

FROM HERDSMEN TO SAFARI GUIDES:
AN ASSESSMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL
PARTNERSHIPS AT IL NGWESI, LAIKIPIA DISTRICT,
KENYA

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This thesis is dedicated to my mother, Carol Thomas.

ABSTRACT

This thesis provides an analysis of a community based conservation project in northern Kenya and also considers broader theoretical questions relating to the establishment of successful environmental partnerships. In East Africa, pastoralist communities are threatened by the erosion of their resource base, delicately balanced ecosystems are being progressively degraded, and the conflict between wildlife conservation and other forms of land use is escalating. The challenge faced by rural communities is to achieve socio-economic growth in conjunction with environmental conservation and social stability.

Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDP's) and Ecotourism projects have been attempted in underdeveloped areas with the objective of enhancing biodiversity conservation through approaches which endeavour to address the needs, opportunities and constraints faced by rural communities. The hope is that communities will develop a vested interest in maintaining biodiversity (wildlife) on their land so as to sustain the income it generates. While some successes have been recorded, critical analysis by researchers suggests that a number of problems beset such projects and few have met their objectives.

The case study examined here is both an ICDP and an Ecotourism project. It is a community based conservation effort on the communally owned Il Ngwesi Group Ranch, in the Laikipia district, in semi-arid/arid Maasailand in northern Kenya. This area sustains important wildlife populations but as human population pressures increase the future of the permanent and migratory animals that occupy this land is in question. An initiative was undertaken in 1996 by the community in partnership with the neighbouring private ranch to build a lodge on the land and to start protecting an area for tourism use. The aim of this thesis is to examine the project as an example of an environmental partnership and consider what implications the partnership itself might have for future initiatives.

The Il Ngwesi project is categorised according to the environmental partnership theory, which assisted in describing some of its operating features and success factors. The thesis argues that, in thinking about how to achieve a working management of natural resources in similar contexts, careful consideration must be given to the nature of environmental partnerships that often constitute the basis of ICDP/ecotourism projects. These factors can be taken into account in developing more successful initiatives in the future.

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ACRONYMS

AGM Annual General Meeting

AWF African Wildlife Foundation

CAMPFIRE Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources

CB Cultural Boma

CBC Community Based Conservation

COBRA Conservation of Biodiversity Resource Areas

EPM Environmental Partnerships Map

GR Group Ranch

GRMC Group Ranch Management Committee

ICDP Integrated Conservation and Development Project

IUCN International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources

NED International Institute for Environment and Development

KWS Kenya Wildlife Service

LWC Lewa Wildlife Conservancy

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

NRMC Natural Resources Management Committee

PALI Participatory Assessment of Livelihood Issues and Impacts

PLC Partnership Life Cycle

PRA Participatory Rural Appraisal

RRA Rapid Rural appraisal

SH Stakeholders

USAID United States Agency for International Development

WTO World Trade Organization

UNEP United Nations Environmental Programme

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We carry within us the wonders we seek without; there is all Africa and her prodigies in us'
Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, 1643.

INTRODUCTION:

The environment that was for so long regarded in Western thought as a limitless frontier of commercial opportunity, or as a common property resource not needing special care, is being reassessed. The pressures exerted on the natural world have increased rapidly in the last two centuries due to the exponential growth of the world's populations and the inevitable demands they place on the resource base. The environment is now increasingly perceived to be fragile, threatened by the limitless expansion of human endeavour, and perhaps even hostile to human life itself. From the mid twentieth century in particular awareness of the limits of growth have been heightened, and this has engineered support for 'development' that is specifically concerned with the 'environment'. The intellectual paradigm connecting these ideas and their integration produced the concept of 'sustainable development'. This study is concerned with rural north Kenya, which is characterised by low levels of development, increasing levels of environmental degradation and poverty. The need for sustainable development is clearly vital in this context.

The interest in sustainable development has produced a new regard for the conservation of natural resources in rural developing world societies. This is based on the recognition that successful biodiversity conservation and protected area management ultimately depends, amongst other things, upon support and co-operation from local communities (Anderson and Grove, 1987). Sustainability is a constant theme throughout this study and represents a daunting challenge. The thesis argues that it is best met by those individuals most directly affected, who are also fully involved in determining the objectives in terms of which areas are to be managed. Building strong institutions that are adaptable and will enable rural communities living in and around protected areas to be increasingly self-reliant and in greater control over their lives, is a concern for practitioners in this area.

The concepts of Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDP's) and Ecotourism have recently emerged as practical ways of addressing these problems. Experience has already highlighted a number of common practical problems with such projects which have rarely proved effective.

The study focuses on the theory of Environmental Partnerships (Long and Arnold, 1995) to analyse the success with which conservation and development issues have been addressed

at Il Ngwesi in northern Kenya. Chapter One explores the concepts behind ICDP's and Ecotourism thinking, before introducing environmental partnerships theory as a tool for analysing the partnership-based ICDP/ecotourism project at Il Ngwesi. The theory will inform a critical examination of practical attempts at environmental partnerships with regard to this project. Chapter Two introduces the study area, the people, their history and the key players. It then outlines the circumstances behind the opportunity for forming a partnership between the key participants, Il Ngwesi and Lewa Downs. The result of the partnership, initiated in 1996, was the building of a Lodge and Cultural Boma, which are also described.

Theory dictated the type of investigation discussed in the Methodology Chapter (Three), showing the particular techniques chosen for the collection and analysis of data. The results are given in Chapter Four in the form of an evaluation of environmental partnerships: the chapter considers how well the process of partnering went, identifies direct and indirect benefits, and identifies and discusses the key aspects of the partnership. Chapter Five is concerned with discussing the implications of the results and understanding the links between them. The analysis combines these key aspects to create a graphic record the process of partnering at Il Ngwesi. The key factors are then abstracted and a Community Conservation Partnership model is constructed. Recommendations are suggested at the end of Chapter Six for improvements that could be made on the Il Ngwesi project.

The study therefore moves from the theoretical and/or conceptual bases of understanding through to qualitative data collection techniques representing the lived reality of the case study and the nature of the partnership at Il Ngwesi and back again. The hope is that this results in a dynamic relationship between the conceptual and the practical, where each is informed by the other.

CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

1.1 Introduction:

The introduction to the study established sustainable community development, achieved through the creation of environmental partnerships, as the main focus of interest. This chapter briefly reviews the background to the emergence of a focus on integrated environment/development projects in the developing world. In particular, the global environmental crisis and threats to biodiversity; environmentalism and sustainable development; and ICDP's and ecotourism are reviewed.

If modern conservation has its origins in the West, its shortcomings are being exposed most harshly in the tropics. Here, where population pressure and poverty are said to be threatening the richest and most intact ecosystems on earth, conservation is in crisis. Sustainable development emerged out of the environmental movement and has been advocated as a way of addressing the global environmental crisis and the loss of biodiversity. Sustainable development or 'sustainability' remains a controversial concept. Some see it as an established theory, and others believe it is still in its infancy, as a framework of development thinking. It is important to understand the concept of sustainable development in the context of this study, as it has informed the conception of Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDP's) and Ecotourism projects, including those based on partnerships. Il Ngwesi was conceived out of ICDP and Ecotourism principles.

This brings the chapter to the core interest of the study - interpreting the Il Ngwesi/Lewa community conservation partnership using the theory of Environmental Partnerships (Long and Arnold, 1995). This theory provides the analytical tools that are utilized to examine the project. The concept of what an environmental partnership is, and the various types of partnership, are discussed. By considering Il Ngwesi group ranch, northern Kenya, in light of this theory, a critical analysis of practical attempts at environmental partnerships in the context of community-based ecotourism projects is facilitated.

1.2 The Global Environmental Crisis:

The value of biodiversity is the value of everything there is. It is the summed value of all the countries GNP's from now until the end of the world. We know that, because our very lives and our economies are dependent upon biodiversity. If biodiversity is reduced sufficiently, and we don't know the disaster point, there will no longer be any conscious beings. With them go all value, economic or otherwise. (Norton, 1988, cited in Gowdy, p 357)

Norton's statement predicts a global catastrophe where the whole biosphere is in grave danger. Theses of this nature are becoming commonplace in academic and popular culture throughout the world. A few examples will suffice:

- 'As a result of human activities, the gradual increase in the total number of species that has occurred over the past 65 million years has been abruptly reversed' (Agenda 21, UNCED Rio Conference, 1992).
- 'Estimates are that current extinction rates are anywhere between 100 to 1000 times higher than the pre-history levels and this rate is expected to increase tenfold in the next century' (Pinez *et al.* 1995).
- The current human induced mass extinction may be of the same order of magnitude as the five other major extinction episodes that destroyed between 20 and 96 per cent of the existing species on the planet' (Ehrlich *et al.*, 1992).

Among ecologists, there is a general consensus that biodiversity is of critical importance to the health of ecosystems and even for the long-term survival of the human species (Ehrlich, 1992; Gowdy, 1994). They suggest that global biodiversity is being lost at a rate that is a cause for great concern.

