numbers of workers additionally represents a commonality for all of the three phases, which implies that light, noise and general activity from the construction sites make great disturbance for surrounding wildlife throughout the entire exploration process. Regarding the fact that these exploration activities only represent an initiative phase of the production, the present environmental challenges can be assumed to only represent the tip of the iceberg.

5.2.1 Current status at the drilling sites

Due to limited time and lack of access permits, I was personally not able to visit oil sites where activity took place during my fieldwork. I was, however, able to visit some of the drilling wells which have been restored by Tullow Oil. Accompanied by two UWA officers, I was given a roundtrip within the reserve to view some of the restoration work which has been done. Visiting Nzizi-1 and Maputa-2, I was personally impressed by the way the drilling sites had been restored. Picture 5.2 shows the “final result” of the gas-well in Nzizi-1. As can be seen from the photo, the originally 100x100 meters of cleared land has now been reduced to a small square, which equals about 10x10 meters. Glancing further back in the picture, one can clearly see the border from the earlier clearing. Vegetation do, however, seem to have grown back successfully, and except from the remaining road, the area appeared as cleaned and restored. The same assessment can be applied to the restoration work which was observed in Maputa-2.



Picture 5.2: Nzizi-1 (Private photo).

Comparing my observations with descriptions from Hansen’s report from 2007, further confirmed that Tullow Oil a lot been done regarding restoration during the past five years. Both Nzizi-1 and Maputa-2 is mentioned in Hansen’s report, where he states that: “*The well site [Nzizi-1] is presently the main Tullow Oil Camp with the most facilities including kitchen, sleeping containers, sanitary rooms –and tents for workers*” (Hansen, 2007:22). In regard to Mputa-2, this site is in Hansen’s report described as largely restored, with the exception of a remaining “water/oil dam” next to the plugged well. Hansen further writes:

“According to Mr. Morley (Tullow Oil) the site [Mputa-2] will be restored in the same way as the Mputa-3, which will include removal of liquids/pollution in the “oil dam”, breaking up the concrete that keeps the dam” (...) “removal of both fences, and restoring the savanna vegetation by bringing back the top soil layer and replant with natural grasses” (Hansen, 2007:19)

Based on my personal observations, Tullow Oil’s promised cleaning and restoration of the sites, appears to have been done since Hansen visited the reserve in 2007.

5.3 Development of infrastructure and roads

Previous sections have shown that the processes of completing Tullow Oil's drilling sites have involved severe activity within the Wildlife Reserve. These operations do, however, only represent the initial phase of planned oil activity in the area. Currently preparing the area for following operations regarding extraction and production, several infrastructural improvements have been necessitated and requested. This section will present some of these implemented, or planned, improvements. As the infrastructural changes largely can be linked to the establishment of two significant constructions in the area, I will first start by presenting these.

5.3.1 Construction of a power-plant, and the planned refinery

One of these new constructions, is a power-plant (80 megawatts) located below the escarpment, close to the road within Kaiso-Tonya Community Wildlife Area (Informant: M4). During time of the visit, the production had not yet been started, but the plant is constructed to supply local communities with electricity, and to generate power to the ongoing oil operations. The background for this chosen location has not been made clear, but based on Hansen's report from 2007, the location has been set by NEMA out of eight alternative proposes from Tullow Oil (Hansen, 2007). As can be seen from Figure 5.1 and Picture 5.3, the power station is conveniently located next to a river by the escarpment, with relatively good road access.



Picture 5.3: Power-plant (Private photo).

The second planned construction is the establishment of a local refinery, which needs to be located close to the exploration area. This planned refinery was, together with the former mentioned power plant, previously embedded in an Early Production Scheme (EPS), initiated by government policy. While the original EPS-plan was to build a mini-refinery in the area, the recent years' discovery of considerable oil and gas-reservoirs has, however, led to a reassessment of this plan. The EPS was thereby replaced by a new plan, involving the construction of a fully fledged refinery, which is more appropriate to the size of the findings. The feasibility of such a construction is currently under investigation, where a preliminary environmental assessment is being conducted in order to identify potential environmental and social impacts (National Environment Management Authority, 2010).

Several locations are being considered, but the temporary result shows that a location outside Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area is preferable from an environmental point of view.

During the conduct of research, the most appropriate proposal appeared to be a location at the top of the escarpment, near by the neighboring village Kesoya (Informant: M2). Such a location will, however, not prevent significant construction activity within the area,

"The most important thing they have done, is not to put the refinery in the reserve, because our reserve is small"
(Informant: T3).

as pipelines are required in order to transport crude and processed oil between the different stations. The purpose of these pipes will be to link the production wells to the refinery, and later on: the refinery to the market outlets. As for Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve, this involves construction of coherent pipes from all of the six wells within the protected area, up to the refinery (National Environment Management Authority, 2010). According to UWA, one of the present dilemmas in this matter concerns whether the pipes should be put above ground, or under the ground. UWA's warden in charge further explained:

"If the refinery is put up there, at Kesoya, up at the escarpment, that means: they'll use pipes. That's one more impact to the reserve. We don't know whether it will be under or above the ground, but if it is above ground, that will make visual impact on the tourism. So we don't know which one will be preferred, though as UWA we'd prefer maybe and underground, but I don't know what will come" (Informant: M2).

