

Improving Well-being and Reducing Deforestation in Indonesia's Protected Areas

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Journal: | <i>Conservation Letters</i> |
| Manuscript ID | CONL-23-0089.R2 |
| Wiley - Manuscript type: | Letter |
| Date Submitted by the Author: | n/a |
| Complete List of Authors: | <p>Morgans, Courtney; University of Kent Durrell Institute of Conservation and Ecology, School of Anthropology and Conservation Jago, Sophie; University of Kent Durrell Institute of Conservation and Ecology, School of Anthropology and Conservation Andayani, Noviar; Wildlife Conservation Society; Universitas Indonesia, Research Center for Climate Change Linkie, Matthew; Wildlife Conservation Society Indonesia Lo, Michaela; University of Kent Durrell Institute of Conservation and Ecology, School of Anthropology and Conservation Mumbunan, Sonny; Universitas Indonesia, Center for Climate and Sustainable Finance; World Resources Institute Indonesia St. John, Freya; Bangor University, School of Environment, Natural Resources & Geography Supriatna, Jatna; Universitas Indonesia Voigt, Maria; University of Kent Durrell Institute of Conservation and Ecology, School of Anthropology and Conservation Winarni, Nurul; Universitas Indonesia, Research Center for Climate Change Santika, Truly; University of Greenwich, Natural Resources Institute Struebig, Matthew; University of Kent Durrell Institute of Conservation and Ecology, School of Anthropology and Conservation</p> |
| Keywords: | Kalimantan, Sumatra, Tropical forest, Poverty, Counterfactual, Evaluation |
| Abstract: | <p>Protected areas (PAs) are central to sustainability targets, yet few evaluations explore outcomes for both conservation and development, or the trade-offs involved. We applied counterfactual analyses to assess the extent to which PAs maintained forest cover and influenced well-being across 31,000 villages in Sumatra and Kalimantan, Indonesia. We examined multidimensional aspects of well-being, tracking education, health, living standards, infrastructure, environment, and social cohesion in treatment and control villages between 2005 and 2018. Overall, PAs were effective at maintaining forest cover compared to matched controls and were not detrimental to well-being. However, impacts were highly heterogeneous, varying by island, and strictness of protection. While health, living standards, and infrastructure aspects of well-being improved, education, environmental and social dimensions declined. Our analysis reveals the contexts through which individual PAs succeed or fail</p> |

| | |
|--|---|
| | in delivering multiple benefits, and provides insights to where further on-ground support is needed to achieve conservation and development objectives. |
| | |

SCHOLARONE™
Manuscripts

Improving Well-being and Reducing Deforestation in Indonesia's Protected Areas

Keywords:

Counterfactual, Evaluation, Kalimantan, Poverty, Sumatra, Tropical forest

Abstract

Protected areas (PAs) are central to sustainability targets, yet few evaluations explore outcomes for both conservation and development, or the trade-offs involved. We applied counterfactual analyses to assess the extent to which PAs maintained forest cover and influenced well-being across 31,000 villages in Sumatra and Kalimantan, Indonesia. We examined multidimensional aspects of well-being, tracking education, health, living standards, infrastructure, environment, and social cohesion in treatment and control villages between 2005 and 2018. Overall, PAs were effective at maintaining forest cover compared to matched controls and were not detrimental to well-being. However, impacts were highly heterogeneous, varying by island, and strictness of protection. While health, living standards, and infrastructure aspects of well-being improved, education, environmental and social dimensions declined. Our analysis reveals the contexts through which individual PAs succeed or fail in delivering multiple benefits, and provides insights to where further on-ground support is needed to achieve conservation and development objectives.

1 INTRODUCTION

Protected areas (PAs) are common tools to help reverse biodiversity decline and maintain ecosystem services. Yet, despite global commitments to expand PAs (UNEP 2020), not all PAs are effective at achieving desired conservation goals (Ferraro et al., 2013). Crucially, PAs may

25 also have unintended consequences in neighbouring communities by restricting access to
26 resources (Brockington & Wilkie, 2015; McKinnon et al., 2016), particularly in tropical
27 countries where trade-offs occur between conserving globally significant biodiversity and
28 development opportunities for local communities (Kabra, 2018).

29

30 Despite increases in the amount of area under protection, the extent and magnitude to which
31 PAs achieve desired outcomes remains unequal within and between countries globally (UNEP
32 WCMC, 2020). Protected areas have helped avoid deforestation (Gaveau et al. 2009), improve
33 species protection (Taylor et al 2011) and maintain ecosystem services (Resende et al., 2021),
34 but the purported successes of PAs can be overstated, particularly as many global evaluations
35 have not adequately considered counterfactual outcomes (Andam et al 2013). Bias in PA
36 placement to areas of low cost and experiencing few threats contributes little additional benefit
37 than the counterfactual scenario of no protection (Joppa & Pfaff, 2009; Venter et al., 2018).
38 Placement bias also leads to the unequal representation of species and ecosystems, resulting in
39 uneven impacts in countries and local communities (Maxwell et al., 2020).

40

41 The use of conservation outcomes as the sole indicator of PA performance has drawn criticism
42 due to the unintended impacts of PAs on people (Brechin et al., 2010). PAs can bring new
43 income opportunities (e.g. tourism, Ferraro & Hanauer, 2014), but can also lead to detrimental
44 outcomes for neighbouring communities if they bear the cost of restricted access to conserved
45 land (Brockington & Wilkie., 2015). A lack of adequate stakeholder consultation and failure
46 to consider socio-ecological constraints can also result in diminished support for PAs and
47 reduced effectiveness (Linkie et al., 2008; Oldekop et al., 2016). In worst-case scenarios,
48 exclusion from land and decision-making processes can exacerbate conflict, inequality and

49 poverty (Brockington and Igoe 2006). Understanding the conditions under which PAs deliver
50 beneficial environmental outcomes without making local people worse off, and better still,
51 contribute to well-being, is crucial to achieving conservation and sustainable development
52 goals.

53

54 Causal inference methodologies assess interventions relative to a counterfactual scenario, and
55 have greatly improved our understanding of PA impacts and effectiveness (e.g. Ferraro &
56 Hanauer, 2014). Yet, despite the increased uptake of these methods globally, conclusions are
57 mixed. For example, increases in the strictness of protection appear to improve conservation
58 outcomes of PAs on a global scale (Shah et al., 2021), but not necessarily at the national or
59 regional level (Ferraro et al., 2013). Conversely, PAs reduce poverty when evaluated at
60 national level (Andam et al 2010), but localised impacts are nuanced (Clements et al 2014).
61 Evaluations of social impacts of PAs, and the trade-offs between social and environmental
62 objectives, are often limited by the availability of socioeconomic information at sufficient scale
63 and resolution to compare the impact of individual PAs robustly (Naidoo et al. 2019). As such,
64 many evaluations are either limited to coarse-scale indicators that do not account for the
65 multidimensional nature of well-being (Naidoo et al., 2019), or are undertaken at a fine scale
66 using detailed socioeconomic metrics restricted to a small subset of PAs (Jones et al., 2017).
67 Appropriate impact evaluation methodologies coupled with large-scale and detailed
68 socioeconomic data are needed to improve our understanding of whether PAs meet their
69 conservation objectives at no detriment to nearby communities, and help reveal conditions
70 important for success.

71

72 Here, we use causal inference methods to evaluate the impact of PAs on forest conservation
73 and multidimensional well-being outcomes in Indonesia where industrial expansion of
74 agriculture and mining has accelerated development and reduced the number of people living
75 in absolute poverty, particularly in rural areas (Suryahadi et al 2012). Yet, at the same time an
76 extensive PA network has been implemented to curb high deforestation rates (Iskandar 2022).
77 Trade-offs between such conservation and development objectives is particularly acute in the
78 west of the country in Sumatra and Kalimantan (Borneo) (Dwiyaheni, 2021; Santika et al
79 2021) where around 10% of land is protected for conservation (121 PAs across 46,100km² and
80 34 PAs across 54,000 km², respectively; Figure1).