Gowdy (1996) defines biodiversity as encompassing all of the species that currently exist on the earth, the variations that exist within each species, and all of the interactions that exist among all of these organisms and their biotic and abiotic environments as well as the integrity of these interactions. Biodiversity can usually be seen as a measure of nature and its diversity, rather than an entity in itself, and is usually measured on three levels - genes, species and ecosystems (Furze *et al.*, 1996). Simply put, genetic diversity is the variety of genes within species. Species diversity is the variety of species found in an area, but must also concern itself with the genetic and functional uniqueness of individual organisms. Ecosystem diversity refers to the number and distribution of different ecosystems, usually used at national or sub-national levels. In a general sense, the term biodiversity is normally used to refer to having a desirable or wide range of genes, species and ecosystems (Furze, *et al.*, 1996).

There are many different ethical and philosophical positions on nature and our relationship with it. Some positions hold that nature has value beyond any that humans hold for it. Others would argue that nature is only important to the extent that it can be used for human activity (Pepper, 1984; Furze, *et al.*, 1996). Despite the conjecture the environmental crisis is continually stressed and biodiversity is generally understood as being lost at an unprecedented rate, and it is acknowledged that our understanding of the process is still limited.

Biodiversity and natural systems represent the fabric of life on the planet and provide the environment in which humans live. This ecological context however sits within a social context. Human beings' relationship with nature depends on complex social, cultural, economic and political processes (Furze *et al*, 1996). Understanding the importance of biodiversity conservation therefore requires the understanding of social as well as ecological processes.

1.2.1 Threats to Biodiversity:

The causes of biodiversity loss include: population growth, human patterns of consumption, developing country poverty, overexploitation, misdirected overseas aid policies, amongst others (Gowdy, 1994). Human numbers have more than doubled to their present level of almost 5 and a half billion over the past 50 years (Arroyo *et al*, 1992). The Global Biodiversity Strategy (World Resources Institute [WRI], *et al*. 1992) identifies the rates and the magnitude of growth, and the eventual size of the global population is likely to have a critical impact on biodiversity. The WRI (1998 report) says that 80% of the world's population lives in less developed countries and that nearly 98% of the annual increase in world population in the 1990's occurred in less developed countries. Of those 80%, about a quarter live below the absolute poverty line. Africa's population increased by 80 million between 1970 and 1980 and since then it is believed to have grown at a rate of 30% (Pitman, 1990). What is most significant about these statistics is that the range of genetic, species and ecosystem biodiversity is greatest in developing countries. Arroyo (1992) estimated that tropical rain forests alone, which cover only 5% of the planet's surface, could be home to more than half of the world's species. Therefore the most sensitive and crucial places for the conservation of biodiversity will be in these developing countries.

These general observations are applicable to Kenya where this study is located. Although famous for its wildlife and unique biodiversity, Kenya is also famous for having one of the highest population growth rates in the world. Kenya has boasted annual population growth rates of 4.2% (Cheeseman, 1999). The country is characterised by erratic and low rainfall resulting in largely grassland and scrub vegetation, however, 'this environment has been home for the worlds most diverse and richest ensemble of wildlife and even flora' (Sibanda and Omwega, 1996). Il Ngwesi is part of a unique ecosystem which represents a distinctive type of terrestrial biodiversity.

1.3 Scope of the Study:

It is not within the scope of this study to look into the issues of global biodiversity loss. However, the background to the present study is a recognition, on the part of conservation managers and rural communities, of the problem discussed above. Il Ngwesi represents an effort to tackle biodiversity loss in a rural African situation, specifically rural northern Kenya with its unique wildlife and natural beauty heritage.

Historically the conservation of biodiversity in Kenya has most commonly occurred in formal protected areas. While these protected areas have long been relied upon for the conservation of biodiversity, the increasing pressure of growing populations, which commonly leads to conflicts between authorities and local communities, has heightened their vulnerability and even threatened their continued existence. It has also reduced their ability to achieve their conservation objectives (Cumming, 1990). Private conservation initiatives have thus gained credence.

Il Ngwesi is one such private initiative. At Il Ngwesi, a range of social, cultural, political, economic and local organisational factors pertaining to the community needed to be addressed if biodiversity conservation was to succeed in the area. The project was conceived in terms of the broad ideals of sustainable development, but more specifically it can be classified as an Integrated Conservation and Development Project and Ecotourism project.

The following section briefly reviews the ideological background to the project and explores the ideas in terms of how it was conceived. First, there is an examination of the concept of sustainable development and how it emerged out of the environmental movement. Second, there is an examination of the concepts of ICDP and Ecotourism which in turn emerged from these discourses.

1.4 Environmentalism and the Emergence of Sustainable Development:

The idea that the environment is a limitless frontier to commercial opportunity not needing any care has changed dramatically, in Western thought especially. The question of whether the planet's limited resources could continue to support indefinitely the requirements of growth and development goes back a long way. Interpretations of the environment fall into two broad categories, namely the anthropocentric and the bioethical. The former sees the environment as the provider for human society in terms of life support and resources. This philosophy is often associated with the view that environmental problems can be solved with resource management. The latter argues that the non-human world also has interests and

moral significance quite independent of social utility (Bayliss Smith and Owens, 1994). Both increasingly argue that there are limits to human exploitation of the environment.

Although the modern movement is widely agreed to have its origins in the late 1960's and early 1970's, the philosophical and ideological roots of environmentalism have a much longer history. Pepper (1984) traces diverse roots in classical science, in nineteenth century conservationism and romanticism, and the writings of Malthus and Darwin. A movement with such a long history and diverse roots is unavoidably eclectic and tends to defy classification and simple explanation (Bayliss Smith and Owens, 1994). Broadly, environmentalists of the 1970's were preoccupied with neo-Malthusian concerns about resource depletion of non-renewable resources and the impossibility of continued growth in a finite world (Bayliss Smith and Owens, 1994). However the movement has grown to encompass many views from many parts of the world.

Most studies confirm that despite the fact that the environmental movement embraces a wide range of interests and objectives, the ecocentrist/technocentrist divide formalised by O'Riordan (1981) provides an enduring analytical framework. Simply put, as an extension of the discussion above, ecocentrists advocate a non-utilitarian view of the world and bioethics, while technocentrists see increased material wealth as universally desirable and achievable through sound resource management (Bayliss Smith and Owens, 1994). Although this divide reduces the complexity of a wide range of values and beliefs to a simple dichotomy, they are very recognisable in any debate on environmental issues.

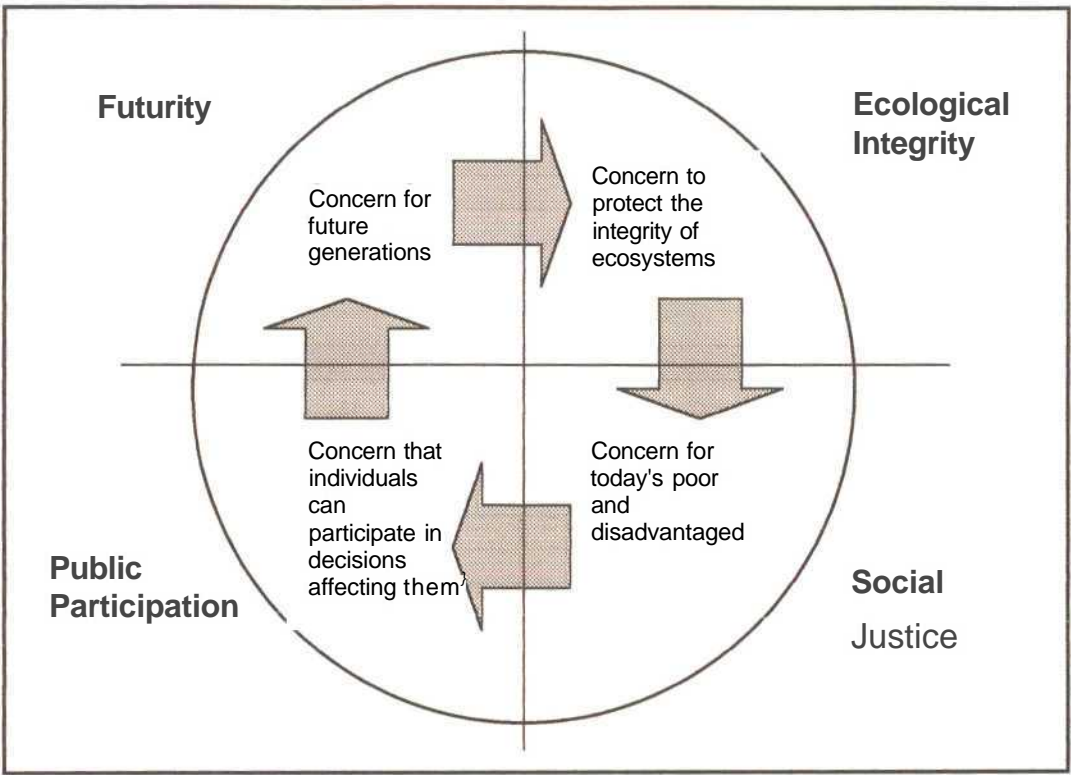
It was 1970's environmentalist thinking which led to the idea of 'Sustainable Development' as a new approach to resource management (Adams, 1990). Sustainable development subsequently developed to blur some of the divisions between ecocentrists and technocentrists, at least in relation to previously polarised positions on economic growth and the environment. While an early expression of sustainable development thinking is contained in the World Conservation Strategy (WCS) report of 1977, the notion of 'Sustainable Development' is usually associated with the 1987 report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), 'Brundtland Report'. The Brundtland report introduced the notion that "Environment and Development are not separate challenges; they are inexorably linked" (WCED, 1987; 37). The Brundtland report defined sustainable development, and this was to become the most widely recognised definition: "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987). This definition focused on the ability of ecosystems and natural resource bases to cope with development, suggesting that there are limits.

