



# AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIOECONOMICS OF BUSHMEAT HUNTING AT MAJOR HUNTING SITES IN UGANDA



William Olupot, Alastair J. McNeilage and Andrew J. Plumptre



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Overharvesting of wildlife is a major threat to conservation and a potential hindrance to achievement of full benefit from wildlife resources. This paper analyses hunting and underlying influences in Uganda's premier parks and in an expanse of wildlife-rich but privately owned land. All hunting in Uganda is currently illegal except for Sport hunting around L. Mburu National Park and supervised control of three species declared vermin. The paper is intended to provide an understanding of the extent of illegal hunting, some of the factors driving it, and to suggest potential corrective actions and is based on data from rural and urban sites.

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# ACRONYMS

ABCG – African Biodiversity Collaborative Group  
CARE – Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere, Inc  
CBFP – Congo Basin Forest Partnership  
CCR – Community Conservation Ranger  
GIS – Geographic Information System  
GPS – Global Positioning System  
ITFC – Institute of Tropical Forest Conservation  
IUCN – International Union for the Conservation of Nature  
MFCA – Murchison Falls Conservation Area  
PRIME/West – The Productive Resources Investment for Managing the Environment in Western  
Uganda  
NRC – National Research Council  
ODI – Overseas Development Institute  
QECA – Queen Elizabeth Conservation Area  
QENP – Queen Elizabeth National Park  
RMNP – Rwenzori Mountains National Park  
USAID – United States Agency for International Development  
UWA – Uganda Wildlife Authority  
WCS – Wildlife Conservation Society  
WWF – World Wide Fund for Nature

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# SUMMARY

Unsustainable hunting of wildlife for bushmeat is a threat to sustainability of long-term benefits. This is at least apparent for Uganda which underwent a period of breakdown of law and order during the mid 1970s to early 1980s. The breakdown led to massive hunting and drastic wildlife population declines and species extinctions and this was paralleled by decline in the tourism industry. Before then, Uganda had been a prime tourist destination with Murchison Falls National Park as one of the top tourism destinations in Africa.

We studied patterns of illegal bushmeat offtake and drivers of illegal hunting in and around Murchison Falls Conservation Area (MFCA), Queen Elizabeth Conservation Area (QECA) (Queen Elizabeth National Park, Kyambura Wildlife Reserve, and Kigezi Wildlife Reserve), Rwenzori Mountains National Park (RMNP), and the Kafu River Basin. Bushmeat hunting is illegal in Uganda except for licensed sport hunting at a few sites and supervised control of bush-pigs which are classified as vermin. All study sites are savanna or mixtures of woodland and savanna, except for RMNP which is forested. We collected data using household surveys, observation, and interviews with poachers who had surrendered to the authorities. From urban sites, we collected data on bushmeat availability and pricing.

In general, we found that except for households headed by hunters, bushmeat was a less important source of protein than domestic livestock and fish for the households in the study sites. Hunters however heavily depended on bushmeat as a source of both income and food. Poverty and cultural attachment were cited as the main reasons for bushmeat exploitation. Bushmeat-eating households regard bushmeat as more tasty and medicinal than livestock meat and fish. Animal parts are also valued for spiritual uses and this is what in part drives hunting of some species. Crop raiding and other forms of human-wildlife conflict also drive illegal hunting but on a smaller scale than hunting for bushmeat.

Experience in Uganda has shown that unregulated hunting is unsustainable. Potential solutions to the problem of illegal wildlife hunting lie in strengthening law enforcement, increasing conservation education, reducing human-wildlife conflict, and better formal education, alternative income, and alternative livelihood occupations. Land use planning including components of wildlife management if instituted in wildlife rich privately owned lands should greatly enhance wildlife conservation in those lands.

# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1. Biodiversity values, population impact and significance of bushmeat

Despite increases in agricultural productivity and plantation forestry, natural biodiversity remains important to humans in providing food security, micro-nutrients, medicines, fuel, construction materials, and farming inputs (ABCG, 2004). Biodiversity also provides important ecosystem services such as soil and watershed protection, pollination and seed dispersal, and provision of wildlife habitat (Redmond *et al.*, 2006).

Prevailing scientific opinion is that current species extinctions and biodiversity declines are higher now than at any other point in human history, and that the major cause is the human species. Geographic nuclei of species extinctions are areas where human populations and pressure from hunting and agriculture are most intense (Ceballos and Ehrlich, 2002). Hunting for food rather than habitat loss is considered the leading driver of these losses (Robinson *et al.*, 1999; Wilkie and Carpenter, 1999). People have always relied on biodiversity, but the scale of that use has risen exponentially in the past century, with bushmeat hunting as a major contributor to faunal loss (Redmond *et al.*, 2006).

Bushmeat is an important resource for the many poor rural peoples in Africa, Asia, and South America (Robinson & Bennett, 2004; Nasi *et al.*, 2008). For example, in the Malaysian state of Sarawak, 67% of the meals of the Kelabit people contain wild meat (Bennett *et al.*, 2000). In Liberia, 75% of the country's meat derives from wild animals (Anstey, 1991).

A high economic value is attached to the subsistence use of, and the commercial trade in wild meat, making it an important source of livelihood for both rural and urban communities trading in bushmeat. For instance the value of meat harvested in the Amazon Basin exceeds US\$ 175 million per year (Lamarque, 1995). In parts of eastern and southern Africa where commercial hunting is established, the combined output from the formal game meat industry and the non-directed informal game meat production systems in seven countries was estimated at an economic value of US\$ 7,698,224 per annum (Barnett, 2000).

Although commercial trade in bushmeat occurs across almost all of tropical Africa, Asia and the Neotropics (Robinson and Bennett, 2000), it is thought to be most critical as a threat to wildlife populations in the densely forested regions of Central and West Africa. The productivity of rainforests is an order

of magnitude lower than for savannas (Bennett, pers comm.) and hunting levels in this area are six times the sustainable rate (Bennett, 2002).

Bushmeat hunting is a major cause of decline of wildlife populations in Africa (Barnett, 2000; Barnes, 2002; Loibooki *et al.*, 2002; Naughton-Treves *et al.*, 2003; Brashares *et al.*, 2004; deMerode *et al.*, 2004; Cowlshaw *et al.*, 2005; Fa *et al.*, 2005). Studies conducted so far focus mainly on the bushmeat trade in West Africa and the Congo Basin, where bushmeat trade is more open, despite its illegality in many countries (Wilkie, 2001; Fa *et al.*, 2003). These studies suggest that the impact of the trade surpasses that of habitat modification, particularly for large mammals (Bulte and van Kooten, 2001; Wilkie *et al.*, 2001).

Less is known about the trade in East and Southern Africa (Barnett, 2000) although the number of studies has been increasing recently (Kenya- Muriithi and Kenyon, 2002; Born Free, 2004; de Merode and Cowlshaw, 2006; Wato *et al.*, 2006; Lutz and Newiadomsky, 2007; Tanzania- Carpaneto and Fusari, 2000; Loibooki *et al.*, 2002; Holmern *et al.*, 2006; Nielsen, 2006; Holmern *et al.*, 2007; Jambiya *et al.*, 2007; Uganda – CARE, 1999; Okello, 2004).

Studies in West and Central Africa suggest that in many areas, bushmeat is an economically important food and trade item for thousands of rural and urban families and animal parts are also important for their role in rituals (Wilkie and Carpenter, 2001). Wildlife populations have been so depleted by years of unsustainable hunting for meat, that bushmeat is no longer the most important source of protein in families' diets (Cowlshaw *et al.*, 2005). In many markets, rodents now form the bulk of the bushmeat as the antelopes and other larger mammals have been extirpated from the forests (Cowlshaw *et al.*, 2005; Fa *et al.*, 2005).

In Central Africa, Bushmeat is a critical source of income for many rural people who have few alternatives (Juste *et al.*, 1995). In rural Gabon, hunting accounts for 15 to 72% of household incomes, with the proportion rising in poorer, more remote communities (Starkey 2004). Across the region, 54% of hunting offtakes are sold (Bennett and Robinson 2000). Households that have more male labor and financial capital to pursue both hunting and trapping obtain most of the benefits from selling bushmeat, with wealthiest households benefitting most (Starkey 2004; Coad 2007). In eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, however, the poor depend on sales of meat more than the rich (de Merode *et al.*, 2004). The proportion of offtake sold increases with total catch, indicating that baseline household protein needs must be met before meat is sold (Coad 2007). Increased income of consumers at local levels leads to an increased demand for wild meat, or increased ability to hire hunters (Auzel and Wilkie 2000; Eves and Ruggiero 2000; Coad 2007).

In eastern and southern Africa, the importance of bushmeat to community development and national revenues is less well understood. Illegal bushmeat hunting has, until recently, been thought of as a subsistence-motivated activity, carried out exclusively by rural families with a history of traditional use, but commercial trade across the region is now of serious conservation concern (Barnett, 2000; Born Free, 2004). At least 25% of meat in Nairobi butcheries is bushmeat, sold under the auspices of domestic meat, and a further 19% is a domestic-bushmeat mix (Born Free, 2004).

## 1.2. Root causes and drivers of bushmeat use

Drivers of bushmeat use vary between communities. Some people may eat it because it is affordable, familiar, culturally traditional or prestigious. Others may do so because it tastes good to them and adds variety to household diet (Wilkie *et al.*, 2005). Obtaining bushmeat is however not the only reason for hunting. Acquisition of animal trophies as cultural artifacts or for personal adornment (e.g., feathers, skins, teeth) is a widespread practice throughout tropical forest regions. Many artifacts are from animals which are not hunted for their meat (e.g., hornbills, birds of paradise, large carnivores). Animals hunted in the wild are frequently regarded as having medicinal properties, or have particular symbolic or social importance (Mockrin *et al.*, 2005). For some cultures, hunting is compounded by lack of understanding that natural resources can become scarce (Croll and Parkin, 1992). In other cultures, to be a hunter is essential in gaining respect, achieving manhood, or winning a bride (Bennett and Robinson, 2000).

Bushmeat use is compounded by numerous factors, summarized by Redmond *et al.* (2006) as: increasing human population and rising demand; uncontrolled access to forest wildlife facilitated by logging, mining and hydroelectric or fossil fuel transport companies; war and civil strife; weak governance; institutional deficiency and civil disobedience; sophistication of hunting techniques; lack of capital or infrastructure for meat production; changes in the cultural environment and discarding of social taboos and traditional hunting embargoes; job civil service losses resulting from structural adjustment plans imposed by international financial institutions; unemployment; poverty and dysfunctional economies, with lack of alternative monetary opportunities; and local factors, including topography, available infrastructures including roads, market access, taboos, religions, weapon availability and hunting seasons.

In the Congo Basin, where the problem is believed to be most severe, logging, petroleum production and mining are leading industries (Minnemeyer, 2002; CBFP, 2005). These activities have had major impacts through road development, establishment of education and health care infrastructure, and job creation (Noss, 1997; Eves and Ruggiero, 2000). Whole villages of unemployed households have sprung up adjacent to official logging company housing to support logging employee needs for agriculture and hunting activities (Eves, 1996).

Bushmeat hunting is rarely linked to removal of crop pests and other problem animals, but some legal hunting does occur in response to this in parts of east and southern Africa (Barnett, 2000). In Uganda, there has been mounting pressure to legalize hunting of problem animals. For example, Naughton-Treves *et al.* (1998) reported that in Kibale, up to 17 wildlife species damage crops around the park and primates account for as much as 71% of damage events. Because resulting risk perception among farmers has been amplified by legal prohibitions on killing wild animals (Naughton-Treves, 1997), Uganda Wildlife Authority declared three species – bush pigs, baboons, and vervet monkeys – vermin and these are occasionally hunted outside protected area boundaries by farmers with supervision of the Wildlife Authority personnel.



### 1.3. Impacts of bushmeat hunting on species and natural systems

Over-exploitation of wildlife in forests is expected to alter forest composition, architecture and biomass, as well as altering ecosystem dynamics, such as re-growth and succession patterns, deposition of soil nutrients and carbon sequestration (Apaza *et al.*, 2002) but ecological impacts have not been quantified for savannas. The ‘empty forest syndrome’ (Redford, 1992) or ‘empty savanna syndrome’ (Redmond *et al.*, 2006) therefore threatens the future not only of the species hunted but entire ecosystems in their current form. Bushmeat use is positively correlated with availability, the most commonly hunted species being those that are abundant, proximal to human habitation and commonly regarded as pests (Bowen-Jones and Pendry, 1999).

Habitat type and location are also crucial factors determining impact of hunting on animal populations. Savanna and woodland ecosystems are more productive than forests and xeric landscapes and moderately disturbed habitat more than undisturbed (Robinson and Bennett, 2004). Bushmeat consumption is more prevalent in forest communities than in any other type of habitat (Kümpel, 2005) as livestock production in moist forest areas is extremely difficult (Bennett pers. comm). In agriculture-forest boundary areas, the main animals hunted are small crop raiding game, as the loss from crop raiding can exceed the gain from bushmeat hunting (Naughton-Treves *et al.*, 2003). The most profitable species to hunt in forest situations are believed to be large-bodied animals, weighing more than 1 kg (for example, apes and the larger duikers), which when hunted with guns provide more meat per cartridge than smaller species (Kaul *et al.*, 1994; Robinson, 1995).

Hunting is opportunistic, and this keeps pressure on animals high and accelerates extinction of large mammals in particular (Wilkie and Carpenter, 1999; Barnes, 2002). The vulnerability of a species to hunting is a product of biological characteristics, including body size, growth rate and reproductive biology, as well as demographic factors, including population density, distribution and habitat specificity. So, although large-bodied species are initially the target of hunters, they turn increasingly to smaller and smaller species as populations decline, and the effect spreads throughout the biological community (Fa *et al.*, 2001; Milner-Gulland *et al.*, 2003). In Uganda, there are indications that without controls, hunting is not sustainable. In a review of management options for Uganda’s Wildlife Reserves and Controlled Hunting Areas, Lamprey and colleagues (Lamprey *et al.*, 2003) noted that rampant killing of wildlife as a result of breakdown of law and order in the country during the mid 1970s-early 1980s reduced large mammal populations by over 90%.

## **1.4 Goal and Objectives**

This study was conducted to increase knowledge of bushmeat hunting and trade in East Africa by documenting bushmeat use, extent of the bushmeat market, dependence on bushmeat, and factors driving bushmeat hunting and trade in and around main hunting sites in Uganda in order to provide recommendations about how to best to mitigate the threat caused to the long term survival of wildlife populations.

### **Specific objectives:**

1. Understand the extent of the problem of bushmeat use for both subsistence needs and also for commercial purposes around the remaining centers of wildlife in Uganda;
2. Assess the socioeconomic factors that drive the bushmeat market including cultural values and alternative sources of protein;
3. Assess the market chain from the main wildlife areas in Uganda to Kampala, and the role that the bushmeat trade plays in household livelihoods; and
4. Investigate the linkages between crop-raiding and bushmeat harvesting.

## 2. METHODS

### 2.1. Study Site Description

The focus of this study was four field sites and one major urban area; Kampala. The field sites were Murchison Falls Conservation Area (MFCA); Kafu River Basin (Kafu Basin); Queen Elizabeth Conservation Area (QECA) – the part comprising Queen Elizabeth National Park, Kyambura Wildlife Reserve, and Kigezi Wildlife Reserve only; and Rwenzori Mountains National Park (RMNP) (Fig. 1). These sites were chosen on the basis of prior knowledge that they are the main bushmeat hunting sites in Uganda and in the case of Kampala, it was considered a potentially large market for urban trade.

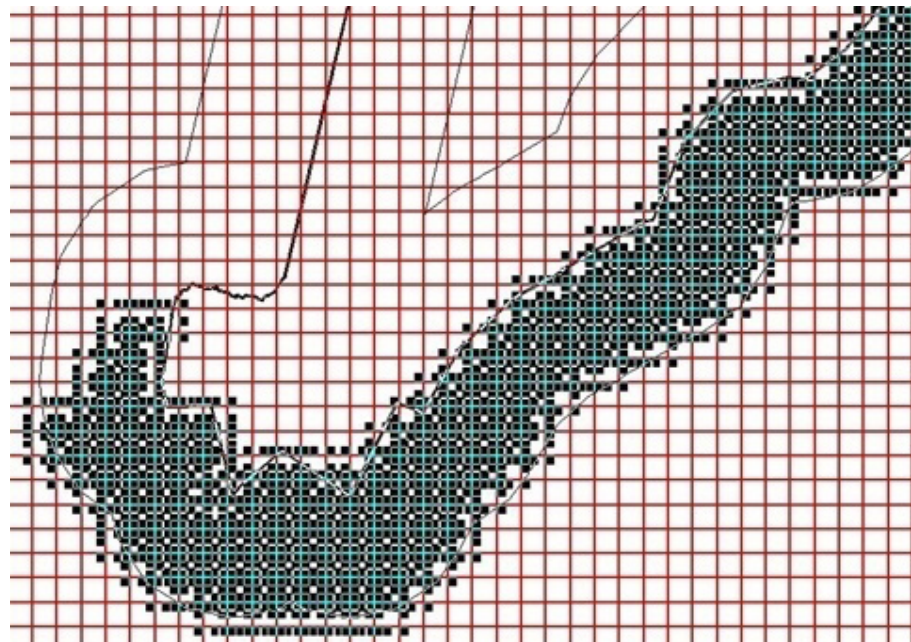
Three out of the four field sites are National Parks, and one, the Kafu Basin, is woodland dominated by privately owned ranches and pastoral lands. The national parks are Uganda's premier tourism sites, attracting some of the highest numbers of tourists annually of any sites in the country. Wildlife hunting in these sites and throughout Uganda is illegal but for occasional incidences where the UWA supervises removal of bush pigs, baboons, and vervet monkeys which are regarded as vermin. There is substantial effort going into enforcement of the law on hunting. The only other case of legal hunting is around Lake Mburo National Park, where the UWA issues permits to sport hunters.

The study sites represent a broad range of habitats, from savanna through woodland to forest, allowing for understanding bushmeat use across a broad range of species, density situations, and management regimes. Primate species richness for example is highest in forested RMNP, while the savanna and woodland sites are richer in ungulate populations. The sites also vary in potential productivity. Savanna and mixed woodland systems of Africa have been shown to be an order of magnitude higher than forests for mammals (Robinson and Bennett, 2004) and as such bushmeat productivity can be expected to be lower for RMNP than other sites.

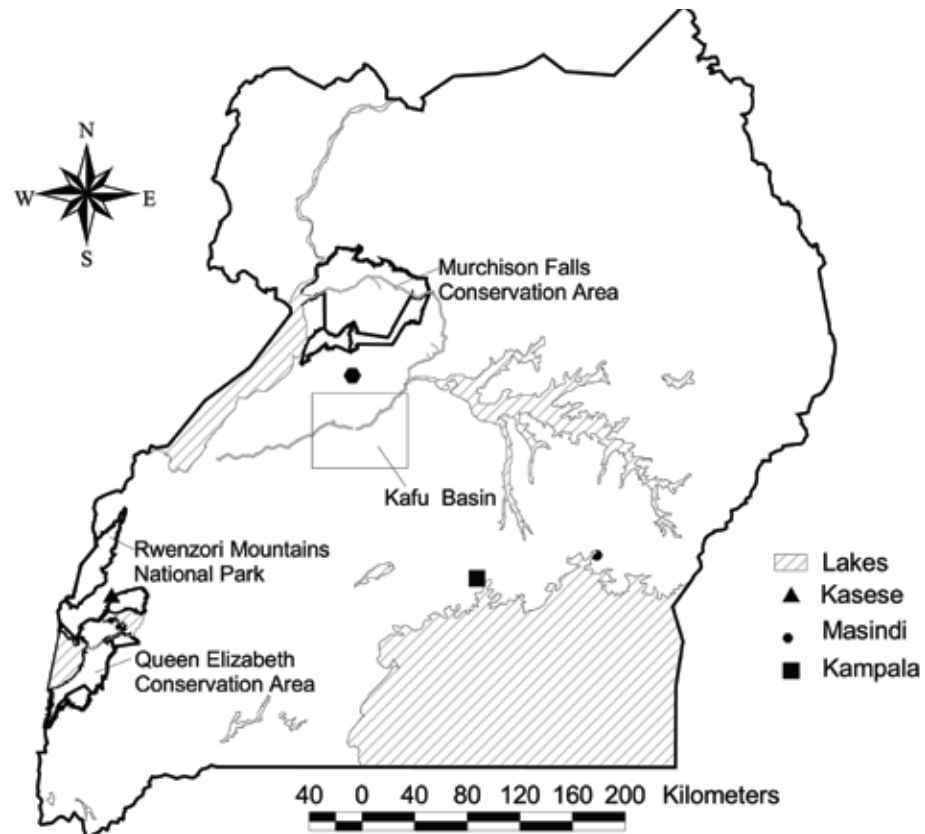
Murchison Falls Conservation Area (MFCA) lies at the northern end of the Albertine Rift and includes part of the valley floor and escarpment. It is comprised of Murchison Falls National Park (3,893 km<sup>2</sup>), Karuma Wildlife Reserve (678 km<sup>2</sup>) in the east and south east, and Bugungu Wildlife Reserve (474 km<sup>2</sup>) in the southwest (UWA 2001). The conservation area is a savanna, heavily wooded in the south, grading gradually into a grassland-dominated landscape to the north. In the south, this site abuts Budongo Central Forest Reserve. The River Nile cuts through the area in an approximately east-west direction two thirds of the distance from the southern edge. Large mammals occurring here

include elephants, hippos, buffalos, Jackson's hartebeest, and waterbuck. The only viable populations of Rothchild's giraffe and the Nile Crocodile in Uganda are found here as giraffe numbers in Kidepo Valley National park and crocodiles in QENP are not sufficient to sustain the populations (Olupot *et al.*, in prep). Other large bodied animals occurring here are Uganda kob, sitatunga, and bushbuck. The focus of the study was the area south of the Nile, in villages within 5 km of the protected area boundary. Subsistence agriculture is the main stay of the economy of the villages to the east and south of the site, with at least 44 crop types grown. Most of the western part overlooking Lake Albert is pastoral except for the northerly areas adjacent the Nile banks. Main crops grown by households living around this site are cassava (grown by 77% of all the households interviewed), maize (62% of households), sweet potatoes (22%), groundnuts (14%), and cotton (13%). Other main crops include sunflower (9%), bananas (9%), mangoes (7%), and rice (6%). Cattle, goats, chicken, ducks, pigs, guinea fowls, pigeons, rabbits, sheep, and turkey are the animals kept by people in this area, but the main ones are chicken (kept by 77% of the households, goats (51% of the households), cattle (21%), and duck (13%). In agricultural areas, land is farmed right up to the edge of the protected area whereas in the mostly pastoral western areas, vegetation transition from the protected area to the lake flats below inhabited by communities is not abrupt.