81

82 We determine the extent to which PAs reduced deforestation and affected well-being in
83 Sumatra and Kalimantan, employing a multidimensional well-being index for 31,990 villages
84 over 13 years between 2005 and 2018. We apply a control-impact framework with statistical
85 matching to address three research questions: (1) Do PAs reduce deforestation, and does the
86 strictness of protection influence this? (2) What are the implications of PAs on well-being of
87 neighbouring communities? (3) How do changes in deforestation and well-being near
88 individual PAs differ within and between regions of Indonesia?

89

90 **2 METHODS**

91 **2.1 PA treatments**

92 PA data (IUCN categories Ia-VI; WDPA 2021) were validated against the Indonesian legal
93 land-use database (Indonesian Ministry of Forestry 2010), and villages with boundaries that
94 overlapped PAs were identified as treatment villages. As both the average village size, and the
95 area of overlap varied between villages and island (Figure S2.1 and Table S2.2), villages found

96 to overlap PAs by more than the median value for each island ($\geq 25\%$ in Sumatra, 759 villages;
97 $\geq 34\%$ in Kalimantan, 169 villages), were classified as treated whereas those that fell below the
98 threshold were excluded. This resulted in the inclusion of 78 PAs (60 Sumatra and 18
99 Kalimantan; Table S1.1). Due to insufficient overlap with any villages and small spatial size
100 (average $\sim 10\text{km}^2$), sixty-four PAs were excluded from analysis, as signals from PAs would be
101 difficult to discern at village level.

102

103 As PAs are likely to have socioecological impacts that extend beyond park boundaries, we
104 applied a 10km buffer around each PA to isolate the impact of protection from potential spill-
105 over effects. Buffers of this size are typical of other impact evaluations (Naidoo et al 2019,
106 Oldekop et al 2016) and serve to minimise the effect of spatial autocorrelation between
107 matched pairs of treated and control units (Negret et al 2020). Villages outside the buffer region
108 were classified as controls (15,370 in Sumatra and 4,374 in Kalimantan). Treated villages were
109 then further stratified for separate analysis. Those overlapping with national parks and wildlife
110 reserves (IUCN categories Ia-II) were classified as ‘strict’ PAs, whereas those overlapping
111 hunting parks, game reserves, grand forest parks and nature recreation parks (equivalent to
112 IUCN categories III-VI) were classified as ‘less strict’. Those that overlapped both types of PA
113 ($n = 8$) were classified according to the type with the largest area of overlap. This resulted in
114 three treatments (All, Strict, and Less strict PAs) which were matched and analysed separately
115 for each island. We assumed stable unit treatment values, although we note that there is likely
116 to be variation between regulatory criteria documented by IUCN and realised actions on the
117 ground (Larsen and Kendall 2019, Dwiyahreni 2021).

118

119 **2.2 Forest data**

120 As a primary goal of PAs is to protect forest, we determine PA effectiveness based on
121 deforestation incurred. Forest cover estimates from 2005 and 2018 were derived using the
122 Global Forest Change (GFC) dataset (v1.8; Hansen et al 2013), and defined forested pixels as
123 >70% tree canopy cover in 30 m resolution Landsat data following established protocols for
124 tropical moist forest (Santika et al 2020, Voigt et al 2022). Forest loss is the removal or
125 mortality of this tree cover. Following established protocols, we distinguished forest from
126 plantations using the extent of forest labelled as primary in 2000 by Margono et al. (2014). The
127 change in total forest cover between 2005 and 2018 was calculated for each village.

128

129 **2.3 Multidimensional well-being**

130 Previous investigations of PA impacts on people have measured benefits based on the absence
131 of poverty (Hanauer and Canavire-Bacarreza 2015), or measures of well-being that are closely
132 linked with material wealth (Clements et al 2014). Here, we consider well-being as a
133 multidimensional combination of social, economic, and environmental conditions that
134 contribute to an individual's quality of life and their capacity to withstand and overcome
135 challenges (WHO 2023). To measure multidimensional well-being, we compiled data from
136 Indonesia's village-level census, *Potensi Desa* (PODES), which is administered every 3-4 years
137 and spatially linked to village boundaries (n=24,000 in Sumatra; 5,600 in Kalimantan in 2018).
138 We used data from five consecutive census events (2005, 2008, 2011, 2014, 2018) to form a
139 Multidimensional Well-being Index (MWI), comprising 18 equally-weighted indicators across
140 six dimensions: living standards, health, education, environment, social cohesion, and
141 infrastructure and services (Table 1, Table S3). Differences in village boundaries and census
142 questions prior to 2005 made it difficult to utilise data before this period. The index and
143 dimensions were calculated based on how many basic needs were absent in a village (i.e. by

144 assigning a value of 0 if a village met the well-being threshold, or 1 otherwise, denoting
145 deprivation). We then calculated an overall well-being score per village as the cumulative value
146 of the 18 indicators and calculated the change in this score over the study time period for each
147 village.

148

149 **2.4 Confounding variables**

150 We controlled for the potential influence of biophysical and socio-political covariates on forest
151 and well-being outcomes by assigning average covariate values to each village unit.
152 Biophysical attributes comprised slope, elevation, baseline forest cover (in 2005), soil type,
153 and precipitation (see Supplementary Material S1.2 and 1.3), whilst social-political values
154 comprised baseline well-being (in 2005), accessibility, main income source, population size,
155 and village area (Table S4).

156

157

158 Table 1: Indicators and dimensions of our Multidimensional Well-being Index (MWI) derived
 159 from Indonesia's PODES census. The framework aligns with the SDGs and uses thresholds
 160 drawn from Indonesia's Village Development Index (*Indek Pembangunan Desa*, VDI)(
 161 Supplementary Material Section 2)

| Dimension | Indicator | Threshold for deprivation | Supporting reference |
|-------------------------|--|--|----------------------------------|
| Education | Access to primary schools. | There are no facilities within the village. | VDI, SDGs |
| | Access to high schools. | Facilities are greater than 3 km away. | VDI, SDGs |
| | Presence of supplementary literacy programs. | No literacy programs are available. | VDI, SDGs, Iskandar 2022 |
| Health | Malnutrition | There are more than two sufferers of malnutrition per 1000 population. | VDIs, SDGs |
| | Fatalities from preventable diseases | Mortality has occurred due to preventable illnesses including malaria and vomiting/ diarrhoea. | SDGs, Minister of Health Decree* |
| | Access to health facilities | No health care facilities within the village, and the nearest polyclinic is >19 km away. | VDIs, SDGs |
| Living standards | Source of drinking water | Water is primarily obtained via an unimproved source (e.g., pond, river, stream, rain). | VDIs, SDGs |

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| | Sanitation facilities | The majority of households do not have access to a private toilet facility. | VDIs, SDGs, Santika et al 2021 |
| | Source of cooking fuel | The primary source of cooking fuel used by households is not gas or LPG. | VDIs, SDGs, Santika et al 2021 |
| Infrastructure and services | Social security | More than 10% of households hold an SKTM (poverty) letter. | Fiarni et al 2013 |
| | Credit facilities | There is no access to any form of credit. | Santika et al 2021, Dahri et al 2015 |
| | Market access | There is no permanent or semi-permanent market, and the nearest permanent or semi-permanent market is >10 km away. | VGI |
| Environment | Air pollution | Air pollution was reported within the past year. | SDGs, Santika et al 2021 |
| | Water Pollution | Water pollution was reported within the past year. | SDGs, Santika et al 2021 |
| | Natural disasters | a landslide, flood, or earthquake has occurred within the village in the past three years. | Hallegatte et al 2017 |

| | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|--|---|
| Social cohesion | Crime | More than three types of crime have been reported to have occurred in the past year. | Sugiharti et al., 2022 |
| | Conflict | Mass conflict has occurred within the past year. | Santika et al 2021 |
| | Community participation | There have been no mutual cooperation activities. | Acket et al 2011, Iskandar, 2022, Santika et al 2021. |

162

163 2.5 Statistical matching

164 We used pair matching to identify treatment and control villages with similar covariate values,
 165 and applied a control–intervention analysis to compare changes in forest cover and well-being
 166 (overall and dimension-specific) between PA villages and matched controls throughout the
 167 study period. The process was repeated separately for the three treatments (i.e. all, strict, and
 168 less strict PAs, each in Sumatra and Kalimantan; six analyses in total). We assessed the efficacy
 169 of five matching approaches and confirmed matching with callipers and with replacement to
 170 be the optimal approach for Sumatra, while genetic matching was optimal for Kalimantan
 171 (Supplementary Material S5). A standardised mean difference of <0.1 was used as a threshold
 172 to determine balance between treatment and control groups for each covariate (Schleicher et
 173 al., 2020).