However the concept of sustainable development still needed considerable work. The details and practicalities have been debated and built up over a series of conferences and reports to give rise to the detailed formulation of a set of principles for achieving sustainable development. The concept of sustainable development then began to suffuse development discourse in the late 1980's and early 1990's after these publications. Although the concept has received much criticism, which will not be explored here, sustainable development has been guiding, and continues to guide, a great deal of development thinking. Therefore it is important to examine some of the main ideas behind this framework. These ideas have located elements of sustainable development firmly within an economic and political context, and have placed environmental issues on the world political agenda (Agenda 21, UNCED Rio Conference, 1992).

While sustainable development has been difficult to define, the concept has been instrumental in changing the perception that the environment is a luxury affordable only to the rich. The view now is that the environment is a necessity, both for survival and for economic development (Bayliss Smith and Owens, 1994). This view soon began to transform the way governments and development institutions formed policies and carried them out. It also provided for other actors to have an effective voice in how development should take place.

Several concepts of sustainable development exist in the literature (Tisdell, 1993). However, there is a general agreement that the conservation of biodiversity is necessary for its achievement, even though there is room for argument about the amount and type of biodiversity that should be preserved. Preservation of biodiversity is an important aspect of nature conservation and it has also become a significant consideration in relation to sustainable development and the sustainability of ecosystems. The sustainability of ecosystems has implications for the sustainability of any economic benefits obtained from such ecosystems, and for the retention of economic options. The maintenance of biodiversity keeps open future economic options, both of use and of non-use type. Oelofse (1998) suggests there are four key concepts of sustainable development, namely: futurity, ecological integrity, social justice and public participation (shown in fig: 1.1). The diagram summarises the challenges in a visual form, showing clearly that each issue is inextricably linked and dependent upon the other. Attention paid to one will reflect on the others and maintain the momentum. Each challenge is explained further below.

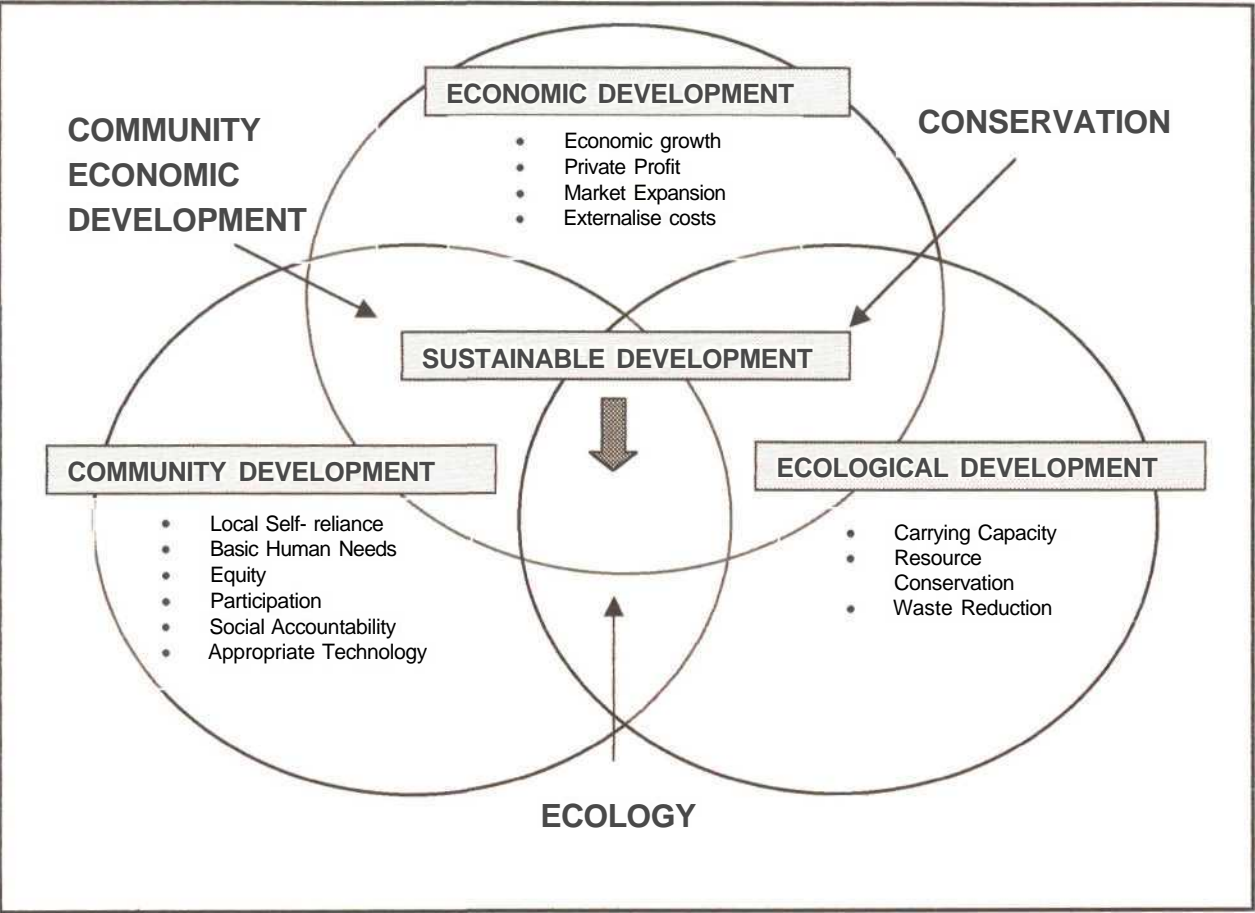
Fig: 1.1: The Principles underlying Sustainable Development (adapted Oelofse, 1998):



- **Futurity** refers to both the human capital and the natural integrity of the area, which must be passed on to future generations.
- **Ecological integrity** refers to the healthy functioning of the natural systems (e.g. the rivers, air, soil and marine integrity).
- **Social justice** refers to the imperative to meet the needs of present generations, particularly those who are marginalized or impoverished, through wise development and planning. However development which ignores the broader context of environmental well-being will not improve the quality of life of people in the long term.
- **Public participation** refers to the active participation of people who become well-informed, who are enabled and empowered to play a role in environmental decision making. The development of partnerships between local people, and the private and public sector involved in an area is key to achieving sustainable development.

This study views the idea of sustainable development as a flexible concept which has been adopted enthusiastically by many development practitioners and environmentalists. An analysis of it is important for explaining the philosophical context within which the Il Ngwesi project is located.

Fig. 1.2: The Sustainable Development Challenge (Oelofse, 1998).



Sustainable development therefore brings together arguably the most important issues facing humanity in the 21st century. Amongst those are the developing world relevant concerns of providing development for an increasing human population, while at the same time protecting the environment.

1.5 Marrying Conservation and Development-

Men are easily inspired by human ideas but they forget them just as quickly. Only Nature is eternal, unless we senselessly destroy it. In fifty years time nobody will be interested in the results of consequences which fill today's headlines...but fifty years from now when a lion walks into the red dawn and roars resoundingly, it will mean something to people and quicken their hearts...they will stand in quiet awe, as for the first time in their lives, they watch 20,000 zebra wander across the endless plain...is it really stupid to work for the zebras, lions and men who will walk the earth in a hundred or two hundred years time? (Grzimek and Grzimek, 1965, in Anderson and Grove, 1987)

The principles of sustainable development, when applied in a context of the developing world's rural conservation and development, highlight three main challenges (Goodland, 1995)

- The promotion of a stable social system.
- The development of a stable economic system.
- The development of a stable environmental system.

All three of these factors are interlinked and reinforce each other. A disturbance to one has repercussions for the other two. Sustainable development therefore needs to integrate social, environmental and economic sustainability. There is growing consensus that several factors need to be addressed simultaneously if sustainable development is to be achieved in rural African communities which have wildlife living alongside them.

Current thinking makes recommendations for marrying conservation and development, such as the following: Firstly, the point at which the goals of environmental conservation and development intersect in each particular case must be identified and used as the foundation for any development initiative. Secondly, short-term socio-economic incentives must be provided to the community to facilitate a transition in land-use activities and practices. Thirdly, development must be founded on community empowerment and local participation in decision-making, as well as locally based management of development initiatives. Development projects need to harness the support of the community and this can be achieved through community capacity building, which will enable the community to gain greater control over its future. As always this is easy to state in theory but difficult to achieve.

