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Well-being outcomes of marine protected areas

Authors: Natalie C. Ban^a*, Georgina Grace Gurney^b, Nadine A. Marshall^c, Charlotte K. Whitney^a, Morena Mills^d, Stefan Gelcich^e, Nathan J. Bennett^{fgh}*, Mairi C. Meehanⁱ, Caroline Butler^j, Stephen Ban^k, Tanya C. Tran^a, Michael E. Cox^l, Sara Jo Breslow^m

^a School of Environmental Studies, University of Victoria, PO Box 3060 STN CSC, Victoria, BC V8W3R4, Canada

^b ARC Centre of Excellence for Coral Reef Studies, James Cook University, Townsville, Queensland 4811, Australia

^cCSIRO Land and Water, Townsville, Queensland, Australia

^d Department of Life Sciences, Imperial College London, Ascot, UK

^e Center of Applied Ecology and Sustainability (CAPES) and Center for the Study of Multiple-Drivers on Marine Socio-Ecological Systems, Pontificia Universidad Catolica de Chile, Santiago, Chile

^f Institute for Resources, Environment, and Sustainability, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada

^g Center for Ocean Solutions, Stanford University, Stanford, CA, USA

^h FishMPABlue2 Project, University of Nice Sophia Antipolis, Nice, France

¹Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada

^jGitxaala Nation Fisheries Program, Prince Rupert, British Columbia, Canada

^k BC Parks, Ministry of Environment and Climate Change Strategy, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada

¹ Environmental Studies, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH, USA

^m EarthLab, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, USA

*Corresponding author

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1 Well-being outcomes of marine protected areas

2

3 Abstract

4 Marine protected areas are advocated as a key strategy for simultaneously protecting marine 5 biodiversity and supporting coastal livelihoods, but implementation can be challenging for 6 numerous reasons, including perceived negative effects on human well-being. We synthesized 7 research from 118 peer-reviewed articles that analyze outcomes related to marine protected 8 areas on people, and found that half of documented well-being outcomes were positive, and 9 about one-third were negative. No-take, well-enforced, and old marine protected areas had 10 positive human well-being outcomes, which aligns with most findings from ecological studies. 11 While on balance larger marine protected areas improved ecological conditions, smaller areas 12 improved human well-being. Most studies focused on economic and governance aspects of 13 well-being, leaving social, health, and cultural domains understudied. Well-being outcomes 14 arose from direct effects of marine protected area governance processes or management 15 actions, and from indirect effects mediated by changes in the ecosystem. Our findings illustrate 16 that both human well-being and biodiversity conservation can be improved through marine 17 protected areas, yet negative impacts commonly co-occur with benefits.

18

19 Main text

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Many countries have committed to establishing 10% of their marine waters as marine protected
areas (MPAs)^{1,2} to stem biodiversity declines and safeguard related ecosystem services^{3,4}.
While conservation effectiveness of MPAs has been demonstrated through ecological studies^{5,6},
many MPAs have social goals and outcomes that are less well understood⁷. Understanding how
human well-being may be affected by MPAs is important for ethical reasons with potential

implications for biological outcomes. MPAs that support positive human well-being are also
more likely to achieve their conservation goals because they are more acceptable, desirable,
and supported by local communities⁸⁻¹⁰. This, in turn, can increase compliance¹¹. Human wellbeing is an important end goal, with co-benefits for conservation goals and policies (e.g.¹²⁻¹⁵).
Ensuring that positive human well-being outcomes are associated with implementation and
maintenance of MPAs is thus important for acceptance and effectiveness.

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Worldwide, increasing establishment of MPAs¹⁶ has stimulated research on well-being 33 34 outcomes of MPAs, with a substantial increase in studies in the last decade (Figure S1). The 35 most recent synthesis of impacts of MPAs on human well-being (hereafter "well-being 36 outcomes"), published a decade ago, focused only on fishing communities due to data 37 constraints⁷. That study found that MPA establishment tends to improve food security and 38 empower local fishing communities, but that effects vary depending on the social and governance context^{7,17}. Since this synthesis was conducted, there have been numerous case 39 40 studies (Supplementary References) that document a broad array of positive and negative social outcomes from MPAs. Given the commitment by countries to establish MPAs¹⁶, 41 understanding their effects on well-being outcomes is crucial. 42

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44 We performed a systematic literature review on the well-being outcomes of MPAs (Tables S1, S2). We examined social, health, culture, economic, and governance domains of human well-45 being¹⁸, and added an environment domain since environmental health is fundamental to 46 47 human well-being and vice versa (Table S1). Governance as a well-being outcome refers to the 48 experience of local people with the quality of governance processes – including actors such as empowerment, participation, conflict management and accountability¹⁹. Our analysis allows us 49 50 to answer questions critical for assessing well-being outcomes of MPAs. Where and how are 51 well-being outcomes of MPAs studied? What domains of human well-being are included in

52 scientific studies? Are well-being outcomes consistent across different groups of people (i.e.