174

175 2.6 Analysis

176 A control-intervention analysis was employed to estimate the average treatment effect of
177 protection on forest cover and overall well-being outcomes between control and treatment
178 groups over time (2005-2018) (Table S6.1). We used an OLS regression to test the statistical
179 significance of the treatment effects (Table S7) whereby the dependent variable of interest
180 included the change in total forest cover or well-being between 2005 and 2018. This process
181 was then repeated to assess changes in the six well-being dimensions. All analyses were
182 undertaken in the R version 3.6.3 “MatchIt” package (Ho et al 2011). To understand the
183 contribution of individual PAs to overall deforestation and well-being outcomes, a
184 supplementary analysis was conducted to compare average changes in outcome variables.

185

186 **3 RESULTS**

187 Villages neighbouring PAs experienced significantly less deforestation compared to matched
188 controls. Those in Sumatra experienced 3.4% less deforestation than control villages ($p =$
189 0.026) overall, whereas in Kalimantan deforestation in PA villages was 2.1% lower than in
190 matched controls ($p = 0.005$) (Figure 1). Over the 13-year period, well-being improvements
191 were similar between PA villages and matched controls in Sumatra and Kalimantan. However,
192 changes in overall well-being outcomes masked important variation corresponding to both the
193 strictness of protection and individual well-being dimensions.

194

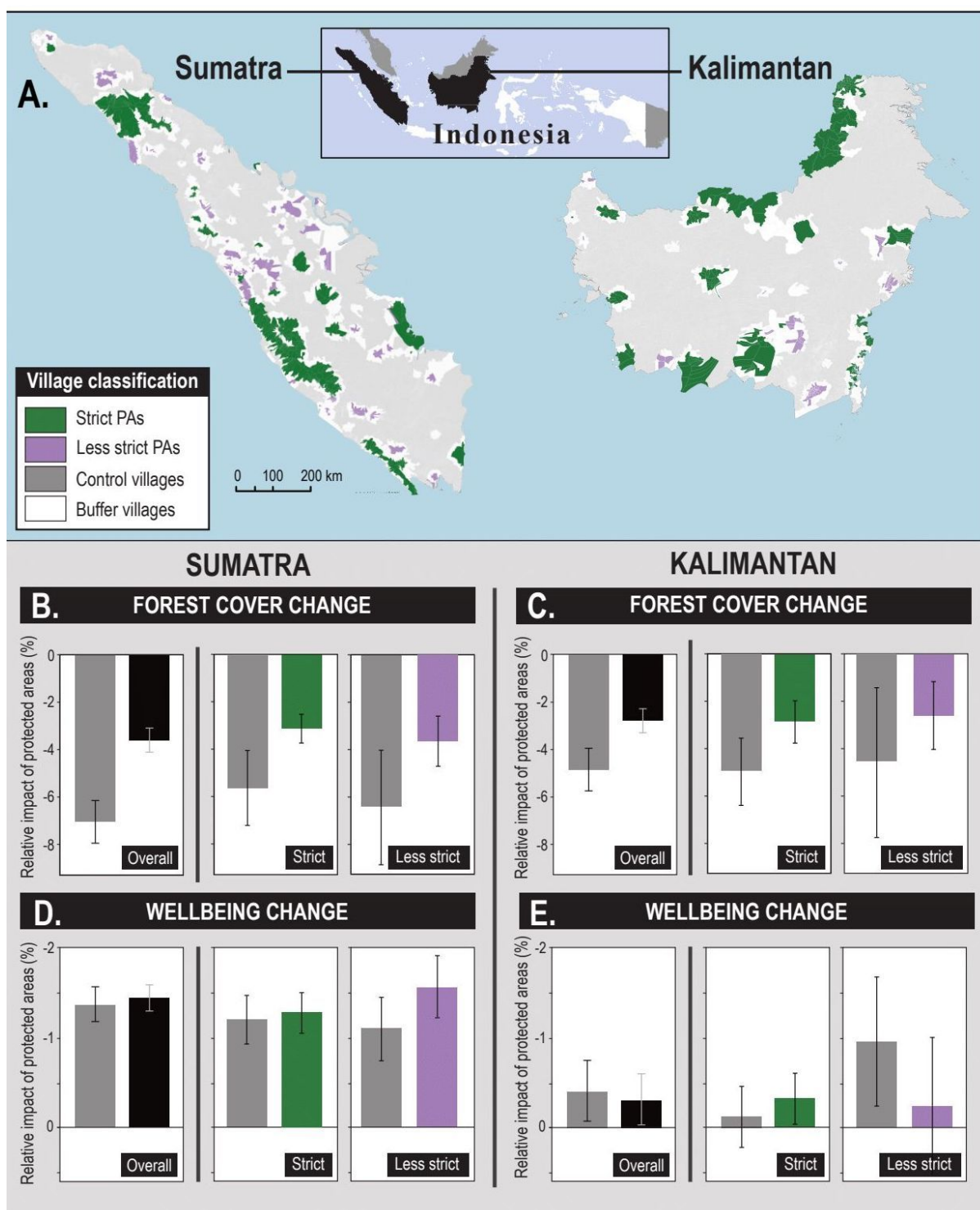
195 Strict and non-strict PAs on each island experienced ~2% less deforestation between 2005 and
196 2018 than matched controls (2.4% and 2.1% less deforestation in villages neighbouring strict
197 PAs for Sumatra and Kalimantan, respectively; reductions of 2.9% and 1.9% in less strict PAs
198 (Figure 1A, 1B, Table S6.1, S7)). In contrast, no detectable difference between overall well-
199 being in PA villages and controls was found on either island, however, the strictness of

200 protection was associated with different outcomes (Figure 1D, 1E). In Sumatra, villages near
201 PAs tended to experience greater well-being improvements than controls, whereas in
202 Kalimantan, results were more variable. While well-being improved in villages near less strict
203 PAs, the magnitude of improvement was lower but not significantly different than that
204 experienced in control villages

205

206 Patterns in overall well-being masked significant variation among well-being dimensions
207 (Figure 2, Table S6.2, S7). On both islands, villages near PAs experienced improvements to
208 health, living standards and infrastructure dimensions. However, declines in education, social,
209 and environmental well-being were experienced at the same time. Sumatran villages
210 experienced the greatest improvements to health-based indicators regardless of location, while
211 improvements to living standards were slower to accrue near strict PAs than in controls.
212 Conversely, in Kalimantan, improvements in health indicators were marginal across
213 treatments, whilst living standards improved in strict and non-strict PAs, with the former being
214 significantly higher than control villages ($p = 0.03$). All villages experienced a decline in
215 education, social, and environmental well-being, with the deterioration of the latter dimension
216 exacerbated near less-strict PAs in Kalimantan, where villages experienced statistically
217 significant worsening of environment conditions compared to controls ($p = 0.017$)(Table S7).

