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Nesting REDD+ into Integrated Conservation and Development Projects: what empirical lessons can be drawn?

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Abstract

There are diverse lessons that subnational projects designed to reduce emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+) should learn from previous or existing integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs). An empirical understanding of how ICDP lessons on community engagement could inform REDD+ implementation is necessary especially if REDD+ policies/projects are to achieve effective forest resource governance in the context of climate change. This paper develops and applies a lesson learning framework to identify and describe lessons that the Kasigau REDD+ project adopts from a governmental national park and a nongovernmental World vision in Taita Taveta County, Kenya. Data was collected through triangulating projects' designs with field interviews and discussions. Twenty four (24) ICDP lessons, both positive and negative, were identified. The REDD+ project adopted some of the positive lessons such as community networking and local institutional choices to improve community representation in implementing activities. However, for excluding community input into its globally-linked design, the project appeared to maintain the top-down intervening approach as the ICDPs. The process of adopting ICDP lessons was however complicated by lack of collaborative engagement between the REDD+ and ICDP projects. This allowed the local community to convey lessons between the projects, inevitably giving room for certain community expectations that overshadow emission reduction objectives, create conflicts between UNFCCC and community expectations and most importantly, result in poor connectedness between the project and state institutions that the community perceive negatively. Poor linkage with the state institution is a critical threat to the project's sustainability because state-led reforms on land may not recognize the project's agenda. We conclude that ICDP lessons can only be useful if the process of adopting such lessons is clear and cognisant of relevant stakeholders such as the state. This is vital if subnational REDD+ projects are to be sustainable and informative to national and global policies.

Keywords: ecosystem services; resilience; vulnerability; coastal zone management; sustainable development; natural resource management

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1.0. Introduction

Reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+) provides a global institutional framework that incorporates historical afforestation and reforestation efforts into carbon markets with the aim of tackling climate change in developing countries. Conceptually, REDD+ is justified on the basis that deforestation and forest degradation, especially in developing countries, account for approximately 17% of annual greenhouse gas emissions at an approximate rate of 5.8 Gt per year (IPCC, 2007).

Apart from their climate change role, forests have been and are still part of livelihood and development strategies for most rural communities in developing countries (FAO, 2010). In the light of demographic and ecological changes, integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs) continue to play a crucial role in conserving forests and agricultural landscapes while promoting sustainable development (Minang & van Noordwijk, 2013). Somewhat similar to REDD+, the aim of ICDPs is to streamline resource governance and achieve conservation and human development goals in the land use sectors (Brandon and Wells, 2009). ICDPs take various forms ranging from protected areas (Peluso, 2003) and community forestry (Boyd et al., 2007) to sustainable use and co-management (Minang and Van-Noodwijk, 2013). Regardless of their nature, past and ongoing work and experiences with these ICDPs inevitably influence the way REDD+ is and will be perceived, accepted or judged at various levels. In any case, REDD+ projects aims to engage the same communities and sometimes the same forest management strategies and actors (Cerbu et al., 2011; Blom et al., 2010; Sills et al., 2009) to operationalize its market-linked emission reduction procedures. Such procedures include safeguard requirements on rights and equity (appendix 1/CP16; Streck, 2012, Vatn and Angelsen, 2009). Community expectations, built from the ICDP work, reportedly shape local receptiveness to new projects (Abbot et al., 2001). An empirical understanding of the community engagement lessons and the process of adopting these lessons is crucial for reconciling global and local expectations of REDD+ (Linkie et al., 2008). In this paper community engagement has been structured into three components including engagement in project design (design-

engagement), engagement in activity implementation (activity-engagement) and engagement in benefits and benefit sharing (benefit-engagement).

Existing literature theorizes community engagement lessons based on technical and institutional matches between REDD+ and ICDPs. Technical lessons about designing certain monitoring practices and livelihood technologies are reportedly useful to REDD+ (Blom et al., 2010). In some instances, ICDPs have defined the spatial scope of their activities in various ways e.g. watershed, catchment, micro-catchment and Integrated Programme Areas. Such spatial definitions provide system flow and integration of activities across landscape (ref xx) REDD+ projects may build and improve on such spatial approaches establishing clear objectives around emissions reductions, community consultation and benefit sharing. Clearly delineated target areas, is one way to facilitate effective and efficient monitoring of outcomes in projects (Wertz-Kanounnikoff et al., 2008). However, such boundary prescriptions have been linked to restriction and exclusion of local people from accessing livelihood resources from forests, parks and with adverse livelihood implications (Wells, 2003; Wells and Mcshane, 2004; Schaik & Kramer, 1997).

Institutionally, ICDP experiences may provide useful knowledge on participation and adaptive management of natural resources upon which REDD+ can build (Brandon and Wells, 2009, Murdiyarso et al., 2012). Knowledge and capacity generated through ICDPs also provide networks that can potentially catalyze the ability of REDD+ projects to achieve mitigation and local livelihood goals (Mahanty and McDermott, 2013). ICDPs, especially nongovernmental ones, build an array of networks within communities (Baral and Stern, 2011), and such networks have commonly been deployed by subsequent projects as effective ways to gain community acceptance of new projects and technological solutions. However, they can also act as conduits for creating local elitism in which particular people become the only legitimate entry points, shaping the nature and contents of initiatives (Atela, 2012). Elite capture may be exacerbated if REDD+ projects, in their broader institutional setting, fail to recognize the heterogeneity of community in participation and benefits sharing (Blom et al., 2010) and fail to address equity issues (Brown et al., 2008; Wunder, 2008). Additionally, ICDP institutional networks are sometimes not legitimized and/or recognized within national institutions and this often constrains the

ability of ICDPs to achieve desired goals, such as addressing the drivers of deforestation (Linkie et al., 2008; Kremen et al., 2000). As such, REDD+ should utilize its broader scale linkages to promote institutional connectedness with state, global and other relevant stakeholders in addressing the drivers of deforestation and correcting some negative community engagement experiences (Blom et al., 2010). Institutional lessons around actor connectedness and stakeholder consultation are key in the process of adopting lessons (Minang and van-Noodwijk, 2013) and usefully shape the ability of REDD+, in contrast to ICDPs, to achieve shifts in resource governance. The foregoing theoretical literature is useful but empirical evidence is needed to verify the practicality of lesson learning and the process through which lessons are adopted.

This paper aims to provide evidence on the lessons that a governmental national park and a nongovernmental World vision provide for a globally linked REDD+ project 'the Kasigau Corridor REDD+ project' and analyze the process through which these lessons are or are not adopted. The specific objectives of the paper are: 1) to assess design differences and overlaps between the REDD+ and ICDP projects; 2) to identify lessons from the ICDP project and whether they are adopted or not 3) to analyze the process of correcting negative ICDP lessons and associated implications for the REDD+ project; 4) to analyse how the ICDP lessons relate to the UNFCCC and community expectations of a REDD+ project. A mixed method approach was used to collect and analyse and interview data alongside project documents. The findings and analysis in this study contributes empirical evidence to the emerging literature on governing the implementation of REDD+. REDD+ preparatory work in Kenya and elsewhere can also directly or indirectly benefit from the evidence presented here. The case projects and methods employed in data collection are described in the next section. Results and discussions then follow.