Regardless of the way the pipelines will be built, this process will imply years of work within the reserve, where large machines and a great number of people will be involved in the operations. UWA's concern was therefore shared by several of the other informants, where representatives from both Lake Albert Guesthouse and Lake Albert Safari expressed frustration on behalf of the reserve's wildlife, and concern regarding future tourism (Informants: T2, T3).

5.3.2 Expansion of road network, and enlargement of the local airstrip:

The upcoming extraction of oil, have also necessitated several other changes in the area, as the ongoing operations are depending on sufficient infrastructure and roads, while associated workers requires a broader selection of facilities (Informant: T3). Related to the areas availability, Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve and Kaiso-Tonya Community Wildlife Area has until recently been relatively inaccessible, where access only has been able by poorly developed roads. The network within the area has further consisted of scarcely allocated gravel roads between the different village centers. According to UWA's warden in charge, these roads are now going through major upgrading because of the increased activity from oil related operations. While several of the roads are being improved and expanded, new roads are also being built in order to connect the different wells/drilling sites to each other. A new road has additionally been constructed down the escarpment, replacing the former road, which allegedly was too steep and impassable (Informant: M2).

These new roads are considered indispensable for Tullow Oil, who is depending on good roads to transport machines, workers and eventually oil in and out of the reserve. As six of the current oil wells are located within the reserve, UWA expects this to cause significant impacts to the area. Mr. Katamigwa presented several expected consequences in this matter, where concerns were expressed both in relation to the construction work, and the following use of the network. However, the largest worry seem to be that the construction of the road will cause great physical inroads in the reserve's acreage (see Figure 5.1), whereby UWA's representative elaborated:

“This concerns us, as the tarmac is going through this reserve, and then it is taking two ways; passing the other side up to the Tullow Camp, then it comes down here [Kyechoro village]. So that is going to cut our reserve twice, reducing the size from 87km² to maybe 70 or 80 km² (Informant: M2).

Next to expected noise, light and use of large machines during the constructional work, UWA also stated that increasing speed limits in the reserve will make wildlife more vulnerable for car accidents. Expecting animal kills to increase in the following years; UWA is trying to mitigate these accidents, by putting up road signs and convey their concerns to the oil company (Informant: M2).

In addition to the development of roads, Tullow Oil is also discussing the possibility of expanding the local airstrip. This airstrip was established by Lake Albert Safari, but is today used to transport Tullow Oil's workers in and out of the area. Wishing to use this airstrip more actively in the upcoming production, the area is currently being assessed for a potential airstrip enlargement, so that larger cargo-planes can land (Informant: T3). UWA positioned themselves critical to such expansion, and explained their concern as following:

“So more land is going to be taken because of the widening.” (...) “The airstrip is adhering, it may become cargo-planes, which will scare more animals. The reserve is at big threat because of the oil activities. If there became cargo-plane airport, I think there will be a big, big problem” (Informant: M2).

The planned infrastructure represent great concern for the reserve's managers, as it is assumed that the expanding road network, combined with a larger airstrip, will make an inevitable intervention in the protected area's associated wildlife. A representative from Lake Albert Guesthouse shared UWA's concern, but did additionally emphasize that the ongoing upgrade of infrastructure can contribute positively to tourism in the area. Improved infrastructure has made access easier for visitors, but is also contributing to make goods and services from other areas more accessible for local villagers (Informant: T2).

Conversations with local communities did, however, show a quite critical view on the process of renewing the roads. While most of the local respondents, both from Kyehoro and Kaiso, expressed satisfaction with the improved access, several of the villagers in Kaiso felt deceived by the way Tullow Oil had treated them in the process. As one of the roads subject to upgrade passes straight through the village of Kaiso, an expansion implies that several households will have to give up shares of their land. Other villagers have allegedly also been informed that their houses will be demolished to free space to the road expansion (Informants: B3, B5). Picture 5.4 shows a part of the road which is going to be broadened in Kaiso, as well as one of the houses that has been cleared for demolition. On the right side of the house it is possible to see numbers, which were told to indicate the calculated distance from the road. In this case, the numbers implied that the house will have to be removed (Informant: B3).



Picture 5.4: Road expansion in Kaiso (Private photo).

Regarding compensation from Tullow Oil, affected villagers have been informed that they will be rewarded with economic compensation for their losses. Several villagers did, however, express great dissatisfaction with the size of this promised compensation, as well as the way the compensation process is made (Informants: B3-B5). This perception was also shared by a local villager in Kaiso, whom himself had been contacted by Tullow workers; claiming a large part of the man's plot. The informant described the situation as following:

“The compensation process is very, very slow. Up to now, in other places: people are crying. Their houses are going to be broken. You can see now, just here [The man's plot]: I am going to lose almost seven meters. I'm going to lose my land. Seven times thirty meters. That land is all going to go, but I have not been compensated.” (...) *“I complained, but nothing have come out! But they [Tullow Oil] want to break my house, they want my house to go. No, is the house goes without getting the money, where am I going to go? The animals are going to eat me”* (Informant: B4).