218



219

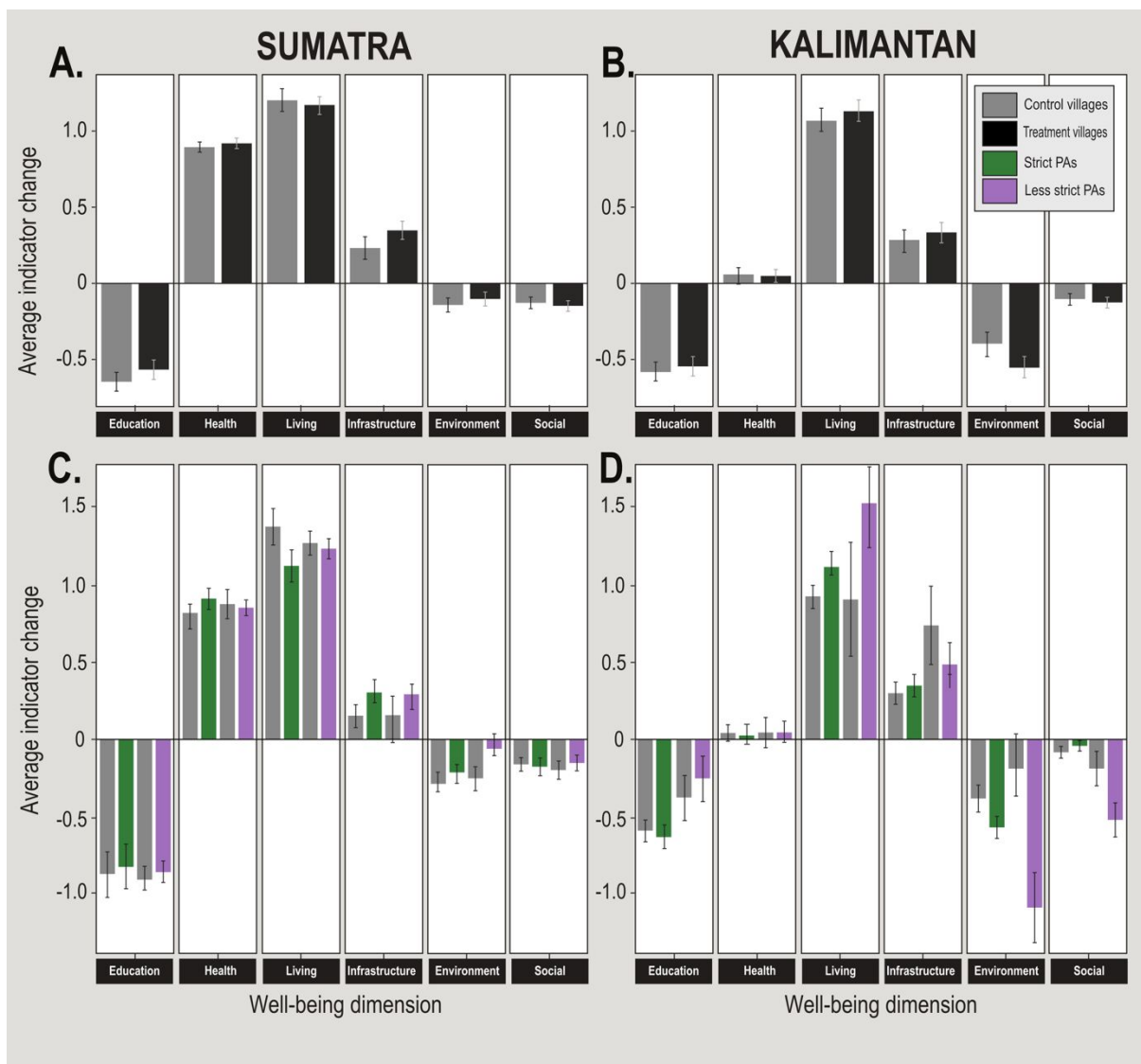
220 **Figure 1:** (A) Distribution of villages overlapping strict (green) and less strict (purple) protected
 221 areas (PAs) in Sumatra and Kalimantan, Indonesia. Villages in grey were included in the pre-
 222 match control pool, buffer villages in white were excluded from analysis. (B, C) Average
 223 changes in forest cover over the 13-year study period (2005 – 2018) between PAs and matched
 224 controls in Sumatra and Kalimantan, respectively. Black bars depict cumulative PA results

225 compared to matched controls shown in grey, green bars depict strict PAs and purple bars show
226 less strict PAs. (C, D) Average changes in well-being in villages neighbouring PAs versus
227 controls in Sumatra and Kalimantan. For each evaluation the matching was undertaken
228 separately for PAs with Strict (green) and Less strict (purple) protection, as well as combined
229 (black). Error bars depict 95% confidence intervals.

230

For Peer Review

231



232

233 **Figure 2:** Average change in dimension-level well-being scores between villages overlapping
 234 PAs (black) and control villages (grey) in Sumatra and Kalimantan between 2005 and 2018
 235 (top). Average difference in well-being dimensions between strict (green) and less strict
 236 (purple) PA villages compared with respective matched controls (bottom). Error bars depict
 237 95% confidence intervals.

238

239 Supplementary analysis of all PA villages (i.e. those included in the unmatched treatment pool),
240 revealed substantial variation in conservation and well-being outcomes associated with
241 individual PAs within and between islands. Of the 60 Sumatran PAs examined, 25 (41%) were
242 associated with <5% deforestation over the study period (an equivalent of <0.5% p.a and less
243 than background deforestation rates of 0.76% p.a and 1.5% p.a for Borneo and Sumatra
244 respectively), and above average well-being improvements compared to that experienced
245 across all villages during the study period (Figure 3). However, 13 PAs (22%) experienced a
246 trade-off between reducing deforestation in the park and improving well-being. They lost <5%
247 forest between 2005 and 2018 (i.e <0.5% annually), while improvements to well-being were
248 below the background average. Conversely, 16 (27%) PAs were associated with >5%
249 deforestation and well-being improvements. Six PAs (10%) experienced both high
250 deforestation and reduced well-being, implying that neither conservation nor development
251 objectives were met.

252

253 Of the 18 PAs in Kalimantan 28% experienced <5% deforestation and above-average
254 improvements to well-being, and 34% of PAs experienced low levels of deforestation along
255 with below average changes to well-being (Figure 3). High levels (>5%) of deforestation were
256 associated with improvements to village well-being in 16% of cases, whilst 22% of PAs
257 experienced both deforestation and deteriorating well-being conditions.

