# Protected areas and biodiversity conservation in India

Mousumi Ghosh-Harihar<sup>\*1</sup>, Ruby An<sup>2</sup>, Ramana Athreya<sup>3</sup>, Udayan Borthakur<sup>4</sup>, Pranav Chanchani<sup>5</sup>, Dilip Chetry<sup>4</sup>, Aparajita Datta<sup>6</sup>, Abishek Harihar<sup>6, 7</sup>, Krithi K. Karanth<sup>8, 9, <sup>15</sup>, Dincy Mariyam<sup>9</sup>, Dhananjai Mohan<sup>10</sup>, Malvika Onial<sup>11</sup>, Uma Ramakrishnan<sup>1</sup>, V. V. Robin<sup>12</sup>, Ajai Saxena<sup>13</sup>, Ghazala Shahabuddin<sup>14</sup>, Prachi Thatte<sup>1</sup>, Varsha Vijay<sup>15</sup>, Kristen Wacker<sup>2</sup>, Vinod B. Mathur<sup>11</sup>, Stuart L. Pimm<sup>15</sup>, Trevor D. Price<sup>\*2</sup></sup>

<sup>1</sup>National Centre for Biological Sciences, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bellary Road, Bengaluru-560065, Karnataka, India, Email: mousumi1812@gmail.com (MGH), uramakri@ncbs.res.in (UR), prachi.thatte@gmail.com (PT), <sup>2</sup> Department of Ecology and Evolution, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois 60637, USA. Email: pricet@uchicago.edu (TDP), rubyan@uchicago.edu (RA), kwacker@uchicago.edu (KW), <sup>3</sup> Indian Institute of Science Education and Research, Homi Bhabha Road, Pashan, Pune-411 008 Maharashtra, India. Email: rathreya@iiserpune.ac.in,<sup>4</sup> Aaranyak, 13 Tayab Ali Byelane, Bishnu Rabha Path, Beltola Tinali-Bhetapara Link Road, Guwahati - 781 028, Assam, India. Email: udayan.borthakur@gmail.com (UB), dilip@aaranyak.org (DC), <sup>5</sup>WWF-India, 172 B, Lodhi Estate, New Delhi- 110003, India. Email: pranav.chanchani@gmail.com, <sup>6</sup> Nature Conservation Foundation, 1311, "Amritha", 12<sup>th</sup> Main, Vijaynagar 1<sup>st</sup> Stage, Mysore 570017, Karnataka, India. Email: aparajita@ncf-india.org (AD), harihar.abishek@gmail.com (AH), <sup>7</sup>Panthera, 8 West 40th Street, 18th Floor, NY 10018, US, <sup>8</sup>Wildlife Conservation Society, 2300 Bronx Blvd, New York, USA, Email: krithi.karanth@gmail.com, 9Centre for Wildlife Studies, 551, 7th Main Road Rajiv Gandhi Nagar, 2nd Phase, Kodigehalli, Bengaluru 560097, India. Email: dincy.mariyam@cwsindia.org, <sup>10</sup>103, Phase 2, Vasant Vihar, Dehradun-248006. Email: dhananjaim@gmail.com, <sup>11</sup>Wildlife Institute of India, PO Box 18, Chandrabani, Dehradun-248001, India. Email: malvika@wii.gov.in (MO), vbm@wii.gov.in (VBM), <sup>12</sup> Indian Institute of Science Education and Research, Tirupati, c/o Sree Rama Engineering College (Transit Campus), Rami Reddy Nagar, Karakambadi Road, Mangalam, Tirupati 517507, Andhra Pradesh, Email: robinvijayan@gmail.com, <sup>13</sup>PCCF & CWLW, Forest Dept., Panaji, Goa Email:

ajaisaxena@yahoo.com, <sup>14</sup> Centre for Ecology, Development and Research, 201/1, Vasant Vihar, Dehradun, Uttarakhand 248006, India. E-mail: ghazala303@gmail.com, <sup>15</sup>Nicholas School of the Environment, Duke University, Room A301 LSRC building, 308 Research Drive, Durham, NC 27708, USA. Email: varshavijay101@gmail.com (VV), stuartpimm@me.com (SLP)

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\*Corresponding authors:

Mousumi Ghosh-Harihar, National Centre for Biological Sciences, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bellary Road, Bengaluru-560065, Karnataka, India. Email: mousumi1812@gmail.com, Tel: +91 80 2366 6031

Trevor D. Price, Department of Ecology and Evolution, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois 60637, USA, Email: pricet@uchicago.edu, Tel: (773) 702-5176

## 1 Abstract

2 Three well-supported generalizations in conservation biology are that developing tropical 3 countries will experience the greatest biodiversity declines in the near future, they are some of 4 the least studied areas in the world, and in these regions especially, protection requires local 5 community support. We assess these generalizations in an evaluation of protected areas in India. 6 The 5% of India officially protected covers most ecoregions and protected areas have been an 7 important reason why India has suffered no documented species extinctions in the past 70 years. 8 India has strong legislation favouring conservation, government investment focused on 50 Tiger 9 Reserves, and government compensation schemes that facilitate local support, all of which 10 brighten future prospects. However, many protected areas are too small to maintain a full complement of species, making connectivity and species use of buffer zones a crucial issue. 11 12 Conservation success and challenges vary across regions according to their development status. 13 In less developed areas, notably the biodiverse northeast Himalaya, protected areas maintaining 14 the highest biodiversity result from locally-focused efforts by dedicated individuals. Across 15 India, we demonstrate considerable opportunities to increase local income through ecotourism. 16 Our evaluation confirms a lack of data, increasing threats, and the importance of local support. 17 Research on biodiversity in buffer zones, development of long-term monitoring schemes, and 18 assessment of cash and conservation benefits from tourism are in particular need. For policy 19 makers two main goals should be the development of monitoring plans for 'eco-sensitive zones' 20 around protected areas, and a strong emphasis on preserving established protected areas. 21

Keywords: biodiversity, ecotourism, edge expansion, local community, northeast India, Tiger
Reserves