A young woman from Kaiso could additionally tell that several of the local villagers had been scammed to relinquish their right to compensation. According to the lady, several men presenting themselves as workers from Tullow Oil, had some time back arrived in the village, explaining that they were there to assign the promised compensation. Presenting a contract which allegedly confirmed their receipt of money, several of the villagers had signed in good faith. Regarding the fact that a large percentage of the local villagers are illiterate, affected villagers had themselves not been able to read the agreement they had signed. This appears to be a conscious act, committed to defraud local villagers. It was, however, not made clear who these “officers” represented (Informant: B3).

5.4 Future prospects, a possible coexistence?

Despite the existing conflicts regarding the current road expansion, local villagers in both Kyehoro and Kaiso expressed satisfaction with Tullow Oil's presence in the area. Based on reviews from a similar case in the neighboring village of Kigoroby, I found this local positivity quite surprising. Regarding this neighboring village, the startup of oil operations led to a growing number of conflicts between local communities and management authorities. These conflicts are reportedly based in deprived access to resources, combined with a failing distribution of benefits, and lack of compensation from the oil activity. Results from this specific case, show a strong local resistance towards what was claimed to be poor governance practices from both authorities and oil companies (Refugee Law Project, 2012).

At this stage of the process, local villagers in Kyehoro and Kaiso do, however, appear to view the entry of oil-related activity as a contributing good to Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area. This perception is based on interviews with representatives from Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve's associated settlements, where the optimism seems to be closely linked to Tullow Oil's employment of local people, as well as their facilitating investments in the area. Although most of the respondents mentioned environmental influences as a potential concern from oil activity, several informants, however, expressed greater satisfaction with Tullow Oil's help, than the help they have received from current management authorities. The chairman in Kyehoro was one of those who shared this view, whereby he elaborated:

“Conservation has not changed anything in this area, except the oil business, that has changed. Since the conservation came in place, they [UWA and LAS] have never employed more than 15 people from our village. But with oil, at the very day that they [Tullow Oil] came in, they employed 50 people.” (...) *“Leave alone that one, there are also sub-contractors.” (...)* *“They are creating the road. They are building schools. They have really created a lot of job opportunities for people around here, compared with conservation”* (Informant: A1).

This information was further supported by several other local villagers, who also added that Tullow Oil has provided citizens with a local maternity home, bore holes and mosquito nets (Informants: A2, A6-A10, B1-B3). In stark contrast to this view, one of the respondents from Kyehoro presented a quite contrary perspective on Tullow Oil's employment. He stated that local workplaces provided by Tullow Oil, largely regards temporarily and poorly paid odd jobs. The man further explained that the best jobs mostly are assigned foreign workers with higher education, and that local villagers normally are set to do Tullow Oil's “dirty work” (Informant: A3). This perception was further shared by one of UWA's representatives, whom partly explained this “glorification” of Tullow Oil

with local ignorance and widespread poverty among villagers. It was here implied that local villagers are so desperate in their search for improved living conditions, that many simply undermine potential “warning signs”, and take everything the oil company promises at face value (Informant: M1).



Picture 5.5: Maternity home and borehole in Kyeoro, provided by Tullow Oil (Private photo).

Based on information from local stakeholders, combined with my own observations from the area, it can easily be understood that local villagers find the enhanced facilities and increased employment provided by Tullow Oil as reassuring. Comparing outcomes from conservation with the preliminary outcomes from oil, it appears as though appreciation of Tullow Oil’s direct contribution surpasses the somewhat more indirect benefits from conservation. More uncertainty was, however, expressed in relation to the long-term effects from oil, where several local informants stated that they hold great concern regarding their own future in the area. These concerns were mostly explained through the fear of being resettled, as several had heard rumors about such resettlement from neighboring villages (Informants: A1, A3, A5, A8, A10). One young woman from Kyeoro was one of those who expressed such concern, but did further rationalize her worries as following:

“We have concern that with time... They [people from neighboring villages] normally say that with time people will be chased away from here, and people are worried. Now we are asking ourselves: If people will be chased away from this landing site, then why is it that Tullow Oil and government have constructed these constructions, like the school? If people are not here, then who will go there [the school]? Now people are confused” (Informant: A8).

This experience of confusion was also shared by the chairman in Kyeihoro, who further explained the confusion by referring to the “deficient system”, where government structures were characterized as “tricky” and “disorganized.” These characteristics were targeted towards the lack of governmental transparency, where local villagers allegedly are left

“However the damage they are doing for us here, the oil companies As for me: I don’t blame them. I blame my government” (Informant: A1).

oblivious of management authorities’ future plans for the area. Fully acknowledging the potential threat that oil is inflicting local communities, the chairman emphasized that responsibility entirely should be attributed government authorities, not Tullow Oil (Informant: A1).

Conversations with representatives from UWA further implied that local villagers hold legitimate reasons for their concerns. Although UWA strongly claimed their management sovereignty in the area, they also admitted that the increasing population, combined with a growing pressure from Tullow Oil and National authorities, have given them a demanding task of managing the reserve’s resources (Informant: M1). A central issue in this matter, is the contradicting interest between local conservation, and the national interest in extraction of oil. A natural question to rise was therefore: Is it really feasible with a coexistence between these two interests within such a limited area?

