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Manuscript title: Implementing REDD+ in the context of integrated conservation and development projects: leveraging empirical lessons

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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 integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs) working in developing country settings. This paper develops and applies a lesson learning framework to identify and analyse lessons that the Kasigau REDD+ project learns from a governmental ICDP (national park) and a nongovernmental ICDP (World Vision) that have been implemented in Taita-Taveta county, Kenya. Fieldwork and document reviews revealed 24 lessons drawn from both positive and negative ICDP experiences. At the design level, the REDD+ project maintained the commonly critiqued top-down intervening approach as used by the ICDPs, by excluding community input into its globally-linked design. At the implementation level, the REDD+ project promoted better community representation in project decisions and benefit sharing when compared to the ICDPs. A landscape approach, democratic institutional choices and pro-poor benefit sharing were the key interventions that enabled the REDD+ project to improve on the ICDP experiences. The usefulness of the ICDP experiences was however weakened by a lack of lesson sharing between projects. The REDD+ project relied mainly on the local community to communicate their ICDP experiences, but this led to partial implementation deficits because it promoted local participation interests over global

mitigation goals. Further, community-driven lesson learning appeared to disconnect the project from State institutions. The community had negative perceptions of State involvement but at the same time the State is the legal custodian of most assets (such as land) required for REDD+ implementation. ICDP lessons are therefore necessary for effective REDD+ implementation but can only be useful if the process of adopting lessons is cognisant of relevant stakeholders such as the State.

Key words: community participation, emissions reductions, Kenya, forests, carbon

1.0. Introduction

Reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+) provides a global institutional framework that incorporates forest conservation efforts in developing countries into carbon markets, with the aim of tackling climate change. REDD+ is justified on the basis that deforestation and forest degradation account for approximately 17% of annual greenhouse gas emissions (IPCC, 2007). This deforestation mainly occurs in developing countries where tropical forests support livelihoods and development. Negotiations on REDD+ design decisions are on-going at the global level under the auspices of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) but implementing these decisions takes place in developing countries (decision 2/COP 13). In these countries, REDD+ is poised to be implemented through nationally coordinated monitoring, verification and reporting systems (MVR) (decisions 19, 10/ COP 19). Project level interventions will be nested into national MVR systems, as already proposed in the REDD+ readiness plans of some countries, e.g. Kenya (Republic of Kenya, 2010).

As negotiations on REDD+ are being finalised, pilot projects are currently testing the practicality of the global guidelines, such as results based payments (decision 1/COP

16; decision 2/COP 17), within various developing countries where forests are hosted and utilised (FAO, 2010). In these local settings, integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs) continue to play a crucial role in promoting conservation and development (Minang and van Noordwijk, 2013). ICDPs are project-based initiatives aimed at conserving forests and biodiversity while supporting socioeconomic development activities in developing countries (Roe, 2008, Blom et al., 2010). These ICDPs are either donor funded or supported through national budgets and NGO funds (Wells, 2003). Most donor funded ICDPs commonly employ conservation approaches such as community afforestation (Boyd et al., 2007), participatory forest management and/or alternative livelihoods (Wells, 2003; Minang and van Noordwijk, 2013). On the other hand, national governments in most developing countries have employed the protected area approach to establish national conservancies, such as national parks, aimed at fostering long term wildlife conservation and revenue generation for development and livelihoods (Brandon and Wells, 2009).

Due to their many years of work in localities now targeted for REDD+, ICDPs have created varying perceptions, expectations and experiences that will inevitably influence the way a REDD+ initiative is perceived, accepted or judged (Cerbu et al., 2011; Blom et al., 2010; Sills et al., 2009). Some of these experiences, however, may or may not resonate with the fundamental goals and expected implementation outcomes of REDD+. For instance, REDD+ targets local and national actions whose expected outcomes, e.g. global emission reductions and local participation and benefits (see next section), will be verified through globally institutionalised performance standards such as the Voluntary Carbon Standard (VCS) and the Climate Community and Biodiversity Standard (CCBS) (Peters-Stanley andGonzalez,2014). By contrast, ICDPs have executed localised actions with no clear institutional linkages, performance-checks or

conditions from global processes. As such, lessons from ICDP experiences need to be carefully filtered and communicated in the context of desired REDD+ implementation outcomes (Brandon and Wells, 2009).

Existing literature theorizes lessons that REDD+ could draw from ICDP experiences based on technical lessons and institutional linkages. Technical lessons about designing certain participatory monitoring practices such as community driven monitoring of afforestation and livelihood technologies are reportedly useful for REDD+ (Blom et al., 2010). In some instances, ICDPs have engaged local communities in defining the spatial scope of activities in various ways, e.g. watershed, catchment, micro-catchment and Integrated Programme Areas. These spatial delineations enhance participatory recognition of the spatial extent of project activities for ease of monitoring and follow-up (Blom et al., 2010). REDD+ projects could build on and improve such participatory strategies to engage local communities in understanding and monitoring its new carbon valuing procedures (Wertz-Kanounnikoff et al., 2008).While ICDPs have delineated and managed distinct spatial units in a participatory manner, arguments for REDD+ to adopt approaches, e.g. the landscape approach, that connect disjointed spatial and social units have gained attention in scientific and policy spheres. For instance, proponents of the landscape approach argue that the approach can help REDD+ attend to the interconnections between the forest and other land uses as well as the socioeconomic attributes governing these land uses (Minang et al., 2015; Duguma and Minang 2015). They argue that this is vital in addressing the landscape wide drivers of deforestation, thereby correcting ICDP mistakes that have conserved forests as isolated lands.

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 provide networks that can catalyze the achievement of desired REDD+ implementation outcomes (Mahanty and McDermott, 2013). ICDPs, especially nongovernmental ones, have built an array of networks within local communities (Baral and Stern, 2011). Such networks have commonly been deployed by subsequent projects as effective ways to gain community acceptance (Atela, 2012). However, such networks can also create local elitism in which particular people become the only legitimate entry points, shaping the nature and content 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). Some scholars have suggested that REDD+ could use approaches such as institutional choices or institutional (de) recognition to improve community engagement and equity through local democratic processes (Ribot, 2011). Additionally, pro-poor strategies such as redistributing benefits beyond property rights have been supported as crucial in enhancing equity and rights in REDD+ (Atela et al., 2015). It has also been suggested that REDD+ could utilise its multilevel institutional connectedness with State and global actors to address underlying drivers of deforestation (Blom et al., 2010). Such institutional strategies could correct ICDP failures, related to poor linkages with broader institutional contexts, to address underlying drivers of deforestation (Linkie et al., 2008; Kremen et al., 2000).

The foregoing literature reveals the diverse ways in which REDD+ could draw on and adopt lessons. An empirical analysis of lessons from ICDP experiences and the process of adopting these lessons in the context of REDD+ implementation is needed. The aim of this paper is to identify and analyse lessons that REDD+ could adopt from a

governmental ICDP (national park) and a nongovernmental ICDP (World Vision project) in order to meet its expected implementation outcomes. The specific objectives of the paper are: 1) to assess perceived differences between REDD+ and ICDP projects at implementation; 2) to identify lessons from ICDP experiences and reveal whether they are adopted or not; 3) to analyse the processes (interventions and actors) involved in adopting ICDP lessons; and 4) to analyse the relevance of ICDP lessons to REDD+ implementation outcomes (global emission reductions and local level community participation and benefits). In the next section, we discuss the study's theoretical framework followed by data collection methods, before presenting results and discussion in subsequent sections.