**Figure 2:** An example of the way in which the sample of LC1s visited was generated: Map of the southernmost tip of RMNP showing a 5km buffer (dark strip) along the outer edge of the park boundary. 1x1 km squares in this band were used to generate a pool of coordinates from which we drew a random sample to guide us to LC1s for the household survey.



**Figure 1:** Map of Uganda Showing study sites. Kampala, Masindi, Fort Portal and Kasese were the only represented urban sites covered.



The Kafu River Basin (Kafu Basin) is a catchment for River Kafu which drains from the west near Lake Albert to the point at which the Nile exits Lake Kyoga in the east. The area is typically a wooded savanna predominated by ranches and pastoral lands and dotted with small-sized crop fields. The River Kafu runs through the middle of this area, with the district of Masindi on the northern bank, and Kiboga, Nakaseke and Nakasongola districts on the southern bank (Rwetsiba *et al.*, 2007). This study focused on a 45 km long and 25 km wide strip on either side of River Kafu between the point where R. Mayanja pours into the Kafu and River Kafu's mouth in the east. While preparing for this study during early 2007, W. Olupot and his field team sighted more than twice as many animals here per unit road distance (typically Bushbuck, Oribi, and Kob) when driving through this area than they saw during the same week between Kichumbanyobo gate and Paraa Safari Lodge in Murchison Falls Conservation Area (W. Olupot, unpublished data). A recent census by UWA had established occurrence of kob, bushbuck, oribi, waterbuck, reedbuck, sitatunga, and duiker in this area they were not observed by Rwetsiba *et al.* (2007). The importance of this site for the conservation of Oribi needs further verification, however, judging from available records of population counts, the site appears to be one of the most important for conservation of Oribi in Uganda. Indications from this study are that hippo, hartebeest, and warthog are extant, though (Rwetsiba *et al.*, 2007) during their study.. Domestic animals kept by the residents here are chicken (kept by 73% of the households), cattle (63% of the households), goats (61%), pigs (25%), sheep (8%), and duck (0.4%). The main crops grown are cassava (grown by 30% of the households), sweet potatoes (27%), maize (24%), beans (18%), and groundnuts (14%). Other crops include millet, bananas, peas, cotton, and fruit crops.

Queen Elizabeth Conservation Area (QECA) lies in the western rift valley at the southernmost tip of the Rwenzori mountains. Predominant features of this site are Lake George in the North and L. Edward to the south. The southernmost tip borders the DRC along River Ishasha. The conservation area is comprised of Queen Elizabeth National Park (1,978 km<sup>2</sup>), Kyambura Wildlife Reserve (154 km<sup>2</sup>), and Kigezi Wildlife Reserve (269 km<sup>2</sup>) and is 2,401 km<sup>2</sup> in size (Rwetsiba *et al.*, 2002). It is a mosaic of woodland savanna vegetation, densely wooded in the southeast in the area of the Maramagambo forest, but more open in the rest of the park. The most common large bodied animals in the park are elephant, hippo, buffalo, waterbuck, topi, kob, warthog, bushbuck, giant forest hog, lion, hyena, and leopard. The main focus of this study was the villages within 5 km of the park boundary. Agriculture and livestock keeping are two main activities of the residents and several fishing enclaves occur on shores of both lakes. To the west, the areas adjoining the park boundary in the district of Kasese are predominantly pastoral, while those in the east, in the districts of Kanungu, Rukungiri, Bushenyi, and Kamwenge are predominantly agricultural. The distinction between the conservation area and surrounding lands is more abrupt on the eastern side, with land cultivated right up to the boundary. At least 50 crop types are grown. Main crops are cassava (grown by 76% of the households), maize (grown by 75% of the households), beans (74%), bananas (53%), coffee (48%), millet (44%), groundnuts (40%),

mangoes (38%), and avocados (31%). Others are cotton, egg plants, papaya, jack fruit, and eucalyptus. Animals kept include chicken (kept by 77% of the households), goats (64% of the households), cows (13%), pigs (12%), sheep (11%), and duck (11%). Others less commonly kept are pigeons, rabbits, donkeys, turkeys, and guinea pigs.

Rwenzori Mountains National Park (RMNP) is a montane forest on the Rwenzori mountain ranges from Kasese district in the south to Bundibugyo in the north. The Park (0°06':0°46'N, 29°47':30°11'E) is located along the Ugandan border with the DR Congo and covers much of the Rwenzori Massif above 1,600 m and an area of 998 km<sup>2</sup> in the districts of Kasese, Kabarole, and Bundibugyo. The mountain range spans over 100 km in a northeast-southwest direction and is 50 km wide at the widest part. Most of the western edge lies along the Uganda-DRC border. One hundred and two mammal species occur in the park including elephant, giant forest hog, the Rwenzori duiker, sitatunga, buffaloes, hyrax and leopards, and four species of diurnal primate (Plumptre *et al.*, 2003). The focus of this study was the villages on the Ugandan side within 5 km of the park boundary from the southwestern edge adjacent the DRC border to the northernmost tip. This strip falls mostly within the rugged slopes of the mountain base, and receives heavy rainfall. The main economic activity in this area is agriculture. At least 40 crop types are cultivated. Commonly grown are beans (99% of the households interviewed), cassava (97% of the households), coffee (78%), Irish potatoes (63%), matooke (63%), yams (61%), ground nuts (57%), passion fruits (41%), and maize (31%). Other crops include garlic, mangoes, onions, millet, and jack fruit. Animals reared are chicken (kept by 88% of the households interviewed), goats (74%), pigs (17%), sheep (15%), cattle (14%), and ducks (2.7%). Less common are donkeys, rabbits, and turkeys.

## 2.2. General methods

We collected data through household interviews, observation, and interviews with hunters who had surrendered to the authorities, from April 2007-January 2008. For the household survey, the area of interest was the villages up to 5 km from protected area boundaries. In the case of the Kafu Basin, we were interested in the band 45 km long and 25 km wide on either side of the river in the lower basin abutting Lake Kyoga and the Victoria Nile. The project was accomplished with help of research assistants and field assistants (including key informers). Field assistants were supervised by research assistants, who held first or second university degrees, and were based near the sites. They had substantial prior experience in independent research. In each site, one staff member volunteered by the Uganda Wildlife Authority participated in the survey. All field staff were directly supervised by W. Olupot and information from all key informers was regularly cross validated for error.

Bushmeat hunting using any type of weapon is illegal in Uganda and most of the bushmeat in the country is illegally sourced. There are only very few cases where bushmeat is legal, such as when animals are killed during sport hunting or rarely during vermin control. Sport hunting occurs only around Lake Mburo National Park (a site not included in this study), and vermin control occurs

around all protected areas focusing on only three species: bushpigs, baboons, and vervet monkeys. Both of these are supervised directly by the Uganda Wildlife Authority.

We conducted household surveys to determine frequencies with which households ate bushmeat as opposed to livestock meat and fish and to relate that to income, wealth, and other characteristics often used in household surveys (Grosh and Glewwe, 2000). We were also interested in the extent to which crop raiding and other forms of human-wildlife conflict influenced killing of animals. We considered a sample size of at least 300 households at each site sufficient to reveal the true patterns in the information we sought. To minimize the possibility that we received biased answers due to the illegality of bushmeat, we explained to respondents the purpose of the research, making it clear that they were not meant for legal action against anybody. We also explained that we were not interested in their personal identities and they did not have to tell us their names.

Among the set of questions asked during the household survey, we did not ask people how many times they ate bushmeat each day over a given set of days (up to 3 days is usually recommended for best recall – e.g., review by Eves, 2006). This was because of the general illegality of bushmeat in the country. People in and around the study sites were thus likely to be averse to being asked about whether or not, and how many times they ate bushmeat in the last few days. We thus opted for a ‘friendlier’ approach of asking how many days on average, according to their experience, they ate bushmeat over a given number of days (examples of answers were every day, once a week, two times a month, two times a year, and so on). Although this approach does not give as good an indication of how much bushmeat they ate as asking them how many times they ate it during the previous three days (for which we were likely to jeopardize the interview or get no answers), it gave a consistent basis for understanding the relative importance of bushmeat in their diets, compared to for example livestock meat, and for determining socio-economic drivers of bushmeat use in each site.

To locate households for interview, we used LC1s as base reference points. LC1s are the smallest government administrative units, smaller than parishes. In Uganda, several parishes form a sub-county. We aimed at visiting at least 30 LC1s in each site and to talk to 10 households in each LC1. To identify the LC1s to visit, we used ArcView GIS to overlay a grid of 1 km squares over the areas of interest in each site (Fig. 2) and generated mid point UTM coordinates for each square. These coordinates then represented points in LC1s we visited. Because many points were generated as a result (hundreds to over a thousand depending on the site) we had to select a few. Based on an upper limit of 600-650 households in each site, we used Microsoft excel to randomly select 60 and for the case of QECA, 65 geographical locations. These coordinates were uploaded into hand held GPS units used to guide researchers to the LC1s. On reaching each LC1, researchers introduced themselves to the local officials to obtain permission and then proceeded to talk to household heads.



Since it would not have been possible to obtain sufficient information on hunting incidences through household surveys, we used assistants (key informers) residing in the villages and trading centres adjacent or inside study sites. Assistants provided monthly information on animals killed, hunting locations, weapons used, and how the meat was used by hunters. However, the number of hunting incidences reported was likely lower than actual as some incidences would have happened undetected. Assistants also recorded the proportion of meat hunters ate and sold, areas where they sold the meat, and how much it cost. We wanted to obtain at least five monthly observational records from each site and as such we employed at least five assistants in each site, spaced far enough from each other to prevent duplication of records.

Surrendered hunters were interviewed to obtain supplementary information on factors that drive illegal hunting. Among questions asked were what motivated them to hunt, and how body parts from the dead animals were used, and what could be done to stop or reduce illegal hunting. We talked to at least 18 surrendered poacher groups.

### **2.3. Data Analysis**

All data were stored in Microsoft Access. Processing and analysis were performed using Systat Version 10.2 and Microsoft Excel (2007 edn). Spatial representation was achieved using ArcView Version 3.2a.

The majority of statistical tests were employed to assess socioeconomic characteristics that distinguished bushmeat eating from non-bushmeat eating households, and to explore the relationships between potential drivers of bushmeat use and the frequency of both bushmeat and livestock meat and fish consumption. In the case of the former, we used unmatched sample t-tests to compare means while for the latter, we employed simple linear and multiple Pearson regressions. Meat eating frequencies were rates calculated as the number of days in which meat was eaten per specified number of days (e.g. number of times per week, per month, per year, and so on. Because we asked respondents how many days their families ate bushmeat for a given period rather than how many times they ate bushmeat each day, our daily rates are somewhat different from what is typically reported from the Congo Basin or other areas where bushmeat is transported and usually eaten openly. All data used for these tests were converted to logarithms to meet assumptions of parametric analyses. We used the “log10(value+1)” conversion for all cases requiring data transformation. We also used Pearson correlations and Z-test for proportions where appropriate.

Village (LC1) characteristics (distance from PA edge and social infrastructure, and population size) though assessed, were considered uninformative and therefore not analyzed as predictors of household bushmeat consumption because of the low sample size of respondents answering in the affirmative to eating bushmeat.

# 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

## 3.1. Sample sizes

Altogether, 440-524 households in 40-52 LC1s were interviewed in each site (Table 1). There were 1-14 informers reporting from any one site in a given month (Table 2) and up to 20 surrendered poacher groups and subgroups were interviewed (Table 3).

**Table 1:** Number of LC1s covered and respondents interviewed in each site.

Site	Number of LC1s	Number of Respondents
MFCA	40	440
Kafu Basin	50	501
QECA	57	564
RMNP	52	524
Total	211	2115

**Table 2:** Number of assistants returning monthly records of hunting, bushmeat use, movement, and trade in each site during the study period.

Month	MFCA	Kafu Basin	QECA	RMNP
Apr-07	2	2	4	0
May-07	3	3	5	1
Jun-07	3	4	5	1
Jul-07	5	3	8	3
Aug-07	5	4	9	1
Sep-07	5	5	10	4
Oct-07	5	4	14	4
Nov-07	7	5	11	4
Dec-07	5	6	11	4
Jan-08	5	5	11	4

**Table 3:** Surrendered poacher groups interviewed who were associated with study sites.

Name of surrendered poacher group	Associated Focal Site
Awanyandato expoachers association subgroup A	MFCA
Awanyandato expoachers association Subgroup B	MFCA
Candek hunter's group	MFCA
Karuma expoachers	MFCA
Kibamba expoachers group	MFCA
Kimina expoachers Association - subgroup A	MFCA
Kimina expoachers Association - subgroup B	MFCA
Mboira Kyahuterare group	MFCA
Bahigi-Kweiteisa subgroup A	QECA
Bahigi-Kweiteisa subgroup B	QECA
Bwanika antipoaching group	QECA
Ihandiro antipoaching	QECA
Kamuruli antipoaching group	QECA
Kisinga antipoaching association	QECA
Kiyanga expoachers	QECA
Kyambogho antipoaching group	QECA
Munkunyu veteran expoachers association	QECA
Kyempara antipoaching group	QENP
Kitolhu antipoaching group	RMNP
Rwenzori antipoaching community	RMNP

### 3.2. Frequency of meat intake among rural households

Frequency of meat consumption was analyzed to determine how often families ate bushmeat and how the frequency of bushmeat intake compared to that of livestock meat and fish consumption. Household heads were asked whether their families ate meat and if so, how often they ate it, specifying as much as possible by meat type including bushmeat. Examples of answers given were every day, number of times per week, number of times per month, number of times per year or never. A small proportion (5-32%) of respondents interviewed admitted to eating bushmeat but the majority of families (94-100%) ate livestock meat and/or fish (Table 4 a&b).

**Table 4:** Percentage of respondents that reported eating bushmeat and/or livestock meat and fish.

**a) Bushmeat**

Field site	Respondent sample size	Number of respondents that reported eating	%
MFCA	440	140	32
Kafu Basin	501	58	12
QECA	564	110	20
RMNP	524	24	5

**b) Livestock meat and fish**

Field site	Respondent sample size	Number of respondents that reported eating	%
MFCA	440	412	94
Kafu Basin	501	495	99
QECA	564	561	99
RMNP	524	522	100

**Table 5:** Mean daily consumption (meals containing livestock meat and fish per family per day) of livestock and fish by people living in and around the study sites. Fish was cited as the most frequently eaten meat type in three out of the four sites and beef in one site. Mutton was consistently cited as the least frequently eaten in all sites. n = number of affirmative responses.

	MFCA		Kafu Basin		QECA		RMNP	
Livestock meat	Mean daily consumption	n	Mean daily consumption	n	Mean daily consumption	n	Mean daily consumption	n
Beef	0.093	396	0.083	495	0.094	562	0.109	516
Chicken	0.085	405	0.035	494	0.025	541	0.012	513
Duck	0.011	1			0.033	1		
Fish	0.379	386	0.060	490	0.218	488	0.224	382
Fish bones				495	0.653	34	0.741	76
Goat	0.071	375	0.035	470	0.071	532	0.084	521
Mutton	0.030	265	0.002	491	0.013	223	0.083	109
Pork	0.153	333	0.064		0.068	349	0.103	261
<b>Overall (calculated from all records)</b>	<b>0.140</b>		<b>0.047</b>		<b>0.095</b>		<b>0.119</b>	

The most commonly mentioned livestock meat types were beef, chicken, goat, mutton, and pork. Fish (and fish “bones” from filleting industries) were by far the most frequently reported eaten by households around MFCA, QECA, and RMNP, eaten on average in 20-40 days in every 100 days (Table 5). Beef was the most commonly eaten meat type in the Kafu Basin, eaten on average in 8 out of every 100 days. Livestock meat and fish were reported as eaten in 5-14 of every 100 days overall.

Bushmeat, on the other hand was reported eaten by a comparatively low number of respondents. Even among the respondents that reported eating it, it was far less frequently eaten than livestock meat and fish. On average, households that reported eating bushmeat consumed it in 1-12 out of every 100 days (Table 6). Bush pigs, cane rats, guinea fowl and kob were the main sources of bushmeat around MFCA; bushbucks, duikers, oribi and bush pigs within the Kafu Basin; hippos, buffalos, bush pigs, and kob around QECA; and redbell monkeys, black-and-white colobus monkeys, and bush pigs around RMNP. Although the true numbers of people eating bushmeat, and consumption frequency may be slightly higher than reported, it is very likely that the proportion of people regularly eating bushmeat is low, as later shown by interviews with people that have given up hunting. Reformed hunters said that while active hunters, they only sold meat to people known to them, and that would usually be a small number of the population in their villages.

Households that ate bushmeat also consumed livestock meat as often as households that did not, except those around MFCA for which livestock meat and fish intake was significantly lower for bushmeat eating households (Table 7). In all sites, there was no relationship between mean daily bushmeat and livestock meat and fish intake, suggesting that increasing livestock meat and fish intake of bushmeat eating households would not necessarily decrease their bushmeat intake (Table 8). A significantly higher mean livestock meat intake among non-bushmeat eating households around MFCA was a result of an unusually high livestock meat intake among a few households. Eating bushmeat significantly increased total frequency of meat intake for households that ate it, except those around QECA (Table 9).

**Table 6:** Mean daily bushmeat intake (meals containing bushmeat per family per day) by households in and around major hunting sites. n = number of affirmative responses. The category 'any species' does not have records for Kafu Basin and RMNP as this answer was not given by any of the households there. For genera and species latin names, appendix 3.

	MFCA		Kafu Basin		QECA		RMNP	
Bushmeat type	Mean daily consumption	n	Mean daily consumption	n	Mean daily consumption	n	Mean daily consumption	n
Any species	0.161	9			0.066	3		
Birds							0.104	2
Black-and-white Colobus							0.013	10
Blue monkey							0.001	1
Buffalo	0.023	28			0.010	54	0.005	2
Bushbuck	0.089	16	0.023	48				
Bush pig	0.114	78	0.006	31	0.053	40	0.004	10
Cane rat	0.315	29	0.008	7			0.007	3
Dikdik	0.033	1						
Duiker	0.068	6	0.039	45	0.002	2		
Elephant	0.008	17						
Francolin	0.074	2					0.004	2
Giant Forest Hog					0.009	20		
Guinea Fowl	0.100	25			0.011	1		
Hartebeest	0.003	1						
Hippo					0.012	78	0.008	5
Hyrax							0.012	2
Uganda kob	0.092	20			0.014	64		
Oribi	0.011	1	0.027	22				
Porcupine	0.033	1	0.010	15			0.025	2
Rabbit	0.643	4						
Redtail monkey							0.011	11
Reedbuck	0.122	11	0.012	9			0.002	3
Rwenzori colobus							0.010	3
Sitatunga	0.066	1	0.008	1				
Squirrel	0.177	5	0.016	1				
Topi	0.005	1						
Warthog	0.044	15			0.010	18		
Waterbuck	0.066	2	0.004	2				
Grand Mean	0.120		0.022		0.018		0.012	

**Table 7:** Comparisons of livestock meat and fish intake of respondents that reported eating bushmeat and those that did not, to determine whether bushmeat eating households had a lower livestock meat intake. All tests are two-tailed. BM=Bushmeat

Site	Category of respondent	Mean daily intake	SD	t(stat)	p
MFCA	BM eating	0.086	0.063	-2.021	0.044
	None BM eating	0.103	0.078		
Kafu Basin	BM eating	0.047	0.043	0.087	0.930
	None BM eating	0.047	0.059		
QECA	BM eating	0.129	0.101	-1.700	0.090
	None BM eating	0.153	0.161		
RMNP	BM eating	0.127	0.059	0.798	0.425
	None BM eating	0.116	0.061		

**Table 8:** Results of Pearson regressions of daily bushmeat consumption frequencies on daily livestock meat consumption rates for bushmeat eating households. This was to test whether increasing livestock meat intake of bushmeat eating households would reduce their bushmeat intake.

Site	R <sup>2</sup> (adjusted)	p	+/-	n
MFCA	0.0009	0.353	-	140
Kafu Basin	0.009	0.485	-	57
QECA	0.0009	0.333	-	109
RMNP	0.024	0.506	-	23

**Table 9:** Comparisons of total meat (livestock, fish, and bushmeat) intake between households that reported eating bushmeat and those that did not. All tests are two-tailed. With Exception of QECA, households that reported eating bushmeat ate meat frequently than those that did not.

Site	Category of respondent	Mean daily intake	SD	t(stat)	p
MFCA	BM eating	0.228	0.178	4.317	<0.0001
	None BM eating	0.154	0.161		
Kafu Basin	BM eating	0.070	0.067	2.817	0.005
	None BM eating	0.047	0.059		
QECA	BM eating	0.104	0.071	0.200	0.841
	None BM eating	0.103	0.078		
RMNP	BM eating	0.141	0.062	1.941	0.052
	None BM eating	0.116	0.061		

### **3.3. Bushmeat off take**

The pattern of bushmeat utilization reported by households suggests a picture of very low bushmeat usage per each household and therefore low levels of wildlife hunting, but just how small was the off take?

#### **3.3.1. Species hunted, hunting tools, and sites**

##### **3.3.1.1. Species hunted and numbers of individuals**

Based on monthly returns of hunting incidences by key informers, thousands of individuals of at least 60 species were killed in the study sites for various reasons during the course of this study (Table 10). Numbers varied according to the site but this should not be interpreted as total numbers animals killed as our informers did not cover every village. The actual estimates of numbers killed may vary between one and one and a half times and do not appear congruent with the daily bushmeat intake rates reported by resident households.

Main animals hunted in the savanna sites were large- to medium-sized mammals. Uganda kobs, bush pigs, bushbucks, hippos, waterbuck, buffalo, wart-hogs, and duikers were the most commonly hunted, while the smaller bodied ones particularly porcupines and cane rats were also frequently hunted for good taste. Arboreal monkeys, bush pigs, duikers, baboons, and giant forest hogs were the most commonly killed in forested RMNP. According to monthly averages for informers in each site, off take was higher in the Kafu Basin than in the protected sites. Among the protected areas, it was higher in QECA and MFCA than in RMNP (Table 11). Although numbers killed may reflect local population sizes, they in part depend on degree of protection. These results suggest the importance of law enforcement in controlling illegal hunting.

##### **3.3.1.2. Hunting tools**

Hunting tools recorded were spears (the killing weapon once restraint is achieved) and snares, traps, and dogs (used for restraint). According to monthly reports by key informers, bows and arrows were commonly used in the Kafu Basin and in and around MFCA (Table 12). Off take rate appeared to be on the rise as can be seen from the trend of gun-related hunting incidences (Table 13; Fig.3). The key to reducing the problem of illegal off take in the short run seems to lie in reducing gun use.