Opinions regarding this contradicting interest appeared as twofold among my respondents. Among those who considered a future coexistence between conservation and oil as possible, arguments were largely presented through a strong faith in increasing tourism. One of the respondents from UWA actually emphasized that a mixture of “wild nature” and oil activity potentially could be used to promote the Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve as a tourist destination (Informant: M2). This UWA representative further explained the strong faith in tourism as following:

“...what we believe in is that oil is the non-renewable resource. It will be utilized, then it is finished. But wildlife will still remain.” (...) “Kabwoya’s future is that it will shrink in size, but growing in terms of animal population and growing in terms of tourism and revenues” (Informant: M2).

This view was also shared by informants from Lake Albert Safari and Lake Albert Guesthouse, as well as one representative from CSWCT, who all emphasized that local villagers in the future will benefit tourism through participation in different activities, like offering local handcraft, or by working as local guides for visitors (Informants: M4, T2, T3).

Quite contradicting to this optimistic view; most local respondents expressed great concerns regarding the area's future. These concerns did, however, not seem to revolve around the ongoing "competition" between conservation practices and oil operations, but to their own role in this future image. A widespread perception among these local informants, appeared to be that local communities are falling between the cracks, where they find themselves unable to benefit from either of the future prospects. While promised benefits from conservation and tourism so far have been found marginal, the gloomy predictions of oil, further implies that a future resettlement can be found inevitable (Informants: A1, A3, A5, A6, A8, A10, B2, B3, B5).

A representative from the CSWCT partly shared this local concern. Although this informant found it possible to maintain environmental conservation in the area, he stated that Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve lacks the necessary potential to base future conservation on tourism. Comparing Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve with other larger protected areas, like Murchison Falls National Park and Bwindi National Park, he stated that Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve will be chanceless to face the future competition. He further emphasized that oil will complicate this desired development further, but presented a possible solution:

"It will be hard to create, or to have a tourist attraction that matches the level of benefit that would accrete oil development. Because now, as far as I know, there [Kabwoya WR] is only sport-hunting." (...) "In a few years, many of those things that attract tourists to the area will be gone because of the oil." (...) "The only way we can have it maybe, is if it's looked at as a leisure place for people who are working there" (Informant: M5).

He hereby implied that conservation practices based on tourism *can* be sustained in coexistence with oil operations in the area, but that the majority of visiting "tourists" most likely will be represented by workers from different oil operations (Informant: M5). This perception was also shared by one of the other respondents from CSWCT, who was determined that oil activities *will* change future operation of tourism in Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve. The man further substantiated his view by referring to the allegedly increasing acquisition of land in the area, whereby he claimed that; *"people are running down there [KKGMA] to buy land."* His perception was that external stakeholders currently are positioning themselves before the expected "oil boom" (Informant: M7). This would then imply that the already scarce resources within the Community Wildlife Area, risk being exposed to even more comprehensive constructions and downscaling in following years. Unless local communities can take part in this economic development, there will be sufficient grounds to question local settlement's means of subsistence in Kaiso Tonya Community Wildlife Area for future years.

Regarding a possible coexistence between environmental conservation and oil exploitation in Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve, the responses do not seem to give any clear answers. While respondents from UWA and the local accommodations appear to hold a quite optimistic faith in future conservation through tourism, other respondents gave information which implied that Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve's future largely will be based on Tullow Oil's, and other external stakeholder's terms. At this point of the process, these predictions do, however, only represent assumptions. Regarding the hereto marginal benefits from conservation strategies, and the gloomy predictions related to future oil prospects, local settlement's future in Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area can be considered as uncertain.

5.5 Summary

This aim of this chapter has been to present issues regarding the existing conflict between environmental conservation and recent years' discoveries of oil in Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area. Still in an initial phase of the planned oil explorations, several comprehensive operations have, however, already found place within the protected area.

Regarding the necessitated infrastructural changes in the area, findings have implied that these changes are will lead to a long term disturbance of associated wildlife, and affect Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve's acreage significantly. This is further expected to cause loss of important grazing and breeding areas for the reserve's wildlife, and deprive local communities with land areas which already are described as heavily burdened.

Many local villagers have not yet received promised compensation from Tullow Oil for losses related to the ongoing land-expansion. The promised economic compensations are further considered as way too small to cover their losses.

Local villagers in Kyehoro and Kaiso generally appear positive towards Tullow Oil's presence in the area. This positivity is allegedly grounded in the company's provision of local workplaces, and in the company's construction of local schools, maternity homes and bore holes. Tullow Oil's local employment does, however, seem to apply poorly paid odd-jobs, while "better" postures are assigned foreign workers.