53 stakeholders)? What factors influence whether positive or negative outcomes are perceived or

54 experienced? Finally, what well-being outcomes co-occur?

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56 Data on human well-being outcomes of MPAs

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58 We identified 118 peer-reviewed articles (Supplementary References, Figure S1) that 59 investigated an existing MPA or MPAs, and included information about the measured or 60 perceived impact(s) of the MPA(s) on people (108 articles with quantitative or directional data). 61 The relevant articles studied 121 MPAs distributed globally (Figure 1a), containing 267 62 observations of stakeholders (i.e., some articles studied multiple stakeholders, as defined in the 63 source paper), each of which described one or more well-being outcomes of MPAs (i.e., 606 64 data points of well-being outcomes). Coastal communities referred to residents in coastal towns 65 rather than more specific groups such as fisheries or tourism, and recreation was defined as 66 non-extractive personal activities (e.g., diving, kayaking). 75% of stakeholder data involved 67 fisheries; of those, 76% were about artisanal and small-scale fisheries, 15% about industrial 68 fisheries, and 9% about recreational fisheries, but the sample sizes were too small to analyze by 69 disaggregated fisheries categories. Further disaggregation, while not provided in the papers, 70 might highlight additional biases in studies (e.g., gender, ethnicity)²⁰. Most MPAs with relevant 71 data were from Asia (especially the Philippines) and Europe, with a fairly even distribution of 72 MPA size and age categories. The most common types of MPA governance were state-led and 73 community-based, followed by co-managed. Several study designs were used, with those 74 asking stakeholders for their perceptions of social change being the most common, followed by 75 studies before and after MPA establishment, and studies using control-impact design (e.g., 76 inside and outside of MPAs). The least common study type was the before-after control-impact 77 design (Figure 1b).

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79 Domains of human well-being considered in MPA studies

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81 All domains of well-being were mentioned at least once in every paper, whether as the focus of 82 study, or in the discussion (Figure 2). Economic, governance and environment categories were 83 most prevalent, often the focus of assessment. Social, health, and cultural domains received 84 much less attention, usually in the form of a cursory mention in the discussion. The category 85 mentioned most frequently was economic livelihoods, in which we included fisheries catches 86 and catch per unit effort (CPUE). Categories of cultural diversity and mental health received the 87 least attention. We posit that the uneven consideration of categories is due to a combination of 88 the societal importance placed on economic outcomes, and the challenges in measuring social, 89 health, and cultural domains. Ten variables across four domains had enough quantitative 90 information to be further analyzed for outcomes (Figure 3): income, number of users, CPUE. 91 catches, cost of activity (only mentioned in relation to fishing regarding increasing fuel costs 92 when distance to fishing grounds increased), stakeholder rights to inform resource management 93 (hereafter "resource control"), stakeholder support for the MPA, change in spatial use patterns 94 (hereafter "spatial change"), conflict, and community involvement (Table S1).

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96 Well-being outcomes of MPAs

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Overall, there were more positive (51%) than negative (31%) well-being outcomes reported in
the literature (Figure 3, Table S3). Shifts in the numbers of users differed between stakeholder
groups, with more increases for tourism and recreation, and more decreases for fisheries (Table
S4). The most positive well-being outcomes of MPAs related to community involvement (76%
positive), CPUE (73%), and income (65%). The most negative outcomes manifested through
increasing costs of activities (100%, though only 13 instances, all related to increased cost of

fishing), and conflict (79%). We interpreted increased conflict as a negative well-being outcome,
although conflict is not necessarily negative. Debate and to some extent, conflict, is recognized
as a critical element of democratic governance and procedural justice²¹, often providing space
for a diversity of voices, including those of minority groups²². The most ambiguous outcomes
(i.e., no change, or could not be interpreted as negatively or positively affecting people)
occurred with shifting spatial usage patterns – mostly of fishing activities – due to the MPA.

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111 Some explanatory variables had a significant influence on well-being outcomes (Figure 4, Table 112 S5). MPAs that were single zones, no-take, old, and had high enforcement, indicated more 113 positive well-being outcomes than other categories (Fisher's exact tests and ANOVAs, p-value 114 <0.05). Study design was also correlated with outcomes, with studies that ascertained 115 stakeholders' perceptions (that did not fall into the other research design categories) more 116 negative than those that objectively measured outcomes. While the data showed that positive 117 well-being outcomes were more prevalent in tropical systems, the correlation was not 118 statistically significant when considering combined outcomes (Figure 4, Table S5). When 119 analyzing specific outcomes (e.g., income, CPUE, number of users, etc.; Table S6), some 120 additional patterns emerged. Ecosystem type was correlated with income, CPUE, support, 121 spatial change, and community involvement; no-take zone presence was correlated with 122 income, support, and community involvement; and compliance was correlated with resource 123 control, support, spatial change, and conflict; for additional correlations, see Table S6. However, 124 sample sizes were small when disaggregating outcomes, because most studies only included 125 one or two outcomes.