**Table 10:** Species hunted in each site and total numbers per site as reported by assistants based in and around these sites during the months April 2007-January 2008. For genera and species latin names, see appendix 3.

Species	Kafu Basin	MFCA	QECA	RMNP	Total no. of Individual animals killed
Abdim Stork		2			2
Aardvark	5				5
Baboon	36	11	51	17	115
Black-and-White Colobus			24	34	58
Blue monkey				13	13
Buffalo	17	84	93		195
Bushbuck	155	111	36	6	308
Bush pig	134	119	112	28	402
Cane rat	61	58	67	2	196
Caracal		3			3
Chimpanzee			1	7	8
Civet			1		1
Colobus				1	1
Crocodile	1	1			2
Crown-hawk eagle				1	1
Dikdik		5			5
Duck				1	1
Duiker	54	60	11	21	146
Elephant		1	13	2	16
Francolin			1		1
Fox			3	4	7
Giant forest hog		1	27	12	40
Giraffe		4			4
Golden cat				4	4
Goose	3				3
Goshawk		2			2
Guinea fowl	13	13	204	6	236

*continued on next page*

Table 10 continued

Species	Kafu Basin	MFCA	QECA	RMNP	Total no. of individual animals killed
Hadada ibis		1			1
Hartebeest	12	4			16
Heron		1			1
Hippopotamus	21	62	194		280
Hyaena	1		7		8
Hyrax			4	15	19
Jackal		4		1	5
Kite		1			1
Leopard	1	3	5	1	10
Lion			6		6
Marabou Stork		1			1
Mole	3				3
Mongoose			8	8	16
Monkey (unspecified)	41	2	15	42	100
Oribi	97	21			111
Pangolin	2	1			3
Porcupine	114	62		5	181
Potto		2			2
Python	4		2		6
Rabbit	36	6	12		54
Redtail monkey		3	2	7	5
Reedbuck	12	11		5	28
Serval cat		1			1
Shoebill		1			1
Sitatunga	29	20	17		66
Squirrel	33	31			64
Topi			3		3
Uganda kob	122	74	327		527
Vervet monkey	26	5	16	15	62
Warthog	32	21	114		167
Waterbuck	93	31	84		209
White-tailed mongoose			5		5
Wild cat			2		2
<b>Total no. of species</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>61</b>

**Table 11:** Gross numbers of individuals per species hunted in each site per month and as reported by assistants based in and around these sites during the months April 2007-January 2008. This provides a crude idea about how hunting intensity compares among sites.

Focal Area	Kafu Basin	MFCA	QECA	RMNP
Total no. of individual animals killed	1158	848	1467	258
Total Number of reports	44	45	88	26
Average no. of individual animals killed per report per month	26.32	18.84	16.67	9.92

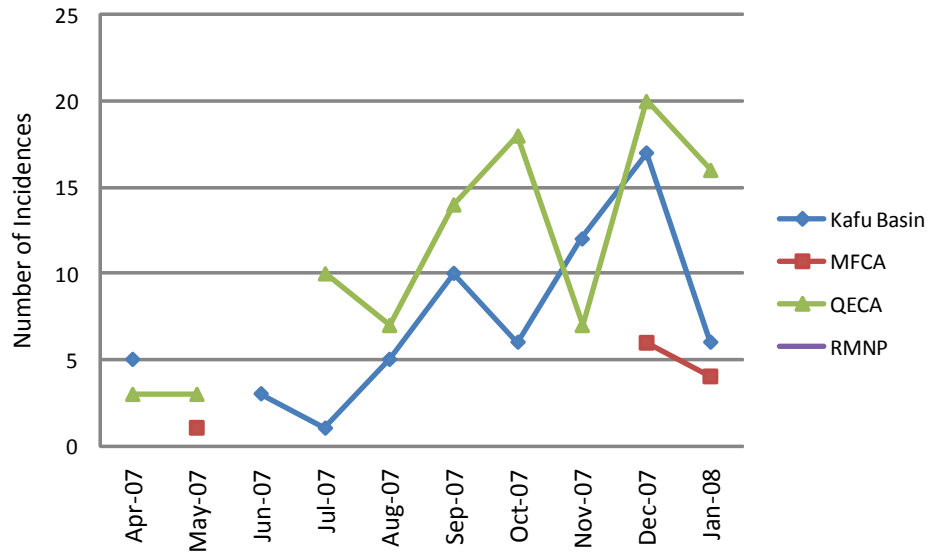
**Table 12:** Hunting tools and number of associated hunting incidences as reported by assistants based near the study sites.

Hunting Tool	Kafu Basin	MFCA	QECA	RMNP	Total	%
Gun	64	11	101	1	177	9.7
Snare	105	195	55	3	358	19.7
Trap <sup>1</sup>	102	118	64	45	329	18.1
Net	45	25	33	1	104	5.7
Bow and arrow	41	34		1	76	4.2
Poison <sup>2</sup>	4		13		17	0.9
Dogs	8	16	59	68	151	8.3
Spear	117	80	308	74	579	31.8
Machete		3			3	0.2
Sticks	2	2	3	1	8	0.4
Catapult	1				1	0.1
Fire		2			2	0.1
Stones		10	4		14	0.8
<sup>1</sup> Trap = Pit trap, Nail Trap, Wheel Trap, Box trap – whether baited or not						
<sup>2</sup> Poison = Rat poison, Pesticides, Insecticides						

**Table 13:** Changes in reported gun-related hunting incidences in all sites.

	Apr-07	May-07	Jun-07	Jul-07	Aug-07	Sep-07	Oct-07	Nov-07	Dec-07	Jan-08
Kafu Basin	5		3	1	5	10	6	12	17	6
MFCA		1							6	4
QECA	3	3		10	7	14	18	7	20	16
RMNP										1

**Figure 3:** Monthly changes in gun related hunting incidences. Gun use poaching incidence rose during the study, particularly in the Kafu Basin and around QECA.



**Table 14:** Number of hunting incidences specified as inside or outside protected areas. A high number of incidences occurred outside boundary lines.

Protected Area	Inside PA	Outside PA	Total
MFCA	198	103	301
QECA	135	136	271
RMNP	56	26	82
Total	389	265	654
%	59.5	40.5	

**Table 15:** Number of times in which ex-poacher groups cited hunting in different seasons.

Study Site	Dry	Wet
MFCA	9	1
QENP	2	8
RMNP		2
Total	11	11

### **3.3.2. Hunting locations and seasons**

Hunting in protected areas occurred both inside and outside boundary lines. Of the 654 hunting locations specified by key informers, 40% were outside protected areas (Table 14). Hunting occurs throughout the year with peaks (according to surrendered poachers) occurring in the dry season (around MFCA and probably for the Kafu Basin as well), and during the rainy season (for QECA and RMNP) (Table 15). Peaks also occur around end of year celebrations. With the exception of the Kafu Basin where most hunters are probably non-residents, the hunters were usually residents in the villages in and around the study sites.

## **3.4. Drivers of bushmeat off take**

### **3.4.1. Wealth and income**

Analyses of wealth and income were based mainly on comparisons of means between bushmeat and non-bushmeat eating households and the relationships between some of these variables and daily meat intake. We expected households that reported eating bushmeat to be less wealthy or low income, and as such negative relationships between rates of bushmeat intake and wealth, and income if improving household wealth and incomes are to be solutions to the bushmeat problem. Detailed analysis of relationships distinguished between wealth types and livelihood sources. This was to establish which occupational groups were involved in bushmeat use, and therefore which needed support for solutions to bushmeat use.

#### **3.4.1.1. Income**

People who reported eating bushmeat realized their incomes mainly through crop farming. Bushmeat eating households had significantly higher incomes from crop farming around MFCA; crop and other income in the Kafu Basin; other income around QECA; and crops and total income around RMNP (Table 16). This means that around MFCA, in the Kafu Basin, and around RMNP, it was the farmers that tended to eat bushmeat. In the Kafu basin and QECA, people in business and/or employed tended to eat bushmeat more, and around RMNP, high income earners tended to eat bushmeat. Thus, it would look like solutions to bushmeat should focus on farmers in most of these areas, business people or the employed in the Kafu Basin and around QECA, and high income earners around RMNP. An income solution to bushmeat appears questionable, as in all sites, bushmeat eaters tended to earn just as much, and in most cases a little more than the non-bushmeat eaters, overall. It is not clear whether bushmeat eating was higher among farmers and other high income earners because they were more frank about their eating habits. This is certainly a possibility that could be investigated but is not possible to establish from data generated during this study.

We performed regressions of total income on bushmeat consumption in all sites to determine how frequency of bushmeat eating would change as incomes increased or decreased (Table 17). In general, total income looked like a poor predictor of bushmeat use. Except around RMNP where it accounted for a significant (22%) proportion of the variance in bushmeat, it appears that the rate of bushmeat consumption would remain constant in the other sites if incomes were increased, at least in the short term.

**Table 16:** Results of two-sample t-tests comparing incomes of bushmeat and non-bushmeat eating households. Analyses are based on log-transformed values and are two-tailed and significant at  $p=0.05$ . “other income”=income from business + income from employment. “total income”=crop income + livestock income + other income. The abbreviation “BM” is for “bushmeat”.

**Table 16a:** Murchison Falls Conservation Area

Income type (MFCA)	Respondent category (n=respondents)	Mean Log10 (Income+1)	SD	t(stat)	p
Crop	BM eating	4.323	2.413	2.214	0.027
	Non-BM eating	3.753	2.551		
Livestock	BM eating	1.453	2.281	1.332	0.183
	Non-BM eating	1.158	2.101		
Other Income	BM eating	1.717	2.659	-0.181	0.856
	Non-BM eating	1.768	2.792		
Total Income	BM eating	5.212	1.719	1.718	0.086
	Non-BM eating	4.862	2.099		

**Table 16b:** Kafu Basin

Income type (Kafu Basin)	Respondent category (n=respondents)	Mean Log10 (Income+1)	SD	t(stat)	p
Crop	BM eating	2.926	2.958	5.518	<0.0001
	Non-BM eating	1.104	2.277		
Livestock	BM eating	4.160	2.604	0.378	0.705
	Non-BM eating	4.010	2.892		
Other Income	BM eating	0.102	0.775	-1.949	0.051
	Non-BM eating	0.553	1.738		
Total Income	BM eating	4.917	2.364	0.238	0.811
	Non-BM eating	4.833	2.524		

**Table 16c:** Queen Elizabeth Conservation Area

Income type (QECA)	Respondent category (n= respondents)	Mean Log10 (Income+1)	SD	t(stat)	p
Crop	BM eating	5.788	1.300	-0.417	0.676
	Non-BM eating	5.834	1.000		
Livestock	BM eating	3.044	2.379	1.264	0.206
	Non-BM eating	2.727	2.355		
Other Income	BM eating	3.250	2.895	2.622	0.010
	Non-BM eating	2.448	2.875		
Total Income	BM eating	6.096	0.926	-0.376	0.706
	Non-BM eating	6.120	0.512		

**Table 16d:** Rwenzori Mountains National Park

Income type (RMNP)	Respondent category (n= respondents)	Mean Log10 (Income+1)	SD	t(stat)	p
Crop	BM eating	6.002	0.227	3.024	0.003
	Non-BM eating	5.520	0.779		
Livestock	BM eating	3.761	1.750	1.661	0.097
	Non-BM eating	3.027	2.130		
Other Income	BM eating	3.227	2.296	-0.765	0.444
	Non-BM eating	3.528	1.860		
Total Income	BM eating	6.112	0.229	3.717	0.0002
	Non-BM eating	5.769	0.449		

**Table 17:** Results of Pearson regressions of total income on bushmeat eating frequency among bushmeat eating households. Variation in bushmeat eating frequency can be little explained by total income in most of the sites except for RMNP where it accounted for a significant 22%.

Study site	R <sup>2</sup> (adjusted)	p	Slope (+/-)
MFCA	0.004	0.503	-
Kafu Basin	0.016	0.173	+
QECA	0.009	0.844	-
RMNP	0.223	0.011	-

### 3.4.1.2. Livestock wealth

To determine how livestock wealth influenced bushmeat use, we analyzed relationships among livestock types. Around MFCA, people who reported eating bushmeat kept more pigs, and had slightly more cows, and goats, but fewer sheep (Table 18). People in this area were mostly farmers. In the Kafu Basin, people who reported eating bushmeat had fewer cows and tended to have fewer goats and sheep than those who reported not eating it. However, they kept more pigs, and slightly more chicken. Around QECA, people who reported eating bushmeat had more goats, and tended to have more pigs and sheep. People who did not report eating bushmeat had more chicken and slightly more cattle. Around RMNP, people who reported eating bushmeat had more pigs, sheep and chicken but fewer cattle. Thus, in general, people who ate bushmeat were those that reared pigs and chicken, a pattern consistent with small holder farmers, while those who did not report eating it had cattle, goats and sheep, a pattern consistent with pastoralism and ranching. Given these results, it would look like a potential solution to the bushmeat problem is for everyone to keep cattle, goats and sheep but this is not practical due to space and other constraints. These results also lead to the assumption that livestock ownership directly translates into increased meat intake, but is it really the case?

To answer this question, we explored the relationship between numbers of a given livestock species in the household and the household's daily intake of meat from that species for households that reported eating livestock meat (Table 19). This appeared to be indeed the case for cattle, goats, and pigs in most sites.

**Table 18:** Results of two-sample t-tests comparing numbers of livestock between of bushmeat eating and non-bushmeat eating households. Analyses are based on log-transformed values, and are two-tailed and significant at  $p = 0.05$ . The abbreviation "BM" is for "bushmeat".

**Table 18a:** Murchison Falls Conservation area

Livestock species (MFCA)	Respondent category (n=440 respondents)	Mean Log10 (livestock no. +1)	SD	t(stat)	p
Cows	BM eating	0.267	0.474	1.626	0.105
	Non-BM eating	0.189	0.459		
Goats	BM eating	0.457	0.476	1.305	0.192
	Non-BM eating	0.394	0.471		
Pigs	BM eating	0.073	0.228	2.079	0.038
	Non-BM eating	0.034	0.153		
Sheep	BM eating	0.010	0.083	-1.735	0.083
	Non-BM eating	0.037	0.173		
Chicken	BM eating	0.885	0.595	1.650	0.193
	Non-BM eating	0.808	0.561		



**Table 18b:** Kafu Basin

Livestock species (Kafu Basin)	Respondent category (n= respondents)	Mean Log10 (livestock no. +1)	SD	t(stat)	p
Cows	BM eating	0.538	0.622	-3.272	0.001
	Non-BM eating	0.912	0.840		
Goats	BM eating	0.502	0.584	-1.613	0.107
	Non-BM eating	0.631	0.571		
Pigs	BM eating	0.212	0.305	2.617	0.009
	Non-BM eating	0.118	0.249		
Sheep	BM eating	0.033	0.154	-1.226	0.221
	Non-BM eating	0.076	0.261		
Chicken	BM eating	1.006	0.499	2.128	0.034
	Non-BM eating	0.836	0.580		

**Table 18c:** Queen Elizabeth Conservation Area

Livestock species (QECA)	Respondent category (n= respondents)	Mean Log10 (livestock no. +1)	SD	t(stat)	p
Cows	BM eating	0.147	0.381	-0.615	0.539
	Non-BM eating	0.122	0.384		
Goats	BM eating	0.509	0.422	2.077	0.038
	Non-BM eating	0.418	0.406		
Pigs	BM eating	0.095	0.233	1.551	1.647
	Non-BM eating	0.061	0.201		
Sheep	BM eating	0.072	0.226	0.748	0.455
	Non-BM eating	0.056	0.185		
Chicken	BM eating	0.718	0.359	-2.756	0.006
	Non-BM eating	0.594	0.438		

**Table 18d:** Rwenzori Mountains National Park

Livestock species (RMNP)	Respondent category (n= respondents)	Mean Log10 (livestock no. +1)	SD	t(stat)	p
Cows	BM eating	0.000	0.000	-1.889	0.060
	Non-BM eating	0.078	0.202		
Goats	BM eating	0.458	0.357	0.058	0.953
	Non-BM eating	0.454	0.299		
Pigs	BM eating	0.115	0.247	1.892	0.060
	Non-BM eating	0.057	0.140		
Sheep	BM eating	0.199	0.298	2.711	0.007
	Non-BM eating	0.079	0.207		
Chicken	BM eating	0.859	0.249	3.580	0.0004
	Non-BM eating	0.617	0.326		

**Table 19:** Results of Pearson regressions of the relationship between frequency of livestock meat eating and livestock ownership among people who reported eating meat.

	<b>MFCA, n=412</b>			<b>Kafu Basin, n=491</b>		
<b>Meat type</b>	<b>R<sup>2</sup>(adjusted)</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>Slope (+/-)</b>	<b>R<sup>2</sup>(adjusted)</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>Slope (+/-)</b>
Beef	0.0023	0.804		0.048	<0.0001	+
Goat	0.016	0.006	+	0.020	0.0009	-
Pork	0.009	0.029	+	0.066	<0.0001	+
Mutton	0.020	0.002	-	0.001	0.747	
Chicken	0.002	0.996		0.007	0.028	+

	<b>QECA, n=560</b>			<b>RMNP, n=420</b>		
<b>Meat type</b>	<b>R<sup>2</sup>(adjusted)</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>Slope (+/-)</b>	<b>R<sup>2</sup>(adjusted)</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>Slope (+/-)</b>
Beef	0.018	0.0007	+	0.042	<0.0001	+
Goat	0.002	0.905		0.001	0.645	
Pork	0.009	0.012	+	0.015	0.003	+
Mutton	0.002	0.773		0.017	<0.0001	+
Chicken	0.002	0.143		0.002	0.115	

Among people who ate bushmeat, relationships between daily bushmeat intake and numbers of livestock owned were not always consistent with the expected based on the patterns of the relationships between daily livestock meat intake and livestock numbers.

Stepwise linear regressions of daily bushmeat intake on livestock numbers for each site showed hardly any significant relationships. Around MFCA, the relationship was strong only for goats ( $R^2=0.044$ ,  $p=0.014$ ) and in the Kafu Basin, fairly strong for the number of cows owned ( $R^2=0.075$ ,  $p=0.021$ ). No other significant relationships were apparent within the Kafu Basin itself and other sites.

Regressions of daily bushmeat intake on daily intake of livestock meat types and fish similarly showed a few strong relationships. For MFCA, the relationship was strong and positive for chicken and for the Kafu Basin, strong for goat meat (Stepwise linear regressions:  $R^2=0.027$ ,  $p=0.030$  for chicken; and  $R^2=0.061$ ,  $p=0.034$  for goat meat). The only other significant relationships were for fish (and fish bone) and mutton around RMNP. Here, daily bushmeat intake decreased significantly with fish and fish bone intake, accounting for 70.4% of the variance in bushmeat intake. The same was true of mutton in the same site (Stepwise linear regressions; Fish:  $R^2=0.704$ ,  $p<0.0001$ ; Mutton:  $R^2=0.017$ ;  $p<0.008$ ). This means that around MFCA and Kafu Basin, people who had access to, or showed preference for chicken and goat meat also ate/liked/preferred bushmeat. Around RMNP, people who had no access to or did not prefer bushmeat depended on fish as an animal protein source.

Based on these analyses, it looks like fish alternatives and mutton could serve as meat protein alternatives for bushmeat eaters around the Rwenzoris. In MFCA and Kafu Basin, the role of chicken and goat in the diet of people who reported eating bushmeat needs further examination in the light of alternatives. Around QECA, the results were uninformative and further analysis of interviews with surrendered poachers helped shed some light into this. We however also know that among livestock meat eaters, which includes all bushmeat users; that frequency of eating many livestock meat types, notably pork is positively correlated with livestock numbers in the households (Table 19). The pig solution in this case appears to be particularly appealing as a solution to bushmeat as it features consistently across all sites.

#### **3.4.1.3. Land ownership, use and domestic assets**

As with analyses of income sources, analysis of land use and ownership showed that people who ate bushmeat tended to be the large cropland owners, while those who did not tended to have large lands under pasture (Table 20). On the other hand, there was no distinction between asset ownership among households that reported eating bushmeat and those that did not (Table 20).

### **3.4.5. Social and demographic situations of a family as drivers of bushmeat use**

#### **3.4.5.1. Family size**

Analysis of the relationship between family size and bushmeat showed no significant differences in all sites except MFCA. Around MFCA, bushmeat eating households had larger family sizes than those that did not (Table 21). Among households that reported eating bushmeat, daily bushmeat intake increased with total family size (Pearson regressions: number of adults,  $p=0.380$ ; number of children,  $p=0.196$ ; total family size,  $p=0.038$ ;  $df=139$ ). In the Kafu Basin, there were no pronounced differences in mean household composition (Table 20) and no significant relationships between household numbers and daily bushmeat intake (Pearson regressions: number of adults,  $p=0.648$ ; number of children,  $p=0.842$ ; total family size,  $p=0.954$ ;  $df=58$ ). The same was true for QECA (Pearson regressions: number of adults,  $p=0.492$ ; number of children,  $p=0.760$ ; total family size,  $p=0.931$ ;  $df=109$ ); and RMNP although there was a slight tendency for daily bushmeat intake to decrease with the number of children in the household around this site (Pearson regressions: number of adults,  $p=0.643$ ; number of children,  $p=0.073$ ; total family size,  $p=0.086$ ;  $df=58$ ). Household size and composition appears to be a driver of bushmeat use in the villages around MFCA but not in the other study sites.

**Table 20:** Results of two-sample t-tests comparing land assets and value of domestic assets. Analyses are based on log-transformed values and are two-tailed and significant at  $p=0.05$ . The abbreviation “BM” is for “bushmeat”.