Regarding the possibility of a future coexistent between environmental conservation and oil activity, the perceptions appear as twofold. While most informants believed that conservation in Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve will be sustained in collaboration with oil operations, several respondents raised questions regarding local communities' role in this future prospect. Local management authorities and local tourism agencies seem dedicated to preserve the area in a best

possible way, but find the increasing pressure from Tullow Oil and National interest in oil exploitation as challenging. Strong faith does, however, seem to be held in future conservation driven by tourism. Findings further showed that local communities are highly concerned about the possibility for a future resettlement.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this study has been to examine two of Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve's surrounding villages, with the purpose of finding out how the establishment of the reserve has affected local people's access to resources, and whether the implementation of wildlife-based tourism in the area has given the intentional distribution of benefits. As the area also is the site for oil discoveries, I wanted to see how this activity is affecting Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area.

In this first part, I will briefly outline how the theoretical framework presented in Chapter two has been guiding my work on this study. Political ecology was found a well suitable theoretical framework for this study, as this is an approach which is highly concerned with conservation practices, where studies often are conducted in local settings (Benjaminsen & Svarstad, 2010). Challenging more "traditional" explanations of environmental challenges in developing countries, political ecology aims to visualize and exemplify how these challenges often can be related to historical aspects, and to social and political processes. A central idea in this matter is that local conditions often are influenced and shaped by external processes, on national as well as global scales (Robbins, 2011). By using political ecology as a general framework in my study, I was enabled to see local conditions in a wider perspective. Further equipping me with a foundational understanding of conservation practices' social complexity, I also managed to perceive aspects of my study, which I otherwise could have overlooked.

Also closely related to political ecology; win-win narratives and neoliberal approaches to conservation and green grabbing have been used to explain some of the processes within the current area of study. While win-win narratives have been used to evaluate local involvement, and local costs and benefits from present management strategies, neoliberal approaches and green grabbing have been used to evaluate processes regarding involvement from external stakeholders in the area.

Next to the general framework of political ecology, relevant theory on conservation and protected areas has been used to create an understanding, and to conceptualize obtained information during my research. Looking at challenges and conflicts regarding a protected area in Uganda, Adams and Hutton's (2007) three questions have been an important guideline for my study. These three questions were: Who is this protected area set aside for? Who has made this decision? Who will gain, and who will lose from this arrangement? These questions helped me to sift relevant information, and to maintain focus during the research.

The following sections will present findings and conclusions regarding my research questions, presented in Chapter one. Two of these questions relate to the establishment and implementation of management structures in Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve, and two questions regard aspects related to the introduction of oil-related operations in the area.

1. How has the establishment of Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve affected local communities around the reserve (regarding resource access and access to grazing land)?

In accordance with formerly presented theory by Adams and Hutton (2007), the establishment of Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve appears to be justified through purposes of long-term ecological sustainability. While requests forwarded by the external stakeholder, Lake Albert Safari, were met in this process; local interests appear to have been ignored. Representing an area where national (UWA) and international (Lake Albert Safari) stakeholders seemingly have imposed a park establishment based on “green” justification, Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve can be claimed to represent a case of green grabbing. In accordance with Fairhead et al.’s (2012) definition, this new appropriation of land, has implied a transfer of control, from local people to other, more influential actors. Another aspect of this establishment, relates to human displacement. Although local communities have been deprived with access to local ecosystem services, which per definition implies the occurrence of involuntarily displacement; local villagers have not been granted compensation. Findings show that local villagers experienced the process of establishing and demarcating Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve as undemocratic and unfair.

Findings further show that the establishment of Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve has restrained local communities’ access to resources. Although some resources are provided through local user rights, findings indicate that this allocation is insufficient to cover local communities’ basic needs. Due to an increasing pressure on resources in the Community Wildlife Area, local villagers seem indirectly pressured to obtain resources through illegal extractions from the protected area. In accordance with presented theory from Smith et al. (2003), findings have also indicated that this illegal activity partly is encouraged by corrupt behavior from park officers. Statements and narratives from local people show that management authorities occasionally ignore park regulations, in cases where it can provide park officers with personal benefits.

The establishment of Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve also seems to have influenced local cattle keepers strongly, as the implemented division of Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area reduced grazing areas for domestic animals substantially. Although the establishment of the reserve has led to improved conditions for vegetation and wildlife within the demarcated borders, this separation has caused a growing pressure on grazing land, and a growing competition between local cattle keepers in the Community Wildlife Area. Regarding regulations of the park's borders, findings show a disparity between local obligations, and those obligations attributed to management authorities. While government authorities hold no responsibility for wildlife causing damage outside the reserve, local residents are held economically responsible for domestic animals entering the protected area. Local villagers find this practice deeply unfair, as they feel that management authorities have impounded land areas that formerly presented a base of commonly shared grazing areas.

2. Has wildlife-based tourism in the area benefitted local communities (through active or passive engagement)?

The stated intention has been to create a common beneficial interest for all of Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve's involved stakeholders through a win-win strategy. Sandbrook and Adam's (2012) suggest two methods of achieving local income through environmental conservation, that they call active and passive engagement. Findings from this study imply that active engagement has benefitted local communities to some degree. Local benefits from active engagement have been found in preservation of local ecosystem services, and to a certain degree in local employment. Employment does, however, only benefit a few fortunate villagers, where the majority of local villagers claim that they not have benefitted tourism in any way. Based on descriptions and explanations from local residents in Kyehoro and Kaiso, it seems that most of the direct income from tourism is accumulated within the accommodation sites.