258

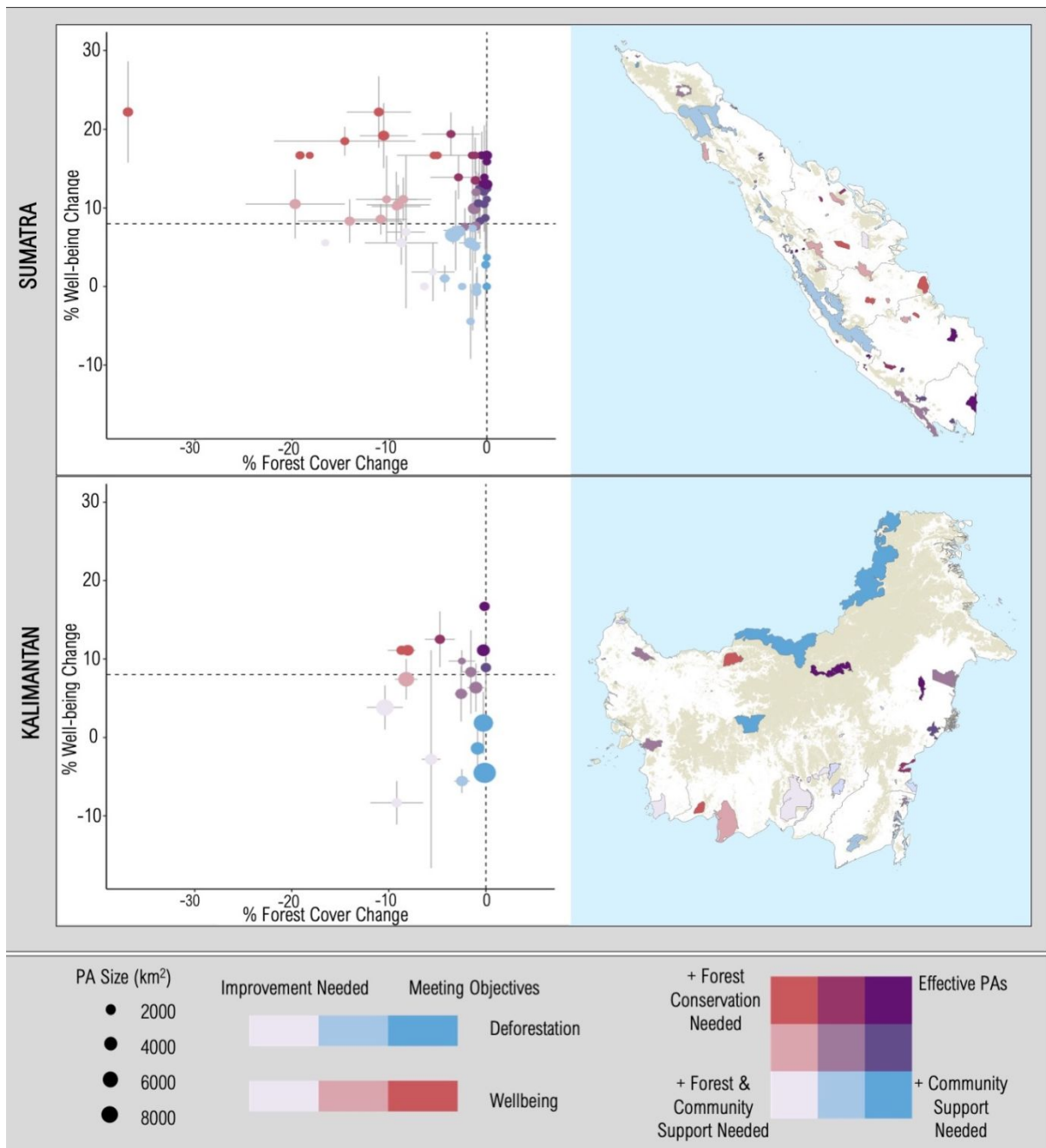


Figure 3: Performance of individual protected areas (PAs) in achieving forest conservation and well-being outcomes in nearby villages. Scatterplots depict average (+/- 95% CIs) forest cover and well-being change in all intersecting villages for each PA in Sumatra and Kalimantan. Point size reflects PA area (km²). The vertical dashed line depicts zero deforestation since this is an assumed PA goal that aligns with global ambitions to end deforestation by 2030. The dashed horizontal line depicts the average change in overall well-being across all villages in

267 Sumatra and Kalimantan, and thus represents the aggregated average change in well-being
268 across all villages for each island. PAs located further to the left of the vertical line have
269 experienced greater reductions in forest cover, while being above the horizontal line indicates
270 higher than average improvements in village well-being. PA colours reflect levels of success
271 in meeting objectives with increasing red saturation depicting improved well-being outcomes
272 and increasing blue saturation depicting positive forest conservation outcomes. PAs in purple
273 are therefore associated with more effective forest protection and improved well-being.

274

275 **4 DISCUSSION**

276 Overall, PAs were associated with reduced rates of deforestation in Sumatra and Kalimantan
277 without compromising well-being in nearby villages. Yet changes in deforestation and well-
278 being varied by island and levels of protection. In Kalimantan, deforestation was similar in all
279 PAs regardless of their level of protection, and the greatest well-being improvements occurred
280 in villages near strict PAs. In Sumatra, PAs were associated with significant reductions in
281 deforestation as well as improvements in well-being, although the latter change was not
282 statistically significant compared to controls. Less strict PAs were associated with marginally
283 higher deforestation than strict PAs, but greater well-being improvements. This implies that
284 the overall performance of PAs depends on the local context, not just the strength of protection.

285

286 Well-being improved across Indonesia during the study period, with similar increases
287 occurring in PA and control villages. Improvements in living standards experienced in both PA
288 and control villages reflect Indonesia's economic growth and development policies focused on
289 the Millennium and Sustainable Development Goals (Iskander 2022). For instance, LPG gas
290 access was provided to 50 million households between 2005 and 2012 (Thoday et al., 2018),

291 and efforts to improve sanitation and access to safe drinking water were similarly effective
292 (Odagiri et al., 2020). The intensity of programme rollouts varied geographically (Odagiri et
293 al., 2020), however, which may explain why living standards varied amongst treatment groups
294 and islands. Improvements to health as well as infrastructure and services around PAs may
295 reflect localised efforts to incentivise pro-conservation behaviours through the provision of
296 credit facilities or alternative enterprises such as ecotourism and community forestry around
297 some parks (Jones et al., 2020; Knott et al., 2021).

298
299 Education access worsened across villages on both islands. Educational attainment gaps persist
300 between rural and urban regions in Indonesia (Iskander 2022) with distance, poor transport,
301 and damage to critical infrastructure restricting participation (Pramana et al 2021). Similarly,
302 overall declines in social cohesion, particularly around less strict PAs in Kalimantan, suggests
303 that conservation measures may exacerbate social conflict. Participatory forest management
304 may therefore lead to improved outcomes if sustainable use is promoted in lieu of strict forms
305 of protection (Friedman et al., 2022; Oldekop et al., 2016), as is the case for Indonesia's social
306 forestry scheme (Santika et al., 2019).

307
308 Across both islands, most individual PAs met the primary objective of protecting forest without
309 detriment to neighbouring communities within the study period. However, these attainments
310 followed years of deforestation prior to the study period (Gaveau et al., 2009). Our analysis
311 (Figure 3) reveals that some PAs require additional support to meet forest protection goals
312 without disadvantaging surrounding communities. Trade-offs between PA conservation and
313 development outcomes (49% of cases in Sumatra; 50% in Kalimantan) suggest linking
314 conservation goals with the needs of local people should remain a high priority for PA planning

315 and management (Supriatna and Margules, 2022). Whilst the primary objectives for PA
316 designation and management may vary between individual PAs, learning from PA successes
317 and applying these lessons to less effective ones will assist in avoiding unintended outcomes.
318 Any future expansion of the PA estate would benefit from clear usage policies and participatory
319 planning.

320

321 Well-being outcomes vary between islands and indicators, emphasising the importance of
322 considering the multidimensional nature of well-being when evaluating the impacts of PAs and
323 other conservation policies on neighbouring communities. Whilst we reveal important nuances
324 in well-being outcomes, indicators were measured at the village level and so could conceal
325 potential heterogeneity between households (Naidoo et al 2019). Similarly, whilst the selected
326 well-being indicators represent facets of Indonesia's sustainable development goals, they are
327 not exhaustive and the impacts of PA development on equity and resilience within communities
328 requires further investigation. As the focal period for our analysis does not include trends prior
329 to the designation of the PAs, explicit causality between PAs and deforestation and well-being
330 outcomes should not be inferred. In addition, it is possible that the influence of PAs on
331 deforestation and well-being will vary depending on the extent of which a village area is
332 impacted by PA regulations. Further evaluations that account for trends prior to implementation
333 as well the proportion of the village area under PA designation, will improve this evidence
334 base.

335

336 Drawing inference from broad-scale counterfactual analyses, our appraisal highlights that PA
337 outcomes are dependent on local context. Our finding of heterogenous impacts of PAs on
338 communities is highly relevant to global ambitions for expanding the protected area network,

339 such as the CBD 30-by-30 target. We emphasise the need for more nuance in impact evaluation
340 approaches to provide a robust evidence-base for informing PA expansion efforts. Trade-offs
341 in PA outcomes also need to be further scrutinised to understand contributions towards
342 contrasting sustainable development goals since there is variation in the ability of PAs to meet
343 sustainability objectives, including poverty alleviation and ecosystem protection.
344 Consequently, a carefully considered national and international PA network is needed to ensure
345 targets for representation are met, whilst securing equitable benefits for people more broadly.

346

347 **Acknowledgements**

348 The research was funded by a Leverhulme Research Leadership Award to XXX, with
349 permission granted from Indonesia's National Research and Innovation Agency (formally
350 RISTEK; permit 2/TU.B5.4/SIP/VIII/2021). This research is part of a project that has received
351 funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020
352 grant agreement No. 755956 awarded to XXX.