Study site	Assets & Value	Respondent category	Mean Log10 (value +1)	SD	t(stat)	p
MFCA	Total land size	BM eating	0.904	0.336	3.924	0.0001
		Non-BM eating	0.749	0.404		
	Land under crop	BM eating	0.686	0.259	4.51	<0.0001
		Non-BM eating	0.555	0.293		
	Land under pasture	BM eating	0.254	0.408	2.254	0.024
		Non-BM eating	0.164	0.381		
	Household Asset value	BM eating	4.488	1.593	0.482	0.630
		Non-BM eating	4.409	1.587		
Kafu Basin	Total land size	BM eating	0.950	0.647	-3.270	0.001
		Non-BM eating	1.357	0.917		
	Land under crop	BM eating	0.568	0.234	4.485	0.0001
		Non-BM eating	0.349	0.363		
	Land under pasture	BM eating	0.408	0.814	-4.189	<0.0001
		Non-BM eating	1.046	1.121		
	Household asset value	BM eating	5.119	0.901	0.512	0.609
		Non-BM eating	5.028	1.303		
QECA	Total land size	BM eating	0.818	0.347	1.432	0.153
		Non-BM eating	0.761	0.387		
	Land under crop	BM eating	0.664	0.257	2.231	0.026
		Non-BM eating	0.604	0.240		
	Land under pasture	BM eating	0.119	0.368	0.274	0.784
		Non-BM eating	0.107	0.672		
	Household Asset value	BM eating	4.303	1.434	1.184	0.237
		Non-BM eating	4.100	1.651		
RMNP	Total land size	BM eating	0.704	0.255	-0.498	0.619
		Non-BM eating	0.725	0.202		
	Land under crop	BM eating	0.559	0.156	-0.158	0.874
		Non-BM eating	0.563	0.147		
	Land under pasture	BM eating	0.095	0.200	-2.793	0.005
		Non-BM eating	0.222	0.218		
	Household Asset value	BM eating	4.417	0.457	1.789	0.074
		Non-BM eating	4.030	1.053		

**Table 21:** comparisons of mean household size between bushmeat eating and non-bushmeat eating households.**Table 21a:** Murchison Falls Conservation Area

Family size (MFCA)	Category	Mean	SD	t(stat)	p
Number of adults	BM eating	2.80	2.4	2.81	0.005
	Non-BM eating	2.18	2.0		
Number of children	BM eating	4.12	3.5	2.98	0.003
	Non-BM eating	3.18	2.9		
Total family size	BM eating	6.9	4.77	3.66	0.0003
	Non-BM eating	5.6	3.81		

**21b:** Kafu Basin

Family size (MFCA)	Category	Mean	SD	t(stat)	p
Number of adults	BM eating	3.6	1.78	-0.538	0.591
	Non-BM eating	3.7	2.29		
Number of children	BM eating	4.79	2.82	-1.072	0.284
	Non-BM eating	5.27	3.11		
Total family size	BM eating	7.77	4.20	-1.432	0.152
	Non-BM eating	8.72	4.79		

**21c:** Queen Elizabeth Conservation Area

Family size (MFCA)	Category	Mean	SD	t(stat)	p
Number of adults	BM eating	3.28	2.15	0.44	0.66
	Non-BM eating	3.19	1.85		
Number of children	BM eating	4.072	3.439	0.455	0.649
	Non-BM eating	3.940	2.537		
Total family size	BM eating	7.354	4.915	0.561	0.574
	Non-BM eating	7.132	3.382		

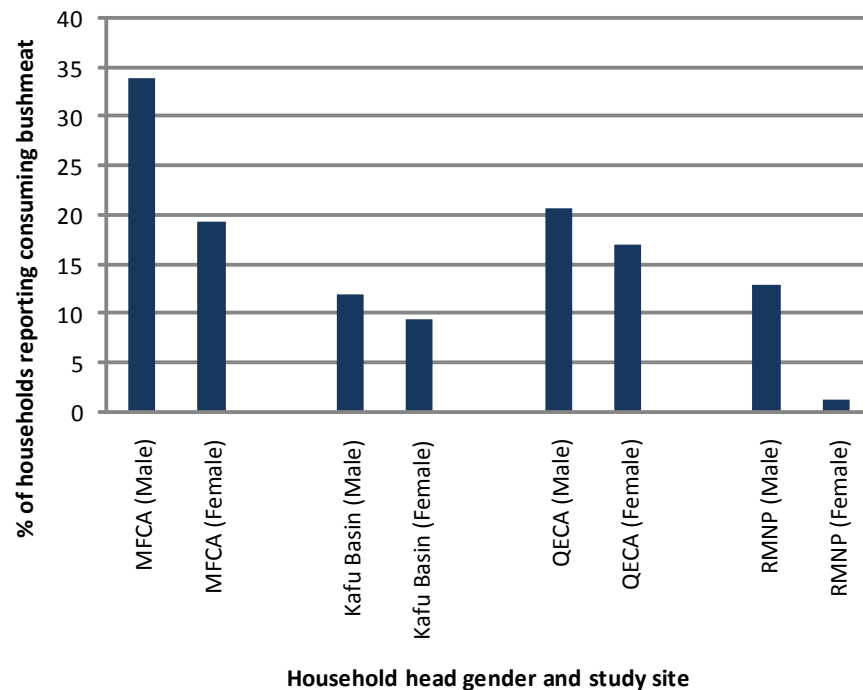
**21d:** Rwenzori Mountains National Park

Family size (MFCA)	Category	Mean	SD	t(stat)	p
Number of adults	BM eating	2.583	1.212	1.373	0.170
	Non-BM eating	2.302	0.967		
Number of children	BM eating	4.708	2.053	0.695	0.487
	Non-BM eating	4.414	2.023		
Total family size	BM eating	7.291	2.475	1.145	0.252
	Non-BM eating	6.716	2.400		

### 3.4.5.2. Gender (of household head)

When frequency of bushmeat eating in households was analyzed by gender category of the household head, female-headed households reported less daily meat intake (Figure 4). Interviews with individual surrendered poachers shed light into the role of women in bushmeat hunting and trade. While men hunted, women helped carry the meat where such help was needed. It was usually the spouses of the poachers that helped with this, so unless the female household head was enlisted as a carrier, she was less likely to obtain bushmeat for household use. There are other avenues that she could use to obtain bushmeat, for example if she was a trusted friend of the hunter's spouse. In the villages near hunting sites, wives of hunters helped sell the meat at home using a network of trusted individuals within their villages.

**Figure 4:** Percentage of households in each gender group that reported eating bushmeat. The proportion of female-headed households that eat bushmeat is consistently smaller than proportion of male households.



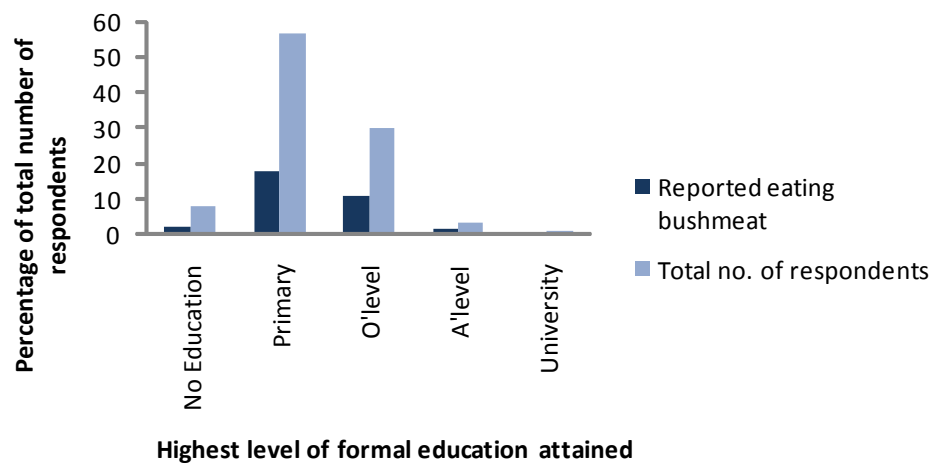
### 3.4.5.3. Literacy/enlightenment (of household head)

The role of education levels of household heads in determining bushmeat use was analyzed from education categories coded as follows: Code 0=No formal education, Code 1=Primary, Code 2=O'level, Code 3=A'level, and Code 4=University. On average, the highest education level attained by household heads in the study sites was primary school. There were no differences in average education between bushmeat and non-bushmeat eating households (MFCA: mean bushmeat = 1.380, sd=0.665, mean non-bushmeat =1.266, sd= 0.702, t(stat)=1.628,

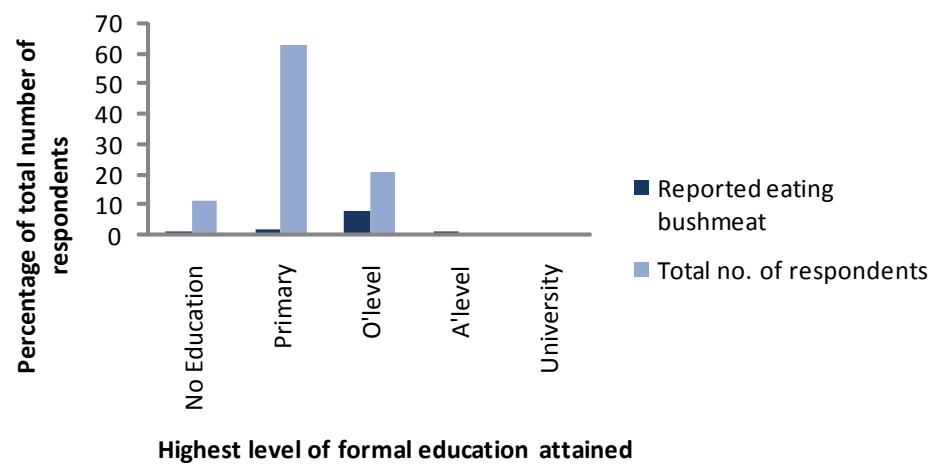
p=0.100; Kafu Basin: mean bushmeat eating = 1.053, sd=0.553, mean non-bushmeat eating=1.143, sd=0.648, t(stat)=0.992, p=0.321; QECA: mean bushmeat eating = 1.278, sd=0.694, mean non-bushmeat eating=1.156, sd=0.0692, t(stat)=1.618, p=0.106; RMNP: mean bushmeat eating =1.167, sd=0.564, mean non-bushmeat eating=1.032, sd=0.533, t(stat)=1.205, p=0.229). Formal education of the respondents in general therefore had no clear influence on bushmeat use, and thus mirrored the educational structure of the village residents which had a strong showing in early stages of education (Fig. 5).

**Figure 5:** Highest levels of formal education attained by bushmeat eating households as related to the distribution of total number of respondents interviewed in each site.

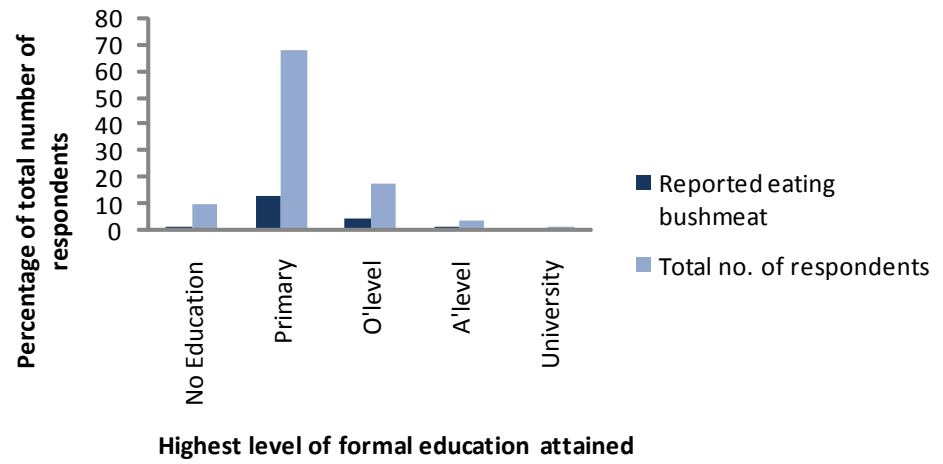
**Figure 5a: MFCA**



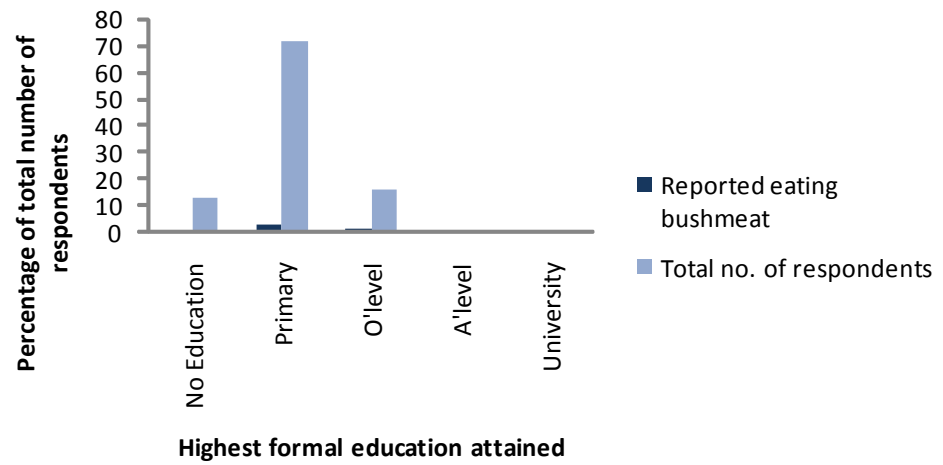
**Figure 5b: Kafu Basin**



**Figure 5c: QECA**



**Figure 5d: RMNP**





#### 3.4.5.4. Tenure in the village

Bushmeat consumption can potentially be driven by immigration. Links between bushmeat consumption and immigration were examined using duration of stay in the village. Mean duration of residence by households in the villages studied varied significantly among sites (ANOVA;  $F_{2014}=51.66$ ,  $p<0.0001$ ) and was longest around RMNP followed by QECA, and then Kafu Basin. Shortest tenure in the village was around MFCA. There were significant differences in tenure study sites except between QECA and RMNP (Pairwise comparisons, Scheffe Test;  $p<0.005$  and  $p=0.417$  respectively). This did not however necessarily mean that differences in bushmeat eating could be explained by duration of stay, as within sites, tenure of bushmeat eating households did not differ from non-bushmeat eating (Table 22). Differences in bushmeat eating tendencies cannot therefore be readily explained by migration.

**Table 22:** Results of t-tests comparing mean duration of stay in the villages of bushmeat and non-bushmeat eating households. Both bushmeat eating and non-bushmeat eating households have stayed in these villages for a similar duration of time.

Study site	Category	Mean length of stay (years)	SD	t(stat)	p-value
MFCA	BM eating	18.911	13.002		
	Non-BM eating	16.885	12.500	1.546	0.123
Kafu Basin	BM eating	22.879	19.601		
	Non-BM eating	20.706	15.643	0.963	0.336
QECA	BM eating	27.682	12.775		
	Non-BM eating	25.681	14.369	1.337	0.181
RMNP	BM eating	31.708	8.645		
	Non-BM eating	27.317	13.283	1.602	0.110

#### 3.4.6. Human-wildlife conflict and bushmeat use

To determine how bushmeat consumption was related to crop raiding and other forms of human-wildlife conflict, we assessed: a) the role of crop raiding as a cause of crop loss, b) the possibility whether or not animals were killed when crop raiding and why, and c) the proportion of households that ate bushmeat of the households that experienced major crop losses to crop raiding in the previous six months. We supplemented this information with that provided by surrendered poacher groups.

##### 3.4.6.1. Household survey results

Overall, crop raiding ranked as the number two reported cause of crop loss in each site after drought, but too much rain was ranked as number one by residents around RMNP. Loss of soil fertility was ranked highly by residents around RMNP (Table 23). The most commonly cited crop raiding species were baboons, bush pigs, bushbucks, vervet monkeys, and guinea fowls. Others were squirrels, cane rats, porcupines, blue monkeys, buffalos, kob, and francolins (Appendix 1). This suggests that crop loss to wildlife can be a sound basis for hunting, and a possible reason for bushmeat hunting.

**Table 23:** Importance of crop raiding as a cause of crop loss. Values are average ranks.

	<b>MFCA</b>	<b>Kafu Basin</b>	<b>QECA</b>	<b>RMNP</b>
Crop raiding	3.2	2.0	3.0	3.7
Disease	3.3	4.0	3.4	4.0
Drought	1.6	1.3	1.5	2.4
Insect damage	3.5	3.0	3.0	3.7
Too much rain	3.0	3.5	4.5	1.7
Declining soil fertility				2.1

Respondents in all sites admitted that animals were killed while crop raiding (Table 24). Among possible reasons why wild animals were hunted, hunting as a result of crop raiding was second to bushmeat (Table 25). Of the households that had experienced major crop losses six months before the interview, the proportion that ate bushmeat was not higher than those that did not as was expected. It was only in one site-MFCA where this was the case (z-test for proportions: MFCA- 67/139 eating, 103/301 non- eating,  $p=0.007$ ; Kafu Basin-5/58 eating, 64/443 non- eating,  $p=0.358$ ; QECA- 61/110 eating, 278/454 non- eating,  $p=0.296$ ; RMNP- 23/24 eating, 430/504 non- eating,  $p=0.277$ ) suggesting again that while animals may be killed when crop raiding, crop raiding is not necessarily a major driver of bushmeat utilization. Thus, the overall pattern shown by the foregoing analyses is that hunters go after animals for crop raiding, but more hunting occurs when people are going for bushmeat.

**Table 24:** Percentage of respondents stating whether or not wild animals were hunted while raiding crops.

	<b>MFCA</b>	<b>Kafu Basin</b>	<b>QECA</b>	<b>RMNP</b>
Yes	26.1	10.4	36	65.8
No	45.0	87.2	48.2	24.8
Don't know	27.0	1.0	9.0	4.0
Undecided	1.8	1.4	6.7	5.3

**Table 25:** Percentage of times respondents cited various reasons as motives for hunting. Hunting for bushmeat was cited as the most important factor followed by crop raiding.

<b>Hunting reason</b>	<b>MFCA</b>	<b>Kafu Basin</b>	<b>QECA</b>	<b>RMNP</b>	<b>Overall</b>
Crop raiding	52.8	20.8	28.2	32.5	33.3
Livestock raiding	16.2	5.1	18.3	17.7	16.2
Attacking people	4.4	0.0	4.5	0.2	1.4
Meat	25.9	74.1	49.0	45.2	46.3
Dog meat	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	2.6
Other reasons	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2

### 3.4.6.2. Hunter group data

Data collected through interviews with surrendered hunters were similar to that from household respondents concerning links between crop raiding, hunting, and bushmeat. Hunter groups were asked to name species they hunted, and to rank them according to hunting motives. Sixty eight species were listed in total (50 from MFCA, 55 from QECA, and 25 from RMNP; Table 26).

Hunters assigned product use ranks (use of meat and/or other body parts) to 94% of the species, crop raiding ranks to 34%, livestock raiding ranks to 29%, and attacks on humans to 7% (Table 26). When scores were assigned to ranks (as follows: rank no. 1 = 3 scores, rank no. 2 = 2 scores, and rank 3 = 1 score) it became clear that hunting for wildlife products was at least 3 times as important as hunting for crop or livestock raiding, and 17 times more important than hunting as a result of attacks on humans (Table 27). The ex-hunter's list of species most commonly hunted for crop raiding included baboons, vervet monkeys, porcupines, squirrels, and black-and-white colobus monkeys; for livestock raiding were jackals, hyenas, serval cats, pythons, common civets, and leopards; and attacks on humans as pythons, leopards, elephants, and baboons which was slightly more detailed (and probably more reliable) than the list generated from household interviews (Table 26).

**Table 27:** Number of times hunters ranked motives for hunting each species. Product use came first, followed by crop and livestock raiding. Attacks on humans were least frequently cited as a reason for hunting. Overall weight = sum (rank points x rank frequency).

Hunting motive	Rank			Overall weight (points)	Relative % weight
	1	2	3		
Product use	62	20	4	230	60
Crop raiding	14	16	0	74	19
Livestock raiding	18	6	4	70	18
Attacks on humans	1	3	4	13	3

### 3.4.6.3. Key informer data

The final assessment of possible linkage between hunting, crop raiding, and bushmeat was performed through analysis of key informer data. Based on specific hunting incidences for which informers around MFCA, QECA, and RMNP specified hunting locations as inside or outside protected area boundaries, it became clear that while most of the hunting associated with these sites took place within protected area boundaries, substantial hunting (40% of hunting incidences) occurred in the public lands adjacent to these sites (Table 28). These lands were fallow or under pasture, but in some cases also possibly under crop. Thus whichever way it was assessed, crop raiding was clearly one of the factors driving illegal hunting. Solutions to bushmeat should integrate strategies to reduce crop raiding, and minimize the possibility of animals exiting protected areas.

**Table 26:** Frequency of ranking of species by hunting motive. Values represent the number of poacher groups that assigned a species a given rank for a given motive. For genera and species latin names, see appendix 3.

Species	Rank and Rank Frequency										
	Product use			Crop raiding		Livestock raiding			Attacks on humans		
	1	2	3	1	2	1	2	3	1	2	3
Aardvark	12										
African civet	2	1			1	1					
Baboon	5	4	1	10	2		1	1			1
Banded mongoose	2					1					
Blue monkey	2										
Buffalo	17										
Bushbuck	14				2						
Bush pig	13	3		5	4						
Black-and-White colobus	8	1		3							
Cane rat	14				4						
Chimpanzee	6			1	1						
Civet	1	1				1					
Common civet	4	2			1	4	1				
Crowned Crane	1	1		1							
Crocodile	3										
Dikdik	4										
Duck	2										
Duiker	11				1						
Eagle	2					1					
Elephant	18			1	2			1			1
Francolin	4				2						
Genet		1				2					
Giant forest hog	9										
Giraffe	1										
Goshawk	2	1				1					
Green pigeons	1										
Guinea fowl	11				4						
Hadada ibis				1							
Hartebeest	7										
Hawk	1										
Heron	1										
Hippopotamus	16										
Hyena	2	1		2		8		2		1	

*continued on next page*

Table 26 continued

	Product use			Crop raiding		Livestock raiding			Attacks on humans		
Species	1	2	3	1	2	1	2	3	1	2	3
Hyrax	4				1						
Jackal	2	1				9					
Kite	2					2					
Uganda kob	14										
Leopard	13	1	2			3	2	1		3	1
L'Hoesti monkey	2										
Lion	13	1				1					
Mole rat	1										
Mongoose	1										
Monkey (unspecified)					1						
Oribi	3										
Otter	1										
Owl	1										
Pangolin	5			2							
Pelican	1										
Porcupine	9	5		4	4	1					
Potto	1										
Python	7	1	2			5	2		2	4	1
Rabbit	10										
Rats				1							
Red colobus	1										
Redtail monkey	1										
Reedbuck	4										
Serval cat	7	1				7	2				
Sitatunga	4										
Squirrel	8	3	1	4	1	1	1				
Topi	2										
Tortoise	3										
Vervet monkey	7	2		8	2						
Vulture		1				1					
Warthog	15										
Waterbuck	15										
W-tailed mongoose	5					1					
Wild cat	1	1		1							
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>359</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>

**Table 28:** Number of hunting incidences specified by assistants as occurring inside or outside protected areas.

Protected Area	Inside PA	Outside PA	Total
MFCA	198	103	301
QECA	135	136	271
RMNP	56	26	82
Total	389	265	654
%	59.5	40.5	

### 3.4.7. Subsistence need and trade as factors driving bushmeat use

In this section, we use data generated by key informers and from hunter groups and individuals to understand forms of bushmeat use, and drivers, price levels, and movement networks of the bushmeat market.

To quantify forms of bushmeat use and market characteristics, key informers were asked to record and return monthly data on the meat secured by hunters and the proportions eaten by their families, and that they sold within their villages and to distant areas. Key informers also recorded unit prices at each point of sale, mode of transportation, and packaging of meat and identity of destinations and locations of origin. Other data were livestock meat and fish prices in areas where bushmeat was sold.