126

127 Co-occurrences of outcomes showed some interesting and unexpected patterns (Figure 5). As
128 expected, an increase in catches correlated with an increase in CPUE. When catches
129 increased, there was also more conflict (which we interpreted as negative), perhaps due to

uneven distribution of benefits. Some co-occurrences, despite showing significant trends, have
small sample sizes and are thus difficult to interpret (catches and income; catches and number
of users; Figure 5), and we emphasize that correlation does not mean causation.

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134 Discussion

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136 Our finding that MPAs have more positive than negative well-being outcomes across diverse stakeholder groups – similar to findings by Mascia, et al.⁷ for fishers – lends credibility to the 137 138 potential of MPAs to benefit both biodiversity and people. Research shows that ecologically 139 effective MPAs require five key attributes: no-take, well enforced, old (>10 years), large (>100km²), and isolated⁵. Similarly, we found that no-take, well enforced, and old MPAs also led 140 141 to more positive well-being outcomes. However, our results indicate that small MPAs had more 142 positive well-being outcomes than large MPAs. Certain aspects of MPA design and 143 management may thus contribute to both positive ecological and well-being outcomes, whereas others will require trade-offs. Our findings also highlight that there are both co-benefits and 144 145 trade-offs among stakeholder groups, leading to questions of equity, justice, and power.

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147 The scientific literature on well-being outcomes of MPAs focused on relatively few indicators 148 mostly within the economic domain, such as income earned or catches, whereas many other 149 potentially relevant indicators in other domains were mentioned but rarely measured (see Table 150 S1 for examples of indicator topics for all well-being categories). For instance, indicators of diet 151 and food availability can reveal changes in health of local populations dependent on coastal 152 resources. The fact that measurements relate to only a few well-being outcomes is important, 153 because there is a risk that easily quantifiable indicators come to dominate the discourse about 154 well-being outcomes of MPAs. Multidimensional aspects of well-being, notably in relation to 155 values, are particularly difficult to quantify (e.g. power, sense of community), but can have

important implications for the acceptance and support of MPAs^{17,23}. Without being readily 156 157 measurable, there is a danger these aspects of human well-being may inadvertently disappear 158 from the problem/decision-making context because they are not being measured or reported if 159 decision-makers are not part of the affected communities (e.g., state managed MPAs). 160 Furthermore, indicators can become self-perpetuating, with the rationale for using indicators 161 based on past studies. Indeed, we justified some of the indicators we quantified because they 162 were assessed in a previous study⁷. Some indicators that are easily measured, such as equity 163 (e.g., examining outcomes by race, gender, age, location, cultural group, etc.), are rarely 164 included. Thus, we encourage those studying the well-being outcomes of MPAs to combine previously tested indicators (see Hicks, et al. ²⁴) with efforts to develop a broader set of 165 166 indicators that represent holistic domains of human well-being^{18,25,26}. Furthermore, gualitative 167 studies are particularly important in providing explanation and context for indicators, which alone cannot tell the full story^{25,27}. 168

169

170 While social scientists are increasingly called on to assess human well-being outcomes of MPAs²⁸, MPA development and management continues to be primarily occurring without 171 consistent quantitative or qualitative monitoring of well-being outcomes^{29,30}. We need to move 172 173 towards ensuring the long-term well-being of people and communities that depend on marine 174 systems, and develop appropriate studies and indicators to capture the multi-dimensional 175 outcomes of MPAs. Similarly, participatory processes are critical to ensure that those affected 176 by MPAs are involved in making management decisions. Social sciences can provide important 177 methodological and analytical insights for gualitative studies and guantitative monitoring, 178 regarding ways in which stakeholders frame MPAs in their own terms, and how MPAs are 179 continually mediated through cultural values and worldviews, media discourses, and perceived 180 trust in science and institutions. A shift within management agencies is starting to occur, as exemplified by the recent management focus on diverse ecological and cultural values^{31,32}. 181