353

354

355 **Reference:**

- 356 1. Andam, K. S., Ferraro, P. J., & Hanauer, M. M. (2013). The effects of protected area
357 systems on ecosystem restoration: a quasi-experimental design to estimate the impact
358 of Costa Rica's protected area system on forest regrowth. *Conservation Letters*, *6*(5),
359 317-323.
- 360 2. Brechin, S. R., Murray, G., & Mogelgaard, K. (2010). Conceptual and Practical Issues
361 in Defining Protected Area Success: The Political, Social, and Ecological in an
362 Organized World. *Journal of Sustainable Forestry*, *29*(2-4), 362-389.
363 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10549810903550811>
- 364 3. Brockington, D., & Igoe, J. (2006). Eviction for conservation: a global
365 overview. *Conservation and society*, 424-470.
- 366 4. Brockington, D., & Wilkie, D. (2015). Protected areas and poverty. *Phil. Trans. R.*
367 *Soc. B*, *370*, 6.
- 368 5. Clements, T., Suon, S., Wilkie, D. S., & Milner-Gulland, E. J. (2014). Impacts of
369 protected areas on local livelihoods in Cambodia. *World development*, *64*, S125-S134.
- 370 6. Dwiyahreni, A. A., Fuad, H.A.H., Muhtar, S., et al (2021). Changes in the human
371 footprint in and around Indonesia's terrestrial national parks between 2012 and 2017.
372 *Scientific Reports*, *11*, 4510.
- 373 7. Ferraro, P. J., & Hanauer, M. M. (2014). Quantifying causal mechanisms to determine
374 how protected areas affect poverty through changes in ecosystem services and
375 infrastructure. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *111*(11), 4332-4337.
376 <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1307712111>
- 377 8. Ferraro, P. J., Hanauer, M. M., Miteva, D. A., Canavire-Bacarreza, G. J., Pattanayak,
378 S. K., & Sims, K. R. E. (2013). More strictly protected areas are not necessarily more
379 protective: Evidence from Bolivia, Costa Rica, Indonesia, and Thailand.
380 *Environmental Research Letters*, *8*(2), 025011. [https://doi.org/10.1088/1748-](https://doi.org/10.1088/1748-9326/8/2/025011)
381 [9326/8/2/025011](https://doi.org/10.1088/1748-9326/8/2/025011)
- 382 9. Friedman, R. S., Wilson, K. A., Rhodes, J. R., & Law, E. A. (2022). What does
383 equitable distribution mean in community forests? *World Development*, *157*, 105954.
384 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2022.105954>

- 385 10. Gaveau, D. L. A., Epting, J., Lyne, O., Linkie, M., Kumara, I., Kanninen, M., &
386 Leader-Williams, N. (2009). Evaluating whether protected areas reduce tropical
387 deforestation in Sumatra. *Journal of Biogeography*, *36*(11), 2165–2175.
388 <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2699.2009.02147.x>
- 389 11. Hanauer, M. M., & Canavire-Bacarreza, G. (2015). Implications of heterogeneous
390 impacts of protected areas on deforestation and poverty. *Philosophical Transactions of*
391 *the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, *370*(1681), 20140272.
- 392 12. Ho, D., Imai, K., King, G., & Stuart, E. A. (2011). MatchIt: Nonparametric
393 Preprocessing for Parametric Causal Inference. *Journal of Statistical Software*, *42*(8),
394 1–28. <https://doi.org/10.18637/jss.v042.i08>
- 395 13. Iskandar, A. H. (2022). *SDGs DESA: Accelerating The Achievement of National*
396 *Sustainable Development Goals (Versi Bahasa Inggris)*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor
397 Indonesia.
- 398 14. Jones, N., McGinlay, J., & Dimitrakopoulos, P. G. (2017). Improving social impact
399 assessment of protected areas: A review of the literature and directions for future
400 research. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, *64*, 1–7.
401 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eiar.2016.12.007>
- 402 15. Jones, I. J., MacDonald, A. J., Hopkins, S. R., Lund, A. J., Liu, Z. Y. C., Fawzi, N. I.,
403 ... & Sokolow, S. H. (2020). Improving rural health care reduces illegal logging and
404 conserves carbon in a tropical forest. *Proceedings of the National Academy of*
405 *Sciences*, *117*(45), 28515–28524.
- 406 16. Joppa, L. N., & Pfaff, A. (2009). High and Far: Biases in the Location of Protected
407 Areas. *PLoS ONE*, *4*(12), e8273. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0008273>
- 408 17. Kabra, A. (2018). Dilemmas of conservation displacement from protected areas. In
409 *Challenging the prevailing paradigm of displacement and resettlement* (pp. 117–140).
410 Routledge.
- 411 18. Knott, C. D., Kane, E. E., Achmad, M., Barrow, E. J., Bastian, M. L., Beck, J.,
412 Blackburn, A., Breeden, T. L., Brittain, N. L. C., Brousseau, J. J., Brown, E. R.,
413 Brown, M., Brubaker-Wittman, L. A., Campbell-Smith, G. A., de Sousa, A.,
414 DiGiorgio, A. L., Freund, C. A., Gehrke, V. I., Granados, A., ... Susanto, T. W.
415 (2021). The Gunung Palung Orangutan Project: Twenty-five years at the intersection

- 416 of research and conservation in a critical landscape in Indonesia. *Biological*
417 *Conservation*, 255, 108856. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2020.108856>
- 418 19. Larsen, A. E., Meng, K., & Kendall, B. E. (2019). Causal analysis in control–impact
419 ecological studies with observational data. *Methods in Ecology and Evolution*, 10(7),
420 924–934.
- 421 20. Linkie, M., Smith, R. J., Zhu, Y., Martyr, D. J., Suedmeyer, B., Pramono, J., &
422 Leader-Williams, N. (2008). Evaluating Biodiversity Conservation around a Large
423 Sumatran Protected Area. *Conservation Biology*, 22(3), 683–690.
424 <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1523-1739.2008.00906.x>
- 425 21. Maxwell, S. L., Cazalis, V., Dudley, N., Hoffmann, M., Rodrigues, A. S. L., Stolton,
426 S., Visconti, P., Woodley, S., Kingston, N., Lewis, E., Maron, M., Strassburg, B. B.
427 N., Wenger, A., Jonas, H. D., Venter, O., & Watson, J. E. M. (2020). Author
428 Correction: Area-based conservation in the twenty-first century. *Nature*, 588(7837),
429 E14–E14. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-020-2952-y>
- 430 22. McKinnon, M. C., Cheng, S. H., Dupre, S., Edmond, J., Garside, R., Glew, L.,
431 Holland, M. B., Levine, E., Masuda, Y. J., Miller, D. C., Oliveira, I., Revenaz, J., Roe,
432 D., Shamer, S., Wilkie, D., Wongbusarakum, S., & Woodhouse, E. (2016). What are
433 the effects of nature conservation on human well-being? A systematic map of
434 empirical evidence from developing countries. *Environmental Evidence*, 5(1), 8.
435 <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13750-016-0058-7>
- 436 23. Naidoo, R., Gerkey, D., Hole, D., Pfaff, A., Ellis, A. M., Golden, C. D., Herrera, D.,
437 Johnson, K., Mulligan, M., Ricketts, T. H., & Fisher, B. (2019). Evaluating the
438 impacts of protected areas on human well-being across the developing world. *Science*
439 *Advances*, 5(4), eaav3006. <https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.aav3006>
- 440 24. Negret, P. J., Marco, M. D., Sontner, L. J., Rhodes, J., Possingham, H. P., & Maron, M.
441 (2020). Effects of spatial autocorrelation and sampling design on estimates of
442 protected area effectiveness. *Conservation Biology*, 34(6), 1452–1462.
- 443 25. Odagiri, M., Cronin, A. A., Thomas, A., Kurniawan, M. A., Zainal, M., Setiabudi, W.,
444 Gnilo, M. E., Badloe, C., Virgiyanti, T. D., Nurali, I. A., Wahanudin, L., Mardikanto,
445 A., & Pronyk, P. (2020). Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals for water and
446 sanitation in Indonesia – Results from a five-year (2013–2017) large-scale