To examine which factors determined bushmeat use from a hunter's point of view, surrendered poacher individuals were asked to state their incomes, including income from bushmeat. Poacher groups were asked to state the role of income, subsistence, and other factors as motives for hunting. They were also asked to list species that they hunted for bushmeat and to rank them according to profitability, and the meat according to cost, taste, perceived health benefit, availability and preference. Surrendered poachers were also asked to match livestock meat types against ranks assigned to bushmeat for taste and preference.

#### 3.4.7.1. Consumption and marketing

Except for hunters around RMNP that ate all the meat they hunted, hunters in all sites consumed on average a third of the meat in their households and sold the other two thirds (Table 29). Of the meat sold, approximately one third was sold to neighboring households and the remainder to distant villages usually within the same sub-county or to distant urban centres (Fig. 6).

These allocations of bushmeat are in close agreement with figures provided by expoachers who on average recorded 30% for home consumption and 70% for sale. They cited the need for meat and to make money 100% of the time as factors that motivated them to hunt, and these were rated equally. Other motives, like crop raiding, need for animal parts, leisure and employment were also mentioned less than 50% of the time and were usually ranked last. Ex-poachers said that their households ate meat every day and a lot of it at each meal while they were still active as opposed to once in two weeks or fewer times

now; and much less meat at each meal. Therefore, although bushmeat is not frequently eaten by households living in and around hunting sites, it is important to the households of active hunters.

Interviews with individual ex-hunters around MFCA (n=83) and in the Bushenyi part of QECA (n=12) showed that income from bushmeat made varying contributions to individual household incomes. Around QECA, annual poacher incomes averaged shs 376,083 (1 USD = 1,715 Uganda Shillings) and bushmeat contributed 21% (range = 0-45%) to this income. Around MFCA, annual bushmeat contributed on average 48% (range = 11-71%) of annual income averaging shs 2,109, 590 for MFCA.

Incomes for hunters around QECA were far below average per capita income in their villages, which was shs 2,482,023 for households interviewed around QECA (n=524). Average per capita income for poachers around MFCA was far higher than that of average households (shs 1,510,174; n=440). Bushmeat hunting and use therefore raised incomes of hunters around MFCA far above the village average incomes, but was of little help in improving the financial status of hunters around QECA. While hunters around QECA appear to be the very needy ones, those around MFCA are not as desperate. This means that the same solutions need not necessarily be applied to all areas; they should be area-specific and selected on case by case basis.

Bushmeat was transported secretly and usually delivered to hunter's homes at night. Sales were also secretive- hunters and dealers sold to only the people they trusted and each trusted person was alerted secretly about the meat using a password, for example "mushrooms" in conversation. Informers received information through people known to the hunters or by talking to the hunters who trust them.

Our knowledge of bushmeat trade in urban centres is limited to what friends and acquaintances of our informers based in these sites told them. Informers did not usually make direct observations of bushmeat as one was normally required to buy the meat before they were even allowed to see it. Attempts to study bushmeat trade in Kampala were the least informative. Our approach was focused on surveying restaurants and markets. All the major markets in Kampala were explored and upscale restaurants and market eateries were randomly selected in the city and suburbs and surveyed.

We established small scale sale in only one of the main markets and this was limited to one vender who sold dried haplochromine fish. In two other sites within the city, we were only able to establish pricing, but the meat was not seen as it was to be made available to buyers only on order which was said to be several weeks before delivery. These results suggest that bushmeat trade in urban centres is highly clandestine and we could not establish the volume of bushmeat trade in urban centres using this strategy. We however know that some meat from QECA was taken to Kasese and Bwera towns, and that some meat from MFCA and Kafu Basin was taken to Masindi, Kampala, Gulu, Apac and other townships. Results from Kampala seem to point at the possibility that bushmeat trade in the city is low, but it could also mean that different approaches are needed to establish the volume of trade and bushmeat hotspots in the city.

**Table 29:** Mean percentage of bushmeat hunted that was consumed or sold by hunters.

Field Site	% Eaten by hunters	% Sold to local area	% Sold to distant areas
Kafu Basin	37.1	26.1	35.3
MFCA	30.8	33.6	34.4
QECA	33.1	26.3	39.3
RMNP	98.1	0.9	0.3

**Table 31:** Average bushmeat prices (in Uganda Shillings) per kg and profits associated with each of the four field sites. 1 US \$ was approximately 1,715 Uganda Shillings during the study.

Site	Cost near hunting site	Cost in distant area	Profit	%profit	N
Kafu Basin	2061	3011	950	46	300
MFCA	2343	3283	939	40	350
QECA	1665	2126	461	28	364
RMNP	1500	2400	900	60	2
Overall Average	2015	2786	770	38	1017

#### 3.4.7.2. Pricing and profitability

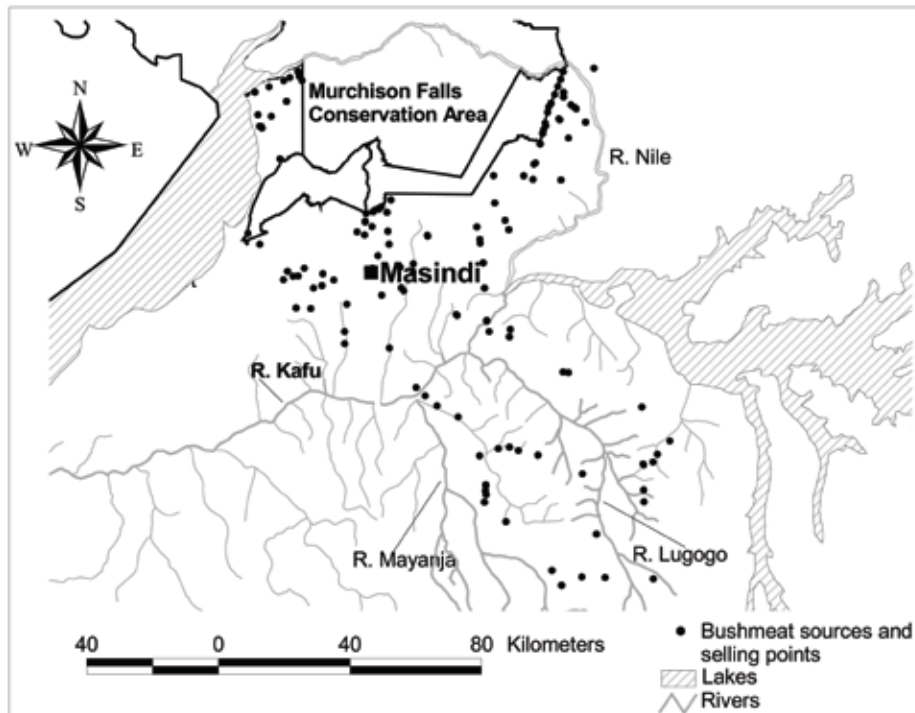
Bushmeat prices were not uniform across sites (Table 31). On average, bushmeat cost Uganda shs 2,000 (1.17 US \$) per kg or its approximation near hunting sites and just under shs 3,000 (1.75 US \$) per kg in distant areas. Between villages near hunting sites and distant areas, bushmeat prices appreciated by approximately 40%, fetching more money for hunters than if they moved it themselves and attractive profits for the middlemen.

For individual meat types, hippo meat was on average the most highly priced (Table 32). Although some species appeared to cost more, average prices were uncertain as sample sizes were low. Bushbuck, duiker, and Uganda kob were the cheapest meat types near hunting sites, probably because they were the most readily available.

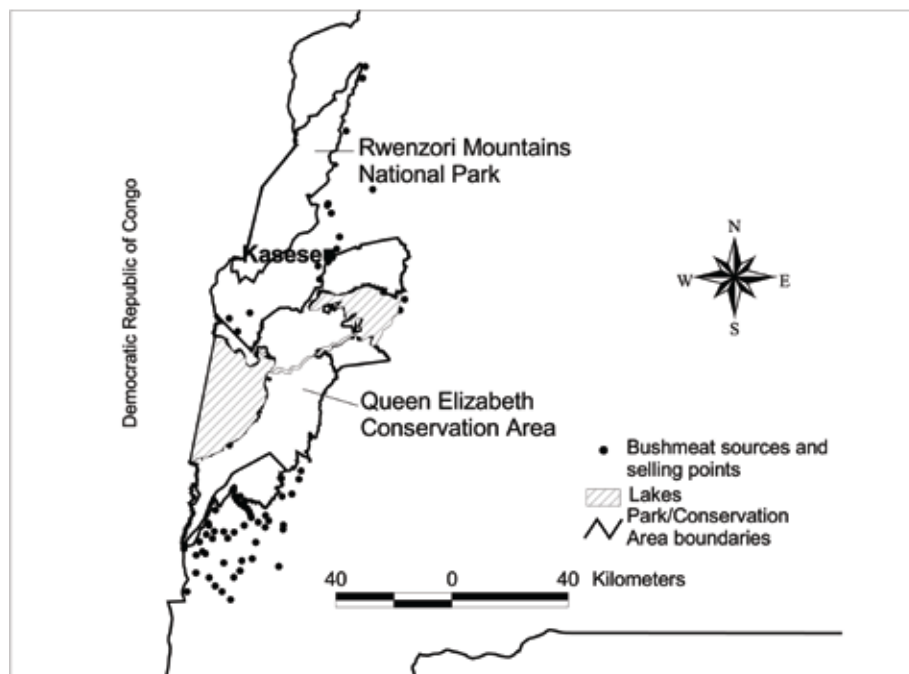


**Figure 6:** The bushmeat chain showing bushmeat sites originating or receiving bushmeat.

**Fig 6a:** MFCA and Kafu Basin



**Figure 6b:** QECA and RMNP



**Table 32:** Average bushmeat prices (in Uganda Shillings) near hunting sites by site and species. 1Unit measures are pieces or Kgs, and whole=whole animal is sold. 1 US \$ was approximately 1,715 Uganda Shillings during the study. . See appendix 3 for genera and species latin names.

Species	Kafu Basin	MFCA	QECA	RMNP	Overall Average	n	Measure <sup>1</sup>
Leopard		4000			4000	2	Unit
Giraffe		3400			3400	1	Unit
Crocodile	4000	2000			3000	2	Unit
Goose	3000				3000	1	Unit
Potto		3000			3000	1	Unit
Hartebeest	2500	3050			2867	3	Unit
Porcupine	2714	2950			2826	42	Whole
?		2750			2750	2	Unit
Cane rat	1792	2500	4500		2250	21	Whole
Guinea fowl	500	3000	1000		2250	6	Unit
Rabbit	2350	2125	2000		2250	16	Whole
Hippopotamus	3485	2942	1823		2202	184	Unit
Waterbuck	2383	2389	1707		2165	88	Unit
Buffalo	2500	2557	1581		2103	117	Unit
Sitatunga	2010	2800	1750		2090	20	Unit
Bush pig	2474	2135	1371		2076	130	Unit
Bushbuck	1815	2193	1415		1943	133	Unit
Duiker	1727	2121	1833		1905	44	Unit
Uganda kob	2127	2427	1648		1883	171	Unit
Squirrel	1650	2050			1850	20	Whole
Oribi	1720	1926			1809	44	Unit
Reedbuck	1611	1988			1788	17	Unit
Warthog	1821	2208	1283		1626	57	Unit
Giant forest hog		1000	1630		1573	11	Unit
Baboon		1500			1500	2	Unit
Francolin			1500		1500	1	Whole
Goshawk		1500			1500	2	Whole
Lion			1500		1500	1	Unit
Topi			1500		1500	1	Unit
Dikdik		1433			1433	3	Unit
Elephant		3000	958	1500	1306	9	Unit
Mole	1267				1267	3	Unit
Kite		1200			1200	1	Whole
Aardvark	1100				1100	5	Unit
Hadada ibis		1000			1000	1	Whole
Heron		1000			1000	1	Whole
Vervet monkey		1000			1000	1	Unit
Pangolin	1000	800			933	3	Unit
Black-and-White Colobus			500	500	500	2	Unit
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>2120</b>	<b>2376</b>	<b>1645</b>	<b>1167</b>	<b>2029</b>	<b>1169</b>	

**Table 34:** Average bushmeat and livestock meat (Beef, Goat meat, Mutton, and Pork) retail prices (in Uganda Shillings) based on monthly data provided by informers in various districts. 1 US \$ was approximately 1,715 Uganda Shillings during the study.

Informer Code	Base District	BM Retail	n	BM Meal	n	LS Retail	n	LS Meal	n
ACK	Nakasongola	5100	5			3000	4	2000	2
AMM	Masindi	2923	26	1674	27	2269	16	2025	8
ASQ	Kanungu	1383	29	820	5	2933	30	2286	14
ATM	Masindi	2336	39	1400	28	2767	36	1534	16
AVQ	Kamwenge	1747	19			2612	17	1200	10
AVRQ	Kabarole	2250	2			2900	12	1100	6
BAM	Masindi	3552	89	2042	93	3013	60	1693	30
BAR	Bundibugyo	1338	8			2861	18	1571	7
BBQ	Kasese	1942	43			3194	44	1491	17
DQ	Bushenyi	2250	2						
KEQ	Kanungu	1775	8	580	5	2863	8	1575	4
KGK	Masindi	2417	18			2809	11	1125	8
KGK	Masindi	2714	7			2800	6	1000	4
KGQ	Kanungu	1596	26			3079	24	1850	10
KIQ	Bushenyi	2072	38			2915	26	1764	14
KSR	Kasese					3160	20	1840	10
KWM	Bulisa	2344	32	1370	23	2843	28	1464	14
MAQ	Kasese	2227	11			2879	28	843	14
MDiQ	Rukungiri	5200	9			2766	35	1250	4
MDQ	Kanungu	1733	27	1382	17	1900	8	1500	16
MMcK	Kampala								
MMK	Kampala	3333	3						
MNQ	Kasese	1992	13			3525	16	2250	8
NFK	Nakasongola	1500	2			2700	4	2500	2
OCK	Masindi	5500	8	2088	8			3250	4
OCM	Masindi	2519	36			2908	36	1078	18
ORK	Masindi	3425	60	2117	70	3060	53	1830	27
OVK	Kampala	5800	5						
OYM	Masindi	3249	45	1054	41	3100	31	1387	15
RAQ	Bushenyi	1917	12			3353	17	1367	9
RFK	Nakaseke	2038	13			3300	5	1300	5
RJR	Kabarole					2568	19	1222	9
SRK	Nakasongola	1839	31			3129	14	1350	10
TJK	Nakaseke	2375	32	1000	1	3331	16	1564	11
TJQ	Rukungiri	2229	12			2784	19	1350	12
TLQ	Kamwenge	1700	7			2371	7	1050	4
TRQ	Bushenyi	1813	8	1750	5	2557	35	1611	18
TSQ	Kasese	1750	4			2672	32	1303	16
<b>Mean/Total</b>		<b>2568</b>	<b>262</b>	<b>1750</b>	<b>323</b>	<b>2909</b>	<b>735</b>	<b>1545</b>	<b>376</b>

Bushmeat was sold either fresh or smoked, but usually fresh (Table 33). Occasionally, animals were sold alive. Based on livestock meat prices gathered from bushmeat selling areas, bushmeat was cheaper than livestock meat (Paired t test,  $t=3.091$ ;  $p_{\text{two tail}}=0.004$ ;  $df=32$ ) (Table 34). Bushmeat was rarely sold in restaurants and market eateries.

Bushmeat was consistently cheaper than livestock meat throughout the duration of this study (Tables 36 & 37; Fig. 8). Prices of livestock meat increased gradually throughout the study whereas bushmeat prices remained fairly constant with slight fluctuations over the study period. Prices of both bushmeat and livestock meat peaked in December.

**Table 33:** Condition of bushmeat sold: values represent total number of records key informers logged against each type of meat sold.

Field Site	Fresh or Smoked	Fresh	Smoked	Sold alive	Sun-dried
Kafu Basin	138	107	96		1
MFCA	157	134	129	2	
QECA	137	412	98		
RMNP	1	2	3		

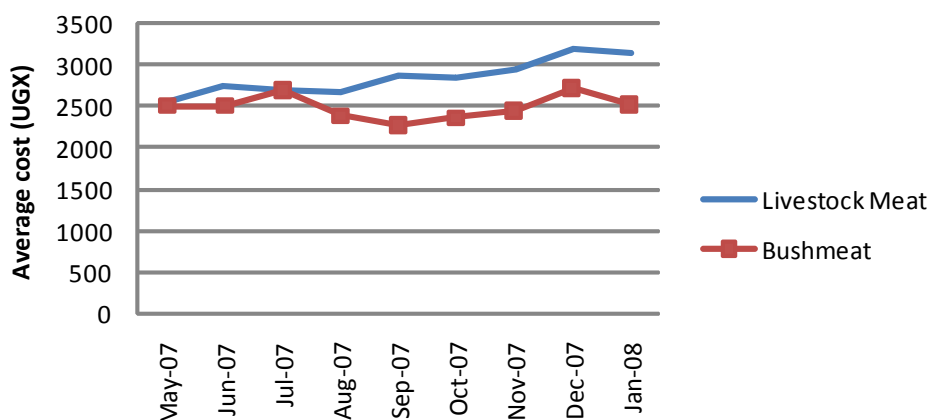
**Table 35:** Monthly trends in bushmeat and livestock meat retail prices in Uganda Shillings. Prices of livestock meat were on an upward trend during the study period. 1 US \$ was approximately 1,715 Uganda Shillings during the study.

	Gulu	Kafu Basin	Kampala	MFCA	QECA	RMNP	BM Average Retail
May-07		2750		2635	1833		2514
Jun-07		2875		3009	1443	1350	2513
Jul-07		2875		3189	1897		2699
Aug-07		2135	3333	3100	1829		2424
Sep-07		2210		2867	1843		2272
Oct-07		2150		2758	2344	1167	2364
Nov-07		2485	5800	2715	2269	1250	2619
Dec-07	5400	3003		3444	1967	2000	2855
Jan-08	5667	2685		2984	1959		2621
Average	5500	2564	4875	2978	1989	1338	2568

**Table 36:** Monthly trends in livestock meat (Beef, Goat, Mutton, Pork) retail prices (in Uganda Shillings) in field sites. 1 US \$ was approx. 1,715 Uganda Shillings during the study.

Month	Kafu Basin	MFCA	QECA	RMNP	Average	n
May-07	3075	2552	2408		2562	37
Jun-07	3075	2900	2433	2786	2752	48
Jul-07	2575	2748	2690		2707	53
Aug-07	2848	2604	2666	2600	2690	84
Sep-07	2965	2956	2808	2871	2872	90
Oct-07	3074	2974	2754	2625	2855	99
Nov-07	3218	3054	2781	2836	2941	105
Dec-07	3300	3167	3219	3067	3196	109
Jan-08	3148	3013	3221	3425	3150	96
<b>Average</b>	<b>3067</b>	<b>2885</b>	<b>2864</b>	<b>2868</b>	<b>2909</b>	<b>732</b>

**Figure 7:** Monthly changes in bushmeat and livestock meat costs near bushmeat hunting sites.



### 3.4.7.3. Transportation

There was no clear pattern to modes of bushmeat transportation (Table 37). Transport used depended on where the meat happened to be, quantity, and how far it was moved. From the hunting sites, meat was transported on foot, by bicycle, boat, raft, canoe, or motorcycle. Movement over longer distances was done using whatever form of transport hunters or dealers found most convenient.

**Table 37:** Forms of transport used and number of times in which they were cited as used to move bushmeat from hunting sites to points of consumption.

Transport type	Kafu Basin	Kampala	MFCA	QECA	RMNP	Total
Foot	40		93	250	56	439
Bicycle	147		193	97		437
Motorcycle	66		53	91		210
Car	29		42	30		101
Pickup	9			24	5	38
Taxi	15	8	3	2		28
Truck	20		7	1		28
Bus		8	7	2		17
Charcoal truck	9		1			10
Rafts			10			10
Private car	2			5		7
Boat/Canoe			1	4		5
Aeroplane		1				1

**Table 38:** Modes of packaging bushmeat during transportation as reported by key informers. Values are totals of the number of times logged.

Mode of packaging (containers/Wrappers)	Kafu Basin	Kampala	MFCA	QECA	RMNP	Total
Bags	33	6	41	52	8	140
Basket			1	22		23
Boxes	73		65	5		143
Jerrycans	3					3
Polythene bags	14			113		127
Sacks	121		124	73	1	319
Suitcases	2	6				8
Water jars				6		6
Banana leaf wrapper	1			17		18
Grass				10		10
Truck/pickup carriage				2		2
Plates				1		1
Paper bags				2		2
Spear grass				4		4

#### **3.4.7.4. Packaging and concealment**

As with transportation, there was no clear pattern of disguise or concealment. Bushmeat was packaged and transported ordinarily. For example, it was hidden in produce in a truck carrying charcoal, cassava or maize or fish or tomatoes. In a passenger vehicle, it was carried as luggage. In construction trucks it was hidden under sand, timber or stones. Bushmeat was most frequently packed in sacks or gunny bags, and boxes and usually disguised as charcoal, fish, firewood or agricultural produce (Tables 39 & 40), and it was usually moved out of hunting areas at night.

#### **3.4.7.5. Species level analysis of drivers of bushmeat use**

Using data collected through interviews with surrendered poacher groups, we examined the roles of income, taste, health benefits, and availability at the level of individual species to assess how these factors influenced bushmeat use, and preference of certain species over others. Poachers were asked what species gave them the highest income, what species was most tasty, which one brought the highest health benefit and which one was most available and for each category to state other species in order of priority. For preference, we used choice experiments. Poachers were asked what meat they would select first among a variety of bushmeat options, and state others in that order beginning with the most preferred.

Hippos ranked topmost in every respect. Surrendered poachers ranked it as their best source of income, the tastiest, most expensive meat, meat that provided the highest health benefits, and the most commonly available bushmeat in their villages (Table 40) at the three sites where poachers were interviewed.

Other species did not rank as consistently in value (Table 41). For example, buffalo ranked overall as number two for income, cost, taste, and availability but not for health benefit; while Kob ranked similarly for taste, health benefit, and availability but not for income. Elephants ranked high as a source of income but low for meat taste and were one of the cheapest bushmeat types. Among the species most frequently cited as hunted, hippo was the most preferred (the meat they would select first among a range of bushmeat options), followed by buffalo and warthog. Other highly ranked species were the giant forest hog, and Uganda kob. Elephant meat was the least preferred (Table 40). Whereas these ranks were averaged across sites, area-specific choices did exist. For example, hunters from RMNP ranked chimpanzee meat highest for health benefit and blue monkeys, l'Hoesti, and red colobus monkeys high for taste. Highly ranked species under each driver were likely the most hunted. Thus, both commercial and subsistence bushmeat users may go for the species whose meat is most preferred. According to these results, these would be hippo first, and then buffalo, kob, giant forest hog, in that order. Therefore, key to understanding what drives bushmeat offtake seems to be understanding what drives preference.