2.0. Cases and Methods

2.1. *Case study projects*

Kasigau Corridor REDD+ project: the Kasigau project was selected as a suitable REDD+ project, drawing on an initial mapping of REDD+ projects in Kenya (Atela et

al., 2014). The project is internationally accredited using the Voluntary Carbon Standard (VCS) and the Climate Community and Biodiversity Standard (CCBS) (Wildlife Works, 2011). The standards legitimise the project internationally (see e.g. Kollmuss et al., 2008; Hamilton and Marcello, 2010) meaning that analysis of this project should generate applicable lessons for other projects in different contexts but guided by similar standards. The project is located in Taita –Taveta County, Kenya and has engaged with the local community since 2006 to conserve a 500,000 acre dry-land forest corridor linking Tsavo East and Tsavo West National parks, the two largest wildlife protection areas in Kenya. The protected forest constitutes a mix of protected private forested land, community owned group ranches (50 to 2500 members per ranch), and community trust lands (Wildlife-Works, 2011). The project is the first in Africa to sell verified emissions credits and share out carbon revenues with the community subject to experiences with existing ICDPs. The performance target for the project is to avoid emissions of 49,300,000 tons of carbon (Wildlife-Works 2011) and adhere to community engagement requirements set by both the UNFCCC (appendix 1/CP16) and the CCBS (Wildlife-Works, 2008).

Tsavo National park and World vision ICDP project: The projects were selected as suitable ICDPs with potential lessons for REDD+ due to their differentiated institutional alignments i.e. state and non-state actors, long term interaction with local communities and their conservation and livelihood agendas. The park overlaps the Kasigau Corridor Project area over about 24,000 sq. km and comprises Tsavo East (2°S, 38°E) and Tsavo West (2°S, 37° E), two of the biggest wildlife protection areas in Kenya. The park aims to conserve wildlife and biodiversity by regulating human activities such hunting, cropping and collection of wood products in the protected areas and at the same time fund? development through touristic revenues (Kabiri, 2010). The Kenyan government, through the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS), is the proponent of the park and has deployed game wardens to guard against illegal intrusion and mediate community-wildlife interactions. The park engages the local community based on legislative provisions e.g. 2004 and 2007 wildlife amendment acts (GoK, 2004, GoK, 2007) that expect the community to report encroachment cases and in return benefit from employment opportunities, compensation and development from the national government. Parks in many developing countries are managed by governments (Peluso, 1993) who are also expected to coordinate

national REDD and so lessons generated from this analysis could be widely applied. The World Vision project in contrast is implemented by World Vision, a Christian nongovernmental organization operating internationally in over 100 countries. The World vision project has been operating in the Kaisgau area since 1999. The project applies Integrated Program Areas (IPAs), in which local individuals, groups and institutions (schools, churches, hospitals) are engaged in integrated development and conservation activities such as food for conservation, hospital and water supply projects, soil and water management and tree planting. The World Vision project is supported through international aid/donors in a similar way to most nongovernmental ICDPs in developing settings (Wells and Mcshane, 2004). Reasonably generalizable lessons for REDD+ can therefore be drawn from this case study because most REDD+ projects in different places are likely to encounter such externally funded ICDPs.

2.2. *Framework for analysis*

The lesson learning framework uses process and outcome analysis to identify and describe lessons from the ICDPs (Fig 1). The process analysis generates a range of both positive and negative lessons that can be learnt from ICDPs. The REDD+ project, in adopting, correcting, maintaining or streamlining lessons, employs a range of strategies and brings together certain actors subject to UNFCCC design standards and community expectations. The implications of the lessons and the process employed in taking up the lessons are analysed here within a broader policy context to allow for recommendations to the UNFCCC, national REDD+ institutions and project developers.

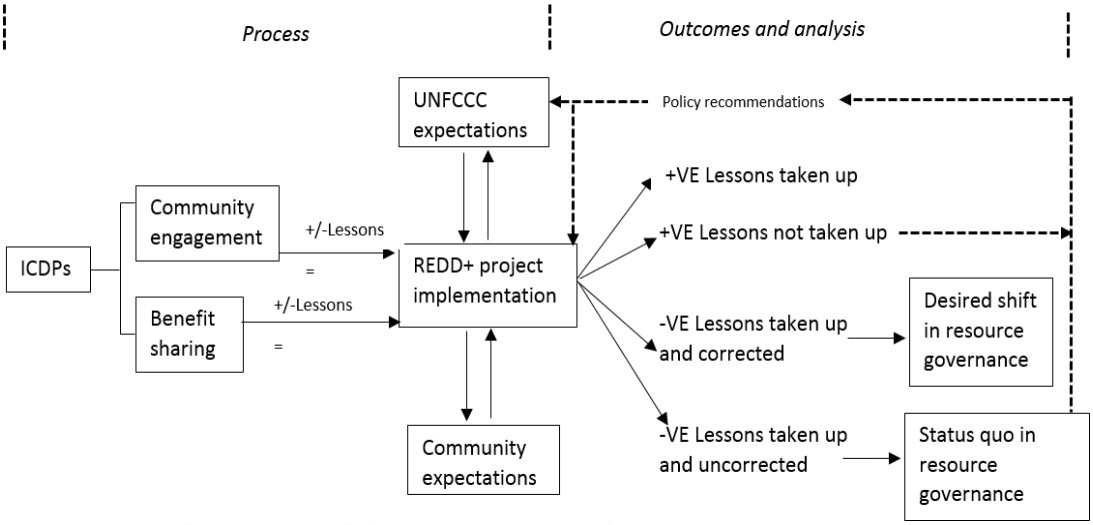

Figure 1. Study conceptual design. Source: author

2.3. *Data collection*

An initial scoping study (Atela, 2013) found at http://steps-centre.org/wp-content/uploads/Governing-REDD+.pdf took place from January to March, 2012 to identify the projects and their socio-ecological context and linkages. Detailed data collection was executed in the second phase, August to October, 2013 during which time, the REDD+ project had received carbon revenue which was being shared out subject to community experiences and expectations emanating from experiences with the case ICDPs.

In the detailed data collection, a comparative analysis of the design of the REDD+ and the two ICDP projects was first undertaken through document review and interview with project staff (n=4). Relevant staff and documents aligned to various project components were selected using a snowball technique. Snowball technique aided the identifying and contacting of hidden documents and populations that links to the project design (see e.g. Atkinson & Flint, 2001).

The project features considered in the design comparison were objectives, conditions for achieving these objectives and expectations for community engagement. These features usefully shape the projects' implementation and lessons sharing in practice (Minang and van-Noodwijk, 2013). The comparative analysis specifically highlighted differences and overlaps in the project's designs and the implications for lesson sharing between REDD+ and ICDP projects.

The Kasigau and Maungu villages, which are among the six villages covered by the project were selected as study sites. A rapid rural appraisal process (Chambers, 1981), bringing together REDD+ project extension staff and community informants informed the site selection process. The villages were purposefully selected on the basis of their close engagement in the both the REDD+ and ICDP projects. Households and stakeholders living and working in these villages would be more likely to be able to give an account of the lessons that ICDP present to the REDD+ project. The two villages have an arid agro-ecology (FAO, 2002) with a 38 year average rainfall of 370.8 mm p.a. (Kenya Meteorological Department, 2012). The villages are naturally rich in wildlife resources and are overlapped by the largest wildlife conservancies in Kenya. However, a rapid rural appraisal revealed that the

villages experience major vulnerabilities, including water scarcity and poor land productivity. The crop drought vulnerability index for the villages is 1.014, higher than half of the 47 Counties of Kenya (Atela et al., 2014). The villages constitute a mix of ethnic tribes including Taitas, Durubas and Kambas and Swahilis, all of whom pursue various livelihoods strategies ranging from small scale agriculture, ranching and charcoal burning but are also engaged in the REDD+ project and the case ICDPs in different ways (Fig 2). Most ICDPs in the area are mainly involved in wildlife conservation, ecotourism small enterprises and poverty eradication. The two villages represent 33% of the REDD+ and ICDP projects' geographical coverage within Taita Taveta County.