Kenya characteristically shares the problems of other developing countries in that there has been rapid population growth, unwise development decisions and inequality in the ownership, management and flow of resource benefits, which in turn has led to growing demands upon natural resources in order to meet nutritional and economic needs. The expanding settlements, crops and livestock are reducing agricultural productivity and displacing wildlife. Therefore there is a conflict between people, animals and space. In Kenya most wildlife is found in rural, community owned areas (Fourie, 1991). These areas are also characterised by environmental as well as social, economic and political instability. A common feature in Africa is the decline of the wildlife heritage and the persistence of poverty in its rural communities (Kiss, 1990).

On the other hand national parks, wildlife reserves, and other types of protected areas have been at the forefront of efforts to conserve biodiversity, but many of these protected areas are in crisis. They are under-funded and have come under increasing pressure from the

expanding scale of human activities outside, and sometimes inside, their boundaries (Kiss, 1990). The challenge is therefore to develop strategies and projects which integrate the resource use activities of local communities with protected areas in order to achieve environmental stability and biodiversity conservation. These strategies need to include the development of self-sustaining and economically viable development projects in community areas. This must be linked to the development of policies and activities within and around these protected areas which are socially accepted and supported by the local community. Strategies for achieving the implementation of conservation practices in underdeveloped rural areas therefore need to be founded on an integrated and co-operative relationship between local communities and protected area management.

1.5.1 Integrated Conservation and Development Projects:

Propelled by the new ideas associated with the emergence of sustainable development, conservation efforts in Kenya have taken a new turn by expanding their horizons beyond the park boundaries and into the rural lands that maintain the pulse of life and biodiversity (Western, 1994). Preservation by segregation is no longer sufficient when a park's very isolation can create a biological desert island (Western, *et al*, 1994). The new concept that emerged from the marrying of conservation and community development is Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDP's). The strategy attempted to reverse 'top-down' conservation policies and adopt a more 'centrally driven' focus on the people that bear the costs of conservation (Western and Wright, 1994). Wells and Brandon (1993) define ICDP's as having the objective of enhancing biodiversity conservation through approaches which attempt to address the needs, constraints and opportunities of local people.

Both large and small-scale projects have been attempted. Smaller projects have included multiple-use conservation areas, and initiatives on the boundaries of parks such as buffer zones. Larger projects have involved the creation of biosphere reserves, regional land use plans which include protected area components, and large scale development projects which have links to local protected areas (Wells and Brandon, 1993). In general projects to promote improved natural resource management have two main objectives:

- To provide communities with the skills and resources needed to increase their incomes thereby enabling the protection of the natural resource base.
- To encourage substitution of unsustainable land use systems with sustainable systems for the conservation of the resource base.

In addition ICDP's need to provide alternative resource use options which are sustainable as well as more productive, and to incorporate environmental education in an attempt to change the local communities' attitudes toward the value of the natural resource base. In the most

optimal situations, these rural areas would find ways to utilise their wildlife resources productively and progress towards a sustainable future for inhabitants and the landscape in which the people live (Western and Wright, 1994).

The literature on ICDP failures and mistakes is neither sparse nor all of it recent (see for example: Chambers, 1973; Wells and Brandon, 1993). Wells and Brandon (1993) reported that many of the ICDP case studies they reviewed were experiencing difficulties in meeting either their biodiversity conservation or social and economic development objectives. An exploration of the relevant literature (Kiss, 1990; IIED, 1994; Wells, Brandon and Hannah, 1992; Wells and Brandon, 1993) suggests that failures can be attributed to a number of factors, including lack of participation of local communities in planning and implementation of the projects, lack of economic viability of the projects, economic sustainability, failure to secure local community ownership of the resources, and non deliverance of short term, tangible benefits to the local communities. Some short case studies are included in Appendix 1.1.

It is necessary at this point to introduce the concept of Ecotourism. ICDP's cover a whole range of conservation and development projects, but Ecotourism is a form of ICDP project that involves the inclusion of tourism revenue from conservation to pay for economic development and environmental protection in developing countries. The Rio Summit (1992) recognised ecotourism as a potential catalyst for combining economic development with environmental protection. The report from the summit advocated that governments "promote and support the management of wildlife [and]...ecotourism" (Agenda 21,1992; Chap. 28).

1.5.2 Ecotourism

Tourism is currently a major world industry. The World Trade Organization (WTO) recorded 594 million international tourist arrivals world-wide in 1996 (IIED, 1998) and this figure has been estimated to increase to a figure of 661 million by the year 2000 and to 1 billion by 2010 (UNEP, 1992; WTO, 1995). Wildlife tourism accounts for 20 to 40% of international tourism (IIED, 1997) and it is likely to increase in importance and scale (Giongo, *etal*, 1994). A 1996 Gallup survey found that wildlife was a prime attraction for 80% of tourists to Kenya and Zimbabwe (Risk and Policy Analysts Ltd, 1996, cited in Hurt, 1999).

Tourism is probably the world's largest legitimate industry and, if done correctly, is potentially a powerful way to gain direct revenue from the maintenance of biodiversity. At a time when wilderness and natural areas are in marked decline, both in terms of quality and quantity, demand for tourism to these areas is increasing dramatically. In at least five countries

(Kenya, Equador, Costa Rica, Madagascar and Nepal), it is the major earner of foreign currency. This industry therefore can potentially provide good opportunities for local people. Tourists can also help to justify conservation to local governments, and tourism can provide the resource funds to buy and maintain reserves.

Ecotourism itself developed within the womb of the environmental movement. This was in reaction to the rapid destruction of many tourist destinations and the increasing momentum in the concern for the environment. Honey (1999) estimates that the annual growth in demand for ecotourism is up to 30%. The world's inaccessible and unpopular locations of old are now the focus of a new set of travellers and travel arrangers. According to Honey (1999), ecotourism is defined as "a way to fund conservation and scientific research, protect fragile and pristine ecosystems, benefit rural communities, promote development in poor countries, enhance ecological and cultural sensitivity, instil environmental awareness and social conscience in the travel industry, and satisfy and educate the discriminating tourist" (Honey, 1999: 4). There is a clear link here with some of the ideas already discussed with respect to sustainable development and ICDP's. The ultimate goal of ecotourism according to many experts (for example: Western, 1994; Honey, 1999) should be to infuse the entire travel industry with the principles and practices of ecotourism and thereby transform tourism into an environmentally and culturally sensitive activity that contributes to sustainable growth in developing countries. There is a lot of potential in ecotourism, considering the fact that the concept and its set of principles and practices are still in their infancy.

There are, inevitably, some conflicting ideas about ecotourism. Honey (1999) sees two kinds of ecotourism, a 'genuine ecotourism' and an 'ecotourism lite'. Genuine ecotourism involves putting into practice the multiple principles of ecotourism, often within a single project. Ecotourism lite projects tend to adopt only the façade of ecotourism, without making fundamental changes to mass tourism practices. Honey (1999) defines real ecotourism as having the following seven characteristics (see table 1.1):

Table 1.1: "Genuine Ecotourism" Characteristics (after Honey, 1999):

1. *Involves travel to natural destinations:* These destinations are often remote, whether habited or uninhabited, they are usually under some kind of environmental protection at a national, international, communal or private level.
2. *Minimises impact:* Tourism causes damage, ecotourism strives to minimise these adverse effects by using recycled or plentifully available local building materials, renewable sources of energy, safe disposal of waste, and environmentally and culturally sensitive architecture.
3. *Builds environmental awareness:* Ecotourism means education, for both tourists and residents of the nearby communities.
4. *Provides direct financial benefits for conservation:* Raising funds for environmental protection, research, and education through a variety of mechanisms, including park entrance fees, tour company, hotel, airline, and airport taxes; and voluntary contributions.
5. *Provides financial benefits and empowerment for local people:* Campsites, lodges, guide services, restaurants, and other concessions should be run by or in partnership with communities surrounding the park or tourist destination. More importantly, if it is to be viewed as a tool for rural development, it must also help shift economic and political control to the local community.
6. *Respects local culture:* Ecotourism is less culturally intrusive and exploitative than conventional tourism.
7. *Supports human rights and democratic movements:* Mass tourism typically pays scant attention to the political system of the host country or struggles within it. Responsible travellers must carefully assess the consequences of travel both on the country's ecosystem and cultural norms and on movements for social and political democratisation and human rights.