2.0. Theoretical framework: policy implementation

We applied the concept of policy implementation (Leventon and Antypas, 2012) to develop a lesson learning framework for the analysis (Figure 1). Within the framework, policy implementation is defined as translating documented policy decisions into practice through on-the-ground activities to achieve desired implementation outcomes (Leventon and Antypas, 2012). In the context of REDD+, sustainable development is the main desired implementation outcome and this encompasses forest protection to deliver on the global expectations for emission reductions and local expectations of community (and other stakeholders) participation and benefits (Appendix 1/COP. 16, g).

Emission reductions here involve forest protection to capture and store carbon subject to standardised measures such as additionality, permanence and avoidance of leakage.

Participation, on the other hand, refers to the contribution of local communities to REDD+ decisions and receipt of benefits (Angelsen et al., 2009). The UNFCCC safeguards (appendix 1/COP 16) specifically outline the need for participation of local communities to enable their knowledge and interest to be incorporated into REDD+ decisions and benefits (Ribot, 2009). To understand the interests of local communities, in line with the desired participation guidelines, we consulted these local communities about their specific preferences.

In order to achieve implementation outcomes, a REDD+ project may draw from ICDP experiences and initiate actions that adopt, improve on or correct certain negative experiences (Blom et al., 2010). If a REDD+ project is implemented and adopts measures that improve on positive lessons and correct negative ones, then the project has the potential to achieve desired implementation outcomes and sustainable development (Jordan, 1999). If a REDD+ initiative repeats the negative ICDP experiences, then an implementation deficit occurs (Minang and van Noordwijk, 2013). The analysis of and implications for various lessons and their adoption can provide insights for policy.

Fig 1 (about here)

3.0. Study design and methods

3.1. Description of case projects

A description of the design and activities of the ICDP projects compared to those of REDD+ are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 (about here)

The Kasigau project was selected as a suitable REDD+ project from an initial mapping of REDD+ projects in Kenya (Atela et al., 2014). The project is internationally accredited using the VCS and the CCBS (Wildlife Works, 2011). The standards legitimise the project internationally (see e.g. Kollmuss et al., 2008) and so 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 202,343 hectare (500,000 acre) dry-land forest corridor linking Tsavo East and Tsavo West National parks. The protected forest constitutes a mix of private forested land, community owned group ranches (50 to 2,500 members per ranch) and community trust lands (Wildlife-Works, 2011). The project is the first in Africa to sell verified emissions credits and share carbon revenues with the community. The performance target for the project is to avoid emissions of 49,300,000 tonnes of carbon (Wildlife-Works 2011) and adhere to community engagement requirements set by both the UNFCCC (appendix 1/COP16) and the CCBS (Wildlife-Works, 2008).

The Tsavo national park and World Vision projects were selected as suitable ICDPs with potential lessons for REDD+. The projects' differentiated institutional alignments to the State and a non-State actor is useful for comparing intervention approaches. The projects have also worked with the local community for many years supporting conservation and livelihood agendas that overlap the implementation goals of REDD+. The national park overlaps the REDD+ 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 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 in the 2004 and 2007 wildlife Amendment Acts (Republic of Kenya, 2004, Republic of Kenya, 2007b). The provisions expect the community to report encroachment cases and in return, benefit from employment opportunities, compensation and development from the national budgetary allocations. 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 in various contexts.

The World Vision project is implemented by World Vision, a Christian nongovernmental organisation operating internationally in over 100 countries. The World Vision project has been operating in the Kasigau area since 1999. The project engages individual households, groups and organisations (schools, churches, hospitals) in conservation and livelihood activities such as food for conservation, water supply projects, soil and water management, and tree planting. Unlike the REDD+ project and the national parks which have clearly delineated conservancies, the World Vision project spreads activities across households, groups and organisations occurring within an Integrated Programme Area. Given its presence in many developing countries, and that of other NGOs carrying out similar work, lessons from World Vision will be applicable across various contexts adopting REDD+.

3.2. Study area

A pre-fieldwork exploratory analysis of REDD+ design and expected implementation outcomes was first undertaken during a three month (February – May 2015) research visit to the UNFCCC in Bonn. This analysis involved review of UNFCCC documents and consultation with UNFCCC staff. This prior analysis was particularly useful in developing the study's theoretical framework and establishing a basis for comparing

REDD+ with ICDPs. We then shifted focus to the case study REDD+ and ICDP projects in Kenya. First we reviewed the projects' documents and interviewed staff to understand the projects' designs. Understanding the projects' designs was a crucial first step in gaining prior knowledge about implementation procedures, project linkages with global processes and potential overlaps at implementation, in a manner useful for structuring and targeting field data (Jagger et al., 2010).We focused on the projects' design features such as overall aim, institutional arrangements, actors involved and community engagement modalities, all of which are crucial in shaping project implementation and lesson sharing in practice (Minang and van Noordwijk, 2013).

Field data were collected from August to October 2013. During this time the REDD+ project received carbon revenues, which were being distributed to communities. The data were collected from Kasigau and Marungu villages, two among five villages covered by the REDD+ project (Figure 2). The villages were purposefully selected through a rapid rural appraisal process (Chambers, 1981). The appraisal process involved transect walks across the five villages and consultations with extension staff and community informants. The two selected villages were considered suitable for data collection because of their close engagement with both REDD+ and the ICDP projects. Local people living and working in these villages were able to give a more detailed account of lessons from ICDP for the REDD+ project.

The study villages have an arid agro-ecology with a 38 year rainfall average of 370.8 mm p.a. (Kenya Meteorological Department, 2012). The villages are endowed with wildlife resources and are bordered by the Tsavo national park. The rapid rural appraisal nonetheless revealed that the villages experience major vulnerabilities, including water scarcity and poor land productivity. Taita, Duruba, Kamba and a few pastoral Somalis are the main ethnic tribes in the area. These tribes live in the villages,

have varying livelihood assets and pursue various livelihoods strategies, such as small-scale agriculture, ranching and charcoal burning. They are also engaged with the REDD+ project and the ICDPs either as committee or group members, or just as ordinary community members.

Fig. 2 (about here)

3.3. Data collection

One hundred out of 506 households living in each village 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). To ensure that the sample had equal representation from the different wealth segments of the community, 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 (Scoones, 1995). Households belonging to low-wealth (n=38), middle-wealth (n=33) and high-wealth (n=29) were then randomly and proportionally drawn from the village-wide household list.