#### 24 **1. Introduction**

25 Assessments at the global and regional level have indicated the most effective places to put 26 protected areas in order to conserve biodiversity, as well as locations that are relatively under-27 protected (Myers et al., 2000; Ocampo-Penuela et al. 2016; Newmark et al. 2017; Pollock et al., 2017; Elsen et al., 2018; Pimm et al. 2018). Other works focus on the state of biodiversity in 28 29 general (Pimm et al., 2014; Newbold et al., 2015) including evaluations of the extent to which 30 protected areas succeed in maintaining species (Gray et al., 2016; Newbold et al., 2015). These 31 assessments rely on remote sensing (Venter et al., 2016), a few global datasets (e.g. the world 32 database on protected areas, www.iucn.org), literature reviews that contrast biodiversity patterns 33 across space (Gray et al., 2016) or time (Dornelas et al. 2014; Newbold et al., 2015), and 34 contributions to public online databases. While informative, results from these studies raise two 35 major issues that we need to address if conservation prospects are to improve. The first is the 36 quality and quantity of the data. Data may be especially lacking in exactly those regions where 37 biodiversity will be most threatened in the coming years (tropical, rapidly developing areas with high human population growth; Pimm et al., 2014; Tilman et al., 2017). The second is that 38 39 biodiversity conservation is largely at the provenance of national, state, and local levels, creating 40 large variation in the success of protected areas both between and within countries. We can gain 41 much by studying individual cases, rather than global averages or generalities, because 42 experience across multiple case studies can be tailored to the unique situations encountered in 43 any one location.

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India exemplifies the challenges of conservation in developing tropical countries. It is the
world's second most populous country and may overtake China within a decade. Its population

has more than doubled since the late 1970s, is growing by 15,000 people a day, and has a current
density of ~330/km<sup>2</sup>. It falls in the bottom third of countries ranked by *per capita* GDP, but with
an additional US \$50 billion entering the economy annually, it is transforming rapidly: people
across all economic classes are consuming more. India has an exceptional number of plant
(Joppa et al., 2013) and animal (Jenkins et al., 2013) species facing these increased pressures.
For example, 888 species of birds regularly breed within India's boundaries, more than 8% of the
world's total (based on maps compiled by birdlife.org).

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55 While approximately 15% of global land is protected, India officially protects 5% of its 56 area (Dinerstein et al. 2017). However, India's conservation challenge differs from that of other 57 large countries, such as the USA, Brazil, and China. In these countries, large protected areas are 58 situated in sparsely populated regions, which in the USA and China are also of relatively low 59 biodiversity (Pimm et al. 2018). Instead, in India, many millions of people live within a few 60 kilometres of protected areas and perhaps 4 million reside within them (Narain et al. 2005), 61 although the figure is uncertain, with no updates this century. This creates major challenges for 62 those who manage India's biodiversity, both because the protected areas are used to some 63 degree, and because major targets of conservation efforts, including elephants (Elephas 64 maximus), tigers (Panthera tigris), leopards (Panthera pardus), bears (Melursus ursinus), wolves 65 (*Canis lupus*), snow leopards (*Panthera uncia*) and prey species such as wild pigs (*Sus scrofa*), 66 nilgai (Boselaphus tragocamelus), chital (Axis axis) and sambar (Rusa unicolor) pose threats to 67 humans, livestock and crops. Such challenges are likely to become more pressing and more 68 widespread across the world, as populations and wealth increase in the tropics.

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In this paper, we review and summarize what is known about the success and future prospects for protected areas in India. In the first section we describe the status of protected areas, including coverage, area, quality, external threats and connectivity. In the second section we consider means of protection, including legislation, government financial support, ecotourism, and local initiatives. We conclude with a general discussion of the status of protected areas in India, and the kinds of key data and policies that are required to improve conservation prospects.

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## 78 **2. Status of Protected areas in India**

79 India designated its first National Park, presently named Corbett National Park, in 1936. To date, 80 officially protected areas in India now consist of 104 National Parks and 551 Wildlife 81 Sanctuaries (www.wiienvis.nic.in); however, 5 National Parks and 79 Sanctuaries are less than 1 82 km<sup>2</sup> (many are islands), and are not considered further in this paper. National Parks enjoy the 83 highest protection, being legally free from human intervention (International Union for the 84 Conservation of Nature (IUCN), Category II, see www.iucn.org). Wildlife Sanctuaries fall into 85 IUCN category IV, which allows for limited use. India introduced two additional legal categories 86 for its protected areas in 2002 (Saigal et al., 2018). Conservation Reserves, on public land, and 87 Community Reserves, on private land (IUCN Categories V and VI, respectively) are established 88 mainly on the basis of approved management plans. Of 214 such reserves established by 2019 89 (4,811 km<sup>2</sup> in total), more than 70% are in just three states (122 Community Reserves are in 90 Meghalaya and Nagaland, and 34 Conservation Reserves in Jammu & Kashmir). The 91 Convention for Biological Diversity in 2011 set the well-known Aichi Biodiversity Targets, 92 including the goal that protected areas across the earth's land surface should increase from 13%

93 to 17%. Recent guidelines developed by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature's 94 World Commission on Protected Areas now admits Conservation and Community Reserves as 95 contributing to that goal, but at present these two categories comprise only 0.15% of India's 96 surface area (IUCN WCPA, 2018). However, government-owned reserved forests, which local 97 communities sometimes participate in managing, cover 13.2% of India and often contribute to 98 buffers and corridors for protected areas (www.fsi.nic.in; Shahabuddin and Thadani, 2018). To 99 the extent that these are managed in a way that leads to positive biodiversity conservation 100 outcomes, they may also contribute to the Aichi targets. They are certainly subject to legal 101 restrictions on resource exploitation, but are not well monitored to assess the enforcement of 102 protection and status of biodiversity, which are requirements of the current guidelines (IUCN 103 WCPA, 2018).