Field interviews and discussions with community members working with the case projects were then executed in the two villages. One hundred out of 506 households living in the villages were randomly sampled for interviews. The sample represented a 19.8% sampling intensity, higher than the rule of the thumb ratio of 20-30 households for a population of 100-500 households recommended in Angelsen et al. (2011). Village elders in each village first stratified the households into low, middle and high wealth categories based on their understanding and records of household assets such as land size, livestock numbers and educational capabilities (van Vliet, 2010). Households belonging to low-wealth (n=38), middle-wealth (n= 33) and high-wealth (n=29) were then randomly and proportionally (with consideration of gender and clan representation) drawn from the village-wide household lists. The households had varying livelihood assets (Table 1) and were linked to the REDD+ and ICDPs projects either as committee or group members (Figure 2).

Table 1: Household livelihood characteristics

Household characteristic	Mean ±S.E. (n=100)	Mode (n=100)
Village (Kasigau=0, Maungu=1)	0.50±0.05	0.50
Household size	6.33 ±0.24	6.00
Gender (Male=0, Female=1)	0.61±0.08	1
Age	47.26±1.37	36.00
Land size	3.95±0.34	3.5
Land ownership (Title deed=2, Allotment letter=1, 0=Customary)	0.86±0.29	0
Land acquisition (Inheritance=3, Purchase=2, Allocation=1)	2.36±0.19	3
Main livelihood (farming=0, non-farming = 1)	0.53±0.05	0
Livestock numbers (cows)	1.4±0.28	0.00
Mean Income level (Ksh/month)	4826±600.5	3000
Mena expenditure (Ksh/month)	5302±238.74	6944.07
Education (illiterate=0, primary=1, secondary = 2	1.29±0.01	1
Number of associations to which the household belongs	0.83±0.09	1
Association type (none=0,local=1, sub-national=2, National=3)	0.95±0.10	1
Water access (Less than 5km=0, above 5km=1)	0.34±0.05	0

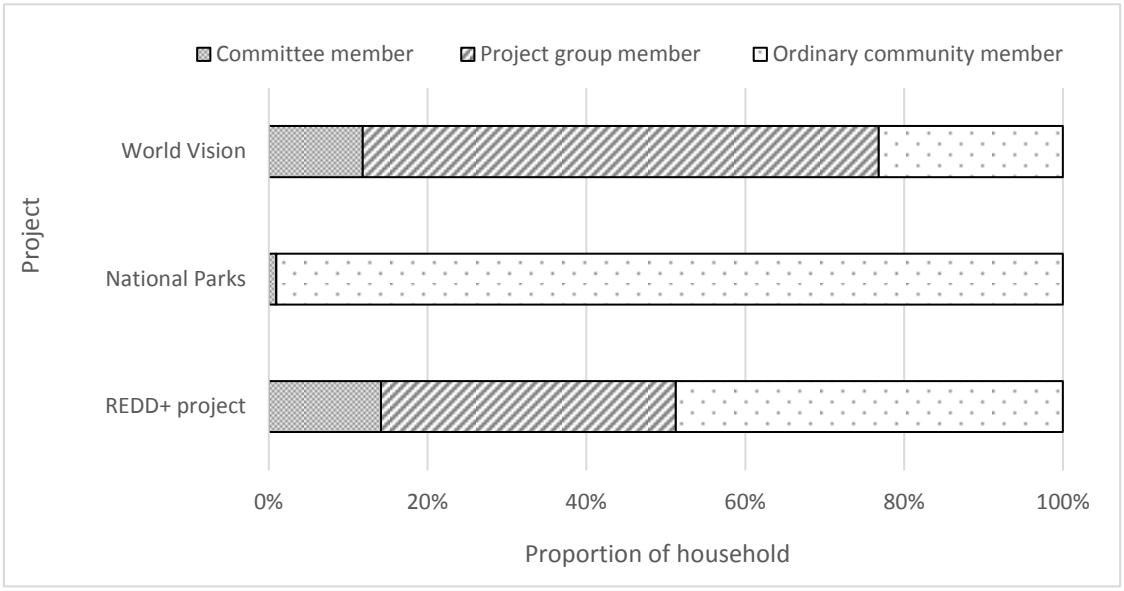

Figure 2: Role of respondents in the projects

The households were interviewed using semi-structured questionnaires. The respondents were first asked to state and explain the key ways in which the REDD+ project differs from each of the ICDP projects in terms of community engagement. Allowing respondents to differentiate between the REDD+ project and the ICDPs usefully opened up respondents towards clarifying more in-depth experiences relevant to the REDD+ project. Community engagement was structured into design, implementation and outcomes (Text box 1).

Text box 1: community engagement components

- *Community engagement in initial design (design-engagement):* the level to which the community is consulted when projects are being designed and introducing these design activities.
- *Community engagement in activity implementation (activity-engagement):* the level to which community members are consulted and trained to implement projects' activities
- *Benefits and benefit sharing (benefit-engagement): the nature of livelihood impacts, whether direct/indirect or tangible/intangible and the ways in which the local people access these livelihood benefits.*

Respondents then listed three key positive and negative experiences they had with the ICDPs and how the REDD+ project is responding to these experiences. Specifically, the respondents highlighted if the REDD+ project was repeating the same negative/positive experiences or doing things differently. Respondents were also asked to state their ideal expectations of the REDD+ project. A frequency list of household experiences, whether negative or positive, and expectations was generated then triangulated into lessons through focus group discussions (FGDs) (see e.g. Thurmond, 2004). The discussion groups (n=4 two in each village) comprised of purposefully sampled village elders/community resource persons (n=12) and representatives of various community groups (n=15). In the discussions, each experience was discussed, verified, judged and appropriately assigned as a logical lesson to the REDD+ project. The lessons were specifically assigned to four categories, which incorporate responses from the REDD+ project (i.e. whether corrected or uncorrected):

a. 'Adopted +ve' depicting positive lessons that the REDD+ project has taken up,
b. 'Potential +ve' depicting positive lessons that the project has not taken up yet are useful in the context of REDD+ design and community expectations
c. 'Corrected –ve' depicting negative lessons the project has taken up and corrected
d. 'Uncorrected –ve' depicting negative lessons adopted without efforts to reverse.

The discussions further identified the interventions and actors involved in correcting the negative lessons. The process of correcting negative experiences leverages possible ways in which REDD+ can streamline resource governance and help steer REDD+ from repeating the same mistakes by the ICDPs (Minang and van-Noodwijk, 2013). The response mechanisms by the REDD+ project and associated implications were further discussed and verified through in-depth interviews with project staff (n=8), National REDD+ staff (n=3) and UNFCCC experts (n=7). Chi-squared and

frequencies were used to analyse household data while comparative matrices and a grounded theory approach, (see e.g. Corbin and Strauss 1990) were employed in analysing lesson learning process and implications.

3.0. Results

3.1. *Design comparison for REDD+ and the ICDPs*

Differences and overlaps exist between the REDD+ and the ICDP designs (Table 2). The projects differ in terms of objectives and institutional arrangements for access and use of project funds. The REDD+ project targets climate change through mitigation and adaptation actions and operates under market-linked funds that are availed on condition of standardized performance in emission reduction. The ICDP projects have no conceptual focus on climate change but targets to achieve general conservation and development supported through upfront non-market based donor-funding.