Regarding benefits from passive engagement, such benefits are intended provided through revenue sharing, represented by sport-hunting. Besides leftover meat from visiting "Trophy-hunters", economic gains from such passive engagement seem negligible. Local villagers express dissatisfaction with this current system, as the provided economic funds, which are distributed through sub-district level, rarely reach the local communities. Findings have further indicated that these revenues most likely are consumed through corrupt practices and internal priorities within the distributive agency at sub-district level.

Another interesting finding regarding Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve's revenue sharing, is the disparity in division of these funds. Although UWA emphasizes that revenue sharing primarily is intended to serve local interests through economic gains, findings contrary show that an overwhelming 85% of these revenue funds are given directly to management agencies. A modest share of 15% is given back to local districts. These findings correspond with results from Tumusiime and Svarstad's research in Bwindi National Park (Tumusiime & Svarstad, 2011), which strongly indicates that UWA's system of revenue sharing should be reviewed to find more favorable solutions.

3. How are oil operations affecting Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area (regarding wildlife, infrastructural changes and employment)?

Oil operations in Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management area are still found to be in an initial phase, where the establishment of six drilling sites quite recently was completed. So far, findings show that oil operations already have made temporarily impacts on Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve's wildlife, through long-term disturbance from light, noise and general activity. UWA and Tullow Oil have in collaboration, seemingly managed to mitigate and minimize these impacts on wildlife and nature. So far in the process, findings imply that environmental considerations have been maintained in parallel with oil explorations in protected area.

The planned establishment of a fully-fledged refinery in Kesoya, does, however, seem to have caused increased concerns for management authorities, as this indicates that involvement from oil operators will become more prolonged than first expected. This establishment will require pipelines from all of the eight drilling sites in Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area, and UWA states that the construction of these pipelines will make significant impacts on grazing and breeding areas for the area's wildlife. The planned enlargement of the local airstrip, is additionally expected to affect wildlife through increased noise, light and general activity. Management authorities seem strongly dedicated to minimize these impacts, but emphasize that this mitigating work will be highly dependent on good cooperation with Tullow Oil.

Regarding infrastructural changes, findings show that the development of the area's road network will cause a significant inroad in Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management's acreage. Information received through UWA and Lake Albert Safari, further implies that this development will cause loss of important grazing and breeding areas for associated wildlife. As for the Community Wildlife Area, findings show that the road expansion will necessitate demolition of several houses, and that several households will have to relinquish parts of their private plots. At this point of the process, local losses do not seem to have been rewarded with promised compensation from Tullow Oil.

However, local villagers in Kyehoro and Kaiso generally seem positive towards Tullow Oil's presence in the area. This positivity is found grounded in the company's provision of local workplaces, and in the company's construction of local schools, maternity homes and bore holes. Apparently contributing local communities with necessary facilities, findings show larger uncertainty regarding employment. Although local workplaces are provided by the oil company, findings also indicate that the oil company is taking advantage of the area's cheap labor. Allegedly providing local villagers with poorly paid odd-jobs, Tullow Oil appears to assign "better" postures to foreign workers. Even though low-paid jobs in oil operations are more appealing than unemployment, local recruitment for better paid and more permanent positions is assumed necessary to benefit local communities noteworthy.

4. Can conservational practices and oil recovery coexist in Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve?

Regarding the possibility of a future coexistent between environmental conservation and oil recovery in Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve, it is difficult to give any clear answers. While most informants believe that environmental conservation in Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve will be sustained in collaboration with oil operations, several respondents do, however, raise question regarding local communities' role in this future prospect. The views appear as twofold.

Local management authorities and local tourism agencies seem dedicated to preserve the area in a best possible way, but find the increasing pressure from Tullow Oil and National interest in oil exploitation challenging. Strong faith seems to be held in future conservation driven by tourism, where local communities can benefit through employment and establishments of local businesses. Coexistence between environmental conservation and oil recovery, was in this future scenario suggested as a promoting tourist draw for Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve.

On the other hand, several informants have questioned Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve's future potential as a tourist destination. If the conservation strategy based on increasing numbers of tourists fails, it can assumingly become hard for UWA to highlight the importance of further conservation in Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve. Competing against larger and far more recognized parks like Bwindi National Park and Murchison Falls National Park; poor accessibility, limited promotion, and a limited scope of attractions is assumed to complicate the reserve's future as a tourist destination. Since significant oil discoveries have been made in the area, and external investors currently are positioning themselves in the area through acquisition of land, a possible outcome is that Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve will become a leisure place for oil workers. Such solution was suggested to facilitate further income to environmental conservation through a steady stream of visitors, and to benefit local communities as well as oil contractors.

Even though local villagers are imbedded in both of these two future scenarios, findings strongly indicate that local respondents fear a future resettlement from the area. This fear appears to be based in considerations of the, hereto, limited benefits from current management strategies, and in gloomy predictions from neighboring villages regarding oil. At this point of the process, these future predictions do, however, only represent assumptions. Afraid that they will be unable to benefit from either of the future prospects, local villagers express great uncertainty regarding their own future in Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area.