### 104 2.1 Protected area contributions to conservation

105 No bird or mammal is known to have been lost from India since the cheetah (Acinonyx jubatus) 106 was extirpated in the mid-20th century (Divyabhanusinh, 1999). Protected areas have clearly 107 played an important role in this success (Karanth et al., 2010; Walston et al., 2016). For example, 108 more than 85% of the world's one-horned rhinos (Rhinoceros unicornis) and more than 70% of 109 the world's tigers live in India, largely a consequence of the efficient functioning of India's Tiger 110 Reserves (Jhala et al., 2015; Talukdar et al., 2008; Walston et al., 2016). For birds, protected 111 areas provide major refuges for many species in low numbers. The three Gyps vulture species, 112 after experiencing a 97% population decline in total due to veterinary use of the drug diclofenac, 113 are now largely found inside or near National Parks (Prakash et al., 2017). The Jerdon's courser 114 (*Rhinoptilus bitorquatus*), a critically endangered species last seen in 2009 is most likely to 115 persist in the Sri Lankamaleswara Wildlife Sanctuary (www.iucnredlist.org). Conversely, the

low number of protected areas in certain ecoregions such as the Gangetic Plain (Fig. 1) is surely
contributing to the endangered status of several species. Grasslands have been converted to
agriculture, pasture and plantations throughout India (Arasumani et al., 2018; Rahmani, 2012).
Threats to grassland birds are exemplified by the Great Indian bustard (*Ardeotis nigriceps*),
which now numbers <250 individuals (Dutta et al., 2016).</li>

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122 Within India's protected areas, only a few censuses of animal and plant populations have 123 been published to assess their effectiveness at maintaining biodiversity. The global survey of 124 Dornelas et al. (2014) lists just one study of trees from India, with no appreciable change in 125 diversity over time. The Living Planet index, which records censuses between 1970 and 2014, 126 gives only three studies with more than 5 years of data (http://www.livingplanetindex.org). They 127 are the one-horned rhinoceros in two National Parks from Assam (Syangden et al., 2008), lion 128 (Panthera leo), leopard, striped hyena (Hyaena hyaena) and chital in the Gir forest (Singh and 129 Gibson, 2011) and Gyps vultures from Bharatpur (Prakash, 1999). While vultures have declined, 130 all the mammals appear to have increased. Overall, data on the success of protected areas in 131 India are clearly in short supply, and future studies are needed to thoroughly evaluate their 132 efficacy.

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### 134 2.2 Protected area coverage

Rodgers and Panwar (1988) used principles of biogeography and distribution of biomes across
India to develop a plan for a protected area network that guided both National and State
Institutions. Presently, Sanctuaries and National Parks cover the 28 forested ecoregions of India
at a median level of 5.5% of their area. However, 6 ecoregions have less than 2% coverage

139 (Dinerstein et al. 2017). The map in Fig. 1 also implies that heavily populated regions, such as in 140 the Gangetic Plain, have relatively few protected areas. Considerations of biome and ecoregion 141 coverage do not address how many species are actually present in the protected areas. To assess 142 species coverage, we overlaid India's 888 breeding species of birds (from birdlife.org), as the 143 best-known group, on delimited Sanctuaries and National Parks (Fig. 1). These are clearly lower 144 bounds on species numbers, because trimming maps to include factors such as habitat, elevation, 145 and park fragmentation excludes many species (Li and Pimm, 2016; Ocampo-Peñuela et al., 146 2016). According to this analysis, only three bird species with substantial breeding populations 147 in India are not present in any protected area (White-capped bunting *Emberiza stewarti*, Glossy 148 Ibis Plegadis falcinellus and Maroon-backed accentor Prunella immaculata), all of which have 149 large populations in other countries (the Glossy ibis appears to have recently started breeding in 150 south India, in a small sanctuary (Venkatraman 2009)). However, the conclusion of thorough 151 coverage is qualified because 82 species are only found in protected areas smaller than 500 km<sup>2</sup>, and 160 are found in four or fewer Protected areas (Supplemental Fig. 1). Finally, when we 152 153 restricted the analysis to Tiger Reserves, which are the focus of much of India's conservation 154 effort (see below), we found that 28% of all bird species do not overlap with any reserve. The 155 figure increases to 33% if we exclude the Tiger Reserves in Arunachal Pradesh, which are less 156 well protected than elsewhere (see below). One reason for the absence of many bird species and associated ecoregions from Tiger Reserves is that east Himalayan elevations above 1500m 157 158 contain the highest bird species richness of anywhere in India (Price et al., 2011). 159

160 Northeast India is exceptional in its richness of species, many of which are threatened
161 (Fig. 1). It is also one of the most biodiverse places in the world (Price, 2012; Jenkins et al.,

162 2013). In the analysis associated with Figure 1, we found that 25 protected areas intersect the 163 ranges of >300 breeding bird species, all of which are in the forested regions of Northeast India 164 and the eastern Himalaya. They include National Parks that are both small (e.g., Phawngpui Blue 165 Mountain in Mizoram, 55 km<sup>2</sup> and Keibul-Lamjao in Manipur, 39 km<sup>2</sup>) and large (Khangchendzonga, Sikkim, 1784 km<sup>2</sup>). Despite the biological importance of northeast India, 166 167 recent reviews of conservation and development in India barely mention this region 168 (Shahabuddin, 2010; Bindra, 2017; Bhagwat, 2018; see Price, 2018). Therefore, in certain 169 sections below we describe four protected areas in the northeast (as indicated by letters in Fig. 1, 170 right and mapped in Fig. 2). These four examples are chosen to illustrate topics of general 171 concern, but for which no summary dataset is available.

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#### 173 2.3 Protected area size

174 Based on global studies, estimates of bird species loss suggest isolated tropical fragments 10 km<sup>2</sup> in area will lose their first species within 7 years, while one the size of 500 km<sup>2</sup> will lose its first 175 176 species within 40 years (Newmark et al. 2017). However, it takes about 300 and 3,000 years 177 respectively for 50% of the original avifauna to be lost from these fragments. In India, areas 178 smaller than 700 km<sup>2</sup> have historically experienced a 50% probability of losing dholes (Cuon 179 *alpinus*) and areas smaller than 135 km<sup>2</sup> a 50% probability of losing tigers (Woodroffe and 180 Ginsberg 1998), exemplified by the more recent loss of tigers from Sariska National Park (in 181 2005, the Park covers 270km<sup>2</sup>) and Panna National Park (in 2008, 540 km<sup>2</sup>; Chundawat et al., 182 2016; Gopal et al., 2010; Shahabuddin, 2010). These two parks have since been repopulated 183 with tigers through translocation of individuals (Jhala et al. 2015). Elsewhere in the world, much larger protected areas have lost large mammal species. Six parks smaller than 5,000 km<sup>2</sup> in 184

Ghana lost at least 25% of their large mammals in 30 years (Brashares et al. 2001). Eighty-eight
percent (14/16) of protected areas smaller than 10,000 km<sup>2</sup> across Tanzania and western North
America lost at least one species over timespans of 50-80 years (Newmark 1995, 1996).
Additional negative effects of small areas in India include reduced genetic diversity (golden
langur [*Trachypithecus geei*], Ram et al. 2016; tiger, Natesh et al. 2017) and higher load of
gastrointestinal parasites in multiple mammal species (Chakraborty et al. 2015).
Twenty-nine parks and Sanctuaries in India are larger than 1,000km<sup>2</sup> and just two are

larger than 5,000km<sup>2</sup> (one in the desert, and another above treeline; Fig. 1). However, India's

193 Tiger Reserves are generally a composite of National Parks and Sanctuaries (these two

194 categories cover ~40% of Tiger Reserve area), plus reserved forest or other governmental land,

195 which effectively increases the area of suitable habitat (Jhala et al., 2015). Maintenance of this

196 land importantly contributes to protection (Wikramanayake et al., 2011; Chanchani et al., 2016).