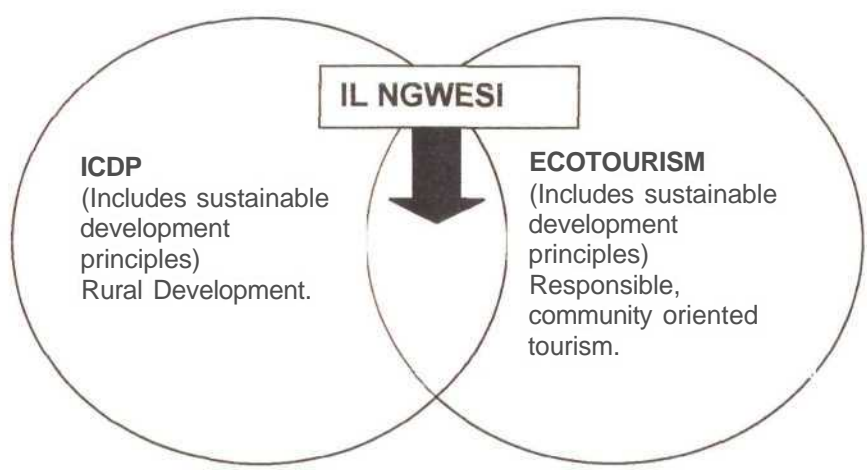
While many case studies have demonstrated the potential of ecotourism, practical implementation of such projects has resulted in a number of failures. A few of these are explained in Appendix 1.2.

Kenya has been an ecotourism 'trailblazer'¹ (Honey, 1999). The country gave birth to Africa's earliest experiments in community based conservation based on park and tourism revenues and began the first efforts to systematically adopt ecotourism principles and practices in its National Park system. But Kenya's unstable political climate and widespread economic corruption have increasingly undermined its endeavours to develop ecotourist principles as well as its tourism industry in general. In the late 1990's Kenya's troubles multiplied as crime, bad weather, political unrest, and the bombing of the US embassy combined to scare off international holidaymakers, leaving the industry in crisis (Honey, 1999).

In 1995, Il Ngwesi accommodated a rural community struggling to make a living in an environmentally degraded area. The challenge was for the Il Ngwesi people to meet their own needs in the area's fragile environment without compromising the needs of future generations, by making the best use of what was left of the area's special resources.

Therefore it was agreed that conservation practices were to be implemented on the communally owned land, but that their practices would have to be socially acceptable and supported by the community. This marrying of conservation and community development meant that Il Ngwesi was to utilize the principles of ICDP's, as an expression of sustainable development philosophy. The project would also strive to incorporate the ecological integrity dimension of sustainable development expressed in the principles of ecotourism. This meant striving to be low impact, environmentally friendly and culturally sensitive. Therefore the philosophical concepts behind the establishment of this project may be found at the intersection of ICDP's and ecotourism (see fig 1.3)

Fig 1.3: Philosophical Concepts behind the Il Ngwesi Project.



Having explained the philosophical location of the Il Ngwesi project, attention now moves to the consideration of a framework for analysing its structure.

1.6 The Theory of Environmental Partnerships:

Many ICDP and ecotourism projects are based on partnerships of one sort or another. A striking feature of the Il Ngwesi project is that it is based on a partnership between the community and the existing private game ranch, Lewa Downs, next door. This fact has shaped the project and also provided the direction taken by the analysis offered in this study. Because the Il Ngwesi initiative began and continued as a partnership, environmental partnership theory offers a way of looking at the project that illuminates the way the project is operating. It will reveal the power dynamics central to the successful or unsuccessful operation of the project, and allow speculation about its likely future. Environmental partnership theory provides an enabling theoretical framework within which to think in a more abstract way about the case of Il Ngwesi and to identify the strengths and weaknesses

specific to this particular attempt to implement the principles of sustainable development in an ICDP/ecotourism project. Effectively the analysis goes beyond a cost/benefit investigation (such as would be offered by looking at livelihoods, tourist income etc.) and offers a way of thinking about the prospects for success and also to reveal weaknesses. Wider implications also emerge clearly and will expose the dynamics and processes involved.

1.6.1 The Potential of Environmental Partnerships

Long and Arnold (1995) outline the potential advantages of forming environmental partnerships, what situations present the best opportunities, and how they can best be done. Forming and strengthening partnerships can lead to collaborative progress. Long and Arnold (1995) have done valuable and extensive work on environmental partnerships, and this section examines their ideas. Partnerships can provide the opportunity to resolve value differences, set priorities, research problems, and implement solutions. The involvement of all the stakeholders makes solutions more systematic, and more lasting.

The term partnership has become a part of the terminology of leaders concerned with environmental quality, resource conservation and sustainable development. Environmental partnership conveys a sense of constructive and voluntary collaboration among different stakeholders in environmental protection and natural resource management. Long and Arnold (1995: 6) define it as "voluntary collaborations between two or more organizations with a jointly defined agenda focused on a discrete, attainable, and potentially measurable goal". Some societal benefits of successful environmental partnerships are the following:

- improved effectiveness
- increased efficiency
- enhanced equity
- effective fulfilment of missions
- stakeholder access to larger resource base
- improved participants' morale and public relations.

Long and Arnold (1995) show that there is huge potential and benefits to be realised through environmental partnerships. However not all partnerships achieve their potential or actualise benefits, for various reasons. The potential is explored further by looking at the environmental partnerships life cycle.

1.6.2 Environmental Partnerships Life Cycle:

What are the catalysts that usually provoke people to action? Some of these include scientific uncertainty (usually regarding issues like biodiversity loss), public interest,

regulation threat (such as the non ownership of wildlife by the public in Kenya, only KWS has rights over wildlife), and the identification of a win-win opportunity. The operation of such catalysts as these can result in the formation of an environmental partnership. Partnerships come in many forms. Long and Arnold's (1995) Partnership Life Cycle (PLC) analysis is a useful device for describing and analysing partnerships. Partnerships usually travel through distinct stages, from seed phase through initiation to execution and closure or rebirth.

Fig. 1.4: The Partnership Life Cycle Model (PLC):

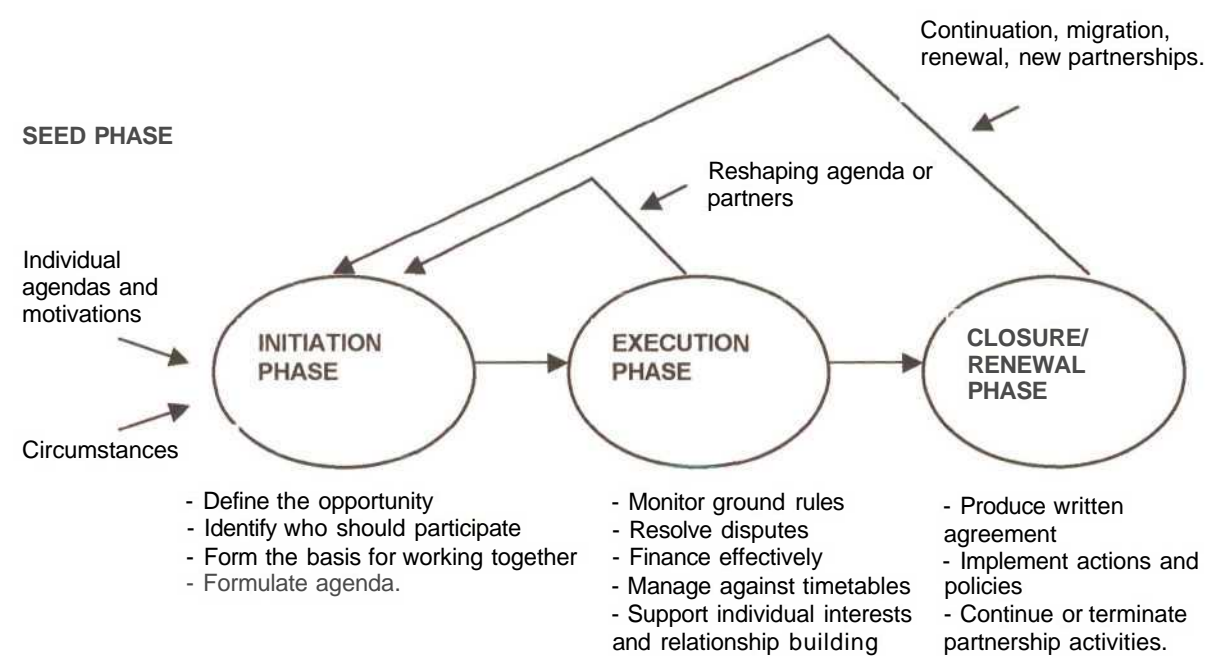


Fig 1.4 shows that once the partnership is born, it travels through several distinct stages. During the seed phase, champions bring the idea to prospective participants and the public. During the initiation phase the details of the partnership's operation are discussed and broad stakeholder groups determined. Roles, goals and responsibilities are defined and as an agenda of issues takes shape, the partnership moves into the execution phase. Then the focus moves from process issues to substance issues, brainstorming on key issues, establishing and sharing scientific data, identifying and reconciling alternatives and defining solution sets. In addition conflict resolution is essential and outside expertise is called in where necessary. In the closure/renewal stage, participants wind the partnership down, communicate results, and convert them into action. Participants must decide to terminate, continue the partnership in its present form, or modify. It is interesting to note that some partnerships are intended to exist for only a short time, after which they have outlived their usefulness, and the partnership is dissolved. If the maintenance of the partnership is

necessary for the long-term continuance of the project, then clearly the nature of the partnership is crucial, and ways must be found to continually renew it.