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Appendix I. Interview guides

Interview guides, fieldwork in Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area, Uganda 2012

- Give the informant a brief introduction of my research question and the purpose of my visit. Present myself and my field assistant.
- Ask for permission to use the information gained through the interview in my master thesis.
- Ask for permission to audiotape the conversation.
- Inform that the information will be treated with high confidentiality.

Representatives Kabwoya WR's bordering local communities

- Can you please tell me a little bit about yourself? Age? Family? Which village do you come from?
- How long has your family stayed here? Have you lived here through your entire life?
- How would you say that your household is provided?
 - Firewood, food, fish, water, protection, cattle?
 - Do you use a lot of resources from the natural environment around you? What kind of resources?
- What are the most normal ways of livelihood in this village? Are there many who provide themselves in other ways? (Depending on the answer: fishery, agriculture, industry, tourism etc.)
- How do you experience living so close to the wildlife reserve?
- Do you have problems with animals entering your living areas? What animals? What kind of problems?
 - If so: do you get any help/refunds/support from the government?
- Would you say that the conservation status has affected your family or local community?
 - In which way(s)? (Protection from animals, food, medicines, water, wood, employment etc.)
- Do you consider the conservation status as beneficial or as a disadvantage for your village? Why?
- Have the local communities been consulted in any ways when it comes to how the wildlife reserve should be operated?
 - Are you pleased with the communication between the managers and the local communities? Why/Why not? Good/bad examples?
 - Have you experienced/heard stories about people who have been prescribed with sanctions for illegal utilization? If so, what do you think about this?
- What kind of resources within the park do you consider as most useful/valuable/important? Why? Before/after the conservation?
- Would you say that the area has changed physically during the past years?
 - Vegetation
 - Tourism

- Infrastructure → roads, buildings, oil constructions etc.
- Population → Fishermen from DRC?
- Oil
- Do you notice much of the tourism within the reserve? What do you think about it? Have you contributed from tourism in the area?
 - Employment
 - Revenue sharing
- I have also been told that government encourages and support local ecotourism-projects. Do you know anyone, or have heard about anyone who has started such projects?
- Are you pleased with life here in Kabwoya? What is most important to you?
- Do you think that the petroleum resources will benefit you and your local community?
- What do you think about Kabwoya's future? (In relation to employment, wildlife, infrastructure, tourism etc.)

Informants working within KWR in relation to wildlife-/resource management

- What do you work with? What does your organization work for? What is your responsibility?
- How long have you worked within/in relation to the reserve?
- What is your motivation for working with wildlife management?
- How many people work within the park?
- General information about the park?

- Why would you say that is KWR of great importance? Reason(s) for conservation?
 - Ecologically and for the local communities.
- Would you say that the conservation status has lead to changes for the surrounding villages? How?
- How are these boarders/areas controlled?
 - What kind of sanctions are people met with if they do not respect the restrictions?
 - I understand that a small fee is required to enter the wildlife reserve. Do you know what this income is used for? Are the local inhabitants also expected to pay, or are they given special permission to enter?
- How do you consider the cooperation with the surrounding villages? Is the cooperation good? Why/why not?
 - Would you consider the conservation status as beneficial or a disadvantage for the local communities when it comes to accessing necessary resources?
- Have you experienced/heard about any conflicts with local inhabitants in relation to utilization/use of the area/resources?

- How do you think tourism is affecting the reserve? Have the tourism increased/decreased since the conservation status was established?
 - How is the cooperation with Lake Albert Safari Lodge/Lake Albert Guesthouse?
- How do you consider the cooperation between the wildlife managers and the oil companies?
- How has oil affected Kabwoya and Kaiso Game Management Area?
- What are your thoughts about a future coexisting activity of environmental management and oil industry within the area?

- What are your thoughts about KWR's future?
 - Ecological effects of the activity
 - Infrastructural changes
 - Population growth

Informants from the tourist industry

- General information about the business. How many employees? When where you established? Do you have any estimates about the number of tourists visiting the area each year? What kind of tourists do you normally have here?
- What was the motivation for starting the business?
- What kinds of activities are offered? Which activities are most popular?
- Who is responsible for regulating the tourism in the region? Are there other actors in the area? (Cooperation or competition?)

- How is your cooperation with the local communities?
- How is your cooperation with the wildlife managers?
- How do you work to secure the wildlife in the park?
- Fees to get in to the park?
- Changes during the past years?
- Is your business affected in any way by the oil activity in the area? How?
 - Are the activities which you are offering threatened by the oil industry activity?
 - How do the tourists react to the oil activity within the park?
- What are your thoughts about a future coexisting activity of tourism and oil industry within the area?

Interview with external representatives

- Can you say something about what you work with? What does your organization work for?
- Would you say that the focus on conservation has changed during the past years? In which way(s)?
- Can you say anything about the general attitudes and the general awareness related to environmental challenges?
- How do you see the general cooperation between management, tourism and the petroleum sector in Uganda? Are all actors taken into account through the processing of EIAs? (Environmental impact assessments).
- Do you know what the official fees in the wildlife areas are used for?
- Would you consider the conservation as a benefit or a disadvantage for Uganda as a whole? For the local communities? Why?
- What are your thoughts regarding Uganda's conservation future?