182

183	The process of creating MPAs, that are small, local, and managed by communities, has
184	numerous benefits for human empowerment and well-being, notwithstanding environmental
185	outcomes ³³⁻³⁵ . Two main mechanisms for well-being outcomes of MPAs were reflected in the
186	literature: (1) direct effects of MPA governance processes or management actions; and (2)
187	indirect effects mediated by changes in the ecosystem. Direct effects included, for example,
188	conflicts arising during MPA planning processes, community involvement in management,
189	enhancement or displacement of livelihoods, and limitations on access rights (e.g.,
190	displacement from fishing an area, or exclusive access for some users). Indirect effects of
191	MPAs on well-being are generally due to recovering marine systems and included increases in
192	catches, CPUE, and income from resource extraction. These indirect effects are influenced by
193	the state and management of ecosystems surrounding the MPA ³⁶ . Some aspects of well-being
194	outcomes may arise with both mechanisms. For instance, conflict can be caused by stakeholder
195	discussions during MPA establishment and management fora, and it can also result from new or
196	shifting user groups in the area, or changing availability of resources.
197	
198	We found that conflict increased more often than decreased with MPA implementation. A key
199	source of conflict identified in the reviewed literature related the reconfiguration of stakeholders'
200	resource access, use and rights as a result of MPA implementation. For example, conflict was
201	often related to MPA-mediated displacement of users that increased overlap in the use of
202	marine areas. This was particularly common amongst fishers employing different gear types
203	(e.g., ^{37,38}). Further, conflict was often documented in relation to MPA decision-making
204	processes during which different stakeholder groups vie for influence and control. In many

cases, this conflict occurred between local users (often fishers) and external stakeholders,

- 206 including conservation organizations (e.g., ³⁹) and tourism operators (e.g. ⁴⁰). Given the power
- 207 differentials between local users and external stakeholders (particularly in Global South

208 contexts), such processes were often documented as further marginalizing local users and contributing to inequities in resource use or access⁴¹. However, in some cases it was reported 209 210 that MPA establishment was seen as a negotiation opportunity for local users to acquire or solidify their rights over a marine area. For example, Cudney-Bueno et al.⁴² report although 211 212 there was substantial conflict over the granting of access rights during MPA implementation, 213 fishers territorial access rights were strengthened through the process. Further, conflict can 214 denote debate and deliberative decision-making, essential to democratic governance and procedural justice³⁵. For example, Gurney et al.⁴¹ document how conflict led to improved 215 216 governance, whereby MPA management group members fished together in an MPA to highlight 217 lax enforcement by government officials.

218

219 Given that MPA processes involve reconfiguring resource use and access, and typically involve a number of competing stakeholder groups, conflict is likely⁴³. Conflict also highlights that there 220 221 are commonly trade-offs among different people in MPA design and management, and that win-222 win situations are rare and difficult to negotiate. Better understanding the nuances of conflict, 223 and managing expectations, might help inform and innovate future MPA design and 224 management processes. Collaboration between resource-users may also provide opportunities for dialogue, sense-making and conflict resolution⁴⁴. Involving the community at initial phases in 225 226 the policy decision-making process can promote deliberation and increase the efficiency in producing workable outcomes^{45,46}. However, we need to recognize that access to power is 227 228 uneven among stakeholders.

229

An interesting finding was that the design of studies affected whether well-being outcomes appeared more positive or negative. Studies that measured the perceptions of stakeholders (e.g., their self-assessment of impacts through surveys) were more negative than those that attempted to measure objective aspects of human well-being (e.g., tracking fisheries landings

234 before and after MPA implementation). Such a discrepancy could be due to who is measuring 235 the outcome (stakeholders vs. researchers). Also, different aspects of well-being are captured 236 by subjective and objective measures, with objective measures less able to capture some 237 aspects of well-being that critically affect people, such as culture, conflict, and social relations. 238 Subjective measures do not only reflect perception; they can also be self-reports of observed 239 reality. Perceptions and self-reports clearly matter in their own right, because these can lead to support for, or opposition to, conservation^{19,47,48}. Thus using both objective and subjective 240 241 measures is essential, as they can test and lend validity to each other. Understanding why 242 results of objective measures are sometimes inconsistent with reported perceptions may help identify more acceptable and robust management actions⁴⁹. 243

244

245 Our review revealed several research gaps that require attention. Some systems (e.g., Arctic, 246 sub-tropical) had no or very little data, and some regions (e.g., South America) and stakeholder 247 groups (e.g., recreational users) were understudied. A methodological gap was that the most powerful study design – before-after-control-impact⁵⁰ – was also the least prevalent. 248 249 Furthermore, studies to date predominantly concerned single MPAs. As MPA networks are 250 being established, there is a need to think about assessing well-being outcomes at the scale of 251 networks, rather than single sites, which requires attention to potential mismatches between 252 ecological and social systems. Some limitations of our research are that we do not know 253 whether MPAs that have been studied are biased towards positive or negative results. We also 254 considered all indicators of well-being as important, whereas in reality some aspects will be 255 more important to stakeholders, and this will likely vary by stakeholder group. A more nuanced 256 understanding of human well-being outcomes of MPAs is critical for creating management 257 measures that benefit people and ecosystems.