The PLC plays a key role in the analysis of environmental partnership activity and potential. The analysis will attempt to understand II Ngwesi using the partnership life cycle and make predictions about the future.

1.6.3 Environmental Partnership Frameworks:

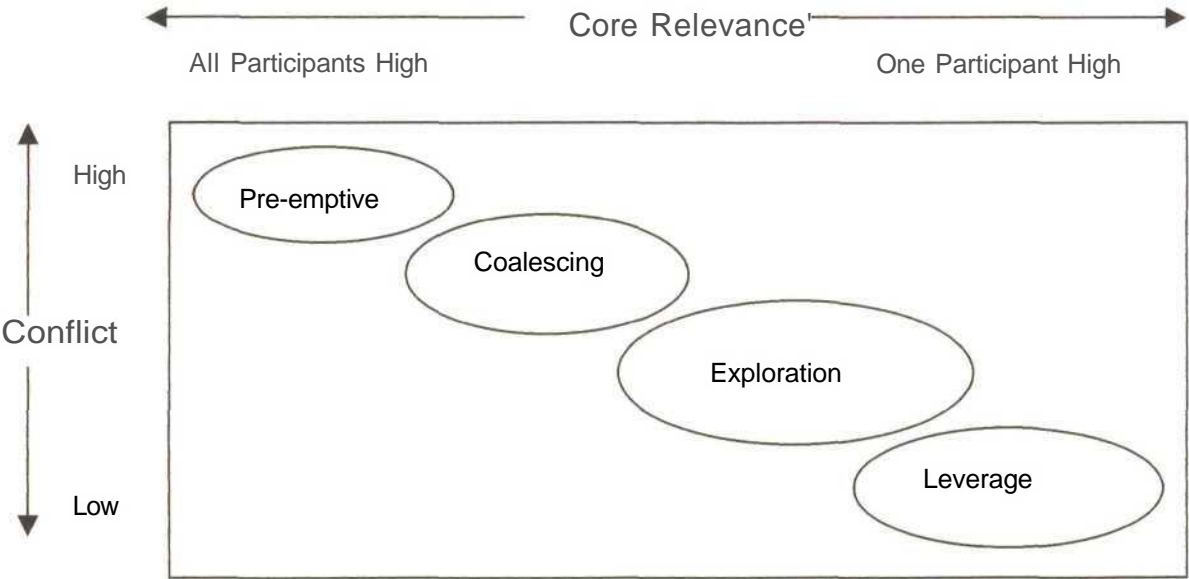
There are different kinds of partnerships and there are particular criteria that can be used to identify and classify an environmental partnership. Before looking at these, it is important to note that one critical element of partnerships is that they cannot be objectively separated from the people who conceive, implement, and champion them. These individuals must possess the boldness to conceive and champion unusual ideas, the patience and know-how to overcome obstacles and the commitment to bring ideas to completion (Long and Arnold, 1995). Partnerships require a set of committed individuals who will collectively possess a passion for innovation and risk taking and a substantive knowledge of the issues to be addressed. Partnerships succeed because of the commitment and creativity of the people who champion them and contribute to them. But creativity and commitment alone do not guarantee success, as numerous partnerships have demonstrated. Long and Arnold (1995:49) have "dissected" more than 50 environmental partnerships and developed a classification of all environmental partnerships into four 'types'. This work includes a description of the operating features and success factors common to all partnerships that fit into each 'type'. Thus a 'partnership typology' has been developed based on two main parameters: the degree of conflict historically found among parties prior to partnership formation, and the degree of overlap that exists between the partnership goals and each participant's goals. Each of these parameters is considered briefly below.

The first parameter refers to the *degree of conflict*. Previous levels of conflict must be considered, particularly conflict related to the environmental issue on which the partnership focuses. This is critical when considering plans for a partnership. The Conflict Scale is a continuum that ranges from high to low: high conflict is usually marked by lawsuits and public battles. Moderate conflict is characterised by understood disagreements but these are not generally made public and conflict tends to rest under the surface. Partners in low conflict situations usually do not know one other or are brought together because of common interests in improving an environmental issue (Long and Arnold, 1995).

The second parameter refers to the *overlap of interests*. The level of commitment that organizations make to initiating, managing, and concluding partnerships can be seen as a function of the overlap that exists between a partnership's goals and each organization's mission. This can be measured on a scale of 'relevance'; a continuum ranging from high to low. High relevance refers to a situation in which all participants see the partnership as a 'life or death process', where there is a situation of acute environmental crisis. Moderate relevance is when the partnership has a tangible and immediate impact on participating organizations suggesting the issue is important but not critical to all participants. Low relevance is usually where one party believes the issue to be important but has to accept that others see it as relatively unimportant to their organizations. While at least one party must consider the partnership important enough to justify starting it, others may be willing to provide assistance as long as they do not have to manage the process, or as long as the process is not an inconvenience in terms of time and resource expenditure (Long and Arnold, 1995).

If these two parameters are placed on two axes, an environmental partnerships map is created. Where a partnership falls in terms of the two scales defines its identity as one of the four possible types of partnership. This is useful in that Long and Arnold's (1995) typology is an exercise in classification, allowing an identification of the particular partnership being studied.

Fig. 1.5: Environmental Partnerships Map:



The four types of partnership in Long and Arnold's (1995) typology are as follows: pre-emptive partnerships, coalescing partnerships, exploration partnerships, and leverage

partnerships. Each of these is briefly considered here. A *Pre-emptive partnership* is characterised by high conflict and a high rating on the core relevance scale. This implies that there have been attempts to diffuse a situation that is already hostile or preempt a situation that is potentially so. The opportunities for change are usually constrained, at least initially, due to conflict that has existed among the parties. A *Coalescing Partnership* is characterised by conflict and high core relevance. Usually it means bringing together parties that depend on each other to accomplish their goals and that are rivals competing for projects and resources. There may be some threat of hostility or disagreement among the parties, but mostly the challenge is to create a common vision parties can support. An *Exploration Partnership* is characterised by much less conflict between the potential partners and where there is a situation where opportunistic attempts can be made to research or investigate environmental issues of joint concern. Often, these partnerships involve parties that have not previously worked together. A *Leverage Partnership* is characterised by low levels of conflict and where the core relevance is low. This means that one partners' concern is expressed much more clearly than the others. These partnerships are the most opportunistic, win-win partnerships which allows each party to make modest investments in environmental improvement in return for relatively high social, political and financial return. Although making these distinctions between levels of conflict and levels of relevance, Long and Arnold (1995) recognize that partnerships don't always fall neatly into a single point on the scale. However the typology is nonetheless useful. The advantage is that by working with a detailed case study that fits into a particular partnership type, it is possible to track the stages of the PLC and reveal how well the process of partnering went.

Environmental partnerships are difficult to evaluate because the goals of environmental quality are themselves difficult to measure. They can however be evaluated on at least three levels: process management, environmental goals and indirect benefits. These three areas raise particular questions. Looking at the *process management* raises the question of how well the process of partnering worked. The focus on *environmental goals* suggests the following questions: Did the project accomplish its objective to improve a specific element of environmental quality? Did it increase the efficacy, efficiency or equity of achieving environmental quality? An analysis of *indirect benefits* asks whether the project produced benefits not directly related to the central environmental issue.

1.7 Questions Raised for analysis of ICDP/Ecotourism Projects such as Il Ngwesi:

Environmental partnerships theory, when applied to specific projects such as that at Il Ngwesi, suggests certain key questions and sub-questions for research. The aim of the current research project can be summarised into two key questions, given below:

- What kind of partnership is the project based on and is its continuance necessary to the project's survival?
- What is the power balance in the partnership and how does this affect the project's long-term ability to generate direct and indirect benefits?

Within these key questions, six sub-questions with respect to the partnership arise. These form the basis of the partnership analysis, provided in Chapter 4. The sub-questions are as follows:

1. How important is strong and fair leadership to the success of the project, and what is the leadership in fact like?
2. Is there trust between the two parties and a relatively equal balance of power between them? Are there issues which threaten this trust?
3. Does the broader community trust the leaders? To what extent do they identify with and "own" the project?
4. Is the partnership able to draw on local expertise and on the capacity inherent within it, and how is this done?
5. To what extent is the project dependent on outside assistance in the form of donor funding, and what are the implications of this?
6. Is this project "genuine ecotourism" or "ecotourism lite", and does the Kenyan tourism industry currently provide an enabling environment for such projects?

Two additional questions relate to direct and indirect benefits:

7. Is the project accomplishing its objective to improve a specific element of environmental quality? Does the project provide direct benefits for biodiversity conservation?
8. Is the project producing benefits not directly related to the central environmental issue?

The current study attempts to answer these questions in the context of the Il Ngwesi community tourism project. The same or similar questions would, of course, guide analyses of ICDP/Ecotourism initiatives undertaken in different contexts.