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 participation and benefits. Allowing respondents to differentiate between the REDD+ project and the ICDPs was a first step towards enabling them to clarify their ICDP experiences in relation to the REDD+ project. Respondents were then asked to list three positive and three negative experiences they had with the ICDPs and how the REDD+ project was

responding to these experiences. Community participation was operationalised as design, activity and benefit engagements:

a. Design-engagement: the level to which the community is consulted when projects are being designed and when these design activities are introduced
b. Activity-engagement: the level to which community members are consulted and trained to implement projectactivities
c. Benefit-engagement: the nature of livelihood benefits, whether direct/indirect or tangible/intangible and the ways in which local people access these livelihood benefits.

The questionnaire also sought respondents' views on participating in the design, activities and benefits of the REDD+ project. Community participation is a desired REDD+ implementation outcome, alongside emissions reductions. While emissions reductions requirements are standardised through globally established carbon verification measures, participation guidelines under the UNFCCC safeguards emphasize that REDD+ initiatives must consult and account for the interests of local communities. Therefore enquiring about the interests of local communities, in line with the UNFCCC participation guidelines was necessary.

A frequency list of household experiences was generated then transcribed into lessons through four focus group discussions (FGDs) (Thurmond, 2004).The FGDs enabled collective discussion of the ICDP experiences reported by households and this usefully overcame the biases associated with individual households whose understanding of carbon issues under REDD+ was low (Sithole, 2002). The FGDs comprised of purposively sampled village elders, community resource persons and representatives of various community groups with knowledge about historical activities and of

community experiences with the ICDP and REDD+ projects. During the discussions, ICDP experiences were discussed, verified, judged and appropriately assigned or excluded as a logical lesson for the REDD+ project. The lessons were assigned to four categories (Table 2). In the same FGDs, the frequency list of community expectations for participation and benefit sharing were also discussed.

Table 2 (about here)

The FGDs also examined the process by which the REDD+ project adopted lessons from ICDP experiences. This involved discussing and grouping key interventions (approaches) initiated and the actors/stakeholders involved in executing those interventions. The process used by the REDD+ project to correct negative ICDP experiences was crucial for this study because such processes show how REDD+ can streamline forest governance and help mitigate the mistakes of ICDPs to achieve sustainable development (Minang &van Noordwijk, 2013).

The process of adopting lessons was further verified through in-depth interviews with 25 stakeholders linked to the global, national and local REDD+ processes. Initial stakeholders were identified through purposive sampling involving document reviews and consultations undertaken as part of a stakeholder analysis (Reed et al., 2009). Initial interviews then enabled the identification of additional stakeholders through snowball sampling (Reed et al., 2009). Global level stakeholders included seven UNFCCC staff that usefully highlighted the new approaches REDD+ could bring to forest governance. Three national REDD+ staff members and eight staff members of the REDD+ project provided insights about the role of national institutions in the lesson learning process. These staff members further discussed community expectations for

participation in relation to UNFCCC safeguard requirements. Local stakeholders, including two ICDP project staff and four local level informants (Chiefs, leaders of Community Based Organisations (CBO) leaders and community resource persons), provided insights into community experiences with ICDPs and the particular strategies the REDD+ project is using to build on these experiences.

3.4. Data analysis and biases

Household data were analysed using descriptive statistics and Chi-squared test for significant differences in respondents' perceptions(Green and Salkind, 2010). Qualitative data drawn from FGDs and in-depth interviews were coded using table matrices to draw out themes and illustrative quotes (Hopkins, 2007). Through table matrices (Kaufman & Rousseeuw, 2009), lessons from ICDP experiences were linked to the expected REDD+ implementation outcomes: emission reductions and community participation.

A key source of bias in the study design and data collection is the reliance on individual households as a source of experiences and lessons. The low understanding of carbon issues among individual households may compromise their ability to objectively reveal relevant experiences for REDD+. Additionally, experiences based on household responses could be biased towards certain interests e.g. livelihoods or local political affiliations. Nonetheless, we tried to minimise such biases by triangulating household information with community level discussions and numerous in-depth interviews with actors whose views are relatively independent of local interests.

4.0. Results

4.1. Perceived differences between REDD+ and ICDP projects

In terms of design-engagement, a majority (51%) perceived no difference between the REDD+ project and the national park. Thirty eight percent also perceived no difference between REDD+ and the World Vision project 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 (Figure 3).

Fig. 3 (about here)

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 the ICDP projects (Figure 4). Individual versus communal engagement was a key area of difference. The REDD+ project was associated with a more communal approach to 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 (52%) and high wealth (31%)).

Fig. 4 (about here)

In terms of benefit-engagement (Figure 5), the national park was associated with no benefits compared to the REDD+ project. The World Vision project was perceived to have a shorter benefit waiting period compared to the REDD+ project (24%).

Fig 5 (about here)

4.2. Lessons from ICDP experiences

Twenty four lessons from ICDP experiences were identified (Figure 6). Overall, 14 out of the 24 (58%) were lessons from negative experiences while the rest were from positive experiences.

Lessons on design-engagement were all negative. Both the ICDPs 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 in its own engagement design (Figure 6).

Lessons on activity-engagement were both negative and positive. Four out of the six (67%) positive activity-engagement lessons came from the World Vision project and these included using accountable and established community networks, use of local labour, and flexibility in activities, amongst others. The positive lessons from the national park included support from the government and establishment of activity boundaries. Four out of the six (67%) negative activity-engagement lessons were linked to 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 project (Figure 6). The REDD+ project had adopted three out of the six positive lessons on activity-engagement and corrected four out of the five negative activity- engagement lessons from the ICDP projects.

Most (60%) lessons on benefit-engagement were negative. All the positive benefit-engagement lessons came from the World Vision project and these included a short benefit waiting period and pro-poor benefits aligned with 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]

Fig 6 (about here)

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

> "We see so many white people pass-by on their way to see wildlife. 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 wildlife. 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 benefit-engagement lessons attributed to World Vision. The REDD+ project corrected half (3 out of 6) of the negative benefit-engagement lessons namely: lack of livelihood benefits, unemployment of local people and elite-based benefit sharing (Figure 6).

4.3. Process of adopting lessons: interventions and actors

The REDD+ project both adopted positive lessons and learnt negative lessons from the ICDP experiences. The process of adopting positive lessons and correcting negative ones helps identify ways through which REDD+ can improve forest governance and help correct ICDP mistakes. Analysis of the REDD+ project implementation process revealed a number of intervening measures that could be used to correct negative ICDP lessons (Table3).

The project recognised and worked with multiple land tenure systems that benefit different social groups. Group ranches registered as private companies generate 75% of all carbon credits. However, most shareholders to the ranching companies/groups reside outside the local community, with only about 5% of the shares held by locals. The (mostly poor) community resident in the project area have laid claim to communal forest, which they have committed to the project. As a result they were entitled to all the carbon revenue resulting from this communal forest and additionally, benefit from one third share of carbon revenue from the ranches. The other two thirds are equally divided betweenranch shareholders and project operations. The community share of carbon revenue is invested in a host of livelihood projects, e.g. communal foodprojects and educational burseries,through an established trust fund 'Wildlife Works REDD+ Project Trust Fund (WWRPTF)'. Such a benefit sharing mechanism was perceived to be inclusive and contrary to the approaches applied by the ICDPs:

> "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]

Flexibility in local institutional choices was also observed as a means through which the REDD+ project improved community participation/representation in project activities and benefits. New locational carbon, water and bursary committees were elected by community members to represent them in project decisions. 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. Committee membership and

leadership was subject to affirmative action and ideally needed to include representation from youth and women. The REDD+ project also logistically and technically supported and worked with existing CBOs, such as the Marungu Hills Conservancy, that were favourably perceived by the community.