258

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268 C.W. and T.T. reviewed the quantitative data.

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Figure 1. (a) Global distribution of the number of studies of MPAs by country included in the analysis, with MPAs shown in pink outline. (b) Characteristics of the studies and MPAs included in this review. Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of studies (i.e., papers) for study design (out of 118), and the number of MPAs (out of a possible 121; some MPAs had no data about some characteristics). BACI stands for before-after control-impact; S., C., and N. stand for South, Central, and North, respectively; co-mgnt is an abbreviation of co-managed.

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Figure 2. Domains and categories of human well-being mentioned in studies reviewed. Env.
means environmental. For the rationale underpinning our categorization scheme, see¹⁸. Table
S1 describes details about the domains of human well-being

410

Figure 3. Summary of well-being outcomes of MPAs. See Table S3 for interpretations of negative, positive, and ambiguous outcomes. Sums of percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding errors. "Com. involvement" refers to community involvement. % refers to the percentage of data point that were positive, negative, or ambiguous (neither clearly positive or negative; or no change). Data points consist of all measures of well-being by stakeholder group(s) contained in the papers reviewed. See Table S3 for interpretation of positive, negative, and ambiguous.

418

Figure 4. Combined well-being outcomes summarized by explanatory variables. See Table S3
for interpretations of negative, positive, and ambiguous outcomes. Sums of percentages may
not add up to 100% due to rounding errors. Ambiguous refers to no change or unclear
directionality of change. Bolded variables are those that show significant (p<0.05) correlations
(Fisher's exact tests or ANOVAs) between the variable and synthesized outcomes (Table S5).
For analyses by disaggregated outcomes, see Table S6.

425

- Figure 5. Co-occurrence of select well-being outcome variables. Blue circles are scaled relative to each plot to illustrate the sample size (number inside the circle) of co-occurrences, and the grey bars indicate the sample sizes of the rows and columns. The first variable stated is shown on the x-axis, and the second on the y-axis. ** indicates Fisher's exact test p<0.05, *p<0.1.
- 430

- 1 Methods
- 2

3 Selecting papers: We carried out a systematic literature review in Web of Science (capturing all dates, 4 with the first article appearing in 1973, last searched on 5 June 2018; Table S1) to identify studies that 5 assessed the outcomes of MPAs on human well-being (hereafter well-being outcomes). We included 6 original peer-reviewed journal articles that investigated (1) an existing MPA or MPAs, (2) included 7 information about the measured or perceived impact(s) of the MPA(s) on people. Excluded were studies 8 about: the impact of users on the MPA; opinion papers; modelling studies with hypothetical or 9 predictive data; anticipated impacts; descriptive studies of fishing/tourism effort within an MPA without 10 a temporal comparison; and review papers. Papers included the following research designs: before-after 11 studies; control-impact (or inside-outside) comparisons; before-after-control-impact (BACI) studies; 12 distance from MPAs; studies that assessed people's perceptions that did not fit in the other categories; 13 and other (e.g., historical narratives, ethnographic studies). 14

15 Qualitative data and analyses on human well-being: We reviewed papers that met our selection criteria 16 for mentions of possible well-being outcomes (i.e., qualitative information). We tracked the indicators or 17 phrases mentioned, and summarized them into slightly adapted domains and categories of human wellbeing reported by Kaplan-Hallam and Bennett¹ (Table S1). We used this categorization because it 18 19 provided a recent review and synthesis of social impacts in conservation and environmental 20 management and was therefore highly relevant to our study. It synthesizes several related relevant frameworks, which we also considered e.g., ²⁻⁶. Our modifications were to add 'environment' as a 21 22 domain to encompass variables relating directly to the ecological system (although we did not track quantitative data for this domain); and we added 'legitimacy' to governance domain as this is an 23

important component of governance⁷. Ambiguities between domains of well-being meant that some
indicators could fit within multiple domains, so we made a decision about the best fit. For example,
'number of users' can represent the cultural engagement with an activity, and we associated it with the
cultural domain. It could also be an indicator of economic outcomes. We graphed the number of papers
mentioning each of the domains and categories to provide an overview of the prevalence for different
aspects of human well-being.