1.8 Conclusion.

This chapter has noted the development of a global threat to biodiversity and the consensus of many scientists that what is needed is a holistic approach to its maintenance. Responses in the form of environmentalism and sustainable development have been briefly discussed. The key challenge in developing world rural situations is to marry conservation with the goals of development. This translates into reconciling the management of protected areas with the social and economic needs of the local people. ICDP's and Ecotourism projects both attempt

to achieve this. The principles of these projects are to facilitate sustainable development and the conservation of fragile and pristine ecosystems; benefit rural communities; promote development in poor countries; enhance ecological and cultural sensitivity; and instil environmental awareness and social conscience in the travel industry.

While there are numerous examples of the failure of these kinds of projects, the ICDP/ecotourism project at Il Ngwesi has been hailed as a considerable achievement. The study uses the theory of Environmental Partnerships as an analytical tool to examine this achievement and to provide an informed analysis of what has happened at Il Ngwesi, as well as to suggest likely future outcomes. The concepts of the Partnership Life Cycle and the Environmental Partnerships Map, derived from Environmental Partnerships theory, were explained and relevant questions generated in the final section of the chapter. This theoretical discussion guides the analysis offered in Chapter Four and Five.

CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY AREA:

2.1 Introduction:

Chapter One explored a concept that most conservationists have adopted, that of making nature and natural resources meaningful to rural communities through various kinds of development projects. Each individual place and its particular development projects presents a set of unique circumstances based on: the dynamics of the area and its people, the available natural resources, the politics of the region and also the country, issues affecting land ownership, and the history of the area, and all these will affect the project's outcome. This chapter is concerned with describing these conditions in the case of the Il Ngwesi ICDP/ecotourism project in northern Kenya. This will be done by separating the chapter into two main parts, the first looks at the ecology and society of the region, the second presenting basic information about the Il Ngwesi/Lewa partnership and the project.

The first part places the Il Ngwesi GR in context, and this requires the understanding of two important issues: Maasai history and their land use practices, and the location of the ranch in relation to the surrounding private conservation initiatives (especially Lewa Downs). The chapter opens with a look at the physical environment of the study area, its topography, habitats and natural resources. The next section introduces the local community; a brief examination of the Maasai serves as an introduction to the people and their livelihoods, and their relationship to wildlife. Lewa Downs Wildlife Conservancy is introduced as part of this larger ecosystem, representing an area with the most densely populated wildlife habitat in the region. As explained, Lewa's land has been converted into a wildlife sanctuary.

The unique circumstances at Il Ngwesi can be seen as creating the opportunity for the Maasai community and its powerful neighbour Lewa, to realise the mutual benefits by forming a partnership. Therefore the second part of the chapter opens with basic information about the Il Ngwesi and Lewa partnership (a more in depth analysis of this partnership is given in the Data Analysis chapter). The result of this partnership was the formation of a new style of community wildlife project and the building of an ecotourist Lodge. Both the Lodge and the complementary Cultural Boma are briefly described. The chapter then examines the stakeholders in the process and explains how the Group Ranch and the Lodge are governed. This is important in order to ascertain who lives on and around the Group Ranch and also to understand who the interested and affected parties are regarding rights, responsibilities and power relations.

2.2 Ecology and Society of the Study Area:

Il Ngwesi is situated in the north of Kenya, in the Mukogodo Division of Laikipia District just to the north of the Laikipia plateau (see Fig. 2.1). The whole of the Laikipia plateau has historically had wildlife living on it. However, because of the harsh dry environment and volatile history, which includes banditry and poaching, the area has not been exploited for tourism north of the Lewa Downs borders or outside the Samburu and Shaba National Parks borders. The harsh environment and fairly dense thorn scrub vegetation has also meant that it was not fit for agriculture yet remained a precarious refuge for wildlife. Due to the historical lack of control and security presence in the area the wildlife was hunted on a large scale by poachers for commercial profit, and also on a small scale by some locals for food. Therefore what little wildlife remained was shy and rarely seen.

It has been generally claimed that the Maasailands (i.e. land under Maasai control) support the majority of Kenya's wildlife and represents one of the largest assemblages of big game in the world (Western, 1998; Horgan, 1989). Although most studies have concentrated on the more famous Kenyan Maasailands such as Amboseli and Maasai Mara, Laikipia also supports a large wildlife community representing a unique type of terrestrial biodiversity. The integrity and sustainability of the wildlife that exists there lies in the hands of the Maasai communities living in these areas, with a history of many decades' occupation. The region as a whole represents important grazing for wildlife populations but most importantly there are vital migration routes for species such as elephant which seasonally move from Lewa all the way to Samburu (see Fig 2.1). Much of the wildlife, especially the elephant populations, are dependent upon the rangelands that form part of the Maasai communally owned land (Wells and Brandon, 1993).

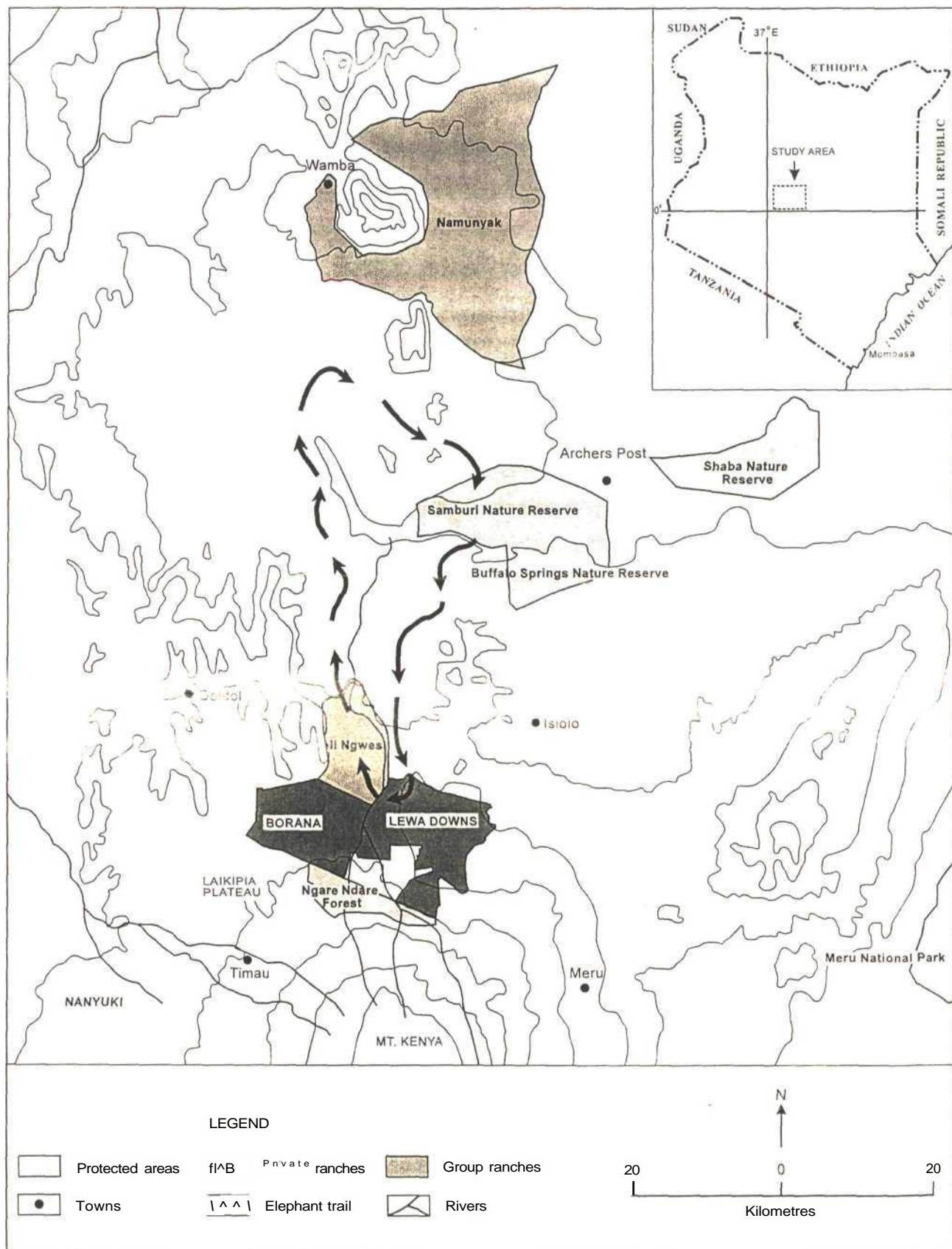


Figure 2.1 : II Ngwesi, Lewa and Neighbouring Conservation Areas. (Insert: II Ngwesi Location within Kenya)

2.2.1 Il Ngwesi Group Ranch:

The Group Ranch (GR) is in total 21,000 acres and has a registered membership of 450 households representing a total of approximately 5,850 people, 50% of the people live in neighbourhoods outside Il Ngwesi in Chumvi, Ethi and Ngare Ndare (AWF, 1999). The GR consists of two parts, Il Ngwesi I and Il Ngwesi II, the latter consists of 16,500 acres. The lodge is located on Il Ngwesi II. There are 12 neighbourhoods within the Group Ranch, the main ones being Nandung'oro, Sanga, Leperua, Lokussero, Emurua Nairusha, Ntalabany, and Oo Sirikon (AWF, 1999). The land was formerly native reserve land, but after the end of colonial control, formal rights were given to the local people.