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## 198 2.4 Protected area habitat quality

199 At present, the biodiversity of individual protected areas with respect to a pristine state is uncertain, but clearly varies substantially from one place to another. Many protected areas are 200 201 lower in quality than they otherwise could be. First, industrial monocultures such as rubber, 202 coffee and teak have historically formed significant areas of National Parks and Sanctuaries, due 203 to colonial emphasis on commercial forest use. Such monocultures harbour only a small 204 proportion of the native fauna (Kumar et al., 2011). Second, forest fragmentation has been 205 documented in some protected areas (e.g. Nameri Tiger Reserve, Saikia et al. 2013). Fragments 206 are generally smaller and farther apart towards the park periphery (e.g. Tadoba Andhari Tiger 207 Reserve, Nagendra et al. 2006), and they are more numerous in smaller rather than larger

208 protected areas (e.g., in protected areas of Rajasthan, Krishna et al. 2014). Third, people live 209 inside many protected areas. Narain et al. (2005) suggest that 56% of the National Parks and 210 72% of the Sanctuaries had some people living in them (but they also note a great deal of 211 uncertainty in these figures). Fourth, even in those protected areas without human habitation, local people (Datta, 2007; Narain et al., 2005; Shahabuddin, 2010), tourist enterprises (Karanth 212 213 et al., 2012), and developers (Bindra, 2017; Bhagwat, 2018) use resources inside the protected 214 area. In some cases, this is legal, especially when local rights allowing limited use of Sanctuaries 215 were retained from previous local rights held prior to designation as a Sanctuary. In many other 216 cases, legal restrictions are ignored. For example, according to Bindra (2017, p.114) 200,000 217 cattle graze in, or close to, Sariska Tiger Reserve, and the small Hollongapur Gibbon Sanctuary 218 in Assam contains heavily degraded land on one side used for cattle grazing (Fig. 2c).

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220 Given observations such as these, Bhagwat (2018) suggests that many protected areas 221 have recently suffered from "downgrading, downsizing, and degazettement", which would surely 222 affect long term conservation goals. However, available data imply relatively modest losses (7 223 downsizes, 5 downgrades, and 2 degazettes, http://www.padddtracker.org/view-paddd, ~1,100 224 km<sup>2</sup> in total downsized between 1990 and 2010). These have been more than compensated by 225 recent additions to the protected area system (24 Sanctuaries added ~5,200 km<sup>2</sup> between 2010 226 and 2015, www.wiienvis.nic.in). This is not to say that downgrading is not occurring, but that 227 changes in protected area quality are poorly documented.

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Effects of size and quality can be countered by directed management programs that alter and improve prospects for targeted species in dangerously low numbers (Butchart et al., 2006, 231 2016). As we noted, in India, population sizes of one horned rhinoceros and tiger are explicitly a
232 result of protected area management and protection, specifically focused on these species.

233

234 2.5 Hunting in protected areas

235 Hunting is another understudied threat (Velho et al. 2012). Hunting pressure clearly varies across 236 regions and taxa, but is particularly intense in the northeast India (Aiyadurai et al., 2010; Datta et 237 al., 2008a; Velho et al., 2012). India's wildlife laws entirely prohibit hunting of wildlife in these 238 forests, but enforcement is weak. Tribal communities have a strong tradition of hunting-for 239 meat, medicine, ritual customs, recreation, and increasingly for income (Aiyadurai et al., 2010). 240 Improved technologies like guns and snares along with access to markets have resulted in large 241 vertebrates being extremely rare or locally extirpated in many parts of Arunachal Pradesh (Datta 242 et al., 2008a). In one study of 51 villages, 33 mammal species were hunted, of which 20 are 243 listed as threatened on the IUCN Red List (Aiyadurai et al., 2010). Beyond tigers, the primary 244 targets are hornbills, ungulates, pheasants, bears, and primates (Aiyadurai et al., 2010; Datta et 245 al., 2008a), although other groups such as squirrels and small carnivores are also hunted (Datta et 246 al., 2008b; Dollo et al., 2010). Given the functional importance of these faunal groups as prey 247 species for large carnivores or as frugivores and seed dispersers, their decline is likely to have 248 myriad ecological consequences (Naniwadekar et al., 2014). Despite the imperfections of law 249 enforcement and the prevalence of hunting, protected areas still provide a greater level of 250 security to wildlife than Community and Reserved Forests (Naniwadekar et al., 2015; Velho et 251 al., 2016).

One such protected area threatened by hunting in the northeast is Namdapha Tiger
Reserve in the east Himalaya (1985 km<sup>2</sup>, Fig. 1, Fig. 2, Datta, 2007; Datta et al., 2008a; Narain et

254 al., 2005). At the time of park declaration in 1983, a community claimed prior residence and 255 disputed the boundary demarcation on the eastern fringe. In the late 1990s, partly prompted by 256 loss of agricultural lands to erosion, and partly to claim land in the park, local people established 257 several villages inside the park. Their population has since grown. Subsistence hunting and 258 commercial poaching of bears and tigers have gone largely unchecked (Datta et al., 2008a). 259 Reserve management has been largely absent, with no director for 10 years. A conservation 260 organization started community-based initiatives that included education, health care, alternate 261 energy, and other welfare initiatives over eight years in an effort to reduce hunting and win the 262 community's support for conservation (Datta, 2007). This was accompanied by efforts at 263 dialogue between the community and the government at local, state, and national levels. Land 264 was identified for resettlement but the community refused to leave, citing their dissatisfaction 265 with the resettlement package. A stalemate continues. Nevertheless, hornbills and other species 266 are at higher densities inside Namdapha than outside (Naniwadekar et al., 2015).