Table 3 (about here)

In the process of correcting and improving on ICDP experiences, little collaboration between the REDD+ project and the ICDPs was observed. Interviews and discussions revealed no established mechanism or forum to bring together the ICDPs and the REDD+ project to share experiences. The REDD+ project learnt and corrected most lessons based on community views on and experiences with the ICDP projects. Limitations in sharing experiences were also apparent between the REDD+ project and relevant State institutions. At some point, the project abolished direct engagement with State-based locational development committees, largely due to the unfavourable experiences the community had had with the national park. FGD participants associated the State with centralised management 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. Staff of the Kenya Forest Service (KFS), however, claimed that the negative perception the community developed against the State mainly because the community often looked for livelihood benefits from interventions instead of focusing on the content and long term goals of such interventions. A case in point was when community members reportedly preferred to pursue food for work from the World Vision project instead of participating in a tree planting field day organised by the KFS:

‘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 [KFS Staff, Voi, August 2013].

4.4. Lessons in relation to expected REDD+ implementation outcomes

The relevance of the lessons was then analysed in the context of expected REDD+ implementation outcomes: emission reductions and community participation (engagement and benefits). To understand the interests of local communities in relation to UNFCCC participation guidelines, we consulted with local communities to understand their specific preferences (Figure 7). In terms of design-engagement, the community expected to be part of project design, feasibility studies and also to participate in site selection processes for REDD+. In terms of activity-engagement, most community members felt that capacity building should start before the project implementation process. In terms benefit-engagement, the community expected shorter benefit waiting periods and seasonally oriented benefits.

Fig 7 (about here)

Twenty two out of 24 lessons related to community participation while only 10 of the 24 lessons were related to emissions reductions outcomes (Table 4). About 12 (50%) lessons were purely relevant to community expectations with no clear resonance with emissions reductions requirements. Eight lessons, including the need for projects to focus on conservation and development, and the avoidance of elite capture, related to both participation and emissions reductions.

In terms of design-engagement, negative lessons such as exclusion from design, were related to community expectations on participation. On activity-engagement, a key lesson linked to emissions reductions was coordination and support from national governments as a means of avoiding emissions leakage. However, this did not relate well with community expectations because of their experiences with centralisation regimes. Lessons on benefit-engagement, such as a shorter benefit waiting periods and aligning benefits to local livelihood calendars, related more to community participation and do not fully resonate with emission reduction requirements that take time to attract payments.

Table 4 (about here)

5.0. Discussion

5.1. Lessons from ICDP experiences

The overall aim of this paper was to identify and discuss lessons that a REDD+ project could adopt from ICDP experiences in order to meet its expected implementation outcomes. While the primary data here is contextual and largely reliant on community interviews, the dynamic ways through which REDD+ adopts lessons, the process by which these lessons align to REDD+ expected implementation outcomes, and the implications of such processes for the broader REDD+ discourse, are all relevant to REDD+ in other developing countries. From the outset, a number of perceived differences between REDD+ and ICDPs were raised by respondents. These differences mainly revolved around the level to which the projects consult in their design and implementation as well as modalities of benefit sharing. While such perceived differences could be related to households' interests, they are a reflection of how the differing design and goals of REDD+ and ICDPs manifest at implementation. For

instance, the REDD+ project was subject to standardised performance checks and market conditions (e.g. delivery of carbon) that delay payments required to serve livelihood needs of local communities. In contrast, the World Vision project received upfront funds to directly support livelihoods with little or no delays imposed by market conditions, thus respondents associated the World Vision project with shorter benefit waiting periods compared to REDD+. From a broader perspective, this indicates that even though REDD+ and ICDPs are engaging the same communities, the differences in their goals and institutional arrangements necessitates careful filtering of ICDP experiences to reveal lessons that could fit the expected implementation outcomes for REDD+ (Blom et al., 2010).

The REDD+ project was able to draw on a variety of lessons from the ICDPs, some of which complemented its work while others impeded its work and/or needed to be corrected. In terms of design-engagement, the need to change the top-down design of initiatives was a key lesson emerging from the ICDP experiences. However, this approach was retained in the REDD+ project as the local community were excluded from contributing to its design. Community members had a general feeling that the REDD+ project was a package dropped from "heaven", with new carbon standards that did not necessarily reflect the value this community attached to forest resources. REDD+ design draws from international procedures and standards negotiated as part of the UNFCCC process where representation of local views has been reportedly weak (Schroeder, 2010, Cerbu et al., 2011, Minang et al., 2014). Studies (e.g. Barnsley, 2009, Griffiths, 2008) have raised concerns that such top-down designs are recipes for elite capture of community participation and benefit rights because local communities have little 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 Chiefs in the beginning, who then became the only legitimate entry points, shaping the nature and contents of initiatives to the dissatisfaction of most community members.

Community exclusion in REDD+ design, if not corrected, could compromise community participation, which is one of the implementation outcomes REDD+ is expected to achieve (Thomson et al., 2011; Ghazoul et al, 2010; Sikor, et al., 2010). As such, whilst REDD+ design is largely controlled by global processes, community knowledge about forest areas, tree species and even hotspots of deforestation could usefully inform REDD+ design prior to implementation. At implementation (activity-engagement), community participation in activities and benefits are emphasised by the UNFCCC safeguards (appendix 1/COP16) and project standards (CCBS) as desired implementation outcomes of REDD+ initiatives. These guidelines steered the REDD+ project to initiate various interventions to improve on particular lessons from ICDP experiences.

5.2. A**dopting lessons from ICDPs: interventions and implications**

A number of interventions shaped the implementation of the REDD+ project. These approaches entailed various actions and institutional choices that improved on ICDP experiences. A key approach was the recognition of a variety of land tenure arrangements that usefully brought together, under the REDD+ project, lands claimed and utilised by different social groups. Approaches that consider various tenure regimes and social interests in emissions reductions have been conceptualised as landscape approaches (Minang et al., 2015). Proponents of landscape approaches argue that they can help REDD+ attend to the interconnections between forests and other land uses, as

well as the socioeconomic attributes governing these land uses (Minang et al 2015; Freeman et al., 2015). In this study, this approach improved on ICDP experiences where focus had been directed towards isolated land uses, e.g. wildlife areas (national park) or integrated programme areas (World Vision). Consolidating the various land uses e.g. wildlife corridors, group ranches, communal lands and even private lands, and social claims associated with these lands into an emission reduction scheme, improved community participation in project activities. In contrast to the ICDPs, this landscape approach also contributed towards addressing the landscape wide drivers of deforestation.