30

31 Quantitative data on human well-being: We collated results of measurements (quantitative data) of the 32 well-being outcomes of MPAs by the most refined yet independent stakeholder group possible, such 33 that a paper could provide multiple data points relating to different levels and types of social 34 aggregation (e.g., by village, and/or by stakeholder type, and/or fishing gear type). We collated data for 35 variables known to be important, and that are commonly measured, as identified by Mascia, et al.⁸: 36 number of users (e.g., number of fishers, number of tourism operators), community organization (i.e., 37 number of active civil society organizations exclusively or primarily of that stakeholder group), income, 38 and the fisheries-specific measure of catch per unit effort (CPUE). In addition, we tracked other variables 39 that were commonly measured within the papers reviewed: resource control (i.e., involvement by 40 stakeholders in governing natural resources within the MPA), support for the MPA, cost of carrying out 41 an activity (e.g., fuel costs for fishers or tourism operators), conflict, spatial usage change of the MPA 42 (i.e., whether and how spatial usage patterns changed, mostly relating to fishing), and fisheries-specific 43 total catches. We obtained quantitative data from the results of the papers, and tables and figures 44 therein, using WebPlotDigitizer (https://apps.automeris.io/wpd/) to acquire data from figures or graphs. 45 When multiple years were tracked, we used data from the latest year (i.e., longest time since 46 protection). When multiple species were included (e.g., CPUE for multiple species), we used the data for 47 the species with the most catches. Given papers used different methods and measures that are not

48 comparable across contexts, we categorized data as increased, no change, or decreased. Some papers 49 reported different outcomes for a single category of well-being (support: high or increased, medium or 50 no change, low or decreased; spatial change: displacement; fishing the line; changed pattern; no 51 change). Therefore, we interpreted these measures as illustrating predominantly positive outcomes, 52 negative outcomes, or ambiguous outcomes (Table S3). We created a summary of the outcomes by 53 stakeholder-MPA combinations, categorizing them as positive if only positive outcomes were found for a 54 stakeholder group, negative if only negative outcomes existed, and tradeoff if both were described for a 55 stakeholder group; we did not consider ambiguous outcomes in this summary.

56

57 Data on explanatory variables: We collated information provided in the papers about potential variables 58 that might contribute to the well-being outcome of MPAs on people including characteristics of: the 59 MPAs (country, continent, size, age), governance (community-based, co-managed, state- or NGO-60 managed), management (no-take or multiple use), ecosystem protected (tropical, sub-tropical, 61 temperate). We also included the study design used in the source papers (before-after, control-impact, 62 BACI, perception, distance from MPA, other). For the sake of visual comparisons, we classified size and 63 age into three categories: small (<1km2), medium (1-100km2), and large (>100km2); and young (<5 64 years), medium (5-10 years), and old (>10 years), respectively. Where details about the MPAs were 65 lacking, we looked up the MPA on protected planet.net or MPA Atlas to ascertain the size and age. Some 66 MPAs were not listed and thus had incomplete information. To estimate the age of the MPA at the time 67 of the study, we used the designation date and the year the study was performed. If date of data 68 collection was not provided, we assumed data were collected the year before publication. For MPAs 69 that have had major management changes, we used the date of the change to calculate the age, not the 70 original MPA designation date. Similarly, when papers mentioned that implementation (i.e., 71 management plan) was different from the date of designation, we used the date of implementation. We

categorized the stakeholder groups studied (fisheries, coastal communities, tourism, recreation, other).
Where the studies provided the data, we also compiled whether the MPAs had high enforcement (yes, no), high compliance (yes, no), and clear boundaries (yes, no).

75

76 Quantitative analyses: We summarized the data by calculating the percentage of positive, ambiguous, 77 negative outcomes for the categories of human well-being that had quantitative data (economic, 78 governance, social, cultural). Similarly, we summarized the percentage of positive, ambiguous, and 79 negative outcomes by stakeholder group, ecosystems, MPA characteristics, MPA locations, governance, 80 and study design. We used Fisher's exact tests (2-tailed, for factor variables) and ANOVAs with Tukey 81 HSD post-hoc test (for continuous variables, size and age) to assess the statistical significance of the 82 relationship between synthesized outcomes (positive, trade-off, negative) and the explanatory variables. 83 We also examined within categories or variables with more than two categories, but these analyses did 84 not yield any additional insights. We used Microsoft Excel and R to visualize data, and all quantitative 85 analyses were carried out in R⁹.