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## 268 2.6 Fragmentation and connectivity

269 According to Reddy et al. (2013), India is losing forest area at the rate of 0.2% per year, and more than 90% of remaining forest fragments are less than 1km<sup>2</sup> in size and global assessments 270 271 indicate that habitat fragmentation in India is extensive (Crooks et al., 2017). Beyond forest loss, 272 fragmentation prevents movement in arboreal animals, such as the western hoolock gibbon 273 Hoolock hoolock (Vasudev et al., 2015). Isolation of fragments has resulted in increased human-274 elephant conflicts (Baskaran et al., 2013), reduced gene flow among populations of tigers 275 (Natesh et al., 2017) and forest understory birds (Robin et al., 2015), and altered species 276 composition in mixed foraging bird flocks (Sridhar and Sankar, 2008).

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278	Negative consequences of fragmentation may be reduced if fragments are connected,
279	enabling the movement of organisms between them (Crooks and Sanjayan, 2006). The tiger has
280	been the main focus of connectivity studies (Qureshi, 2014), but ease of transit across the
281	landscape varies across species and interacts with the particular obstacle encountered. Small
282	understory birds are less likely to cross large open gaps than large, more mobile species (Robin
283	et al., 2015). For example, a landscape genetics study in Central India shows that roads with high
284	traffic and urban areas strongly affect connectivity for the tiger (Thatte et al. 2018, Fig. 3A). The
285	tiger has been the main focus of connectivity studies (Qureshi, 2014), but for the jungle cat (Felis
286	chaus) a similar analysis implies roads are relatively stronger obstacle than land use (Thatte et
287	al., 2019). For the sloth bear (Melursus ursinus) a similar analysis implies all non-forest areas
288	(linear infrastructure and other land use) impede movement and connectivity (Thatte et
289	al., 2019). Maintaining connectivity in the face of development pressures across India will be an
290	outstanding difficulty (Chanchani et al., 2016; Harihar et al., 2018; Thatte et al., 2018; Bhagwat,
291	2018). This is exemplified in Uttarakhand, where suitable tiger habitat has been cut-off by
292	development (Fig. 3B) and contains many fewer tigers than it could support.
293	
294	2.7 Other threats

295 Beyond habitat degradation, fragmentation, and hunting, other threats to conservation of

biodiversity in protected areas include climate change, invasive species, and interactions between 296

297 all threats. The richest locations for biodiversity in the east Himalaya should be relatively

298 resistant to warming, given low anticipated climate change velocities (km/degree/year),

facilitating tracking by flora and fauna. However, invasive plants are expected to be particularly 299

300 adept at climate tracking, with presumed impacts on native flora (Mungi et al., 2018; Thapa et 301 al., 2018). Manish et al. (2016) concluded that native plant species at higher elevations were 302 most at risk from warming. This may perhaps be ameliorated because these are the elevations 303 with the most protected area coverage (Elsen et al., 2018). In the plains of India, high climate 304 velocities in addition to the fragmented forested landscape may combine to accentuate threats 305 from habitat loss and invasive species, and further intensify connectivity issues. Predictions are 306 difficult and confounded by precipitation. The Intergovernmental Panel for Climate Change 307 (https://gisclimatechange.ucar.edu/gis-data-ar5) predicts that much of India will become drier 308 than the 1986-2005 average, with only the currently wettest regions, i.e. the Western Ghats and 309 the eastern Himalaya, becoming substantially wetter (Supplemental Fig. 2).

310

## 311 **3. Protection measures**

The previous sections summarized what is known about the status of protected areas in India. Maintenance of species within these areas is likely to be essential to the persistence of a large fraction of India's biodiversity. We now turn to ask how India is addressing protected area maintenance, considering legislation, national investment, contributions from ecotourism, local community initiatives, and possibilities for edge habitat restoration.

317

## 318 3.1 Legislation

The Constitution of India lays down parameters of governance, that is, the fundamental rights,
duties, legislative fields, and powers of the Central and State Governments. Article 21 of the
Constitution establishes the right to a clean environment and imposes an obligation on
Governments to protect the environment. It is against this background that we should understand

323 statutory enactments. For example, the Wildlife (Protection) Act of 1972 established a list of 324 threatened species of India in the form of Schedules, which accord species certain levels of 325 protection, and defined the categories of National Parks and Sanctuaries. The Supreme Court has 326 leveraged this act and invoked the Indian Constitution to make several important rulings 327 protecting nature. Some of the more remarkable illustrations include a ban on tree-felling in 328 natural areas, albeit with provisions for exceptions (TN Godavarman Thirumulkpad versus 329 Union of India, 1996), the creation of the National Green Tribunal and a Central Empowered 330 Committee to hear and oversee implementation of Supreme Court orders regarding 331 environmental cases (Dutta, 2005), a temporary ban on tourists from visiting core areas of some 332 Tiger Reserves (2012), and enforcement of a mine closure after Kudremukh in the Western 333 Ghats was elevated to the status of a National Park. The Supreme Court also affirmed the 334 importance of up to 10 km eco-sensitive zones bordering National Parks and Sanctuaries, within 335 which development and other activities need to consider the goals of the protected area. At the 336 meeting of the Indian Board of Wildlife in January 2002, a 'Wildlife Conservation Strategy'' was 337 adopted wherein 'lands falling within 10 km of the boundaries of National Parks and Wildlife 338 Sanctuaries should be notified under as eco-fragile zones'. This order was revised in 2011 by the 339 National Board for Wildlife, setting delineation and legal control eco-sensitive zones at a 340 distance that is site-specific (http://www.indiaenvironmentportal.org.in).

341

Finally, the passage of the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers
(Recognition of Forests Rights) Act in 2006 made it possible to confer land rights to people
unofficially settled and cultivating forest lands (including protected areas) based on land tenure.
While the Act provides an opportunity to formally recognize the role of these traditional forest-

dwellers as allies in conservation, it also recognizes the need for inviolate areas for biodiversity
conservation, from where people could be excluded upon just "settlement of rights" and after
free prior informed consent is obtained (GOI, 2006).