**Table 39:** Ways in which bushmeat is disguised during transportation. Values are total number of times logged by key informers.

Mode of concealment	Kafu Basin	Kampala	MFCA	QECA	RMNP	Total
<b>Bushmeat disguised as:</b>						
Charcoal	17		20	26		63
Fish	1			31		32
Livestock meat	14		8	4		26
Maize				4	16	20
Not disguised	6			9		15
Firewood			1	13		14
Potatoes				12		12
Sugar				7		7
Tomatoes			1	4		5
Cassava	1			2		3
Groundnuts				3		3
Cabbages	1			1		2
Grass thatch	1			1		2
Shopping basket				2		2
Tobacco				2		2
Women clothes				2		2
Beans				1		1
Fish nets				1		1
Flour				1		1
Grass fodder	1					1
Logs				1		1
Sand load				1		1
<b>Moved during:</b>						
Night	29		77	99		205
Day			1			1



**Table 40:** Average ranks of bushmeat species ranked for income, taste, health, availability, and preference. Ranks are based on averages of four or more records per species per category.

Species	Income	Cost	Taste	Health	Availability	Preference
Buffalo	2	2	2	4	2	2
Bushbuck	6	5	5	4	4	5
Bush pig	5	5	3	4	3	4
Cane rat	7	7	4	3	3	4
Duiker			2	4	6	4
Elephant	3	6	6			7
G. forest hog	4	4	2	3	3	3
Guinea fowl					5	6
Hartebeest	3		5			
Hippo	1	1	1	1	1	1
Uganda kob	4	4	2	2	2	3
Porcupine			4			5
Rabbit					5	
Squirrel					3	
Warthog	5	3	2	2	4	2
Waterbuck	4	4	5		4	5

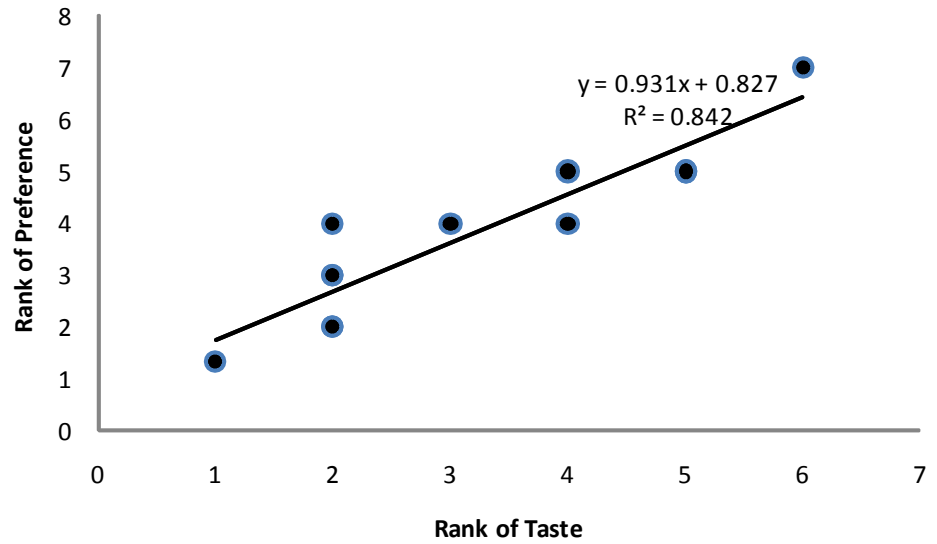
**Table 41:** Matrix of Pearson correlation coefficients and Bonferonni probabilities (in brackets) showing pairwise correlations of potential drivers of bushmeat consumption. Preference was most strongly correlated with taste.

	Cost	Taste	Health	Availability
Taste	0.793 (0.284)			
Health	0.463 (1.000)	0.645 (1.000)		
Availability	0.567 (1.000)	0.662 (1.000)	0.460 (1.000)	
Preference	0.868 (0.078)	0.921 (0.017)	0.678 (0.967)	0.632 (1.000)

**Table 42:** Results of a stepwise linear regression of preference on potential factors determining preference. Taste was the only significant determinant of preference of certain bushmeat types over others.

Effect	F	'p'
Taste	33.767	0.001
Cost	2.555	0.171
Health benefits	0.432	0.540
Availability	0.029	0.871

**Figure 8:** Relationship between taste and preference.



**Table 43:** Relative ranks of taste and preference of livestock meat types and fish when compared against bushmeat types. In general, 'livestock' meats ranked low and usually below all bushmeat types in both taste and preference.

Meat type	Taste Rank	No. times matched	Preference Rank	No. times matched
Beef	6	5	4	5
Chicken	4	5	2	2
Fish	12	1	5	2
Goat	3	6	2	4
Pork	5	5	4	3
Mutton	9	3	7	3
No of times matched		25		19
Total no. times ranked		62		66
% no. of times matched		29		22
% no. of times ranked below bushmeat		71		78

Preference was correlated strongly with taste, but weakly with other variables (Table 42). Taste was the only pronounced determinant of preference (Stepwise linear regression,  $p=0.001$ , Table 42, Fig. 8).

Given that taste and preference were the main factors determining choice of certain bushmeat types over others, we assessed whether or not these factors had any bearing on possible choice of bushmeat over livestock meat and vice versa, and the extent to which they did so.

Surrendered hunters ranked livestock meat and fish below all bushmeat types; 71% of the time in taste, and 78% of the time in preference. On the few occasions domestic meats were ranked at the same levels with bushmeat types, they did not rank top, but at the moderate to low levels of bush pigs, cane rat/porcupine, bushbuck/hartebeest/waterbuck. Goat meat was ranked highest in taste among domestic meat types, followed by chicken, pork, and beef in decreasing order. Ranking for preference was more or less similar to ranking for taste, except that sample sizes for chicken and pork were a little too low. Fish and mutton ranked lowest in both taste and preference. Livestock meat types and fish were in general regarded as less tasty and therefore less preferred than all bushmeat types (Table 43).

The general perception of domestic meat as less tasty, thus the preference for bushmeat over livestock meat is potentially a constraint to implementation of protein substitutes as a solution to illegal hunting for bushmeat.

#### **3.4.8. Cultural drivers: the role of beliefs and practices**

Use of body parts for purposes other than food was presumed to be another factor driving illegal hunting. To understand the extent that body parts played in illegal killing of wild animals, surrendered poacher groups were asked to name the species they hunted and the uses to which they put body parts.

Up to 62 species altogether were listed by the 11 expoacher groups (Table 44). Most frequently cited as hunted in most sites were ungulates such as hippos, buffalos, bushbuck, kob, waterbuck and duikers. Elephants were also cited as hunted by most poacher groups. Of the small-bodied species, the most frequently hunted were cane rats, porcupines, guinea fowls, rabbits and squirrels. In general, these were also the species most likely to be hunted for bushmeat. However, there were location-specific habits that may imperil species in specific hunting locations. Primates for example were usually cited as hunted for bushmeat by hunters associated with RMNP. Hunting of birds, rodents and reptiles was restricted to a few species while amphibians were never cited as hunted.

Diversity of body parts for uses other than bushmeat was high. Elephants, leopards, lions, pythons, hippos, chimpanzees, hyenas, baboons, and crocodiles in decreasing order had the highest diversity of body parts put to other uses, and were therefore the most likely to be hunted for uses additional to bushmeat.

In addition to use for bushmeat, bodies of animals killed were put to several different uses (Table 45). Parts other than meat (Table 46) were most commonly cited as used for medicinal purposes, sale to make money and for craft (making musical instruments, mats, bags).

**Table 44:** Species most likely to be hunted in each protected area for meat and/or other body parts as indicated by the number of hunter groups and number of different body parts respectively as given by surrendered poachers from three hunting sites. Overall, most of the species hunted are eaten and body parts from many are also put to several different uses. See appendix 3 for genera and species latin names.

Species	MFCA		QECA		RMNP		Total No. hunter gps (Meat Eaten)	Total No. of other parts used
	No. hunter gps (Meat Eaten)	No. of other parts used	No. hunter gps (Meat Eaten)	No. of other parts used	No. hunter gps (Meat Eaten)	No. of other parts used		
Aardvark	6	5	4	2	1	1	11	5
African civet		1	1				1	1
Baboon	3	5	3	5	2		8	8
Banded mongoose			2	2			2	2
Black kite			1		1		2	
Black-and-White colobus	1	1	4	2	2	1	7	2
Blue monkey					2	1	2	1
Buffalo	10	4	7	4			17	4
Bushbuck	9	2	6	3			15	3
Bush pig	7	1	7	4	2		16	5
Cane rat	9	1	6	1	1		16	2
Chimpanzee		3	2	4	2	5	4	8
Civet			1	1			1	1
Common civet		1	2	1			2	1
Crocodile	2	4	1	3			3	6
Dikdik	4	2	1				5	2
Duck	2						2	
Duiker	7	2	3	2	2		12	2
Eagle			2	1			2	1
Elephant	8	7	7	14	2	1	17	18
Francolin	1		3				4	
G. forest hog			7	3	1		8	3
Giraffe	1	2					1	2
Goshawk	1		1		1		3	
Green pigeon	1	1					1	1
Grey-crowned crane		1	1				1	1
Guinea fowl	5	1	6		1		12	1
Hartebeest	8	2					8	2
Hawk				1				1
Heron			1	1			1	1
Hippopotamus	10	3	8	8			18	9
Hyena	1	6	3	4			4	8
Hyrax	1		1		2	1	4	1

Table 44 continued

Species	MFCA		QECA		RMNP		Total No. hunter gps (Meat Eaten)	Total No. of other parts used
	No. hunter gps (Meat Eaten)	No. of other parts used	No. hunter gps (Meat Eaten)	No. of other parts used	No. hunter gps (Meat Eaten)	No. of other parts used		
Jackal	1	3	1				2	3
Leopard	5	7	5	8	1	1	11	14
L'hoest's monkey			1	1	1	1	2	1
Lion	6	8	6	6			12	12
Mole rat	1						1	
Mongoose (unspecified)					1		1	
Oribi	4	2					4	2
Otter	1	1					1	1
Owl				1				1
Pangolin	5	2	1				6	2
Parrot				1				1
Porcupine	8	1	5	1	2	1	15	1
Potto					1	1	1	1
Python	4	9	3	5			7	10
Rabbit	6	2	5	2			11	3
Redtail monkey					1	1	1	1
Reedbuck			3	2			3	2
Rwenzori colobus					1		1	
Serval cat	3	1	5	1	1	1	9	1
Sitatunga	3	1	1	1			4	1
Squirrel	7	5	4	1	1		12	5
Topi			1	1			1	1
Tortoise	1	1	1	1			2	1
Uganda kob	7	2	7	5			14	5
Vervet	1	1	6	4	1	1	8	4
Vulture			1				1	
Warthog	6	3	6	5			12	5
Waterbuck	8	2	7	3			15	3
White-tailed mongoose	2	1	2	2	1		5	2
Wild cat	1						1	
<b>Total number of species</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>54</b>

**Table 45:** A summary of ways in which animal parts are used in addition to food- according to surrendered poachers. Values represent number of times in which poacher groups in the different areas mentioned use of specific parts for the given uses.

Use type	MFCA	QECA	RMNP	Total	%
Barter trade		2		2	0.2
Alcohol brewing		1		1	0.1
Controlling bedbugs	1	1		2	0.2
Cash trade	94	35	6	135	13.8
Costume making	4	7	4	15	1.5
Craft making	63	46	3	112	11.5
Crop yield improvement	1			1	0.1
Decorative	13	3		16	1.6
Garment making		2		2	0.2
Medicinal uses	58	92	6	156	16.0
Food	178	166	35	379	38.8
Poison	5	5		10	1.0
Prevention of livestock diseases		1		1	0.1
Rope and string making	3	1		4	0.4
Sexual healing	4	1	1	6	0.6
Spiritual/Supernatural uses	59	50	3	112	11.4
Status definition	4	3		7	0.7
Tool making	3	4		7	0.7
Vermin control	3	6		9	0.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>426</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>977</b>	

### 3.5. Wider issues of bushmeat use

Wider issues of bushmeat use as related to this study included land use change and management, engagement of surrendered poachers, and role of local administrations in conservation. These were issues that could have compounded the problem of hunting beyond the immediate pressure to hunt for bushmeat, other wildlife products and to eliminate problem animals.

With regards to engagement of surrendered poachers- the UWA signature campaign to make poachers surrender voluntarily is commendable, appears to have been well received and is probably successful to some degree in controlling illegal hunting. The only problem seems to be continued engagement of the surrendered poachers. Follow-up action seems to be going well around MFCA but not QECA. Many groups of poachers have surrendered around QECA, but there is not sufficient follow up to mobilize them to engage in alternative activities and to support these activities. Accordingly, some groups are disgruntled and re-thinking their decisions to surrender. There is need to facilitate community conservation rangers to make this follow-up, support poachers with planning of appropriate projects, and financing of those projects.

**Table 46:** A summary of body parts used and the number of times mentioned by hunter groups.

Body part	Number of times cited	Body part	Number of times cited
Bile	4	Mane	1
Bone	23	Meat	383
Brain	3	Menses blood	1
Claws	16	Nails	10
Dung	10	Nose	5
Ear	13	Placenta	4
Eyebrow	2	Quills	16
Fat	43	Ring on tail base (thought to be on leopard)	1
Feathers	5	Saliva	1
Cloaca	3	Scales	6
Fingers	4	Shell	4
Forehead skin and nose	1	Skin	174
Foreskull	1	Skull	4
Gullet	2	Tail	11
Gut stone (thought to be in leopard)	1	Tail Hair	15
Hair	34	Tail skin	1
Head	3	Teats	2
Heart	6	Teeth	31
Hooks (on a python)	1	Thumb	5
Hooves	7	Toes	2
Horns	49	Tongue	1
Intestines	1	Trunk (elephant only)	1
Ivory	2	Tusks	22
Lips	1	Udder	4
Leg	1	Whiskers	1
Liver	5	<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>968</b>
Male genitalia	14		

Local governments have a big sway over the way the people they serve behave, but this influence does not appear to have been sufficiently tapped for the benefit of conservation. During this study, we heard of cases where local council heads discouraged the community from reporting people who poach or actually encouraged them to hunt. Unless local government authorities are sufficiently engaged and obligated to mobilize communities against illegal hunting, we are likely to continue seeing unsustainable pressure on wildlife both inside and outside protected areas. Part of the accounting for financial support from the park to the people living around protected areas (in form of revenue sharing) should be commitment of local authorities to reduce and stop illegal activities in parks. There is also need for legal provisions obligating local leaders to participate in monitoring and punishing environmental crimes.

Land use change and management regimes have serious implications on wildlife management around protected areas but the case of the Kafu Basin needs highlighting. Privately owned land is subject to the discretion of the individual owner. The Kafu Basin is a special case because whereas wildlife populations are abundant here, they have no safe rear ‘bases’ to retreat to in the event of increased pressure unlike populations in protected areas. The animals here have hitherto been protected more out of the good will and culture of the people than government policy or community mobilization activities. But there are indications that the situation is changing. Land use intensification and conversion is on the rise as are conflicts. Everywhere in the basin, there is a rising trend of fencing and thinning bushes. Indigenous vegetation is being slashed for charcoal and to give way to pine. North of the river, there is also increased conversion to sugar cane plantations. This area has maintained relatively large wildlife populations of any area outside protected areas partly because of its low population density and its being largely inhabited by pastoralists whose culture does not allow eating wild animals. Its remoteness is another factor. Trends in hunting and habitat conversion are likely to worsen as the road network expands and as the area becomes more accessible. Unless strong measures are put in place, it will only take a matter of time for vegetation cover in this area to change drastically, and for the biodiversity, in this area to reduce to insignificant levels, starting with rich populations of antelopes and birds occurring here.

Recently, there has been a push to start collaborative management particularly putting in measures for sustainable extractive use and tourism—but this needs to go further—there is the whole issue of how to manage the habitat in a way that does not reduce food resources, protects breeding grounds and nesting/nursing sites, and that maintains movement of animals in search of mates or food resources. These needs can only be met if animals’ home ranges which maintain traditional movement routes are retained. There is a need to i) uphold practices that have maintained wildlife here for ages and to help people to realize value from this inheritance, ii) deal with biases about potential competition for resources with livestock, spread of diseases, and ways to control illegal hunting), and iii) to come up with a strategy to protect viable populations of wildlife in this area. Planning expansion of plantations is needed, and integrating wildlife management into plantation management is also needed if the biodiversity of this area is going to be maintained. Needless to say, this should go hand in hand with putting into place mechanisms for vermin control. The Kafu Basin has potential to serve as a model for coexistence of people and wildlife outside protected areas when land use is planned with wildlife management integrated into that planning. It will be useful for government agencies and conservation practitioners to work with owners of rangelands and plantations to incorporate good practices into their management plans.



### **3.6. Current trends in bushmeat off take, demand, and supply**

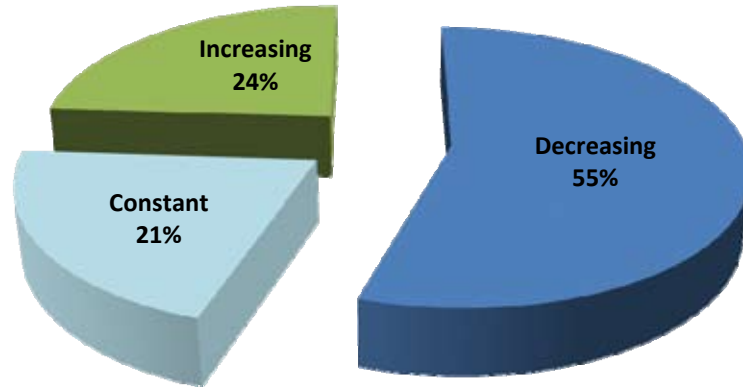
Analyses of trends are based on key informers' prior experience, and actual figures from monthly hunting records for each site. Before they started filing monthly records of hunting incidences where they were based, key informers were asked to state what they thought, based on their experience the trends in bushmeat supply and demand had been during the previous five years; specifically whether increasing, decreasing, or constant and reasons for the trends.

#### **3.6.1. Trends in demand and supply over five years before the study**

Bushmeat supply was logged as decreasing 55% of the time and increasing 24% of the time, and the rest of the time as constant, averaging a trend that was constant with a slight tendency towards decreasing (Fig. 9). As expected, there was variability of perceptions between sites. For example informers based in Bulisa and Bushenyi districts were strongly but independently affirmative that bushmeat supply had been decreasing in their areas over the years, while those based in Rukungiri (Rwenshama fishing village and Bikurungu) were affirmative that supply has in general been constant in their reporting areas. Informers in the rest of the locations generally had the impression that supply is somewhere between constant and decreasing.

For individual species, similar heterogeneity exists. Supply of hippo meat was for example cited as definitely decreasing in most of the locations except for Rukungiri where there appeared to be a tendency towards increasing. On the other hand supply of meat from medium sized antelopes and bush pigs was thought to be constant in many areas with a strong tendency towards increasing. The most frequently given explanations for increase in bushmeat supply was lax law enforcement and occurrence of many hunters (mentioned by informers at Rwenshama landing site and Bikurungu in Rukungiri district), perceived (but not necessarily true) high abundance and increasing wildlife populations in the Kafu Basin (particularly of bushbuck, duikers and oribi as reported by informers at Ngoma and Kinyogoga in Nakaseke district) and high frequency of animals exiting protected areas (Table 47). Of the reasons given for reduced supply of meat from certain species, population decline was topmost, followed by increased legal restrictions (Table 48). Availability of livestock alternatives was another common reason given. Conservation awareness was not a frequent explanation.

**Figure 9:** Trends in bushmeat supply in rural sites as given by Key Informers. Percentages represent proportion of times logged for each category. n=168



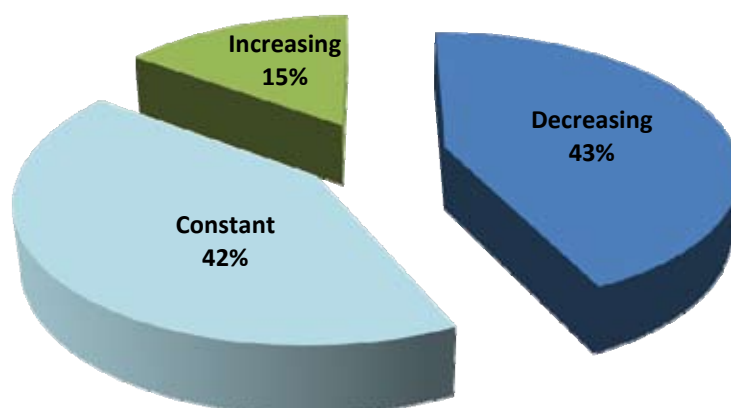
**Table 47:** Reasons for increasing bushmeat supply as given by Key Informers.

Reasons for increasing supply		
Reason	Number of times cited	%
Lax security	5	23.8
Animals are abundant	3	14.3
Animal numbers increasing	2	9.5
Many hunters	2	9.5
High demand	1	4.8
Tasty	1	4.8
Crop raid	1	4.8
Increasing incidences of dead animals	1	4.8
Legal to hunt	1	4.8
Legal restrictions	1	4.8
Ranger-Poacher collaboration	1	4.8
Home consumption	1	4.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>21</b>	

**Table 48:** Reasons for decreasing bushmeat supply as given by Key Informers.

Reasons for decreasing supply		
Reason	Number of times cited	%
Legal restrictions	33	43.4
Rare or population has declined	30	39.5
Increased livestock alternatives	4	5.3
Conservation awareness	3	3.9
Lax security	1	1.3
Common	1	1.3
Few people eat	1	1.3
Hard to kill	1	1.3
No legal restrictions	1	1.3
Not preferred	1	1.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>76</b>	

**Figure 10:** Trends in bushmeat demand as given by Key Informers. Percentages represent proportions of times logged for each category. n=145



Trends in demand were similar to supply. Key informers were generally of the view that demand for bushmeat is generally constant with a possibility of a decreasing trend overall (Fig. 10, Table 49). No particular species were associated with any individual trend.

Where increased demand was cited, scarcity, low cost and preference were the most frequently given explanations. On the other hand, where demand was cited as decreasing, scarcity and legal restrictions were most commonly cited causes (Table 50). Voluntary factors like increased conservation awareness, people refusing to buy it for whatever reason, change in preferences were also frequently cited as explanatory factors for reduced demand.