Appendix II. List of coded informants

Sector	Informants	Code of informants
Management	Uganda Wildlife Authority	
	Justine Namara (Senior Planning and EIA-officer)	M1
	Wilson Katamiywa (Warden in charge of KWR)	M2
	CITES-project	
	Edison Nnwananya (Former working within UWA. Specialized in wildlife management in the Eastern-Africa region).	M3
	Chimpanzee Sanctuary and Wildlife Conservation Trust (CSWCT):	
	Irene Atuhaiwe (Volunteer/Student from Makerere- tourism from school of forestry).	M4
	Paul Hatanga (Project manager of conservation).	M5
	Noah (Volunteer -working with tourism in relation to Kabwoya)	M6
	Phillip Kihumuro (Assistant conservation officer).	M7
Tourism	STAR-project:	
	Charles Athue (Field officer in the STAR-project).	T1
	Lake Albert Guesthouse	
	Martin (Manager at Lake Albert Guesthouse).	T2
	Lake Albert Lodge	
	Muhammad (Manager at Lake Albert Lodge)	T3
	Local community of Kyehoro:	
	Mr. Kasangaki (Chairman in Kyehoro)	A1
	Woman, 27	A2
	Man, 42	A3
Man, 27	A4	
Man, 32	A5	
Man, 51	A6	
Man, 41	A7	
Woman, 28	A8	
Man, 20	A9	
Man, 25	A10	
Local communities	Local community of Kaiso:	
	Mr. Irumba. (Chairman in Kaiso)	B1
	Woman, 49	B2
	Woman, 38	B3
	Man, 52	B4
	(+)Focus group with three young youths	B5
Others	Others:	
David T. Mwesigye (PhD-student, working on wildlife management).	D1	

Appendix III. Research permits



UGANDA WILDLIFE AUTHORITY

HEADQUARTERS, PLOT 7 KIRA ROAD, KAMWOKYA

Our Ref: UWA/TDO/33/02

Date: 03rd August 2012

BAKKEN Ingrid Ullavik
Norwegian University of Science and Technology
7491 Trondheim
NORWAY

RE: RESEARCH APPLICATION APPROVAL

I am in receipt of your application letter dated 01st August 2012 seeking to carry out research addressing "**Conflicts related to environmental management with focus on resource utilization in Kabwoya Wildlife Reserve**"

I am glad to inform you that your research application has been approved for you to carry out research from 06th August 2012 to 26th August 2012. You will be expected to submit a final report by July 2013 to the Monitoring and Research Unit of the Uganda Wildlife Authority. In case you are unable to work within these dates, please notify UWA in writing. However, note that any researcher failing to submit reports at the appropriate time will not be allowed to come back to wildlife protected areas to do further research.

You will be required to pay an application fee of US \$ 30, a monthly research access fee of US \$ 50 and a Refundable Report/ Security deposit fee of US \$ 300 to Uganda Wildlife Authority in accordance with UWA Monitoring and Research Policy.

You are required by law to seek clearance from the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST). By copy of this letter, UNCST is fully informed that your research has been approved by UWA.

Please report to the Conservation Area Manager (CAM) and the Warden Monitoring & Research of Murchison Falls National Park on arrival at the park for registration. Payment of fees and further guidance.

Sincerely,

Fred Kisame Eria

For: **EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR**

c.c: Executive Secretary, UNCST
c.c: Conservation Area Manager, MFCA
c.c: Warden Monitoring & Research, MFCA
c.c: Warden In charge KWR



Uganda National Council for Science and Technology

(Established by Act of Parliament of the Republic of Uganda)

Our Ref: SS 2917

10 August 2012

Ms. Ingrid Ullavik Bakken
Department of Geography
Makerere University
Kampala

Dear Ms. Bakken,

RE: RESEARCH PROJECT, "CONFLICTS RELATED TO ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT WITH FOCUS ON RESOURCE UTILIZATION IN KABWOYA WILDLIFE RESERVE"

This is to inform you that the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) approved the above research proposal on **9 August 2012**. The approval will expire on **9 December 2012**. If it is necessary to continue with the research beyond the expiry date, a request for continuation should be made in writing to the Executive Secretary, UNCST.

Any problems of a serious nature related to the execution of your research project should be brought to the attention of the UNCST, and any changes to the research protocol should not be implemented without UNCST's approval except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the research participant(s).

This letter also serves as proof of UNCST approval and as a reminder for you to submit to UNCST timely progress reports and a final report on completion of the research project.

Yours sincerely,

Jane Nabbuto
for: Executive Secretary

UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

LOCATION/CORRESPONDENCE

Plot 6 Kimera Road, Ninda
P. O. Box 6884
KAMPALA, UGANDA

COMMUNICATION

TEL: (256) 414 705500
FAX: (256) 414-234579
EMAIL: info@uncst.go.ug
WEBSITE: <http://www.uncst.go.ug>