349

## 350 3.2 Government investment

351 The flagship national conservation program is that of Project Tiger, started in 1973. Government 352 funding under this program has been primarily focused on the 50 designated Tiger Reserves, 353 covering an area of ~71,000 km<sup>2</sup> (2% of India's land area). Federal funds earmarked for Tiger 354 Reserves in the fiscal year 2016-2017 (US\$54.2 million) were over twice the amount allocated 355 for conservation of biodiversity in other schemes (\$23.6 million; see the Integrated Development 356 of Wildlife Habitats scheme in the Union budget, http://www.indiabudget.gov.in/). Each Tiger 357 Reserve annually receives direct grants based on requests made (\$48,000 - \$12 million per 358 Reserve in 2016-2017) from the Central Government plus additional funds from the relevant 359 State Government. The stated goal for Tiger Reserves is the maintenance of a functioning 360 ecosystem, rather than tiger conservation *per se*. Focusing on the tiger appears to be an effective 361 conservation tactic because it engenders public support and attracts tourists (Verissimo et al., 362 2011), it delivers broad biodiversity benefits given that its habitat requirements inevitably result 363 in the protection of other species (Sergio et al., 2006; Thornton et al., 2016), and top predators in 364 general have a disproportionate effect on ecosystem stability (Cristoffer and Peres, 2003; Estes et 365 al., 2011).

366

367 Despite the benefits gained from a focus on the tiger, several issues complicate the 368 efficacy of tigers as a panacea for conservation. First, as noted above, the most species-rich

369 locations for birds lie above 1500m in the east Himalaya, and many bird species are not found in 370 any Tiger Reserve. Second, habitats most favourable for tigers are not necessarily suitable for 371 other species. Karanth et al. (2009) estimate that rainforests and tropical evergreen forests, which 372 are particularly species-rich (Gibson et al., 2011), support tigers at lower densities (1-2 tigers/100 373 km<sup>2</sup>), than do alluvial grasslands (15 tigers/100 km<sup>2</sup>) or deciduous forests (10 tigers/100 km<sup>2</sup>). 374 Third, some management practices that enhance habitats for tigers or their prey, such as the burning of grasslands, may harm other species, such as the critically endangered pygmy hog 375 376 (Porcula salvania) (Narayan and Deka, 2002).

377

378 3.3 Government compensation

379 Government-facilitated resettlement of communities is one ingredient of protected area policy. 380 At least 100,000 people were relocated between 1970 and 2008 (Lascorgeix and Kothari, 2009). 381 This is only 2%-3% of Narain et al. (2005)'s suggestion for how many people continue to live in 382 protected areas, but they have been focused on protected areas with relatively sparse populations 383 (Karanth et al. 2018a). Resettlements continue (Karanth et al. 2018a). They require considerable 384 investment, and have historically been controversial owing to negative outcomes for displaced 385 communities (Shahabuddin and Bhamidipati, 2014; Karanth et al. 2018a). However, presently 386 local people voluntarily move out of parks in return for new land and associated increases in 387 living standards (e.g. Bhadra Tiger Reserve [Karanth, 2007]), and indeed many people are now 388 on waiting lists (Karanth et al. 2018a). Resettlements have demonstrably led to improvements for 389 wildlife; reproductive performance of prey and density of tigers increased significantly within 390 three years of pastoralists resettling out of Rajaji National Park (Harihar et al., 2009).

391

392 Whether or not protected areas have people living inside them, all protected areas have 393 people living nearby. In some locations, people living on a reserve's edge have come to tolerate 394 the presence of a reserve as essentially someone else's property (Badola, 1999; Wilshusen et al., 395 2002). This tolerance is severely tested when animals stray out of protected areas and encounter 396 humans and settlements on the edge. Tigers, leopards, elephants, and bears often inflict 397 considerable costs on nearby inhabitants, including human casualties, property damage, and 398 depredation of livestock or crops, all of which generally affects economically stressed 399 communities (Karanth et al., 2013). Inevitably, this leads to increased animosity as well as the 400 retaliatory killing of animals (Dickman et al., 2011; Harihar et al., 2014). Increasingly, 401 compensation schemes are addressing this issue (Karanth et al., 2018b). In some cases, Non-402 Governmental Organizations (NGOs) offer a suite of benefits to offset livestock losses. 403 Examples include community-run insurance schemes and livestock protection measures against 404 snow leopard and wolf depredation (Mishra et al., 2003). While certainly helping, these are 405 limited in scale and funding. Now NGO initiatives are more focused on facilitating government 406 pay-outs. For example, Project Wild Seve (wildseve.org) works around Bandipur and 407 Nagarahole Tiger Reserves in the southern state of Karnataka. Between 2015-2018, they helped 408 expedite \$230,000 of government compensation for 5339 families (K K Karanth, unpublished 409 data).

410

#### 411 *3.4 Local community investment*

The rapid increase in the number of Community Reserves and Conservation Reserves has
potential for communities to benefit economically while conserving nature (Shahabuddin and
Thadani, 2018). To illustrate this potential, we again draw on an example from northeast India.

Eaglenest Wildlife Sanctuary (103 km<sup>2</sup>), lies in the western part of Arunachal Pradesh. It is an
important Sanctuary, ranging from the plains up to 3,000m and containing a huge diversity of
species (Price, 2012, Figs. 1, 2a).

418

419 The Eaglenest Biodiversity Project started in 2003 in partnership with the local Bugun 420 tribe (Mohan and Athreya, 2011). The project has met with some success. Most notably, local 421 people currently manage ecotourism. For 8 months of the year, ecotourism employs about 25 422 people and supports several businesses. While large mammals appear to be more abundant inside 423 the Sanctuary than outside it (Velho et al., 2016), there have been no studies of change in 424 extraction activities by local people. However, in 2016, the Buguns of Singchung village set 425 aside 16 km<sup>2</sup> of village forest adjacent to Eaglenest as a Community Reserve, thereby restricting 426 its exploitation. The success of the Eaglenest project so far depends on an interplay of factors 427 including few external pressures, linking local socio-economic benefits to the integrity of the 428 wilderness through ecotourism, influential individuals who brought together stakeholders, and a 429 comprehensive biodiversity inventory. Furthermore, a Supreme Court litigation that helped 430 relocate a proposed road outside its boundaries, helped in conveying to the local community a 431 sense of the global importance of its biodiversity.