In efforts to realize the landscape approach in practice, reshuffling of various local institutions was observed. A key observation was the reallocation of decision making power and resources to the newly formed Locational Carbon Committee instead of the negatively perceived State based Locational Development Committee. This resulted in a general perception that the REDD+ project was more consultative at implementation than both the ICDPs. Engaging with local institutions that the local community think are fair to them improved on positive experiences from the World Vision project and corrected the exclusion of local communities from decisions and benefits experienced with the national park. Ribot (2011) has conceptualised such institutional choices as institutional recognition or de-recognition where power and resources are transferred from one authority (de-recognition) to another authority (recognition). Studies view such institutional choices as crucial in allowing projects to work with democratic institutions (Ribot, 2011, Maraseni et al., 2014, Corbera et al., 2009).

The landscape approach and institutional (de)recognition in activity-engagement build into benefit-engagement. Bringing together various lands under the REDD+ project meant that all social groups claiming these lands were entitled to benefits. Specifically,

the benefit sharing mechanism targeted mainly the poor who pose the greatest threat to the forest. These poor peasants mainly laid claim to communal forests. Through the REDD+ project they were entitled to all the carbon revenue generated from these communal forests, which dissuaded them from encroaching protected forest for charcoal burning. Additionally, while most carbon is generated from ranches owned by a relatively small number of richer land owners, redistribution of carbon revenue with the poor was a crucial indication of pro-poor benefit sharing mechanisms. Benefit redistribution in favour of the poor has been supported as a pro-poor strategy that could enhance equity and social justice in light of monopoly of forests by the State and other private groups (Atela et al., 2015). In this case, pro-poor approaches usefully corrected the no-benefit (negative experiences) associated with the governmental national park and improved on the relatively positive benefit-engagement experiences associated with the nongovernmental World Vision project.

Overall, the intervention approaches (landscape approach, institutional choices and pro-poor approach) through which the REDD+ project improved upon ICDP experiences contributed to the project's efforts to achieve implementation outcomes in the context of sustainable development.

5.3. Lessons in the context of expected REDD+ implementation outcomes

Findings show that most lessons from ICDP experiences relate to community participation while a few could be clearly linked to emissions reductions outcomes. This can be linked to a poor understanding of emissions reductions goals and carbon commoditization under REDD+ at the local level. The emissions reductions outcome was designed via a top-down approach that has left little room for local understanding

of interventions and transparency measures associated with carbon (Leach and Scoones, 2013). The bias of lessons identified in this study towards community interests can further be explained by the fact that the REDD+ project mainly utilised the local community as a conduit for drawing lessons from the ICDPs. Analysis of actors/stakeholders involved in the lesson adoption process could not identify a direct platform for sharing lessons between ICDPs and the REDD+ project.

The use of local communities as a lesson learning conduit appears to be cost-effective because it additionally helps the project to adhere to the UNFCCC safeguards requirements on community participation in REDD+ projects. However, purely drawing lessons from community experiences is a source implementation deficit. Community members may align experiences more with their livelihood expectations and interests, which they understand better than global emissions reductions. Consequently, the project finds itself pulled between two forces; 'community expectations' and 'emissions reductions expectations' both with equal significance to its activities and success. For instance, while achieving emissions reductions standards such as leakage avoidance (Wunder, 2008) require that REDD+ be coordinated by national institutions, these State institutions are perceived negatively by local communities due to past experiences.

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 that the Kasigau people had raises questions as to whether the State can ably oversee a successful REDD+ process. Should the Kasigau REDD+ project (and other sub-national projects elsewhere) limit their engagement with State institutions in line with community expectations? Such conflicting interests may complicate institutional connectedness between sub-national

REDD+ projects like Kasigau and relevant national institutions, thereby creating implementation deficits. As such, there is a need for ways to ensure adequate community participation without compromising emission reduction goals. A starting point would be to address community participation and emissions reductions as trade-offs. Addressing such trade-offs could build on lessons that resonate with both community participation and emission reductions.

Additionally, for lessons from ICDP experiences to be informative for REDD+ implementation outcomes, there is a need fora lesson learning platform that goes beyond just community consultation. Such a platform is needed because certain actors, e.g. the State, that have been implementing ICDPs still control assets and institutions upon which REDD+ depends (Angelsen et al., 2008). If the State is not consulted and integrated into the lesson learning process, they may retain their ICDP approaches and draw REDD+ into failures associated with these approaches.

6.0. Conclusion

This study has examined implementation lessons that REDD+ can draw from ICDPs in order to adapt its global designs to the local setting. The study shows that ICDPs provide diverse lessons, both negative and positive for REDD+. The REDD+ project has usefully improved community participation in implementing activities but has no community input in its globally linked design and thus appears to be retaining the widely critiqued top-down approach used by the ICDPs. The study has also shown that community consultation provides a good conduit through which REDD+ can learn lessons, but if utilised in isolation this could result in institutional disconnectedness, especially between sub-national projects and national institutions. Lessons from ICDP experiences are necessary for effective REDD+ implementation but can only be useful

if the process of adopting them is clear and cognisant of relevant stakeholders. This is vital if subnational REDD+ projects are to be sustainable and informative fornational and global policies.

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Figure captions

Fig. 1:Study conceptual framework; -ve (negative), +ve(positive)