Both the REDD+ and ICDP projects however emphasize community participation in their activities and benefits as a key pathway to achieving their respective objectives. Participation in the project design (design –engagement) for the REDD+ and nongovernmental world vision, is informed by prior activities and feasibility studies respectively. The governmental national park, had no engagement modality design-engagement.

Engagement in project activities and benefits (activity and benefit-engagement) were explicitly stated in the designs of both the REDD+ and the ICDP projects albeit subject to varying guidelines and principles. The REDD+ project, aligns activity-engagement with the principles of rights and equity as enshrined in international treaties such as the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and UNFCCC safeguards. Community participation in the ICDP projects remains opaque and lacks guidelines on equity and rights. Consequently, in their many years of community work the ICDPs have tried a variety of community engagement approaches with mixed outcomes.

Nonetheless, the REDD+ project, operationalizes its globally set emission reduction standards and safeguards within the same communities and inevitably faced with community experiences and expectation emanating from the ICDP work. The next sections presents community experiences with ICDPs and lessons for the REDD+ project.

Table 2: A comparative analysis of design elements defining REDD+ and ICDPs

Design components	Kasigau Corridor REDD+ project	Governmental National park	Nongovernmental World vision
Primary objectives	Global climate change mitigation and adaptation, addressing issues of leakage, reversals and displacement of emissions	Wildlife/Biodiversity conservancy towards national development and cultural heritage.	Charity programme focusing on sustainable rural livelihoods/child wellbeing with an ultimate target of achieving the Millennium Development.
Funds and conditions	International market funds lobbied through multilateral and bi-lateral actors. The funds are available on performance in delivering credible and verifiable emissions through an international standard (VCS).	Upfront funding provided from the public/state-budget. Funds not necessarily tied to outputs. Outputs are verified using internal procedures.	Upfront funds provided by Aid agencies. Output is subject to internally designed procedures and funds are not conditional on performance
Community engagement in project design	Indirectly informed through prior work by the project proponents.	No engagement	Feasibility study carried out to identify needy households
Community engagement in project implementation	Protected area with community consultation on land and carbon rights and consent. Subject to UNFCCC safeguards and UN-declarations on the rights of indigenous people.	Protected areas with the community expected to protect wildlife in kind subject to	Integrated Program Areas (IPAs) with individualised support to mainly poor households and engagement in conservation as a source of income
Benefits and benefit sharing procedures	Equitable benefit sharing and recognition of the rights of the community, sustainable co-benefits for adaptation and does not result in leakage	Compensation for human/wildlife conflicts, development allocation from central government	Pro-poor household asset benefits to communities

3.2. *ICDP lessons identified and response from the REDD+ project*

3.2.1. *Perceived differences between ICDPs and the REDD+ project*

In terms of design-engagement, a majority (51%) perceived no difference between the REDD+ project and the national park (Table 3). A majority (38%) also perceived no difference between REDD+ and World vision in design-engagement. However, some respondents (26%) felt that World vision was more consultative in design-

engagement because it reportedly undertook a feasibility study to identify project beneficiaries.

In terms of activity-engagement, the majority (52%), most of whom belonged to low and middle-wealth categories felt that the REDD+ project consulted more during implementation than both ICDP projects (Table 4). Individual versus communal engagement was a key area of difference in which the REDD+ project was associated with a communal approach in its activities compared to the ICDPs. The national park was perceived to be exclusive by the majority of all households (low-wealth (65%), middle-wealth (51.52) and high wealth (31.03%)).

In terms of benefit-engagement, the national park was associated with no benefits compared to the REDD+ project. World vision was perceived to have a shorter benefit waiting period compared to the REDD+ project (24.14%). The majority of low-wealth (36.84%) and middle-wealth (36.36%) households mentioned shorter benefit waiting period under World vision as a difference from the REDD+ project.

Table 3: Perceived differences in design-engagement between ICDPs and REDD+ differentiated by wealth category

Differences	National parks - Governmental ICDP					World vision- Nongovernmental ICDP				
Difference	Low (%) (n=38)	Middle (%) (n=33)	High (%) (n=29)	Overall (%) (n=100)	χ^2	Low (%) (n=38)	Middle (%) (n=33)	High (%) (n=29)	Overall (%) (n=100)	χ^2
Less consultation and community input than REDD+	7.89	36.36	37.93	19	1.06	2.63	6.06	0	3	0.06
More consultation and community input than REDD+	0	0	0	0	-	26.32	33.33	17.24	26	0.08
No difference	57.89	45.45	13.79	51	2.08	42.11	45.45	24.14	38	0.15
Can't tell	34.21	18.18	48.28	30	0.45	28.95	15.15	58.62	33	2.5*

* significance between wealth categories at p=0.05

Table 4: Perceived differences in activity-engagement between ICDPs and REDD+ differentiated by wealth category

	National parks - Governmental ICDP					World vision- Nongovernmental ICDP				
Difference	Low (%) (n=38)	Middle (%) (n=33)	High (%) (n=29)	Overall (%) (n=100)	χ^2	Low (%) (n=38)	Middle (%) (n=33	High (%) (n=29)	Overall (%) (n=100)	χ^2
Less consultation in implementation than REDD+	52.63	63.64	37.93	52	0.92	25.68	24.24	13.79	21	0.12
More consultation in implementation than REDD+	5.26	0	10.34	5	2.5	0	6.06	3.45	3	0.1
Less activity training than REDD+	15.79	6.06	3.45	9	3.5*	7.89	18.18	10.34	12	0.04
More activity training than REDD+	0	0	0	0	-	5.26	3.03	0	3	0.15
More individualised engagement than REDD+	0	0	0	0	-	26.32	15.15	6.9	17	0.16
No major difference	0	6.06	6.9	4	0.15	7.89	15.15	10.34	11	0.06
Can't tell	26.32	24.24	41.38	30	0.12	27.95	18.18	55.17	33	0.1

* Significance between wealth categories at p=0.05

Table 5: Perceived difference in benefit-engagement between ICDPs and REDD+ differentiated by wealth category

	National parks – Governmental ICDP					World vision – Nongovernmental ICDP				
	Low (%) (n=38)	Middle (%) (n=33)	High (%) (n=29)	Overall (%) (n=100)	χ^2	Low (%) (n=38)	Middle (%) (n=33)	High (%) (n=29)	Overall (%) (n=100)	χ^2
Longer benefit waiting period than REDD+	7.89	18.18	17.24	14	0.13	0	3.03	3.45	2	0.01
Shorter benefit waiting period than REDD+	0	0	3.45	1	0.13	42.1	48.48	27.59	40	1.5*
More individual/less communal benefits than REDD+	5.26	3.03	6.9	5	0.06	26.32	24.34	17.24	21	2.5*
No benefit from the ICDP	60.53	51.52	31.03	49	0.15	0	0	0	0	-
No benefit from REDD+	0	0	0	0	-	5.26	3.03	0	3	0.16
No major difference	2.63	12.12	3.45	6	0.22	21.05	12.12	11.03	21	0.07
Can't tell	23.68	15.15	37.93	25	0.09	5.26	9.09	41.69	11	0.15

* Significance between wealth categories at p=0.05

3.2.2. *Lessons from ICDPs for the REDD+ project*

Twenty four (24) lessons for the REDD+ project were extracted from the community experiences with the ICDP projects (Fig 4). Overall, 14 out of the 24 lessons (58.3%) were negative while the rest were positive.

Lessons on design-engagement were all negative. Both the ICDP projects were associated with exclusion in design-engagement and using local elites to introduce projects' intentions. The REDD+ project had not corrected any of these negative lessons (Fig 4).