432

## 433 *3.5 Local champions*

Exceptional individuals — "conservation champions" — have been known to be vital to the
success of Tiger Reserves despite various odds against them (Post and Pandav, 2013). These are
individuals dedicated to the locality and integrated into the community. The relatively young
Pakke Tiger Reserve (Fig. 2a, 862 km<sup>2</sup>) in western Arunachal Pradesh has performed much

438 better than Namdapha, which we considered in an earlier section. One reason for this is the 439 presence of dedicated forest officers, resulting in greater participation of local communities, in 440 conjunction with strong leadership and law enforcement. Importantly, from 1999 onwards, a 441 local officer from the Nyishi community engaged the community living on the south-eastern 442 boundary. After 2006, new leadership provided by another Nyishi officer strengthened law 443 enforcement and developed initiatives to build local institutions to support conservation (A. 444 Datta, pers. obs.). Tigers, herbivores, and primates all appear to have increased in numbers (Jhala 445 et al., 2015; Selvan et al., 2014). Besides local personalities, Pakke has probably been more 446 successful than Namdapha because it is more accessible than Namdapha and the community that 447 surrounds Pakke is a dominant tribe in the state with political power. The community around 448 Namdapha remains a largely marginalized, little-known tribe.

449

#### 450 3.6 Ecotourism

A promising way to gain local support for a park is through increased income. Most obviously,
nature-based tourism can provide economic benefits (Karanth et al., 2012). More than 3 million
visits to National Parks were recorded in 2015, more than a threefold increase since 2005
(Karanth et al., 2017).

455

We consider economic benefits to local people from the presence of protected areas. Data are generally scarce, but a recent government-commissioned assessment of six Tiger Reserves generated some figures of park-derived local income (Verma et al., 2015). Local workers employed by the Forest Department at the Sundarbans receive \$500,000 annually. For Periyar, patrolling by locals with accompanying tourists garnered \$250,000 per year. In some protected areas, part of the gate fees goes to communities living on the park edge for development
schemes—estimated at \$50,000 for Sundarbans. For Corbett, employment of (daily wage)
workers and guides generated approximately \$1.3 million in wages annually. These amounts are
relatively small when considering the size of surrounding populations. Furthermore, around
Corbett, the purchasing of land by external hoteliers has led to local disillusionment and
conflicts, partly stemming from the fact that little of the revenue stays locally (Rastogi et al.,
2015).

468

469 However, estimates of economic benefits from parks ignore many other indirect sources 470 of revenue, including from tourists who stay locally. In 2006-2007, at Kaziranga, tourists were 471 estimated to have spent \$5 million, of which about \$1.6 million went to local enterprises 472 (Hussain et al., 2012). The extent to which this income stayed in the surrounding community is 473 not known. Karanth and DeFries (2011) studied hotels and homestays near 10 Tiger Reserves. 474 From their data, assuming an occupancy rate of 50%, we estimated an average monthly inflow of 475 9,000-44,000 in room fees (depending on the park), with just 2%-6% of this going to salaries 476 for local employees. Again, this ignores many other benefits flowing to communities, but the 477 information available suggests relatively limited local benefits. Overall, these findings imply 478 considerable opportunities for improvement in local income generated by protected areas. For 479 example, studies based on travel costs invariably find that entrance fees could be raised as a 480 means to increase revenue (Guha and Ghosh, 2009; Badola et al., 2010). Any measures taken to 481 improve local profits require appropriate reforms to ensure equitability in the distribution of 482 benefits, and greater local involvement in ecosystem management and protection activities 483 (Rastogi et al., 2010).

## 485 *3.7 Local benefits from expansion of the edge*

486 Global reviews show that degradation of habitat adjacent to reserves has considerable impact on reserve health (Laurance et al., 2012). Thus, an additional strategy for increasing the success of 487 488 protected areas could be to improve edge habitat. This should be possible to do with local 489 economic benefits. Restoration efforts can be through both single-owner private land (e.g. tea 490 estates, Mudappa et al., 2014) or community-based efforts in reserved forest (e.g. for hornbills 491 [Rane and Datta, 2015]). Small but valuable interventions include encouraging surrounding 492 coffee plantations to be organic, shade, and wildlife friendly, with associated consumer 493 certification (Anand et al., 2008; Bose et al., 2016; Chang et al., 2018). More extreme 494 interventions transform lands to private reserves, which are particularly effective when adjacent 495 to protected areas (Karanth and Karanth, 2012). At present, India has only a few private reserves 496 (e.g. Jabarkhet Nature Reserve in Uttarakhand and Sai Wildlife Sanctuary in Karnataka). The 497 idea of private reserves remains controversial because benefits to local communities require co-498 operation among many small landholders (Karanth and Karanth, 2012), with the alternative again 499 being land annexures by powerful interests (Rai, 2012). Nevertheless, when applied fairly, after 500 careful social impact assessment and in participation with local communities to ensure equitable 501 returns, private reserves have potential.

502

503 Finally, public lands next to protected areas could be better developed for conservation 504 and associated ecotourism. For example, we obtained records from the Uttarakhand Forest 505 Department, which show that visits to Corbett National Park increased from 62,600 in the year 506 2000 up to 280,000 tourists in 2015, but remained capped at about the number in 2016 and

484

2017. Associated with both the increase and the limit, more tourists started to visit adjoining
Ramnagar Reserved Forest (Supplemental Figure 3). Approximately 60 km<sup>2</sup> of the Reserved
Forest were designated as Pawalgarh Conservation Reserve in 2012, where tourism is regulated
and comes with entry fees helped further to promote regulated eco-tourism. The number of
tourists visiting Pawalgarh now rivals that visiting Corbett (Supplemental Figure 3).

512

## 513 **4. Conclusions**

514 Many assessments of the success of protected areas are based on global datasets. Here, we have 515 extended such analyses to consider protection at the national and local level in one of the world's 516 most biodiverse countries, India. A renewed emphasis on lessons learned from case studies is 517 exemplified by Pringle's (2017) review of two protected areas, one in Costa Rica and the other 518 in Mozambique. Both of these areas have been facilitated by public-private partnerships, with a 519 number of dedicated local citizens and international collaboration. That is one particular model; it may not generalize to all locations. As Pringle notes, there is no "one-size-fits-all recipe". 520 521 However, there is consensus that success relies on local support, and that benefits to both people 522 and wildlife are essential for long-term conservation.