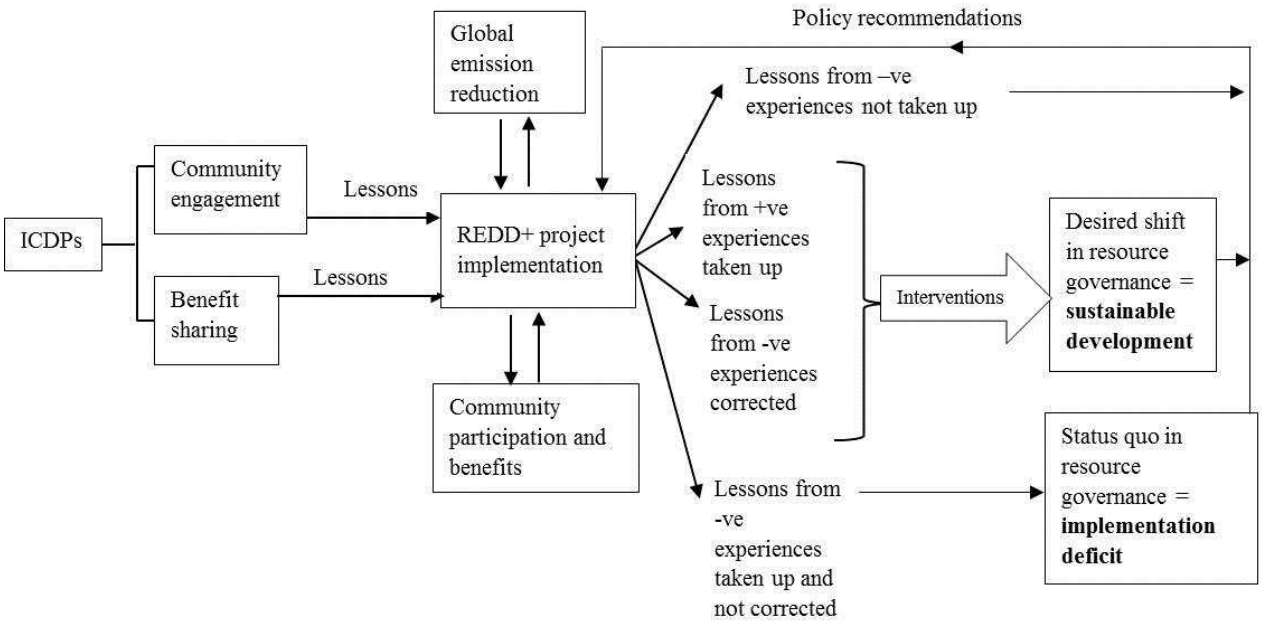

Fig. 2: The location of the case study projects in Kenya

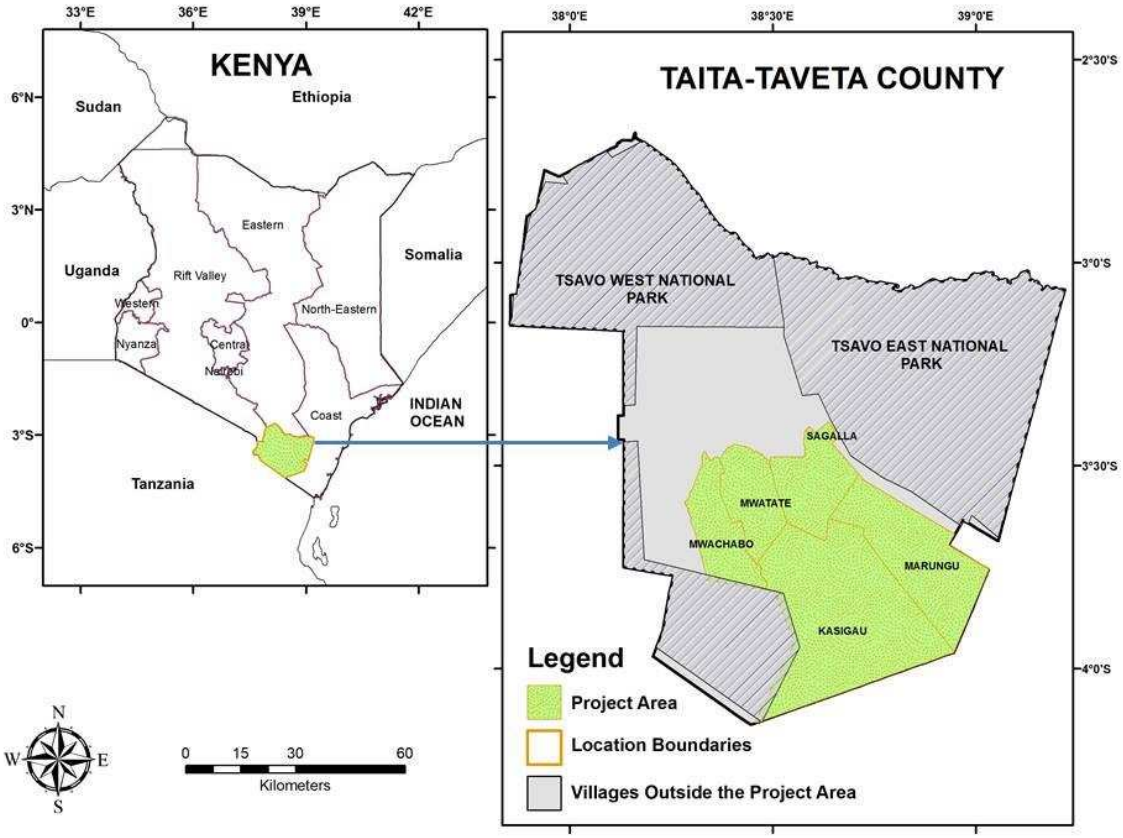

Fig. 3: Perceived differences in design-engagement between ICDPs and REDD+

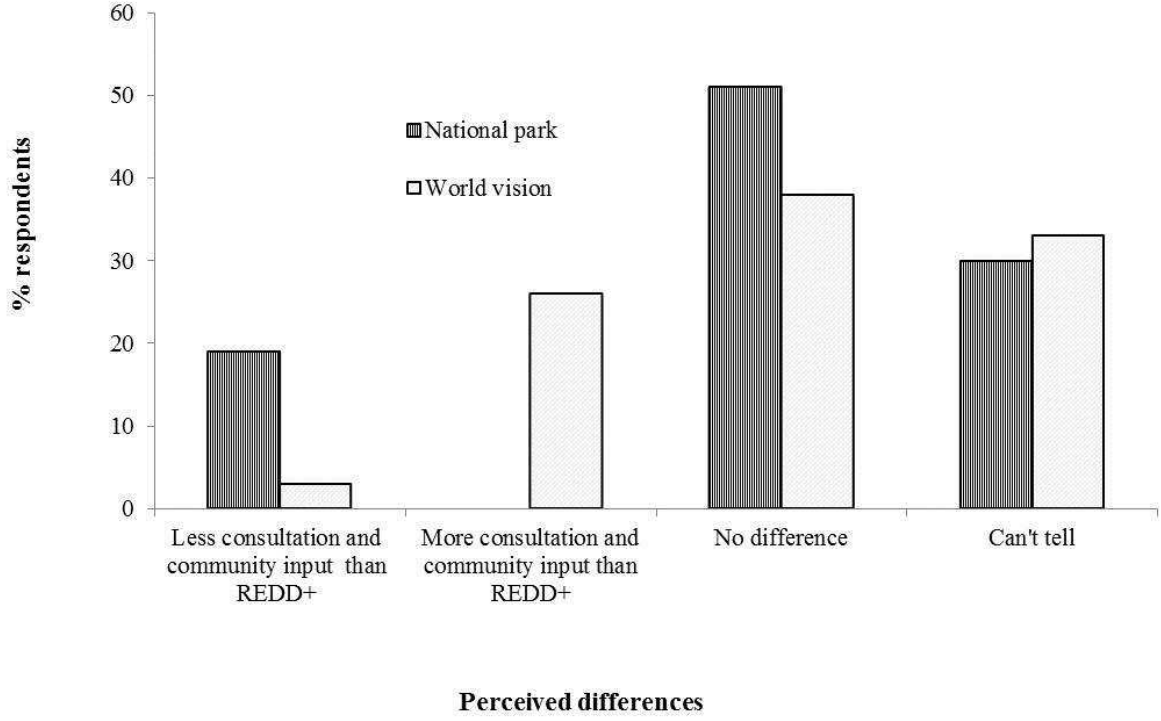

Fig. 4: Perceived differences in activity-engagement between ICDPs and REDD+