**Table 49:** Reasons for increasing demand as given by Key Informers.

Reasons for increasing demand	
Reason	Number of times cited
Not Available	3
Cheap	2
Preferred	2
People still hunt in PA during Christmas season	1
Animal numbers are constant	1
Crop destruction	1
Constant supply	1
Problem animal	1
Legal restrictions	1
Tasty	1
Common	1
Main source of meat	1
People have time to hunt	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>

**Table 50:** Reasons for decreasing demand as mentioned by Key Informers.

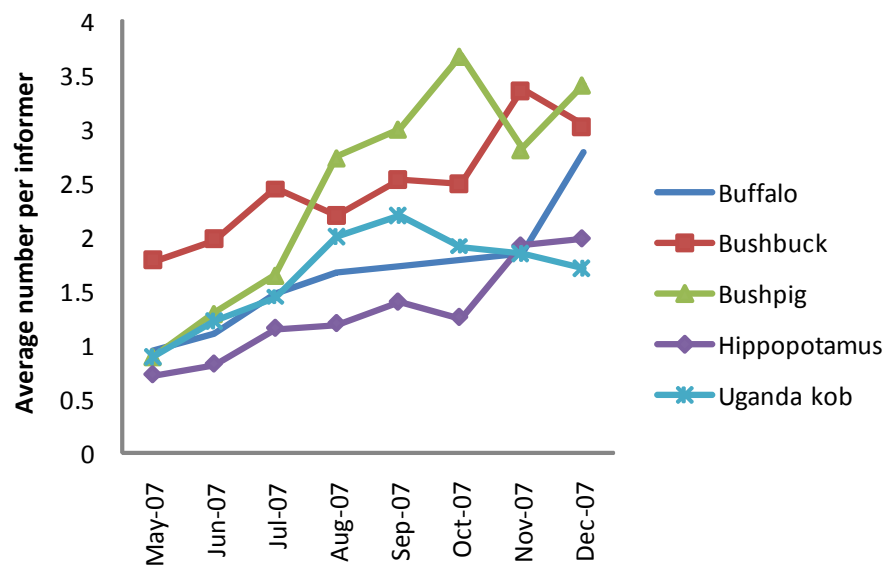
Reasons for decreasing demand	
Reason	Number of times cited
Scarce	12
Legal restrictions	12
Conservation awareness	9
People don't buy it	4
Population decline	2
Cultural change (no longer preferred)	2
Many hunters	1
Irregular supply	1
Not preferred	1
Park benefits	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>

### 3.6.2. Trends in off take over the duration of the study

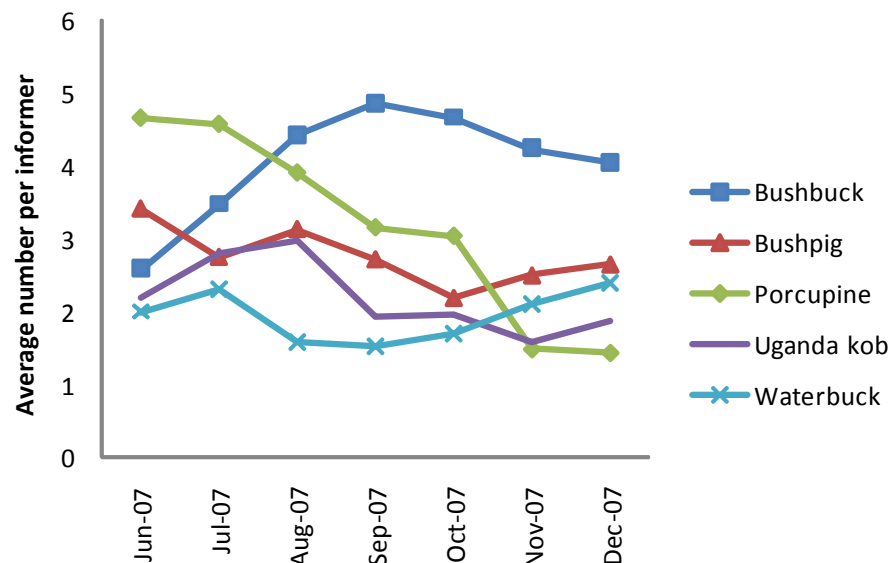
Hunting data collected by key informers from April 2007-January 2008 showed a tendency of bushmeat off take increasing through the study period in MFCA but fairly constant in other sites. There were trend variations for individual species. Removal of porcupines for example showed a distinct declining trend in the Kafu Basin and hunting of guinea fowls a distinctly rising trend in QECA (Fig. 11). Trends in bushmeat off take may be driven by a multiplicity of factors including human pressure, seasonality, and variation in degree of law enforcement. Trend patterns in off take suggest that although there may be reduction in hunting intensity over the years, it may be small and cannot be readily verified by data collected within a short time frame.

**Figure 11:** Trends in monthly off take of top five hunted species in each site. Plots are of moving averages per study site during the months May-December 2007. Hunting intensity increased around MFCA during this period, remained constant around the Kafu Basin and QECA, and decreased around RMNP.

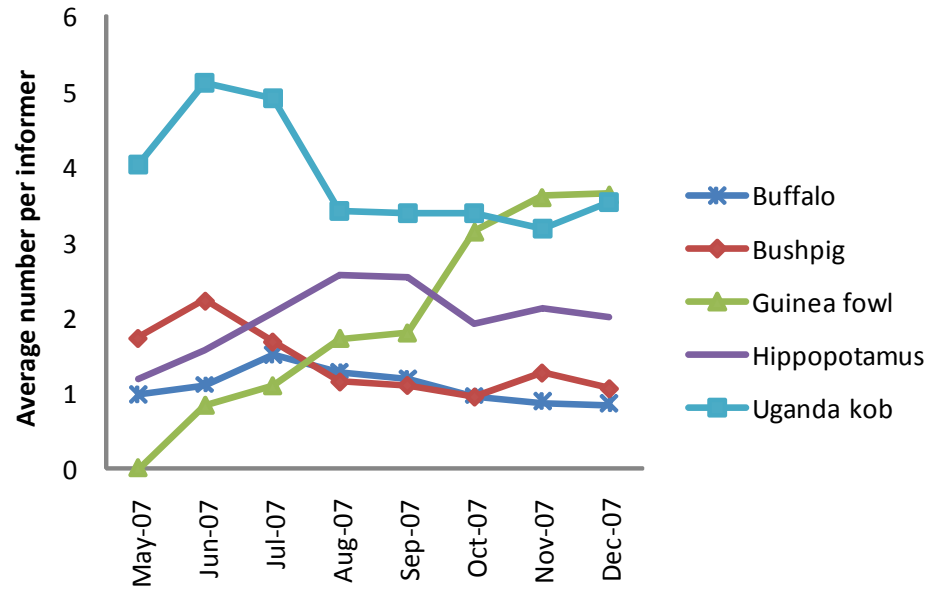
**Figure 11a:** Murchison Falls Conservation Area



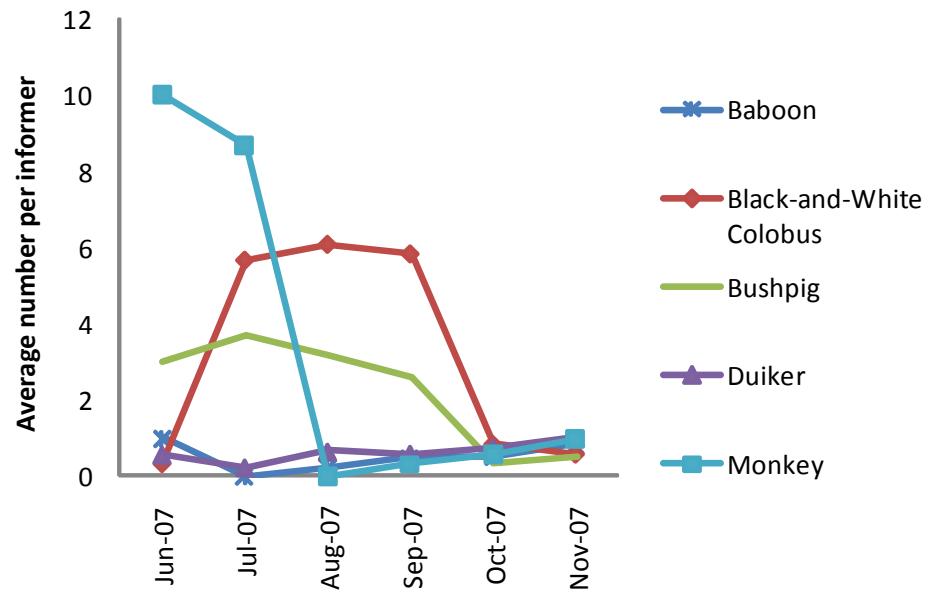
**Figure 11b:** Kafu Basin



**Figure 11c:** Queen Elizabeth Conservation Area



**Figure 11d:** Rwenzori Mountains National Park



## 4. REVIEW OF RESULTS/ GENERAL DISCUSSION

Previous knowledge of bushmeat use in Uganda has hitherto been limited to CARE's (CARE, 1999) evaluation of trade in QENP products by local communities and Okello's (Okello, 2004) study of bushmeat trade and consumption in Kampala. Results from this study have substantially expanded our knowledge of bushmeat trade and consumption in Uganda. The main findings were that:

i) bushmeat was not the main source of meat for an average household living in and around major hunting sites. It was eaten by 5-32% of the households, and rarely so (in 1-12 days in 100 days). High income earners were more likely to eat bushmeat than low income households, and farming households more than ranchers and pastoralists, ii) bushmeat was the main meat source for hunters. It contributed significantly to the hunter's income, and the trade was profitable to the dealers, iii) bushmeat was on average cheaper than livestock meat in rural sites, but higher in Kampala iv) most of the meat hunted in QECA was consumed in the neighboring villages usually within 20km of the PA boundary, while there was virtually no bushmeat trade associated with RMNP. Meat hunted from the Kafu Basin and south of MFCA supplied a much wider market, including Kampala to the south, and Gulu and Kitgum in the north, v) in both rural and urban sites, bushmeat trade was underground – bushmeat was never sold in market stalls and very rarely in restaurants, vi) during transportation it was disguised as agricultural produce or other legal merchandise and usually moved at night, vii) there were indications that bushmeat trade and consumption was reducing, but offtake was still high and likely not sustainable, viii) ungulates were the main animals hunted for bushmeat, and primates rarely, except in RMNP, ix) spears, snares, and traps were the main hunting implements, and gun use was frequent, x) hunting incidence inside protected areas and their environs were comparable, xi) crop raiding and other forms of human-wildlife conflict drive hunting but to a lesser degree than the need for bushmeat, xii) uses placed on parts such as skins, tusks, hair, canine teeth, fats, oils and a variety of other body parts also drive hunting, particularly of the big predators, elephants, and pythons, xiii) hunters were mainly driven to hunt by the need to make money and both need and preference for bushmeat for subsistence, xiv) certain bushmeat species were considered more tasty than others, and were thus preferred for that reason. In general, all forms of bushmeat were

regarded as tastier than livestock meats and fish. Bushmeat was preferred to livestock meats mainly for that reason.

The QENP study and the Kampala study both revealed some findings similar to what was found here. The study by CARE (CARE, 1999) found that income from bushmeat contributed 10% of the total annual protected area income to the local communities around QENP. It was second to firewood which contributed 68% of the total income valued at shs 739 million (approx. US \$ 739,000 at the time of their study) per annum near protected area edges. Hippo was the main animal sought, contributing 83% of income from bushmeat. The Kampala study (Okello, 2004) established that bushmeat trade was existent in Kampala but was underground and limited to certain communities, mainly in Naguru, Kamwokya, Kyebando, Kinawattaka, Nakawa, and Nsambya. Sales were not open and when bushmeat was supplied in large quantity, it was offloaded from buses at the city suburbs, into hired pickups. Dealers sold the meat door to door and in local brew pubs, but only to the people they knew. People ate the meat for its taste, and out of tradition and habit. Bushmeat prices were higher than those of equivalent quantities of livestock meat. Most of the meat was brought into Kampala from the Kafu Basin, MFCA, and QECA.

Results from this study also bear similarities and differences with what has been found elsewhere in Africa, particularly East African sites. For example, it was established that bushmeat intake was lower than expected in the villages surveyed. This has also been determined in other locations, for example the villages around the Udzungwa Mountains, Tanzania. Bushmeat was low in importance and contribution to protein intake Nielsen (2006). The most common pattern of bushmeat consumption near village hunting sites is however a heavy dependence on bushmeat by rural households (e.g. Botswana- ODI, 2006; Kenya- Fitzgibbon, *et al.*, 1995; in the Congo Basin- Wilkie and Carpenter, 1999; Eves and Rugierro, 2000; Eves, 2006; in West Africa- Bennett and Deutsch, 2003; Owusu *et al.*, 2006). Where there is heavy dependence on bushmeat, it is thought to compensate for low protein intake (e.g. Eves, 2006). In the sites studied as in the rest of Uganda, alternative protein sources are readily available for household (e.g. as evidenced from crops cultivated by households in these sites). Protein from plant sources - beans, for example- are extensively planted by most (beans are planted by up to 99%) of the households in the study sites and available even to the poorest of the households in Uganda. It is thus difficult to explain bushmeat eating in terms of protein, and some other nutritional explanation may apply, for example, essential vitamins and minerals. On the other hand, it may simply be a manifestation of a “meat culture”. Non-meat protein sources are unlikely to serve effectively as protein substitutes for bushmeat for people living in and around these sites.

Loibooki *et al.*, (2002) found in the Serengeti area of Tanzania that most individual and group respondents were subsistence farmers who considered bushmeat as a source of protein. The same situation may apply here, except that bushmeat is regarded as a delicacy. Hunters around the Serengeti also see bushmeat as a source of income, and the same situation applies here except that dealing in bushmeat trade supported people in the savanna and woodland sites but not the forest site (RMNP). Around RMNP, communities in general do not



realize high income from the PA and it has been established that PA products reduce poverty of the residents by only 2.8-4.7% (Tumusiime, 2006) although residents around RMNP may be benefitting more than the others living around forests in the northern end of the Ugandan portion of the Albertine Rift (Bush *et al.*, 2004). According to these authors, residents living around RMNP realize as much as 35.6% of their total annual incomes from forest resources.

In all sites, resolution of the bushmeat problem in part appears to lie in livestock ownership. Participation in illegal hunting among the Serengeti communities decreased as wealth in terms of the number of sheep and goats owned increased (Loibooki *et al.*, 2002). Although hunting has been linked to poverty and low protein intake by some studies, for example Nielsen (2006) in the Udzungwas, this linkage appears to be true mostly of livestock wealth. In this study, crop farmers were more likely to eat bushmeat than livestock keepers but, wealth and income were less likely to explain why people hunted or ate bushmeat. It was also not likely to be because farmers had easier access to wildlife than livestock keepers. Comparisons of hunters and average households in the same sites showed a poverty linkage for hunters in QECA and possibly RMNP, but not MFCA. This suggests that for this area, cultural attachment was more likely to explain bushmeat hunting and consumption than differences in wealth or income levels.

Solutions to bushmeat hunting in these situations include increasing the number of domestic animals, such as pigs and goats to poor farming households and conservation awareness and education to address habits and attitudes. Small-livestock production such as rabbit raising (NRC, 1991; Hardouin, 1995; Wilkie, 2003) have been adopted by households in Cameroon in areas where wildlife is already scarce (HPI 1996). Small animal raising has been shown to be viable in peri-urban areas close to sources of demand and where proximal wildlife species populations have already been depleted (Lamarque, 1995). That said, livestock rearing as an alternative to wildlife hunting is only likely to be successful, however, when the labor and capital costs of production are less than the costs of wildlife hunting and marketing (law enforcement keeps the cost of wildlife hunting and marketing high). If domestic production of meat only becomes economically viable after wild animals have become so scarce as to be unprofitable to hunt, the strategy is clearly ineffective as a conservation measure (Wilkie, 2003). This may be part of the reason why hunters are giving up in certain areas, for example around RMNP.

Wildlife farming has been suggested as one of the solutions to illegal hunting (Mockrin *et al.*, 2005). This is thought to allow people to eat wild meat, while taking pressure off wildlife populations. The solution of wildlife farming is however controversial, with concerns about the viability of such farming, its cost effectiveness, and its impact on wildlife populations (review by Mockrin *et al.*, 2005) and is unlikely to work if introduced widely. Because of this, it should, be limited to a few species and to a few interested people and capable of rearing them to realize cultural attachment. For others, access to bushmeat through restricted hunting should also address the problem of cultural attachment, but not necessarily as a protein solution as stocks are unlikely to be large enough to support this objective.

Licensing hunting for “big” days such as Christmas has also been suggested by surrendered hunters from MFCA as a solution to illegal hunting. This could address the issue of cultural attachment, but not meat protein source as cost effectiveness of raising animals to slaughter has been shown to be higher for all livestock than all bushmeat species (Feer 1993 cited by D. Wilkie in Bennett and Deutsch 2003). Such species could be the fast reproducing/high productivity ones like bush pigs, bushbucks, and duikers frequently, and slow reproducing ones (as determined by analysis taking into account gestation period, number of offspring per birth, interbirth intervals, time to first reproduction, and longevity) less frequently.

One of the key factors driving bushmeat consumption in the study areas is its perceived superior taste, and healing abilities. Taste is sometimes the explanation for bushmeat eating. For example in Ghana, Cowlshaw *et al.*, (2005) found that variation in the price of bushmeat was largely explained by transport costs and taste preferences. The logic among the local communities may lie in both observation and imagination. According to one group of poachers in Bushenyi district, one leg of a hippo can heal a child with Kwasiorkor. The meat is cooked in bits and fed to the child and malnourishment disappears when all the meat has been fed to the child. On the other hand, belief in nutritional qualities lies in the logic that wild animals are exposed to a wider nutritional base as they feed on a wider range of plants compared to domestic animals. This belief was widespread among surrendered poacher groups and appears to bear some scientific truth. For example, game meat is nutritionally superior and contains far less fat compared to livestock meat (Eltringham 1984, Hoffman 2008), and ungulates yield greater amounts of edible protein per unit of live weight than domestic animals and it has been that the fat content of the carcass is 7.7 times greater in domestic than wild animals so that humans would be healthier eating wild meat over livestock meat (Barnett, 2000). It would be useful to conduct a study to show whether or not this is indeed the case among the species most preferred in this study.

Gun use in hunting is a serious threat that has also been documented elsewhere. In the DRC for example, guns have become more readily available (Barnes, 2002) and are virtually universally adopted by anyone who can afford to buy one (or hire one from an entrepreneur) to increase hunting success. For a small investment, the economic pay-off is substantial, and uncontrolled hunting becomes widespread. In the Tabora district of Tanzania, Carpaneto and Fusari (2000) found that gun use was prevalent. Guns were used during 53.81% of the hunting incidences. In Makao site in Nouabalé-Ndoki National Park in the Republic of Congo, human population had been stable until 2001 when a logging company arrived, adding 1000 people to the local population (Bennett and Deutsch, 2003). This resulted in rises in bushmeat prices, increased gun use, and a change in number and proportions of animals hunted, and a crash in off take in the fifth year. By the end of 3 years, no large mammals were found within 6 km of the village and the number of guns rose by 30% in a period of three years. In this study, gun use was related to the calendar, but not season and increased towards the end of the year.

Seasonality in hunting patterns is a known occurrence in hunting sites. In QECA and RMNP, hunting was commonest during the wet season. This was presumably the time when animals become less concentrated around water sources but more likely to stray out into the neighboring villages. In MFCA, and perhaps Kafu Basin as well, hunting may be common during the dry season because the hunters are less pre-occupied in their gardens and there is a greater scarcity of stew. In all sites and mostly MFCA, off take increases at the end of the year coincident with the end-of-year festivities, testimony to surrendered poachers' submission that bushmeat demand is high at this time and hence their request for legalization of hunting then. Climatic and holiday peaking has been reported in sites across Africa where commercial bushmeat trade is not intensive. In the Mbam Djerem National Park in Cameroon, Bennett and Deutsch (2003), reported peaking during the rainy season and around the end-of-year celebrations, and Owusu *et al.*, (2006) reported climatic peaks in the Afadjato and Agumatsa Conservation Area in Ghana. Park managers can use an understanding of seasonality to plan law enforcement activities or to design collaborative management options based on licensing hunting.

Occurrence of a link between human-wildlife conflicts observed in this study is not surprising. In eastern and southern Africa, it has been shown that increases of associated demand for land to undertake agricultural and livestock production have raised such antagonism to the level of illegal hunting of problem animals (Barnett, 2000). It is possible that such antagonism may be rising in the Kafu Basin where land use conversion and habitat modification appear to be increasing. One way to reduce such antagonism, shown to be effective, is supply of game meat to affected communities (Barnett, 2000). Game meat derived from problem animal culling in many cases represents the only form of direct and tangible compensation that communities receive for wildlife damage caused to property, crops and human lives (Barnett, 2000).

The need for bushmeat, the need to make money, and hunting in response to human-wildlife conflict as factors driving illegal hunting are complicated by the attitude that wildlife is free and limitless. Many hunter groups interviewed believed that this was the case, except for RMNP where hunters suggested that animals are getting scarcer. Depletion combined with the low inherent productivity of forested habitats may indeed be the explanation for the relatively low off take observed in RMNP; whereas because QECA, Kafu Basin and MFCA are potentially more productive habitats, off take was found to be higher. The Kafu Basin in particular seems to fit into Robinson and Bennett's (2004) model where productivity can be expected to be highest as it is a mix of fairly intact but grazed patches of moist savanna and cultivation.

The view that wildlife is limitless appears widespread. In a survey in the Congo Basin, Eves (1996) found that 58.9% of respondents agreed with the statement that wildlife could not 'get finished' even if it is not protected by wildlife laws. In villages far from roads or development where wildlife was still relatively abundant as it was in cities far from the wildlife resource, she found that this was often the sentiment. That however was not the case in villages that had been hunted out. That lack of understanding may be shared by many non-biologists in general (Eves, 2006) and needs to be emphasized by community mobilization programs.

In part because of the attitude of limitlessness and inherent productivity, cultural norms are in themselves not sufficient to protect wildlife. Hunting restrictions and effective enforcement of those restrictions are needed to ensure sustainability. This study has shown that in general, poverty and cultural beliefs and attachment are the root causes of bushmeat use in Uganda. It has also shown that hunting is also driven by non-food uses of animal parts, human-wildlife conflict, and ranging of animals outside PA boundaries which make them easy targets. Limitations of law enforcement, habitat modification and conversion, and availability of the bushmeat market *also* fuel illegal hunting. Bushmeat solutions should aim at addressing these issues.