Lessons on activity-engagement were both negative and positive. Four out of the six (66.7%) positive activity-engagement lessons came from the World vision (WV) and these included choices on accountable and established community networks, use of local labour, and flexibility in activities among others. The positive lessons from the national park included support from the government and establishment of conservancy boundaries. Four out of the six (67%) negative activity-engagement lessons were linked to the exclusion mainly by the national park. Poor follow-up of activities and short term unsustainable activities were the negative lessons linked to the World vision (Fig 4). The REDD+ project has adopted three out of the six positive lessons on activity-engagement. The REDD+ project corrected four out of the five negative activity- engagement lessons from the ICDP projects.

Lessons on benefit-engagement were both negative and positive but there were more negative ones (60%). All the positive benefit-engagement lessons came from World vision and these included a short benefit waiting period and pro-poor benefits aligned to household livelihood calendars:

> *"With World vision, we have terraces on the land and some income at the end of every month. The project is very helpful in needy times especially during drought ...Yes the projects are different because the carbon project does not consider helping people during hard times like World vision. The carbon project is good but should consider helping people in times of need" [Low-wealth female respondent, Kasigau, September, 2013]*

The national park was associated with lack of any benefit or compensation for local people and so had no positive benefit-engagement lesson(s). Of all the lessons, lack of benefit from the national park was mentioned most commonly.

> *"We see so many white people pass-by on their way to see animals. They are sometimes escorted by government vehicles but we are not asked anything. I hear the government collects a lot of money from the white people who come to see animals. All the money is taken to Nairobi and the government does not give anything to us…we hope the carbon project will not be the same [Middle-wealth male respondent, Kasigau, March, 2012]*

Short term unsustainable livelihood activities, unfulfilled promises and individualised benefits were some of the negative lessons attributed to World vision:

> *"World vision has changed to work for money instead of work for food and with little community consultation. Now they want those who have worked to open bank accounts with Cooperative Bank which does not exist in this locality, one has to go to Mombasa or Voi…they should have asked us to use our local village saving and lending accounts" [Low-wealth female respondent Kasigau, September 2013]*

The REDD+ project corrected half (3 out of 6) of the negative benefit-engagement lessons e.g. lack of livelihood benefits, unemployment of local people and elite based benefit sharing (Fig 4). The next section explores the process through which the REDD+ corrected these negative lessons.

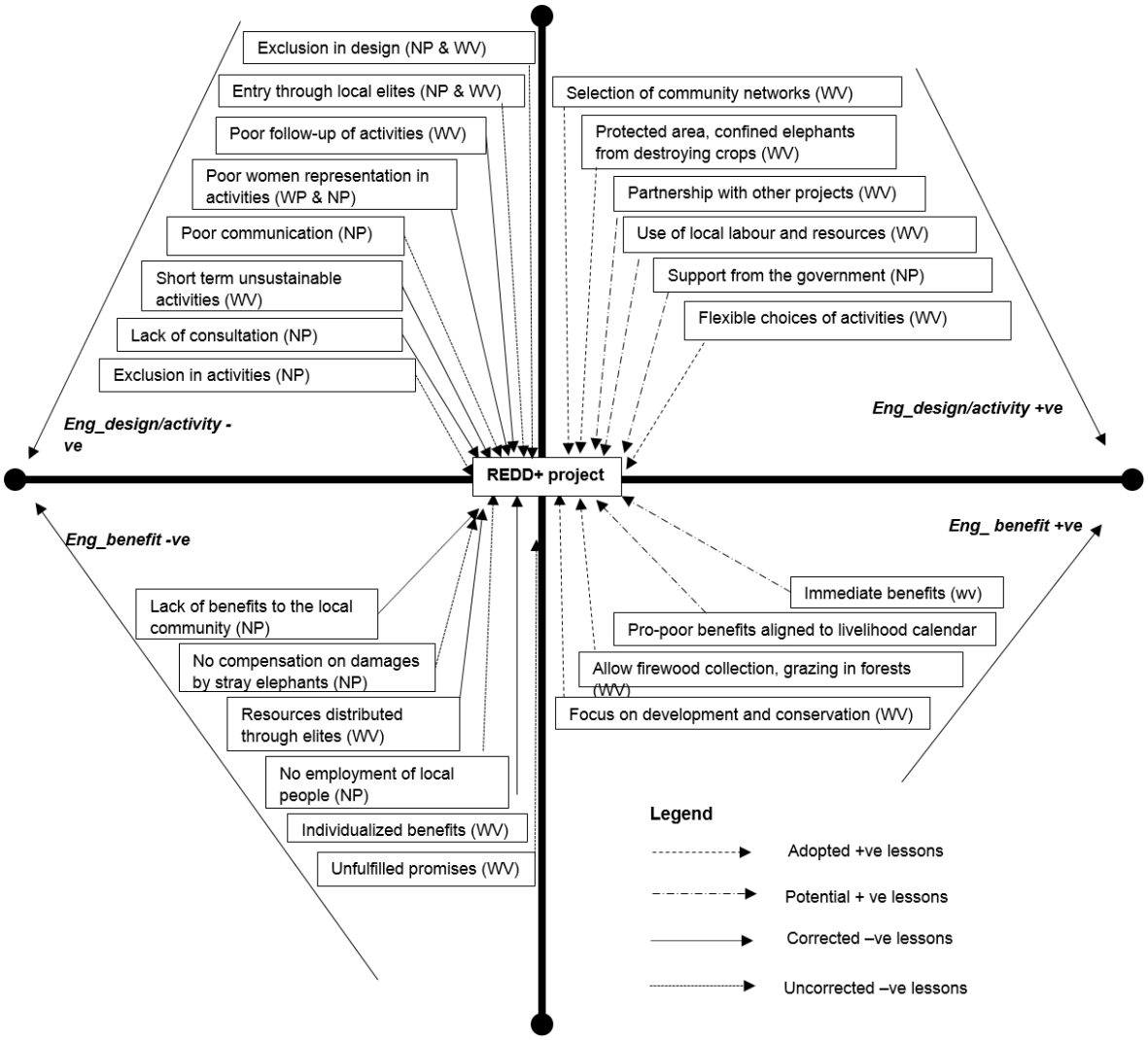

Figure 3:Key lessons from the ICDPs that households perceive the REDD+ adopts, avoids and reshuffles

3.3. *Lesson learning process*

The process of correcting negative lessons involved both interventions and actors (Table 6). A landscape approach to activity and benefit-engagement, activity nesting, institutional reshuffling and affirmative action are some of the interventions employed in correcting the lessons.

Negative activity-engagement lessons such as elite capture and discrimination in resource access were mainly corrected through landscape approaches to activity and benefit-engagement. In this landscape approach, the project recognizes and generates carbon credits from multiple land tenure relevant to different social groups. The project planned and is executing a landscape approach in a manner that

addresses leakage. Majority of poor peasants who depended on communal forest for charcoal income felt that including communal forest as part of REDD+ entitled them to benefits and such benefits would keep them out of protected forests. Benefit-engagement also incorporates both communal and individual tenures by specifically channelling carbon benefits from communal hills to low-wealth while the high-wealth receive a share of carbon money from ranches. Such inclusive benefits have not been realised from other ICDPs, argued the area chief:

> *"The REDD+ project has a greater impact than other projects because it serves the whole community and works in various lands" [High-wealth female respondent, Kasigau, August, 2013]*
> *'I got food for asset from World vision and have also gotten bursary from carbon. The carbon project gives community more rights to make decisions. The project is positive and seems sustainable. Carbon gives bursary without discriminating while World vision you have to be vulnerable or old' [Interview, middle-wealth female member of the community, Kasigau, September, 2013]*

Further efforts to correct community exclusion in activity and benefit-engagement involved institutional reshuffling. The project mobilized the community to establish new locational carbon water and bursary committees in each village to represent community interests in project activities and benefits. The new committees replaced certain local institutions such as state-based locational development committees which, according to the community, were unaccountable and under capture by retired government employees. The new committees drew membership from existing groups and comprise about seven individuals nominated from groups in a given village. Committees' membership and leadership is subject to affirmative action and must ideally include representation from youth and women. The project also logistically and technically supports existing CBOs such as the Maungu Hills Conservancy that are favourably perceived by the community. The CBO links the community to the project and the REDD+ project covers its staff and administrative costs.