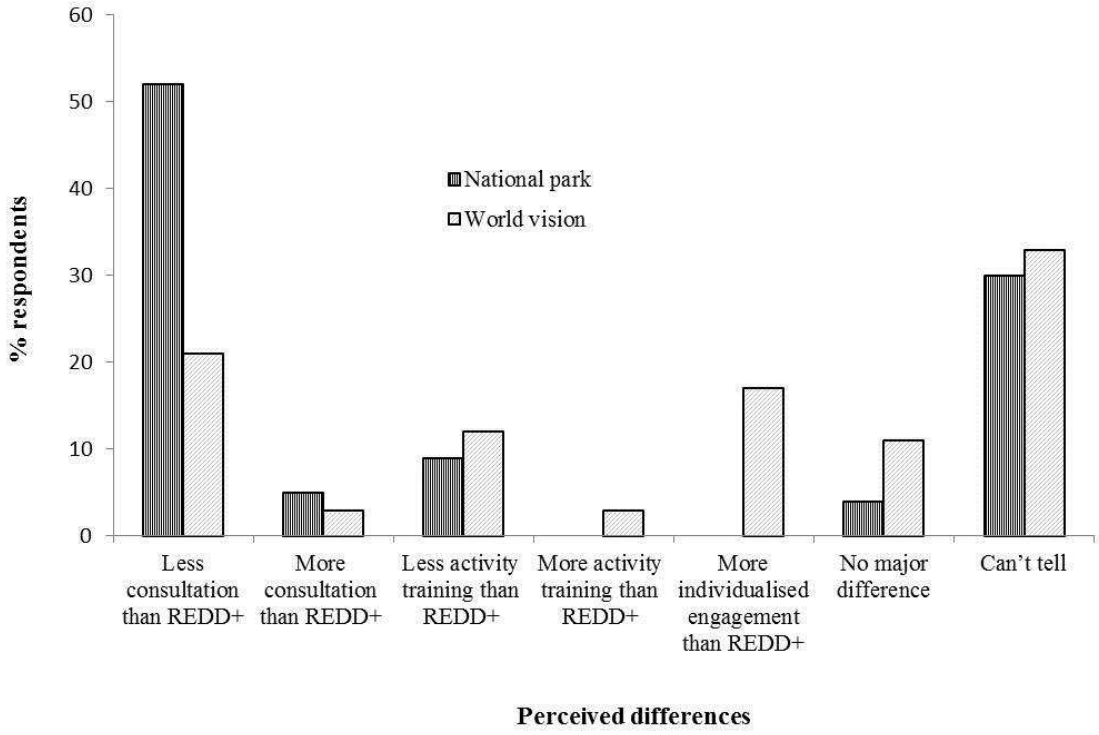

Fig. 5: Perceived differences in benefit-engagement between ICDPs and REDD+

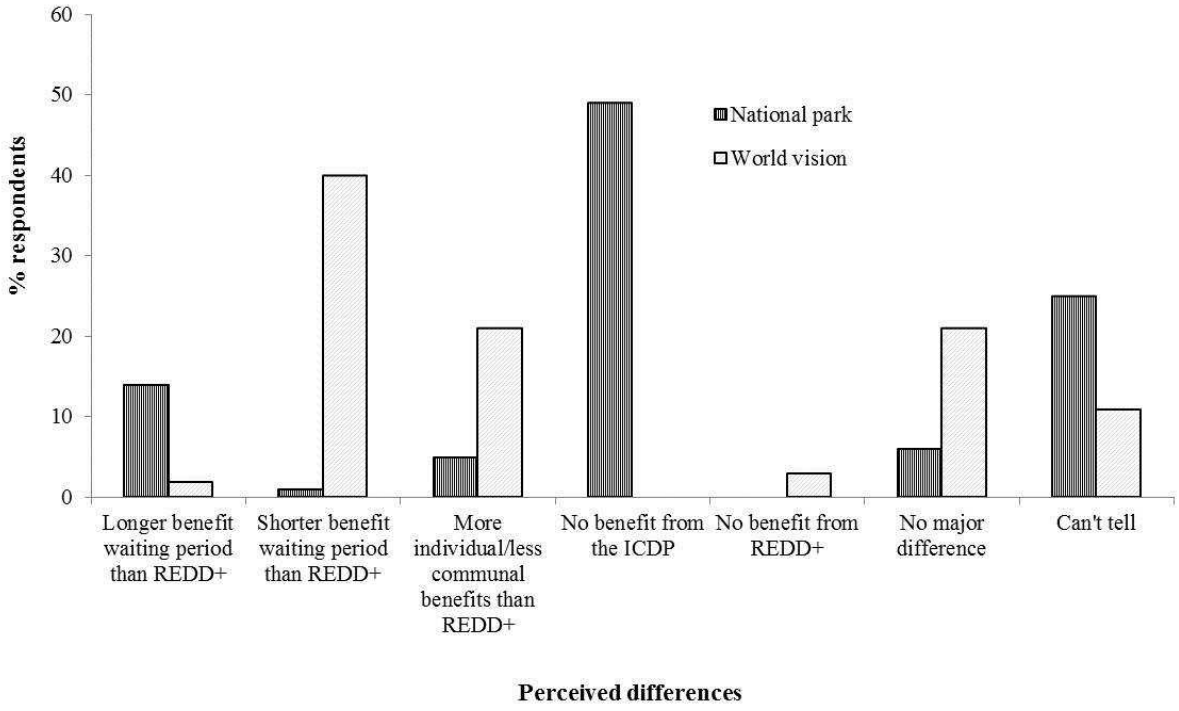

Fig. 6: Key lessons from the ICDPs that households perceive the REDD+ adopts, avoids and reshuffles