523

Protected areas vary considerably in their conservation outcomes (Oldekop et al., 2016). In India, factors affecting success vary with the degree to which the region is developed. For example, well-developed institutional infrastructure in Corbett makes management of tourists and economic opportunities for local people the critical issues (Rastogi et al., 2010). In contrast, the remoteness of parks in Arunachal Pradesh in north-east India results in major threats from deforestation and hunting (Aiyadurai et al., 2010; Datta et al., 2008a; Pandit et al., 2007; Velho et al., 2012). Within Arunachal Pradesh, effectiveness of protection also varies greatly. This is
due largely to the lack of strong institutional mechanisms in the Government (mainly the Forest
Department), unlike in most other parts of the country. Hence, local factors become even more
important in determining success. These differences are likely to apply to other developing
countries as well, where the most pristine areas may experience the highest variance in
conservation successes.

536 Strong legal backing and enforcement help preserve protected areas, but an emerging 537 theme is that conservation requires the support of local communities. One promising way to 538 garner such support is to provide nature-based economic benefits. Economic benefits are two-539 pronged: monetary compensation for losses caused by wildlife, and revenue generated, 540 particularly by tourism. Both schemes are currently in place in India, and they have considerable 541 potential to provide income and resources to people living near protected areas. In several states, 542 these schemes could be considerably improved in terms of delivery and distribution (Karanth et 543 al., 2018b). The case studies presented here illustrate that in India, best practices vary among 544 individual protected areas. Managers must operate with regard to each area's level of 545 development, socio-economic standing, and political context, along with the customs, needs, and 546 constraints of tribal and indigenous communities. We anticipate that similar principles apply to 547 other countries.

548

A major message from our assessment is the lack of data, and prompts one to ask what should be the important priorities for research. We identified three particular needs. First, more study of the landscape matrix in which protected areas are embedded would be exceptionally valuable, especially as many protected areas are relatively small and connectivity is a major 553 issue. For example, in Uttar Pradesh some Tiger Reserves actually have a lower density of tigers 554 than does the surrounding Reserved Forest (Chanchani et al., 2016). We need a greater 555 understanding of what factors drive this, how other species are doing in Reserved Forests, and 556 how biodiversity prospects could be improved without detriment to human uses of the forest. 557 Second, very little long-term monitoring of populations in protected areas is happening in India. 558 Apart from tigers, this is not co-ordinated centrally, unlike the missions of many societies in the 559 US and Europe (e.g. the British Trust for Ornithology in the UK). Third, a much better 560 understanding of cash benefits of protected areas, particularly from tourism, is required (Karanth 561 et al., 2017). We suspect that they are larger than currently appreciated.

562

With respect to practical efforts, especially for NGOs involved in conservation, our 563 review emphasizes the importance of individuals and organizations investing energy intensively 564 565 at single sites rather than in a more diffuse manner, and interactively with local populations. For 566 policy makers, we have two recommendations. First, management of surrounding Reserved 567 Forests to include scientific monitoring and management in collaboration with local communities would be an effective way forward; legal backing is already in place given the Supreme Court 568 569 order that up to 10km from a protected area can be considered an eco-sensitive zone. Through 570 these measures, India can endeavour to get Reserved Forests designated as IUCN Category VI 571 protected areas, which will lend support to the country's claim of having already exceeded the 572 Aichi target (17%) in terms of area under protection (Pande and Arora, 2014). Second, we echo 573 the arguments of Bindra (2017) that it is critical to focus on the protected areas we have, with 574 development and denotifications allowed only under exceptional circumstances. The 5% of land 575 currently designated as protected is essential to the conservation of India's biodiversity, not only

- 576 through targeted efforts for threatened species, but to maintain populations of less-threatened
- 577 species.
- 578

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#### 912 Figure legends

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914 Vulnerable, Endangered and Critically Endangered combined). Birds from BirdLife International 915 and Handbook of the Birds of the World (2017) Bird species distribution maps of the world. 916 Version 2017.2, http://datazone.birdlife.org/. Mammals from the IUCN Red List of Threatened 917 Species. Version3, May 2017. http://www.iucnredlist.org. Both downloaded on April 10th, 2018. 918 *Lower left* National Parks (red) and Sanctuaries (blue) >10 km<sup>2</sup> (from the Wildlife Institute of 919 India's database) overlaid on human population densities (gridded Population of the World, 920 Version 4: Population Count, Revision 10. https://doi.org/10.7927/H4PG1PPM. Accessed 14 921 April 2018.) The main shades separate densities below (lighter) and above (darker) India's 922 average (330 people/km<sup>2</sup>). *Right* The number of bird species whose ranges intersect National 923 Parks (large points) and Sanctuaries (small points) against park area. Red symbols are protected 924 areas to the north and east of Bangladesh. Letters (above the point) refer to 4 protected areas 925 mentioned in the text: H- Hollongapur, E- Eaglenest, P-Pakke, N- Namdapha (see Fig. 3). 926 927 Figure 2 Four protected areas in northeast India (overlain on Google earth images). (A) Pakke 928 Wildlife Sanctuary and adjoining Eaglenest Wildlife Sanctuary extend from the plains to 3000m 929 in Arunachal Pradesh. Local communities deforested the plains area of Assam ~15 years ago. (B) 930 Namdapha National Park (100m - 4500m in elevation) is embedded in a larger forested matrix, 931 but has suffered extensive hunting pressures. (C) The small Hollongapar Gibbon Sanctuary (~21 932 km<sup>2</sup>) is flanked to the west by degraded land ripe for reclamation, separating it from a river, and

Figure 1 Upper left Heat maps of threatened bird and mammal species (IUCN categories of

- 933 on the other 3 sides by tea estate. Seven species of primates may occur in the Sanctuary
- 934 including the Endangered Western Hoolock Gibbon, although one, the Assam macaque (Macaca

935 *assamensis*) has not been seen for several years (D. Chetry and U. Borthakur, *personal*936 *observations*).

937

938 Figure 3 Two case studies illustrating functional connectivity across tiger landscapes. (A) The 939 western Terai Arc Landscape showing Tiger Habitat Blocks I and II in black, with the Chilla-940 Motichur corridor providing tenuous connectivity between the two. Deterioration of connectivity 941 due to development within the corridor is indexed by nightlight data (1993, 2003, 2013). The 942 tiger population is currently just two females in Block I despite an estimated carrying capacity of 943 80 (redrawn from Harihar et al., 2018). (B) Landscape resistance surface inferred for tiger 944 movement in Central India based on genetic data is best explained by traffic intensity and human 945 settlements (orange). Protected areas are indicated in green and positions of genetically typed 946 tiger individuals are marked as purple dots (redrawn from Thatte et al., 2018).