- 447 effectiveness evaluation. *International Journal of Hygiene and Environmental Health*,
448 230, 113584. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijheh.2020.113584>
- 449 26. Oldekop, J. A., Holmes, G., Harris, W. E., & Evans, K. L. (2016). A global assessment
450 of the social and conservation outcomes of protected areas: Social and Conservation
451 Impacts of Protected Areas. *Conservation Biology*, 30(1), 133–141.
452 <https://doi.org/10.1111/cobi.12568>
- 453 27. Pramana, C., Chamidah, D., Suyatno, S., Renadi, F., & Syaharuddin, S. (2021).
454 Strategies to Improved Education Quality in Indonesia: A Review. *Turkish Online*
455 *Journal of Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(3).
- 456 28. Resende, F. M., Cimon-Morin, J., Poulin, M., Meyer, L., Joner, D. C., & Loyola, R.
457 (2021). The importance of protected areas and Indigenous lands in securing ecosystem
458 services and biodiversity in the Cerrado. *Ecosystem Services*, 49, 101282.
459 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecoser.2021.101282>
- 460 29. Santika, T., Wilson, K. A., Budiharta, S., Kusworo, A., Meijaard, E., Law, E. A.,
461 Friedman, R., Hutabarat, J. A., Indrawan, T. P., St. John, F. A. V., & Struebig, M. J.
462 (2019). Heterogeneous impacts of community forestry on forest conservation and
463 poverty alleviation: Evidence from Indonesia. *People and Nature*, 1(2), 204–219.
464 <https://doi.org/10.1002/pan3.25>
- 465 30. Santika, T., Budiharta, S., Law, E. A., Dennis, R. A., Dohong, A., Struebig, M. J., ... &
466 Wilson, K. A. (2020). Interannual climate variation, land type and village livelihood
467 effects on fires in Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Global Environmental Change*, 64, 102129.
- 468 31. Santika, T., Wilson, K. A., Law, E. A., St John, F. A., Carlson, K. M., Gibbs, H., ... &
469 Struebig, M. J. (2021). Impact of palm oil sustainability certification on village well-
470 being and poverty in Indonesia. *Nature Sustainability*, 4(2), 109-119.
- 471 32. Schleicher, J., Eklund, J., D. Barnes, M., Geldmann, J., Oldekop, J. A., & Jones, J. P.
472 G. (2020). Statistical matching for conservation science. *Conservation Biology*, 34(3),
473 538–549. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cobi.13448>
- 474 33. Shah, P., Baylis, K., Busch, J., & Engelmann, J. (2021). What determines the
475 effectiveness of national protected area networks? *Environmental Research Letters*,
476 16(7), 074017. <https://doi.org/10.1088/1748-9326/ac05ed>

- 477 34. Supriatna, J., and Margules, C., (2022) The National Parks of Indonesia. Yayasan
478 Pustaka Obor Indonesia. 425 pages. ISBN 978-623-321-175-8
- 479 35. Suryahadi, A., Hadiwidjaja, G., & Sumarto, S. (2012). Economic growth and poverty
480 reduction in Indonesia before and after the Asian financial crisis. *Bulletin of*
481 *Indonesian economic studies*, 48(2), 209-227.
- 482 36. Taylor, M., Sattler, P., Fitzsimons, J., Curnow, C., Beaver, D., Gibson, L., &
483 Llewellyn, G. (2011). Building nature's safety net 2011: the state of protected areas for
484 Australia's ecosystems and wildlife.
- 485 37. Thoday, K., Benjamin, P., Gan, M., & Puzzolo, E. (2018). The Mega Conversion
486 Program from kerosene to LPG in Indonesia: Lessons learned and recommendations
487 for future clean cooking energy expansion. *Energy for Sustainable Development*, 46,
488 71–81. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esd.2018.05.011>
- 489 38. Venter, O., Magrath, A., Outram, N., Klein, C. J., Possingham, H. P., Di Marco, M., &
490 Watson, J. E. M. (2018). Bias in protected-area location and its effects on long-term
491 aspirations of biodiversity conventions: Protected Areas Missing Biodiversity.
492 *Conservation Biology*, 32(1), 127–134. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cobi.12970>
- 493 39. Voigt, M., Kühl, H. S., Ancrenaz, M., Gaveau, D., Meijaard, E., Santika, T., ... &
494 Rosa, I. M. (2022). Deforestation projections imply range-wide population decline for
495 critically endangered Bornean orangutan. *Perspectives in Ecology and*
496 *Conservation*, 20(3), 240-248.

497

498

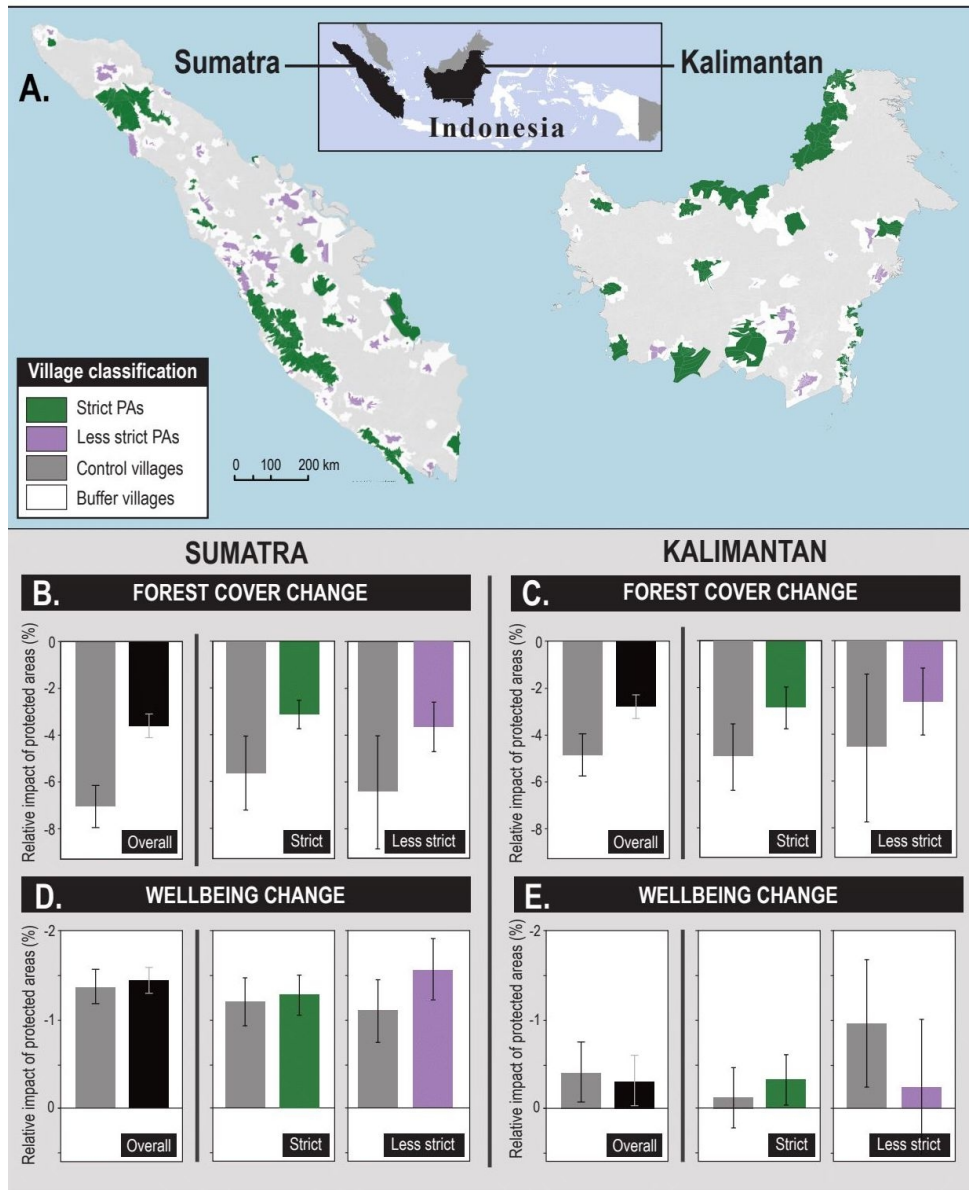


Figure 1: (A) Distribution of villages overlapping strict (green) and less strict (purple) protected areas (PAs) in Sumatra and Kalimantan, Indonesia. Villages in grey were included in the pre-match control pool, buffer villages in white were excluded from analysis. (B, C) Average changes in forest cover over the 13-year study period (2005 – 2018) between PAs and matched controls in Sumatra and Kalimantan, respectively. Black bars depict cumulative PA results compared to matched controls shown in grey, green bars depict strict PAs and purple bars show less strict PAs. (C, D) Average changes in well-being in villages neighbouring PAs versus controls in Sumatra and Kalimantan. For each evaluation the matching was undertaken separately for PAs with Strict (green) and Less strict (purple) protection, as well as combined (black). Error bars depict 95% confidence intervals.