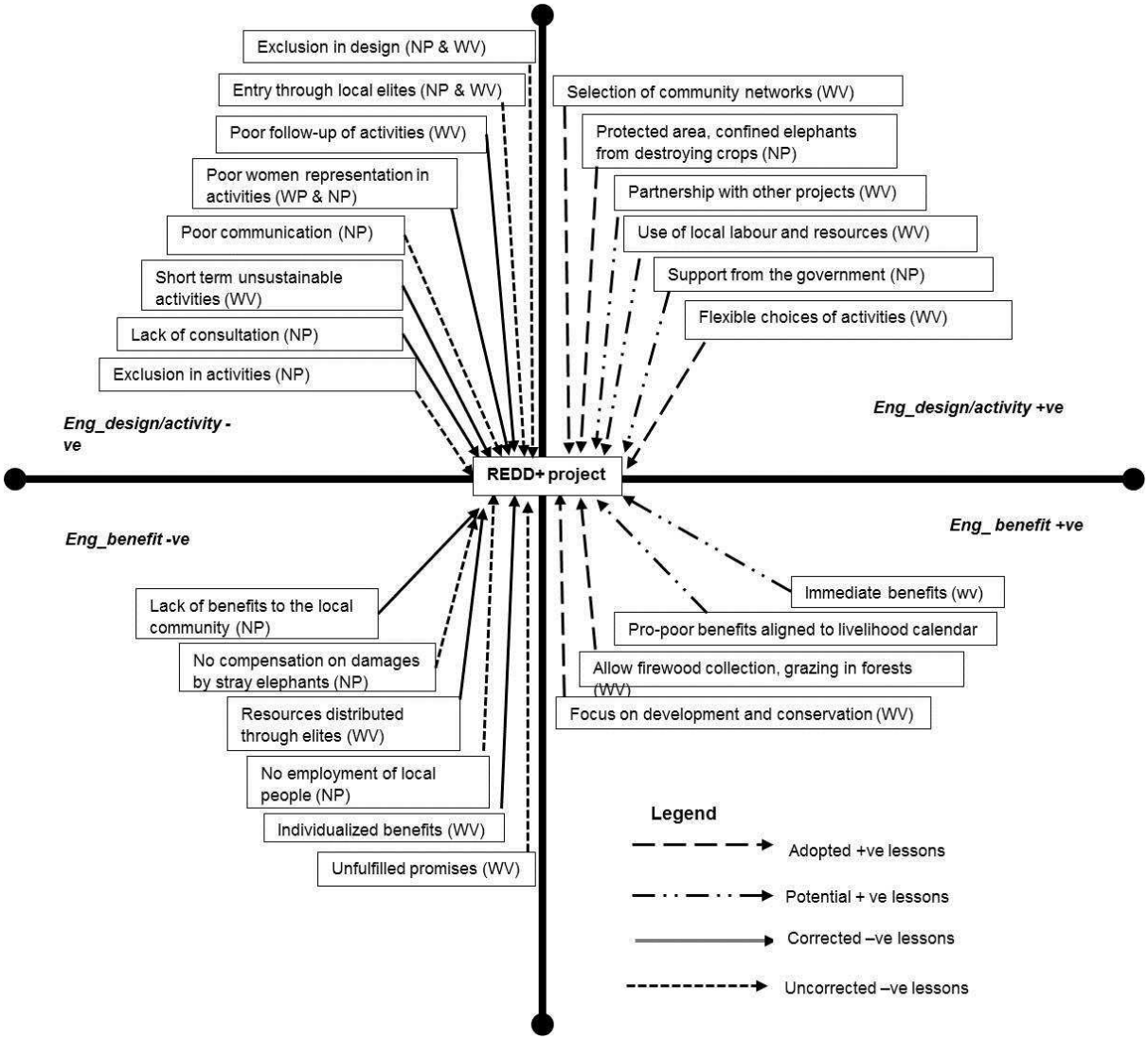

Fig. 7: Community participation and benefits: expectations

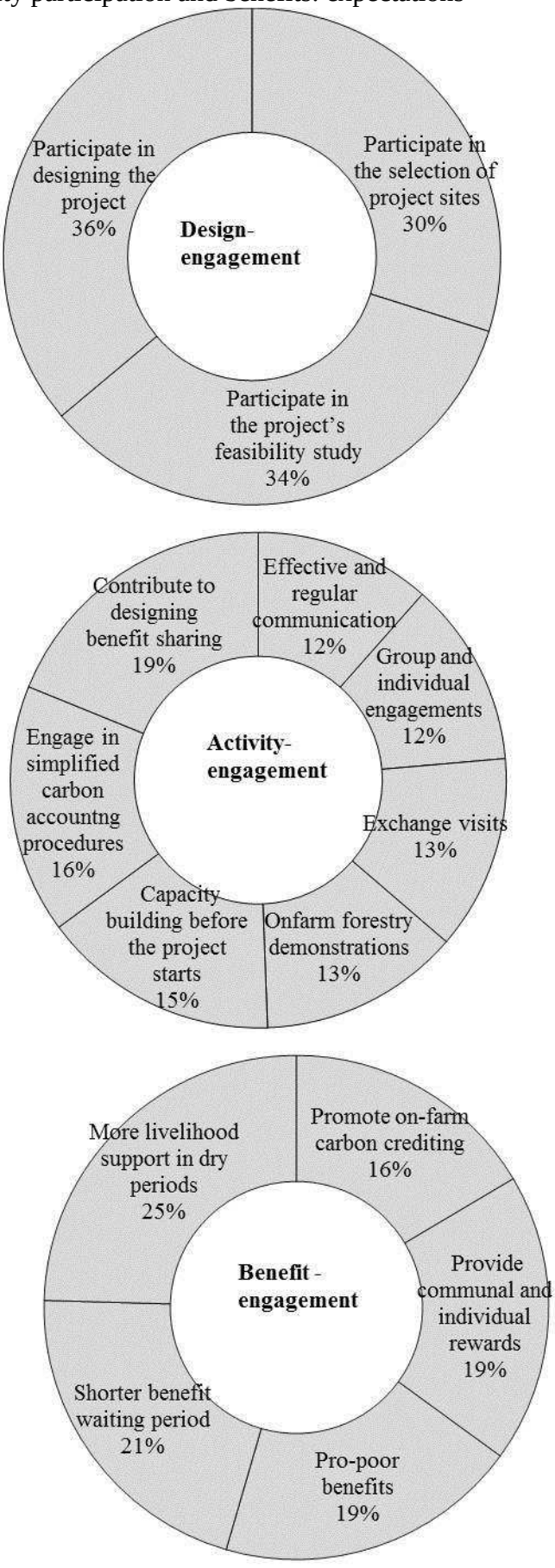

Table captions

Table 1:Design comparisons between the REDD+ and ICDP projects

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 Goals.
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 state regulations.	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

Table 2:Categories of lessons drawnfrom the ICDP experiences

Lessons from ICDP experiences	Description
Adopted +ve	Positive lessons that the REDD+ project has taken up
Potential +ve	Positive lessons that the project has not taken up yet are useful in the context of REDD+ design and community expectations
Corrected –ve	Negative lessons the project has taken up and corrected
Uncorrected –ve	Negative lessons adopted without efforts to reverse.

Table 3: Intervention and actors constituting the process of correcting negative lessons

Lessons from negative experiences	Inteventions by the REDD+ project	Actors involved in the interventions
Community exclusion in project activities (activity-engagement; NP)	Insitutional choices – de-recognition of negatively perceived local institutions and recognitions of positively perceived institutions 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)	Gender equity in representation in activity and benefit-engagement committees.	Project proponents Community members Chief
Poor communication (activity-engagement ; WP & NP)	Door to door campaigns, theatre 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 on interventions (activity-engagement; WV)	Elected committees verify new project interventions	Project proponents Community members
No livelihood benefits (benefit-engagement ;NP)	Landscape approach: integrated communal and individual benefits. Pro-poor benefit sharing mechanism: a third of carbon revenue from ranches allocated to pro-poor livelihood projects.	Community members Project proponent
No employment of local people (benefit-engagement ; NP)	Pro-poor opportunities: 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
Elite distribution of resources (benefit-engagement; WV)	Institutional choices – de-recognition of negatively perceived local institutions and recognitions of positively perceived institutions and establishment of new ones.	Project proponents Community members 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

Table 4: Linking lessons from ICDP eperiences with REDD+ implemntation outcomes of emissions reductions and community participation; World Vision (WV), National parks (NP).

Lessons from ICDP experiences	Nature of lessons from ICDP experiences	Relevance		Action by the REDD+ project
		Community rights/interests	Emission reduction	
1. Exclusion in design (NP and WV))	Design_ Eng. (-)	x		Uncorrected
2. Entry through local elites (NP and WV)	Design_ Eng. (-)	x		Uncorrected
3. Coordination and support from the national 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