Short term unsustainable activities associated with the World vision had been resolved through activity nesting. The project incorporates shorter term initiatives such as casual labour as part of longer term initiatives such as reforestation, construction of water projects, education or health facilities.

'The community are the main source of labour for the water project and also paid to collect logs for eco-charcoal initiative' [Project Staff, Kasigau, October, 2013]

The local community and the project proponents are the dominant actors executing the above interventions. The REDD+ and the ICDP projects were not in any clear collaborative engagement for lesson learning. The REDD+ project learnt and corrected most lessons mainly based on community views on and experiences with the ICDP projects. Little collaboration also existed between the REDD+ project and relevant state institutions. The project usefully engaged the local provincial administration, 'the Chief', in community mobilization but had no clear working relationship with national institutions. At some point, the project abolished direct engagement with state-based locational development committees largely due to the unfavourable experiences the community had with the national park. FGD participants associated the state with centralised management of and capture of benefits from local wildlife resources. In a voting exercise, most FGD participants (70%) preferred REDD+ to be implemented by the private sector as opposed to the government. Bureaucracy and exclusion were cited as key factors impeding the projects work with the state institutions. Staff of the Kenya Forest Service (Government department) however explains that the negative perception the community has developed against the state is mainly because the community often look for livelihood benefits from interventions rather than contents of such interventions. As such, community members reportedly preferred to pursue food for work by the World vision instead of participating in a tree planting field day organised by the government:

'The community here are more concerned with what they get from projects but not what the project does. They look out for projects for their livelihoods and sometimes will never give attention to a conservation project with no immediate livelihood benefits [Staff, KFS Voi, August 2013]

The next section analyses the lessons against community and UNFCCC expectations.

Table 6: Intervention and actors constituting the process of correcting negative lessons

Lesson	Inteventions by the REDD+ project	Actors involved in the interventions
Community exclusion in project activities (activity-engagement; NP)	Insitutional changes – de-recognition of negatively perceived local institutions and recognitions of postively perceived institions and establishment of new ones. Landscape aproach to activity and benefit – engagements.	➢ Project proponents ➢ Community members
Lack of women representation in project decisions and activities (activity-engagement; WV& NP)	Affimative action on women membership of activity and benefit-engagement committees.	➢ Project proponents ➢ Community members ➢ CBO ➢ Provincial admin. 'Chief'
Poor communication (activity-engagement ; WP & NP)	Door to door campaigns, theatre and entrepreneurial activities on carbon issues	➢ Project proponents ➢ Community members
Short term activities confusing the community (activity-engagement; WV)	Activity nesting and longer term project implementation period,	➢ Project proponents ➢ Community members
Short notice at intervention (activity-engagement; WV)	Newly established committees verify new project interventions	➢ Project proponents ➢ Community members
No livelihood benefits (benefit-engagement ;NP)	Landscape approach: integrated communal and individual benefits. Clear benefit sharing formulae: a third of carbon revenue allocated to community projects.	➢ Community members ➢ Project proponent ➢ CBO
No employment of local people (benefit-engagement ; NP)	Affirmative action- any unskilled labour must be sourced from within the local community. Skilled labour only sourced from outisde if not available within the local community.	➢ Project proponents ➢ Community members ➢ CBO ➢
Elite distribution of resources (benefit-engagement; WV)	Institutional changes – de-recognition of negatively perceived local institutions and recognitions of positively perceived institutions and establishment of new ones.	➢ Project proponents ➢ Community members (CBO) ➢ Provincial admin. 'Chief'
Individualized benefits (benefit-engagement; WV)	Landscape approach to activity and benefit engagement-recognizing diversity of land tenure system (communal hills, ranches, trust lands) as part of carbon crediting.	➢ Project proponents ➢ Community members ➢ Consultants

3.4. *Comparing UNFCCC and community expectations*

In terms of design-engagement the community expects to be part of project design, feasibility studies and also to participate in site selection processes (Fig 4). The UNFCCC is however unclear and ambiguous on the role of the community in designing REDD+ projects. In terms of activity-engagement, the UNFCCC favours participation during the project but the community felt that capacity building should start before the project implementation process. In terms benefit-engagement, the community expects shorter benefit waiting periods and seasonally oriented benefits while the UNFCCC expectations emphasise institutional aspects such as equity and representation, with little clarity on temporal leverage for community livelihoods.