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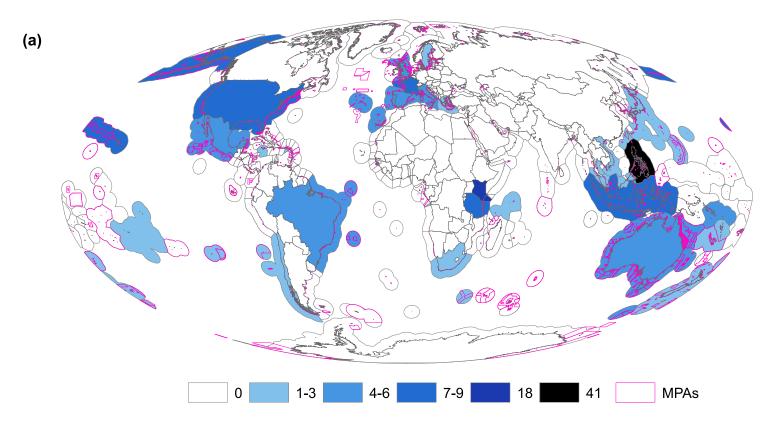
We used balloon plots (in R package gplots¹⁰) and Fisher's exact tests to gauge co-occurrence of specific outcomes. We examined co-occurrence of economic indicators by comparing the variable with the most data (catches, n=124) to other economic variables (income, number of users, CPUE), and the two next most commonly found variables to each other (CPUE and number of users). We excluded cost of activity because of limited data points (n=13). We then repeated the analyses comparing catches to governance variables (resource control, support, spatial change) and social variables (conflict, community involvement). Small sample sizes precluded statistical analyses with multiple variables.

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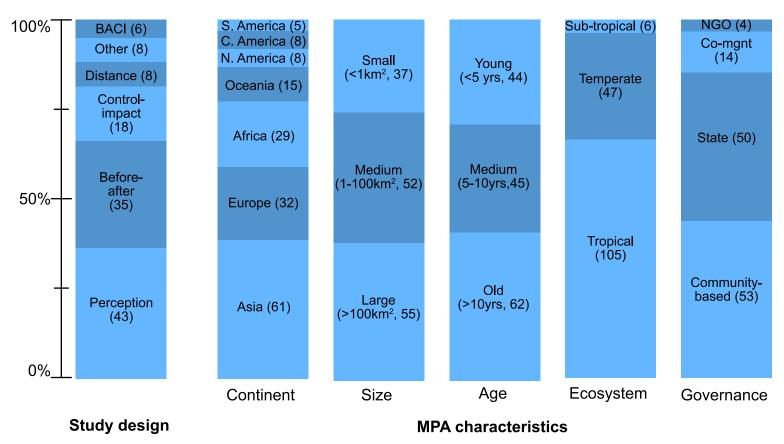
- 95 The data that support the findings of this study are available as supplementary materials.
- 96

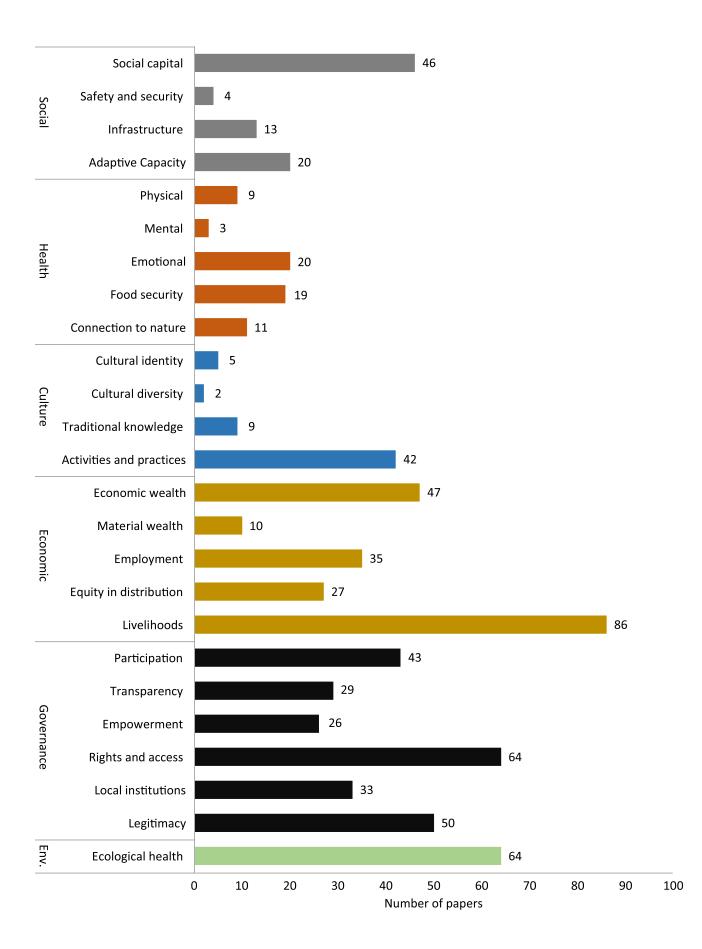
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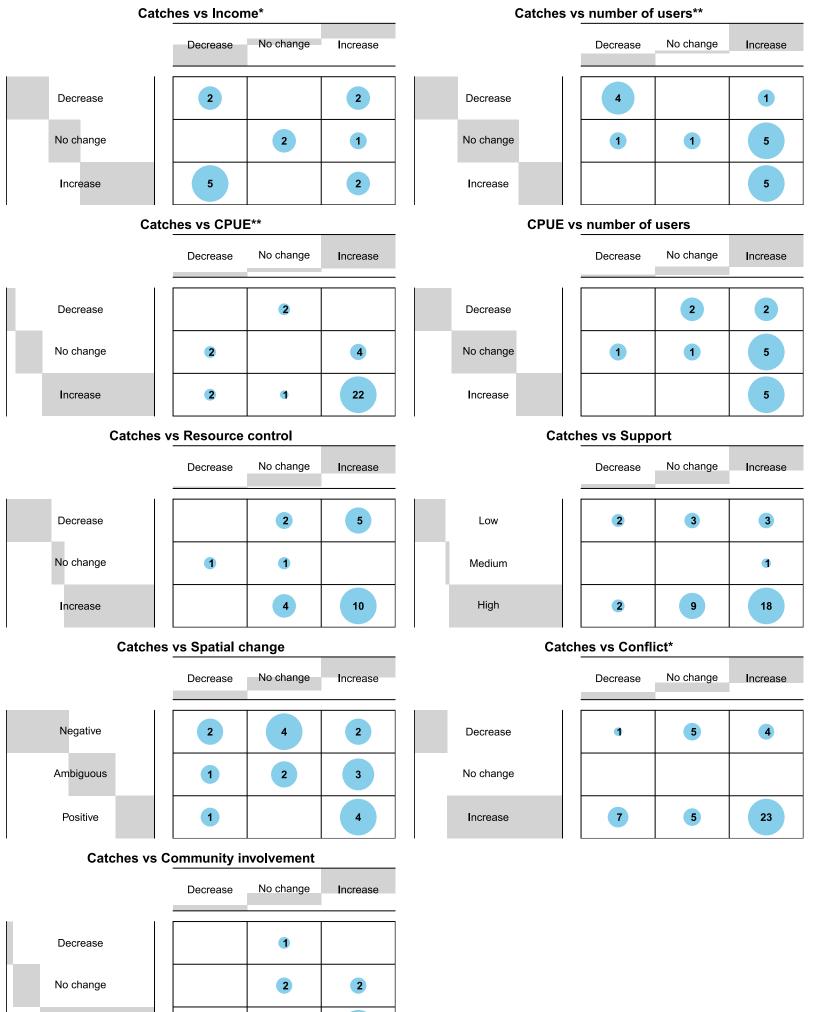
(b)