437x539mm (72 x 72 DPI)

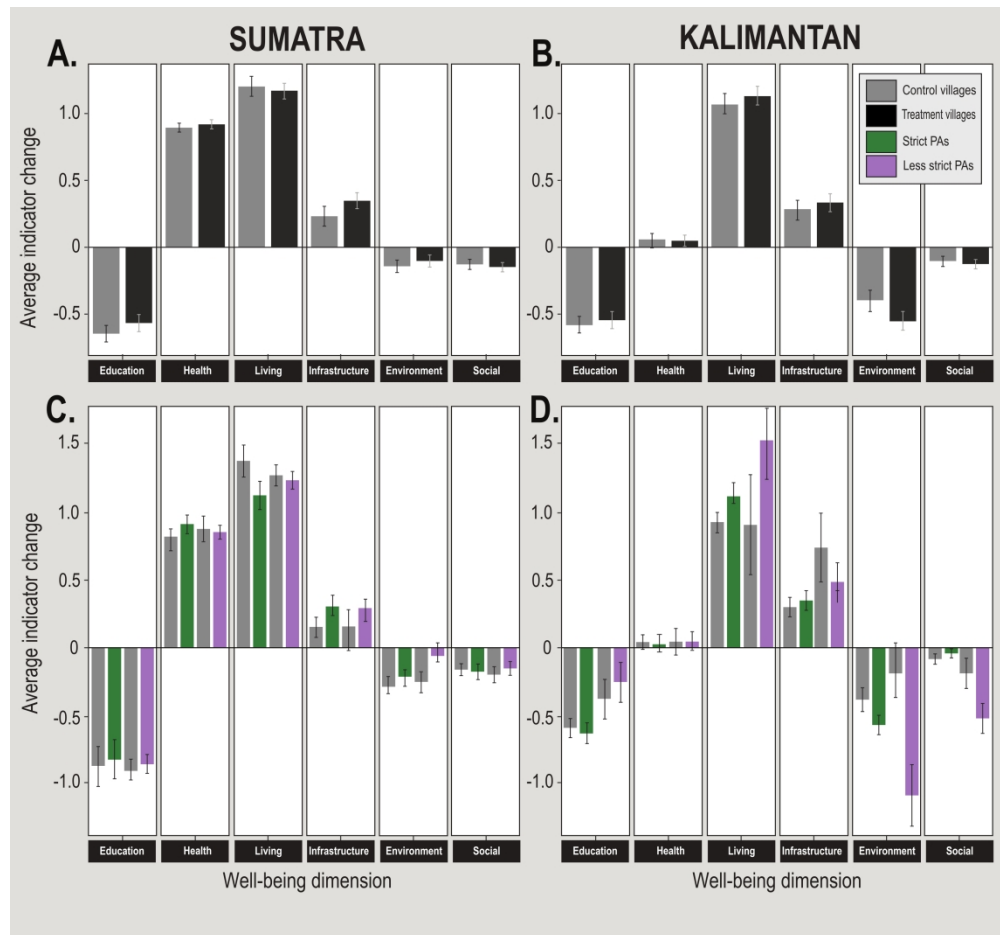


Figure 2: Average change in dimension-level well-being scores between villages overlapping PAs (black) and control villages (grey) in Sumatra and Kalimantan between 2005 and 2018 (top). Average difference in well-being dimensions between strict (green) and less strict (purple) PA villages compared with respective matched controls (bottom). Error bars depict 95% confidence intervals.

447x416mm (197 x 197 DPI)

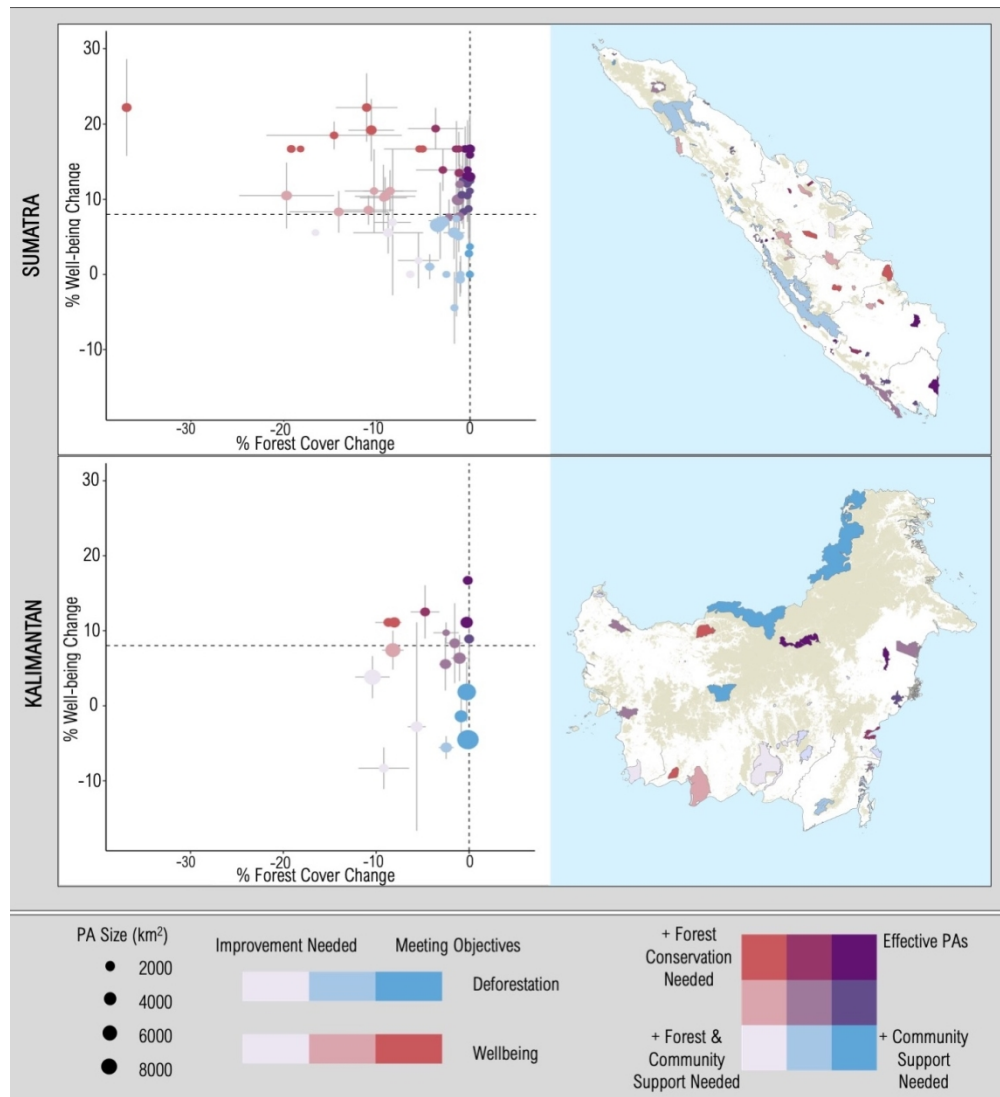


Figure 3: Performance of individual protected areas (PAs) in achieving forest conservation and well-being outcomes in nearby villages. Scatterplots depict average (+/- 95% CIs) forest cover and well-being change in intersecting villages for each PA in Sumatra and Kalimantan. Point size reflects PA area (km²). The vertical dashed line depicts zero deforestation since this is an implicit PA goal. The dashed horizontal line depicts the average change in overall well-being across all villages in Sumatra and Kalimantan, and thus represents the aggregated average change in well-being across all villages for each island. PAs located further to the left of the vertical line have experienced greater reductions in forest cover, while being above the horizontal line indicates higher than average improvements in village well-being. PA colours reflect levels of success in meeting objectives with increasing red saturation depicting improved well-being outcomes and increasing blue saturation depicting positive forest conservation outcomes. PAs in purple are therefore associated with more effective forest protection and improved well-being.

188x207mm (195 x 195 DPI)