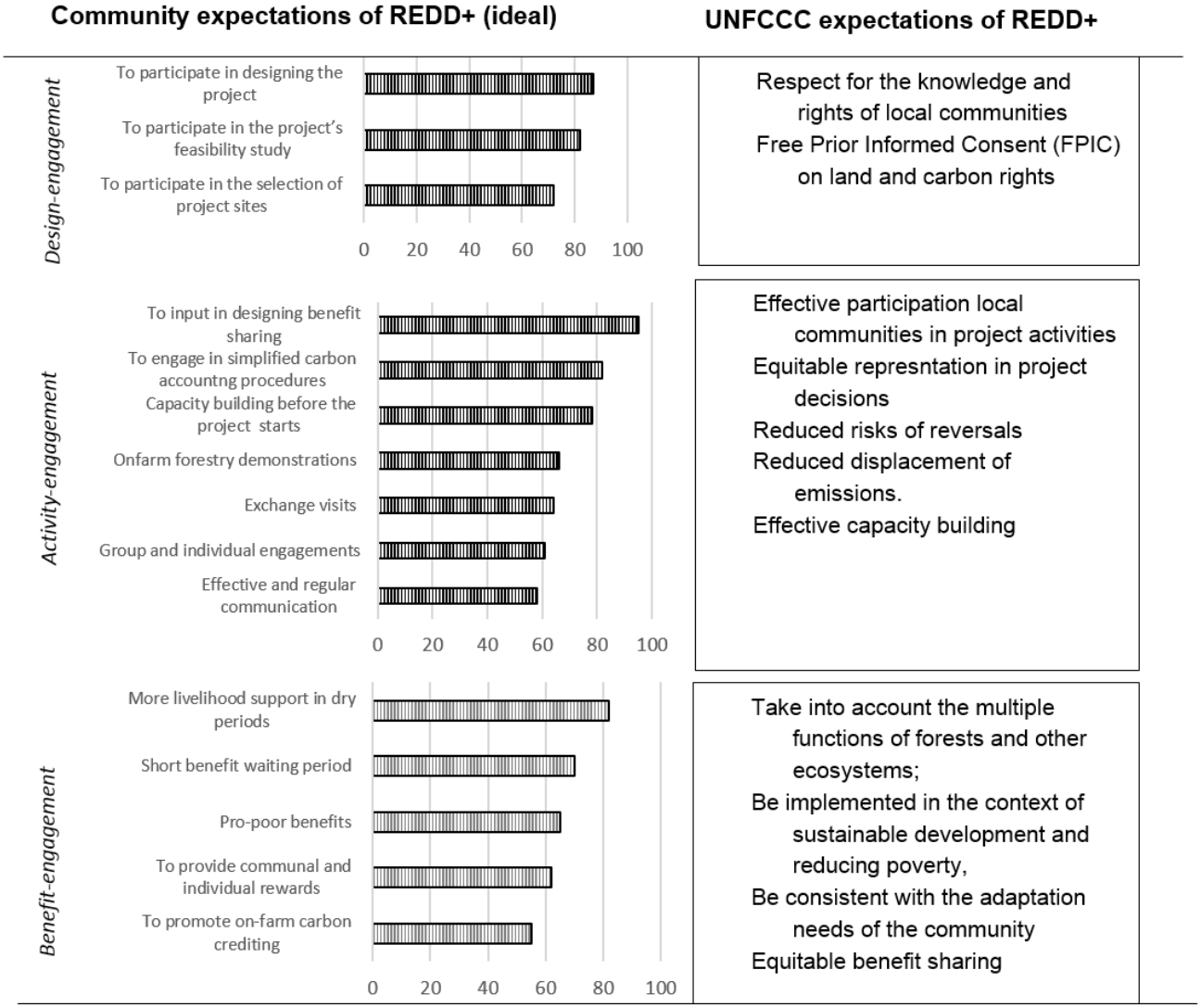

Figure 4: Community expectations compared to the UNFCCC expectations included in the REDD+ safeguards of appendix 1/CP 16

Most lessons are relevant to community expectations (45.5%) but do not necessarily match the UNFCCC expectations (Table 7). Such lessons relate more to design and benefit-engagement. In the design-engagement, negative lessons on exclusion in design and entry through local elites apply to the community expectations that they be included in feasibility studies and site selection process for the project and these are not clarified in the UNFCCC. Lessons on benefit-engagement such as a shorter benefit waiting period and aligning these benefits to livelihood calendars relate more to the community than the UNFCCC. However, some lessons such as engaging the government institutions meets UNFCCC expectations but do not align with community expectations. Only a third of the lessons (33.7%) apply to both the community and UNFCCC expectations and these mainly relate to equity and rights in activity-engagement.

Table 7: Anlysis of lessons against community and UNFCCC expectations; World vision (WV), National parks (NP)

Lessons (ICDP)	Nature of lesson (+ve/-ve)	Relevance		Action by REDD+ project
		Community expectation.	UNFCCC expectation.	
1. Exclusion in design (NP and WV))	Design_ Eng. (-)	x		Uncorrected
2. Entry through local elites (NP and WV)	Design_ Eng. (-)	x		Uncorrected
3. Support from the government (NP)	Activity_ Eng. (+)		x	Adopted
4. Protected area approach (NP)	Activity_ Eng. (+)		x	Adopted
5. Use of local labor and resources (WV)	Activity_ Eng. (+)	x	x	Adopted
6. Focus on both conservation and development (WV)	Activity_ Eng. (+)	x	x	Adopted
7. Flexible choices of activities (WV)	Activity_ Eng. (+)	x		Not adopted
8. Partnership with other projects (WV)	Activity_ Eng. (+)	x		Not adopted
9. Exclusion in activities (NP)	Activity_ Eng. (-)	x	x	Corrected
10. Poor communication (NP)	Activity_ Eng. (-)	x		Corrected
11. Poor women representation in activities (NP&WV)	Activity_ Eng. (-)	x		Corrected
12. Short term unsustainable activities (WV)	Activity_ Eng. (-)	x		Corrected
13. Short notices at intervention (WV)	Activity_ Eng. (-)	x		Corrected
14. Poor follow-up of activities (WV)	Activity_ Eng. (-)	x	x	Uncorrected
15. Immediate benefits (WV)	Benefit_ Eng. (+)	x		Not adopted
16. Pro-poor benefits during droughts (WV)	Benefit_ Eng. (+)	x		Not adopted
17. Allow firewood collection, grazing (WV)	Benefit_ Eng. (+)	x		Not adopted
18. Focus on conservation and development	Benefit_ Eng. (+)	x	x	Adopted
19. No livelihood benefits (adaptation) (NP)	Benefit_ Eng. (-)	x	x	Corrected

20. No compensation on damages by stray elephants (NP)	Benefit_ Eng. (-)	x	x	Uncorrected
21. No employment of local people (NP)	Benefit_ Eng. (-)	x		Corrected
22. Unfulfilled promises (WV)	Benefit_ Eng. (-)	x		Corrected
23. Elite distribution of resources (WV)	Benefit_ Eng. (-)	x	x	Corrected
24. Individualized benefits (WV)	Benefit_ Eng. (-)	x		Corrected

4. Discussion

This paper aimed to analyse the empirical lessons that a REDD+ project can draw on and adopt from governmental and a nongovernmental ICDP projects. Data is primarily drawn from the practical experiences households and communities have had with ICDP projects. The local community in the study area occupies a strategic position as a conduit for conveying lessons from the ICDPs to the REDD+ project. While the primary information is contextual, the dynamic ways through which REDD+ adopts lessons, the process by which the project aligns these lessons to the varying UNFCCC and community expectations and the implications of such processes to the broader REDD discourse, are key areas covered in this paper in a manner applicable to various developing contexts.

3.1. *REDD+ and ICDP designs*

Institutional connectedness and funding conditions are key elements differentiating the REDD+ project design from the ICDPs' designs. These differences can be explained in terms of scale of expected impacts. The REDD+ project seeks to address climate change through actions and outcomes linked across local, national and global scales. As such, the REDD+ project executes local actions whose funding and credibility in addressing global climate change are verified through nationally and globally institutionalised standards. Some studies (Minang and Noodwijk, 2013) equate this multi-scale institutional conditions for REDD to 'a business-like model' for transacting carbon as a commodity. In answering to this multi-scale and business-like institutional arrangements, REDD designs prescribe key performance checks to address emission leakage, reversals and additionality. In contrast, ICDP projects execute spatially localised actions with no clear institutional linkages, performance-check or conditions from the global processes. Lack of such performance based practices in history of ICDP designs, is partly responsible for the current land based

emission problems (Blom et al., 2010). Despite the differences in scale and performance checks, the local actions of the REDD+ project significantly overlap ICDP actions, interventions, approaches and experiences (Brandon & Wells, 2009) resulting in lessons that could feed into the multi-scale, performance based and commodity-driven features of REDD.

3.2. *ICDP lessons and their adoption by the REDD+ project*

A diversity of beneficial and adverse lessons from the ICDP projects were adopted differently by the REDD+ project. While positive ICDP lessons complement project work and may be absorbed through existing institutional arrangements (Blom et al., 2010), certain institutional rearrangement and actions are required for REDD+ to respond to negative lessons. The manner in which the REDD+ project responded to the negative lessons is therefore crucial for this study as a way to leverage ways in which the REDD+ can create positive shift in resource governance or maintain the status quo (see e.g. Minang and van-Noodwijk, 2013).