	Positive effects (%)	Negative effects (%)	Ambiguous effects (%)	Number of data points
All combined	51	31	17	606
Number of users	44	34	22	59
Income	65	16	20	51
CPUE	73	11	17	66
Catches	61	20	19	124
Cost of fishing	0	100	0	13
Resource control	58	34	8	38
Support	61	33	6	83
Spatial change	22	25	52	67
Conflict	15	79	5	78
Com. involvement	76	3	21	34

		Positive effects (%)	Negative effects (%)	Ambiguous effects (%)	Number of data points
Stakeholders	Fisheries	53	31	17	452
	Tourism	46	23	30	56
	Recreation	47	12	41	17
	Coastal communities	43	39	19	80
					_
IS	Tropical	57	28	15	474
sten	Sub-tropical	24	44	32	25
Ecosystems		43	35	22	207
ЕC	Temperate	45	55	22	207
	Multiple zones	41	39	20	246
	Single zone	60	22	17	232
	No-take area	54	27	19	367
	No no-take area	35	38	27	77
	High enforcement	63	21	16	136
	Not high enforcement	51	41	8	136
MPA characteristics	High compliance	75	11	15	108
teri	Not high compliance	42	43	14	102
arac	Clear boundaries	68	19	13	47
ch;	Unclear boundaries	59	37	4	49
ЧРА	Young age	43	35	22	192
	Medium age	47	34	19	178
	Old age	60	27	13	202
	Small size (<1km2)	66	22	13	111
	Medium size	50	32	18	221
	Large size	45	36	19	221
	Large size	45		19	228
	Africa	64	27	9	102
	Asia	58	29	14	219
suo	Central America	41	41	19	37
MPA locations	Europe	41	31	24	153
A lo	North America	43	28	31	32
MP	Oceania	33	40	27	48
	South America	40	33	27	15
	South America	40	55	27	15
0	Community-based	70	21	9	174
Governance					
erna	Co-managed	43	35	23	75
NO5	NGO-managed	33	44	22	9 212
U	State-managed	41	34	25	212
	Before-after	55	26	10	206
c		65		19	67
Study desi	Control-impact	64	13	21	
	BACI	69	27	9	11 35
	Distance		-	29	
	Perception	40	44	15	262
	Other	56	20	24	25



Increase