# 5. LESSONS AND CONCLUSIONS

## Meat consumption frequency

- Household survey results showed that most households (>90%) eat live-stock meat and fish but daily consumption is low (eaten in only 5-14 days in 100 days on average). Fewer households (5-32%) reported eating bushmeat. Among these households, bushmeat intake was low, eaten only in 1-12 days on average in 100 days. Among active hunters however, bushmeat intake seems very high, as it may be eaten daily. Bushmeat is therefore an important source of protein for households of hunters, but not for an average person in villages near hunting sites.
- On average, households that ate bushmeat tended to eat less domestic meat. However, their overall meat intake was equal to, and in some cases higher than that of households that did not report eating bushmeat.

## Trends in bushmeat demand, supply, and offtake

- Level of off take in protected areas is still high despite elevated conservation effort and the fact that hunting intensity may have reduced over the last few years. Traditional weapons still dominate the hunter's arsenal but use of guns occurs and is non-trivial.
- Bushmeat supply and demand have been more or less constant in the vil-lages in or near the study sites over the last five years but there is an indica-tion that these are both decreasing.
- Off take was highest in the unprotected Kafu Basin and lowest in forested RMNP. Therefore, important factors influencing off take appear to be i) level of law enforcement and ii) abundance of animal populations. Among the four field sites, wild animal population density is probably lowest in RMNP but high in the savanna sites.
- Other factors that can influence off take may only occur under the right conditions. Such conditions include i) lapses in law enforcement, ii) when human-wildlife conflicts increase as a result of increased movement of wildlife out of protected areas or when people encroach protected areas,

iii) when there is a breakdown of law and order, and iv) if political will for conservation wavers. Protected area planners need to take these conditions into account.

### **Socioeconomic status and cultural backgrounds of rural households that eat bushmeat**

- Rural people who ate bushmeat realized most of their incomes from farming, but their incomes were not on average lower than those of the people who did not report eating bushmeat; in fact they at times had higher incomes. People who realized most of their incomes from cattle and goats tended not to eat bushmeat. So, farmers tend to eat bushmeat while ranchers and pastoralists tended not to eat bushmeat.
- Among hunters, poverty is not a good predictor of who hunts. Around MFCA, hunters are richer than the average person in their villages, while among the farming community east of QECA, hunters are the poorest people in the community.
- The fact that farmers tend to eat bushmeat while cattle keepers do not suggests that use of bushmeat is in part determined by cultural attachment. This is reinforced by the fact that in some places, hunters are not necessarily always the poorest people in the community.
- Because of cultural variation:- size of land owned, wealth and assets owned, demographic situation of the family, duration of stay in a village, education level, household income are not good predictors of bushmeat use. Cultural totems and practices may determine the frequency of bushmeat consumption among social and cultural groups.

### **The relationship between human-wildlife conflict and bushmeat off take**

- Human-wildlife conflict is an endemic problem in and around major wildlife hunting sites
- Crop raiding and livestock raiding by wildlife are the main causes of this conflict. Wildlife attacks on humans are also another form of conflict but are rare.
- Human-wildlife conflict is a less important motive for hunting than the need for bushmeat and animal products. However, more than 30% of all hunting incidences may in part be related to crop raiding, and thus it should be considered one of the factors driving bushmeat use and availability
- Additionally, crop raiding ranks as the number two source of crop loss for farmers in and around study sites after unpredictable weather changes (or for some farmers around RMNP, declining soil fertility). It thus has the potential to drive illegal hunting.
- Around protected areas, almost as much hunting takes place outside

(40%) as it does inside. This suggests a high rate of animals coming out of protected areas, increasing the possibility of human-wildlife conflict and opportunities for bushmeat hunting. Unless such movements are controlled or illegal hunting brought down in the neighboring villages, hunting will continue to be a major drain on wildlife populations in protected areas.

- Solutions to bushmeat hunting should, to be effective include a component of solutions to crop raiding and other forms of human-wildlife conflict

## **Bushmeat trade**

- Trade in bushmeat does occur but is limited to animals hunted in the savanna/woodland sites. Animals hunted in RMNP are usually not traded.
- Trade of meat hunted around QECA is limited to the surrounding villages and townships. Occasionally, meat hunted in QECA is sold in the nearby DRC villages.
- Meat hunted in the Kafu Basin and MFCA is sold in the neighboring villages and townships, as well as further afield. Distant areas where the meat is sold include Kampala, Gulu, Lira, and Kitgum.
- Bushmeat is sold more cheaply than livestock meat. According to surrendered hunters, this is only because it is illegal. This is in contrast to what has been found elsewhere in the world where illegality tends to drive prices up because of the risk of getting caught (Elizabeth Bennett, personal communication). The bushmeat market was underground and bushmeat is never sold openly.
- Dealing in bushmeat can be a major source of livelihood, contributing as much as 95% of the total annual household income to some hunters and fetching dealers profits of over 30% of the cost price.

## **Factors determining meat choice**

- Cost may be a factor determining what meat households that have access to bushmeat buy.
- Other equally important factors at play are taste and preference. Households that eat bushmeat may prefer it to livestock meat for its perceived superior taste and perceived superior medicinal qualities.

## **Wider Issues**

- In the past, taboos and population density may have helped to regulate access by indigenous people to wildlife resources in the Kafu Basin. This situation is changing with increasing population density, human-wildlife conflict, and taboos being ignored by outside hunters.
- This trend is true of land use patterns as well. With a move towards intensive livestock keeping, conversion to sugarcane and tree plantations, and increase in small holder agriculture, land use conversion in the Kafu Basin is on the rise.

- For the Kafu Basin, there is need for a comprehensive collaborative approach. Such an approach has in the past been recommended by WCS for management of forest sites around Nouabale-Ndoki National Park in the Republic of Congo (Bennett and Deutsch 2003). The approach is about engaging all actors (in the Kafu Basin, engaging particularly private companies and individuals). This can significantly increase the land area for wildlife conservation. The approach includes law enforcement, environmental education, alternative activities, and research. One cannot be undertaken effectively without the others. Implementation requires technical support in program design and implementation, and transparent monitoring.
- Roads have been shown by several studies to drastically increase the probability of bushmeat offtake particularly in the Congo Basin (e.g. Bennet and Deutsche, 2003; Eves, 2006). The impact occurs when new roads are cut into intact forest for logging or mining, easing movement of hunters, weapons and bushmeat and yet movement of both hunters and bushmeat are relatively open in these situations. Impact of roads was not investigated in this study in part because the roads associated with the study sites are long established but also because bushmeat movement is typically clandestine. As such, we reckoned that a directed study may be needed to investigate effect of roads.



# 6. RECOMMENDATIONS

(See appendix 2 for solutions suggested by surrendered poacher groups)

## Further Research

For all areas, it has been shown that hunting for therapeutic and medicinal purposes drives hunting on top of the obvious need for bushmeat. It is therefore imperative to further investigate nutritional and medicinal properties of bushmeat types to obtain information that can be used to change attitudes if findings suggest that the beliefs are false, and where supported by scientific evidence should form a basis for rationalizing usage. There is also need for more research to increase understanding of urban bushmeat trade, understand constraints to implementation of existing wildlife law, and identify policy gaps. More research also needs to be undertaken in other major protected areas to determine intensity of offtake and major drivers. Areas north of MFNP, around LMNP (Lake Mburo National Park) and KVNP (Kidepo Valley National Park) should be priority areas because they contain the next largest concentrations of game preferably hunted for bushmeat. Beyond assessing offtake and drivers, there is need for more research in all sites to determine the sustainability of current levels of offtake and what offtake levels are potentially sustainable.

The Kafu Basin in particular has attracted little scientific interest up to this point, yet it serves as a real opportunity to explore and demonstrate ways in which conservation can work in a human-influenced landscape. There is urgent need to conduct species inventories and wildlife surveys in this area to understand species diversity, habitat needs, and wildlife population sizes to support rational use and management. In particular, there is need to understand:

- Nutritional sources, breeding requirements, and space requirements of wildlife dominating the Kafu Basin
- Types and extents of human-wildlife conflicts
- Current land use types and management trends including fire regimes, extractive uses, and habitat change
- Traditional values that people attach to wildlife
- Rancher/pastoralist-hunter relationships to see how the two can work together for mutual benefit and to the benefit of conservation

- Community perceptions about how use of game ranching, licensing hunting, and introduction of tourism can work as incentives to encourage wildlife conservation
- Bushmeat movement into urban markets, volumes and mechanics of the trade
- Interactions between plantations (sugarcane and pine) and wildlife. In particular, understanding ways in which wildlife negatively impacts plantation management, ways in which wildlife benefits from plantations, and the extent to which plantations serve as wildlife sinks. This information is important for planning how to incorporate aspects of wildlife management into plantation management.
- Economic and environmental value of integrating wildlife management into land use practices here as opposed to total conversion to alternative uses

## **Intervention Actions**

- i) Law enforcement – there is need for sustained law enforcement effort as this is the main deterrent to illegal hunting. Specific aspects of law enforcement that need to be strengthened include the following: a) improving both the physical and technical capacity of UWA to manage hunting and illegal trade. Technical capacity is about field staff having the necessary knowledge and skills to do their job effectively, and physical capacity is about the management agencies having the necessary numbers of staff and equipment to allow the job to be done effectively. The technical aspect that needs improvement is intelligence gathering. UWA's community conservation and monitoring rangers should be trained on gathering information on hunting incidences, movement, and trade in wildlife products. Feedback from UWA personnel directly involved in this project suggests that this training could make a big difference to their effectiveness. The physical aspect is about increasing ranger numbers to control new threats, such as increasing use of guns for illegal hunting in QECA and the Kafu Basin. Private gun owners, security forces, and wildlife rangers are all potential sources of guns used in illegal hunting. Also, there is need to expand law enforcement to areas that are not being effectively covered, such as the two large Central Forest Reserves in Nakaseke district, b) responding to hunting hotspots. Some of the hotspots identified in this study are: Miduuma parish in the Kafu Basin (for hippos), as well as the Kinyogoga area, Kiryana Farm, and Lugogo swamp all in the Kafu Basin; and the Kanungu and Rukungiri areas adjacent QECA and Rwenshama enclave, Kazinga channel area, Kikorongo area, and Katwe area in QECA, and c) strengthening ability to track long distance movement of bushmeat using modern technologies. Experience from other countries suggests that use of molecular techniques can be informative in determining nature of urban trade and bushmeat hotspots. Sniffer dogs have also been used to detect bushmeat movement. Both of these techniques would pay off if used here.

- ii) Human-wildlife conflict – there is need to set up barriers and use wildlife guards to keep animals inside protected areas, with priority given to major points of exit from protected areas. This should be helped by as much as possible, discouraging communities from planting crops highly palatable to wildlife near protected area edges.
- iii) Community mobilization – there is need for more environmental education, teaching people about wildlife values with local examples of how people are benefitting from wildlife. Local unfounded beliefs about medicinal and supernatural values of wildlife should be discouraged where these lead to illegal hunting. People need further sensitization about where hunting is not permitted and penalties that go with specific wildlife crimes. Community leaders should be encouraged to take lead in implementation of wildlife laws among their communities and should be answerable for violations of the law among the communities they serve. High level politicians should give political support to the lower cadres in the villages to enforce the wildlife law. There is need to educate security forces on the laws governing wildlife. There is need to maintain the signature campaign under which poachers are surrendering, and to help poachers live normal lives by supporting their projects. There is also need to recruit big plantation owners as partners of conservation and to increase positive interactions between people and parks by facilitating communities to visit parks
- iv) Alternatives – results from this study have shown that it is usually small scale farmers that hunt and consume bushmeat, whereas pastoralists and ranchers tend not to. Households of hunters depend on bushmeat more than the other households in rural areas. There is need to help hunters' households with alternative meat and income sources. Licensing hunting for “big” days such as Christmas has been suggested by surrendered hunters from MFCA as a solution to illegal hunting and small animal projects (piggeries, goat keeping, and poultry) would potentially serve the multiple purposes of employment, income generation, and meat solutions. UWA should be open to some level of community hunting with quotas provided illegal hunting is brought under control and animal populations have sufficiently recovered. It may also be useful to consider the possibility of farming certain species – cane rats, duikers, porcupines, bushbucks. For pastoralists and ranchers, there is need to work towards solutions for wildlife attacks on livestock and to move towards increasing benefits from wildlife to those who own areas rich in wildlife. Some of the benefits include ranching and licensing hunting, live trade, carbon trade, and tourism
- v) Strategic planning- there is need for a strategic plan for utilization of wildlife rich but privately owned landscapes such as the Kafu Basin. Such a plan should incorporate wildlife management into land use planning, integrating elements of maintaining resources key to wildlife with managing conflicts and off take. This should be spearheaded by district administrations and involve conservation and development partners.

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# APPENDICES

**Appendix 1:** Species hunted and reasons for hunting as given by respondents during the household survey. Values represent numbers of respondents that cited the species for a specific reason.

## a) MFCA

MFCA						
	CR	Attacking people	LSR	Meat	Medicine	Wichcraft
Baboon	70		3	2		
Bush pig	69	2	1	35		
Vervet monkey	62		4	1		
Guinea fowl	35			25		
Squirrel	35			11		
Cane rat	15		1	14		
Porcupine	8			4		
Reedbuck	6			5		
Francolin	5			6		
Uganda kob	4			7		
Rabbit	4			3		
Gray-crowned crane	3					
Bushbuck	2			10		
Kite	2	1	27			
Warthog	2	2	1	5		
Buffalo	1	6		10		
Chimpanzee	1					
Duiker	1	1		8		
Eagle	1		1			
Giant forest hog	1					
Jackal	1		7			
Mole rat	1					
Monitor lizard	1		1		1	
Oribi	1			4		
Pangolin	1					

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Appendix 1a continued

<b>MFCA</b>						
	<b>CR</b>	<b>Attacking people</b>	<b>LSR</b>	<b>Meat</b>	<b>Medicine</b>	<b>Wichcraft</b>
Waterbuck	1			1		
Wild cat	1	1	23			
Abdim stork			1			
Banded mongoose			2			
Crocodile		6		1	1	
Dikdik				1		
Elephant		1		4		
Hippopotamus		1				
Hyena			2			1
Leopard		1	4			
Marabou stork			1			
Mongoose			6			
Python		6	4	3		
Serval cat			1			
Sitatunga				1		
Topi				1		
Weaver birds			1			
White tailed mongoose			11	2		
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>336</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>

**b) Kafu Basin**

<b>Kafu Basin</b>			
	<b>CR</b>	<b>LSR</b>	<b>Meat</b>
Bushbuck	43		67
Bush pig	34		43
Duiker	8		73
Leopard	5	9	1
Crocodile	4		
Porcupine	4		4
Vervet monkey	2		
Guinea fowl	1		5
Jackal	1	8	
Python	1	5	
Reedbuck	1		57
Cane rat			1
Common civet		1	

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Appendix 1b continued

<b>Kafu Basin</b>			
	<b>CR</b>	<b>LSR</b>	<b>Meat</b>
Hippopotamus			2
Oribi			82
Serval cat		1	
Sitatunga			16
Squirrel			1
Warthog			22
Waterbuck			3
White tailed mongoose		2	
<b>Total</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>378</b>

c) QECA

<b>QECA</b>				
<b>Species</b>	<b>CR</b>	<b>Attacking people</b>	<b>Lsraiding</b>	<b>Meat</b>
Bush pig	70	1		20
Baboon	43		2	
Guinea fowl	15			34
Buffalo	12	12		29
Uganda kob	12	2		74
Vervet monkey	8		1	1
Rt monkey	5			
Elephant	4			1
Rats	4			9
Cane rat	3			12
Blue monkey	2			
Giant forest hog	2			6
Squirrel	2			
Bird pests	1			
Civet cat	1			1
Hippopotamus	1			27
Lion	1	1	6	
Monkey	1			
Predatory birds	1			1
Warthog	1			22
W. tailed mong.	1		17	21
Wild cat	1		22	12
Banded mongoose				1

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Appendix 1c continued

QECA				
Species	CR	Attacking people	Lsraiding	Meat
Bushbuck				8
Duiker				14
Eagle			5	
Francolin				11
Hyena			14	1
Hyrax				4
Jackal			1	
Kite			5	2
Leopard		13	12	
Mongoose			32	2
Monitor lizard		2		
Otter				3
Python			6	1
Rabbit				3
Slender mongoose			2	13
Waterbuck				1
White browed Coucal				
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>334</b>

d) RMNP

RMNP								
	Attack LS	Crop raiding	Attack people	Meat	Dog meat	Honey harvesting	Witchcraft	Medicinal
Vervet monkey	2	267		207				
Squirrel	5	244		111	5			
Cane rat	2	120		194	2			
Blue monkey	1	61		39	1			
Bird	3	50		53				
Bush pig		42		51				
Guinea fowl	1	41		132				
Francolin	2	37		210				
Chimpanzee		22		21		1		2
Porcupine		18		23				
Rt monkey		9		35				
Baboon		8		7				
Mouse bird		7		17				
Mongoose	277	6		22	82			
Bush rat		6						

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Appendix 1d continued

RMNP								
	Attack LS	Crop raiding	Attack people	Meat	Dog meat	Honey harvesting	Witchcraft	Medicinal
Rats		6		3				
Jackal	8	3		2	2			
Duiker		3		4				
Hyrax		2		21				
Wild cat	54	1		7	31			
Fox	5	1		1				
Bush rats		1						
Bushbuck		1		2				
Bushrats		1						
Mouse		1		1				
Red colobus monkey		1		1				
White tailed mongoose	95			94				
Slender mongoose	28			28				
Mongoose	11							
Eagle	7			2				
Kite	7							
Serval cat	7			2	1			
Leopard	6		6					
Otter	1			1				
Birds				3				
Buffalo				2				
Black-and-white colobus				1				
Civet cat					1			
Monkeys				3	1			
Ratel							1	
Red colobus monkey				10				
Reedbuck				25				
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>522</b>	<b>959</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1335</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>

**Appendix 2:** Solutions to the problem of illegal hunting as suggested by surrendered poacher groups

Solution	Number of times cited			
	QECA	MFCA	RMNP	Total
Strengthen law enforcement (increase number of rangers and ranger outposts, shoot to kill policy for poachers, increase intelligence)		5		5
Increase conservation awareness (awareness of how the park benefits communities, of the wildlife law, and of impacts of hunting) and other community conservation programs	5	3	1	9
Strengthen and maintain the signature campaign (also use ex-poachers to do the campaign)		2		2
Facilitate surrendered poachers (by helping them develop and finance their income-generating projects like goat production, piggeries, and others)	5	7	1	13
Help find good markets for produce	2	1		3
License us and give us priority to fish or give us fish ponds	2			2
Employ more people in the local community (as rangers, etc)		4	1	5
Employ surrendered poachers to do park intelligence	1	2		3
Address the issue of poverty (at the moment, they can't afford alternative meat sources, some have little land, no access to loans, few alternatives for raising money for house hold needs)	4	2	1	7
Strengthen basic education (by building more schools to reduce cost of travel to primary and secondary schools)	3	1	1	5
Give us vocational training	1			1
Give us sources of alternative meat (like goat and pigs, poultry and others)	4	2	2	8
Publicise park laws and regulations	1			1
Address the issue of land degradation (declining soil fertility is reducing land productivity; this forces people to find alternative means of survival)			2	2
Give volunteering executives of surrendered poachers certificates	1		1	2
Support us when there is drought (because crops fail and this forces us to poach to earn a living)	2			2
License local community hunting for major public holidays (e.g. Christmas, New year, Easter as bushmeat is considered a delicacy, and therefore a treat on these days)		4		4
Strengthen park-community ties (by wardens visiting communities more frequently and organizing community visits to the park to enable them appreciate it)		2		2
*Allow people to rear wild animals (on their farms or ranches)		1		1
*Address the issue of crop raiding using barriers and compensation	1	1		2
*Address the issue of human-wildlife conflict	1			1

**Appendix 3:** Genera and latin names of species cited in the document

Common name	Genus/Latin name
Abdim Stork	<i>Ciconia abdimii</i>
Advaark	<i>Orycteropus afer</i>
African golden cat	<i>Felis aurata</i>
African wild cat	<i>Felis libyca</i>
African-hawk eagle	<i>Hieraaetus spilogaster</i>
Baboon	<i>Papio anubis</i>
Black-and-White Colobus	<i>Colobus guereza</i>
Blue monkey	<i>Cercopithecus mitis</i>
Buffalo	<i>Sycerus caffer</i>
Bushbuck	<i>Tragelaphus scriptus</i>
Bushpig	<i>Potamochoerus larvatus</i>
Cane Rat	<i>Thryonomys swynderianus</i>
Caracal	<i>Felis caracal</i>
Chimpanzee	<i>Pan troglodytes</i>
Civet	<i>Genetta genetta</i>
Crocodile	<i>Crocodilus niloticus</i>
Dikdik	<i>Madoqua kirkii</i>
Duck	<i>Plectropterus gambensis, Dendrocygna viduata</i>
Duiker	<i>Cephalophus spp, Sylvicapra grimmia</i>
Elephant	<i>Loxodonta africana</i>
Fox	<i>Otocyon megalotis</i>
Francolin	<i>Pternistis spp.</i>
Giant forest hog	<i>Hylochoerus meinertzhageni</i>
Giraffe	<i>Giraffa camelopardis</i>
Goshawk	<i>Melierax canorus</i>
Guinea Fowl	<i>Numida spp</i>
Hadada Ibis	<i>Bostrychia hagedash</i>
Hare	<i>Lepus spp.</i>
Hartebeest	<i>Alcelaphus buselaphus jacksoni</i>
Heron	<i>Not identified</i>
Hippopotamus	<i>Hippopotamus amphibius</i>
Hyrax	<i>Procavia capensis; Heterohyrax brucei</i>
Jackal	<i>Canis spp.</i>
Black kite	<i>Milvus migrans</i>
Uganda kob	<i>Kobus kob thomasi</i>
Leopard	<i>Panthera pardus</i>
Lion	<i>Panthera leo</i>
Marabou stork	<i>Leptoptilos crumeniferus</i>
Mongoose	<i>Herpestes sp., Ichneumia sp., Mungos sp.</i>

continued on next page

Appendix 3 continued

Common name	Genus/Latin name
Oribi	<i>Ourebia ourebi</i>
Pangolin	<i>Manis temminckii</i>
Porcupine	<i>Hystrix africaeaustralis</i>
Potto	<i>Perodicticus potto</i>
Python	<i>Python sebae</i>
Reedbuck	<i>Redunca sp</i>
Rtmonkey	<i>Cercopithecus ascanius</i>
Serval cat	<i>Felis serval</i>
Shoebill stork	<i>Balaeniceps rex</i>
Sitatunga	<i>Tragelaphus spekei</i>
Spotted hyena	<i>Crocuta crocuta</i>
Squirrel	<i>Heliosciurus spp.</i>
Topi	<i>Damaliscus topi</i>
Vervet monkey	<i>Cercopithecus aethiops</i>
Warthog	<i>Phacochoerus sp</i>
Waterbuck	<i>Kobus ellipsiprymnus defassa</i>



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