At the design level, the REDD+ project repeated the same ICDP design-engagement pattern in which local communities were excluded from designing the project activities and their consent, on these externally designed activities, mainly sought through community elites. Community members had a general feeling that the REDD+ project is a package dropped from “heaven”, with new carbon standards that do not necessarily reflect the value this community attach to their forest resources. The REDD+ project design drew from international procedures and standards negotiated as part of the UNFCCC process where representation of local views have been reportedly weak (Schroeder, 2010; Cerbu et al., 2011; Minang et al., 2014). Studies (Barnsley 2009; Griffiths 2008) have raised concerns that such top-down designs may restrict and lock livelihood values the community attach to the forests, into unfavourable legal national and global obligations to emission reduction standards. Further lack of community input into project designs may potentially raise equity and elite capture concerns at the implementation and benefit sharing stages especially because local communities often lack clear understanding of the project contents. For instance, in its bid to gain community acceptance of the externally designed activities, the REDD+ project used community elites such as the chiefs and state-led locational development committees who then became the only entry points

into the community literally shaping the nature and content of project activities and to the dissatisfaction of most community members.

Consequently, community exclusion in REDD+ design, if not corrected, could partly compromise the desired shift in resource governance that REDD+ is expected to achieve (Thomson et al., 2011; Ghazoul et al, 2010; Sikor, et al. 2010). The Kasigau REDD+ project attempted to utilize its implementation phase (activity-engagement) to correct exclusion issues and subject to the UNFCCC safeguards (appendix 1/CP16). The safeguards have no provisions for community participation in the pre-project design but emphasise rights and equity that the REDD+ project utilized alongside community expectations to correct some negative activity-engagement lessons from the ICDP projects.

3.3. *Lesson adoption process*

The REDD+ project employed three categories of intervening approaches in correcting negative activity and benefit-engagement lessons; landscape approach, local institutional choices and activity nesting.

A landscape approach integrates various landscape functions to produce sustainable ecological and social outcomes (Bernard at al., 2013) and to correct exclusion in activity and benefit-engagement especially by the national park. Recognition of a variety of tenure arrangements usefully brings various land uses, claimed and utilised by different social groups under an emission reduction strategy and in line with the ecological and social functions that a landscape is expected to achieve (Bernard et al., 2014). Social inclusivity and equity in activity and benefit-engagement are key benchmarks for climate smart landscapes (Scherr et al., 2012).

Local institutional choices involved de-recognition and recognition certain local actors/organizations and rules (see e.g. Ribot, 2011). The REDD+ project exercised institutional choice through transferring power and resources to the newly formed locational carbon committee and choosing not to work with negatively perceived institutions like the state-led locational development committee resulting in a general perception that the REDD+ project is more consultative at implementation than both the case ICDPs. Such institutional choices are crucial lesson learning outcomes of

most subnational projects aiming to test REDD at the local level (Angelsen & Wertz-Kanounnikoff, 2008; Sills et al., 2009).

The project applied activity nesting to correct short term, unsustainable activities and benefits associated with the nongovernmental world vision. Studies (Robinson and Redford, 2004; Blom et al., 2010) confirm that ICDPs are known for scattered and unsustainable activities and benefits. Such short lived interventions often steer community interests towards project benefits rather than the technological and capacity building aims of the projects (Van Vliet, 2010). Activity nesting potentially integrates conservation reward paradigms such as payments, compensation and co-investment; thus enhance equity and rights in REDD (Minang and van-Noodwijk, 2013) as opposed to single and exclusive (individualised) reward paradigm promoted by the ICDPs in this case and elsewhere.

3.4. *Implications of the lesson adoption process*

The foregoing interventions reflect the potential for REDD+ to create a shift in community engagement in local resource management. However, the effectiveness of such interventions require collaborative management involving clearly defined multi-stakeholder engagement pathways (CIFOR, 2008). In this study, the collaborative channels between the REDD+ and the ICDP projects were found to be unclear with no identifiable platform for conveying lessons from the ICDP to the REDD+ project. Consequently, the project utilizes the community as the conduit to draw lessons from the ICDP. This appears to be cost-effective, because it additionally helps the project adhere to the UNFCCC safeguards that outlines community engagement guidelines. However, lesson learning that is purely based on community experiences may have some shortcomings. Local communities, in sharing their experiences with other projects, may sometime align their experiences with their livelihood expectations and interests at the expense of the project's agenda. Such expectations are part of a participatory approach in which ICDPs have often utilised eloquent community elites to present views and experiences of 'a community' to unsuspecting yet output-expecting donors (see e.g. Atela, 2012). In these communities, the place of a well-established network of 'community negotiators' is often reserved. These negotiators are well known to the rest of the community members. In several community meetings I attended during fieldwork, the

‘negotiators’ were often allocated golden sessions to talk of past experiences, present challenges and future expectations. In these meetings, the rest of the community, with alternative opinions, would be silent, too intimidated, uninformed or just disempowered to challenge the ‘negotiator’ position.

Drawing lessons purely based on such participation processes constrains the REDD+ project objectives particularly in terms of overwhelming community expectations some of which are not in line with the UNFCCC emission reduction and funding conditions (see e.g. decision 2/CP17). Consequently, the project finds itself pulling between two forces; ’community expectations’ and ‘UNFCCC expectations’ both with equal significance to its activities and success. For instance, while the UNFCCC expects the project to engage closely with centralised state institutions, these state institutions are perceived negatively by the Kasigau people who claim that centralised state institutions like the Kenya Wildlife Service, have excluded them from managing and benefiting from the national park. The state is the legitimate country representative in REDD+ policy negotiations and is expected to be the technical and financial link between countries and international REDD+ processes. However the negative perception of state institutions that the Kasigau people have built up over time, raises questions as to whether the state can ably oversee a successful REDD+ process, as is assumed by the international community. However, should the Kasigau REDD+ project (and other subnational projects elsewhere) limit their engagement with state institutions in line with community expectations? Such conflicting interests may complicate institutional connectedness between subnational private REDD+ projects like the Kasigau and relevant national institutions (Bernard et al 2014; Alemagi et al., 2014).

Attending to community expectations is useful but neglecting state institutions exposes the REDD+ project to sustainability risks especially when certain state reforms do not recognize the REDD+ agenda. For instance, the Kasigau project partly draws its main success from communal tenure systems and has been perceived favourably by the community for correcting exclusion associated with the national park. However, the state plans to issue individual title deeds to ranch shareholders meaning a single ranch-land could be subdivided into individual ownerships of up to 50-2,500 pieces. This means the REDD+ project will have to

convince over 2,500 individuals to commit their parcels of land to the project a situation that could be complex and costly. Additionally, disadvantaged groups such as immigrant locals, landless youths and women who own no shares in the ranches, may lose the current benefits they draw from ranches through the REDD+ project. Such institutional disconnectedness ought to be addressed as REDD learn lessons towards its full implementation particularly by negotiating community and UNFCCC expectations as trade-offs (Sunderland et al., 2008).

4.0. Conclusion

This study provides sub-national and national developers of REDD+ initiatives with scientific information on how REDD+ projects can build on the ICDP experiences. The findings indicate that while the lessons are crucial, the process of learning and adopting such lessons is equally crucial. Community consultation provides a good conduit through which REDD+ can learn lessons but if utilised in isolation, could result in institutional disconnectedness especially between subnational projects and national REDD+-linked institutions resulting in sustainability threats for such subnational projects. As such, there is need for clearly defined collaborative channels between REDD+ project and both governmental and nongovernmental ICDPs. If REDD+ projects can collaborate with other projects as part of lesson learning and initiate innovative approaches such as a landscape approach and activity nesting to correct negative experiences with the ICDPs, REDD+ promises to be one of the most dependable forest governance programmes linking local aspirations to national and global opportunities. Additional empirical research on lesson learning process for REDD+ can be more informative pf these opportunities than just simplistic identification of lessons.

5.0. Acknowledgements

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