Within the neighbourhood of Il Ngwesi there are both communally and privately owned ranches. Lewa Downs and Borana Ranch to the south are privately owned and are involved in wildlife tourism in various forms. Both these ranches are owned by white Kenyan families. Other neighbouring communally owned ranches are also attempting to establish wildlife tourism. An example is the Il Polei community to the west of Il Ngwesi. It is important to note that Il Ngwesi cannot be seen in isolation from other wildlife/ecotourism initiatives in the region.

The topography of the Il Ngwesi group ranch varies from 1,800 meters above sea level in the highland to 1,600 meters in the low-land. According to the recent (1999) AWF report on Il Ngwesi - to which this study return in Chapter Four - the area has been classified into three main ecological zones. These are: the upland-dry forest in Lokussero (central), the swampy plains at Nandungoro (north) and the lowlands or Il Ngwesi wilderness to the east. The lodge is located in the lowland wilderness in the east. The highland area is much cooler compared to the Il Ngwesi wilderness area, which is dry and hot. This is because there is a dramatic drop from the cooler Laikipia plateau down to the Il Ngwesi wilderness area. There are two rainfall patterns, the 'long' rains from October to December and the 'short' rains from March to May. The Mukogodo forest and highland area receives more rainfall than the wilderness lowland. However most parts of the GR, especially the wilderness area, are prone to drought (AWF, 1999).

The Il Ngwesi wilderness habitat, where the lodge is located, is typical of the arid and semi arid lands (ASAL) of savannah/bushy grassland covering much of East Africa (Cheeseman, 1999). The area is predominantly semi arid to arid bush land with scattered trees and thickets (see photos 2.1). Acacias and Commiphora are the predominant woody species. On the Group Ranch as a whole, the diverse habitats support a rich and varied wildlife population. It is this variety along with other qualities that made it possible to site an

ecotourist lodge there. The Group Ranch is an important part of the Laikipia elephant range and is a seasonal home to between 120-300 elephants (see Fig 2.1). This represents one of the most important issues influencing the future of the area. Elephants, and other species, have migrated for thousands of years and will continue to do so. Even sophisticated electric fences have failed to contain them. However once outside the 'safe' borders of Lewa Downs land, they have been vulnerable to poachers who hunt them for the valuable tusks. The plight of the elephants has provoked an emotive worldwide call to action. This in turn has made available substantial donor funding for their protection through community development. As well as the elephant population other large mammal species are found at Il Ngwesi and Lewa that act as a draw card to the area. These include: Leopard (*Panthera pardus*), Grevy's Zebra (*Equus grevyi*), Reticulated Giraffe (*Giraffa camelopardis*), Elephant (*Loxodonta africana*), Lion (*Panthera Leo*), Gerenuk (*Litocranius walleri*) and many others. This is one of the last places on earth where Grevy's Zebra can be seen. Although the government still assumes the rights over wildlife, philosophies are changing and there is now an opportunity for its use by the local community.

The area around Il Ngwesi, like the rest of Kenya, has experienced a sharp rise in its population over the last twenty years and so, as mentioned, in this harsh environment there is considerable competition for land and resources. At the time of writing, the area has received a lot of press coverage as it is experiencing one of the worst droughts in history (SABC, 8 o'clock news, 07.06.2000). This competition for land and resources has also put increasing pressure on the established Lewa Downs Wildlife Conservancy.

2.2.2 The People of the Region:

This section provides a brief background to the African peoples of the region. Maasailand really came into prominence when economic and political competition among the European colonial powers led to the Scramble for Africa in the 1880s. Unfortunately Maasailand lay between the coast and the major highway of commerce and a key strategic point, the River Nile. The Maasai people's land was chopped up by the advancing colonial powers. The British colonial government began to encourage European settlement in Kenya in 1904 and land was advertised in both England and South Africa. Europeans who ventured into the north of Kenya found land with agricultural and cattle potential. A treaty was hurriedly negotiated for lands there in 1904, however as the settler economy continued to expand, they soon coveted the remaining portions of land.

By 1911 the Maasai were compelled, through force, to move to the southern Maasai reserve. With most of their number moved away, over time, the remaining Laikipia Maasai were

eclipsed and dispersed among other groups across the plateau. The Maasai and other peoples that have inhabited the Laikipia area have collectively been known as the Ndorobo. They are a large group of disparate peoples, with very different histories and it is difficult to be specific about their origins. The name Ndorobo is derived from the Maasai term 'Il Torobo' meaning 'the poor people'¹ (those without cattle). Some say the word means 'hunters', and in Maasai terms the two words would be synonymous (Paice, 1995). Nowadays the people of Il Ngwesi are cattle owners and so the name, strictly speaking, does not apply. The name Ndorobo is generally viewed locally as derogatory and the researcher found that the people of Il Ngwesi would often prefer to be known as Laikipia or Mokogodo Maasai.

Colonial intervention and manipulation meant that the former strength and power the Maasai once had was suppressed. It also fenced the pastoralist Maasai out of the best grazing in the Rift Valley. Settler estate production was introduced and was dependent upon the adjacent land and labour drawn from surrounding African societies (Berman and Lonsdale, 1992; 105). Thus, the Maasai remained marginalized in many ways, with inadequate access to wealth, land, education and healthcare. This situation continued in many Maasai areas after Independence in 1964 and Il Ngwesi was one of these marginalized areas.

The Maasai have inhabited the East Africa savannah for about 500 years. However, it is argued by scholars that pastoralism has been an integral part of these ecosystems for over three thousand years (Western *et al*, 1989). It seems the traditional way of life of the Maasai has been key to the survival of the wildlife on their lands, especially in places like the Maasai Mara and Amboseli. Many writers have observed that the Maasai fiercely protect themselves and their cattle from predators but, seldom kill game for the consumption of meat, nor are cattle slaughtered except on important ceremonial occasions (Horgan, 1989; Western, 1994; Lovatt Smith, 1997; Hurt, 1999).

Although the Il Ngwesi are Maasai, they had a different regard for wildlife than their cousins. The people are historically part of the Ndorobo and even the name Il Ngwesi itself means wild animal in OI Maa (per comm. E. Paya, 06.02.00). With respect to the Laikipiak Maasai, there was a different relationship between the people and the wildlife, due, perhaps, to poverty (probably related to the impoverishing effects of colonialism). The Ndorobo people would actually hunt animals for food and this is evident from the demonstrations of traditional traps and hunting methods on display at the Cultural Boma. More recently the Il Ngwesi people have had access to some money, mostly from the men working away from the area, or from employment at the private ranches of Lewa Downs and Borana. This money has

enabled the people to buy and build up their livestock herds. This has meant that they are no longer Ndorobo (those without cattle) and the people see themselves as Laikipia Maasai.

Despite the fact that the wildlife/people dynamic in the region is slowly changing, lions and leopards are still killed if they take cows and goats at night. Larger species have also been considered a threat to human life, especially for the boys who do the job of herding livestock. In conversation with GR members it was striking that all of them have stories of dangerous wildlife encounters when herding wildlife as children. This situation was exacerbated countrywide when hunting was banned in 1977 in an effort to control the runaway slaughter of the country's wildlife. Because of the legal implications the relationship between the people and the wild animals became extremely strained. The Maasai were unable to derive any benefit from being forced to allow the existence of wildlife on their land. In fact, because the wildlife was such a nuisance, the Maasai of the area had "even been known to actually lead poachers to particular animals" (per comm. E. Paya, 06.02.00). This questions the fact that perhaps the Maasai have not been living so harmoniously with wildlife as many academics have suggested (Western, 1994; Lovatt-Smith, 1997), although the evidence implies that Il Ngwesi could be an aberration.

For the majority of households at Il Ngwesi pastoralism is the main livelihood activity although activities and resources vary considerable by neighbourhood. There are some other small-scale subsistence activities such as agro-pastoralism in Leperua and Ntalabany neighbourhoods, because of irrigation possibilities along the Ngare Ndare and Oo Sirikon rivers. According to the AWF report (1999), GR members have few economic opportunities due to a combination of geographical, political and social factors including poor infrastructure, poor access to education and other services, and insecurity (in terms of banditry and poaching).

2.2.3 Lewa Downs Wildlife Conservancy:

Lewa Downs is one of the oldest private reserves in Kenya. It is a 24,686-hectare (61,000-acre) wildlife conservancy and rhino sanctuary, funded through tourism receipts and grants from the international donor community. According to Honey's (1999) investigations, it was started more than twenty years ago by the owners, the Craig family. The Craigs decided to use part of their property for wildlife tourism and offer walking safaris. They started with four tents and gradually expanded to fifteen double tents and a permanent camp. The Lewa Wildlife Conservancy (LWC) was set up by the Craigs to protect their property by means of a conservation trust. As cattle in the area were proving less than lucrative, the Craigs looked to tourism and conservation as their main source of revenue.

In the early 1980s Anna Merz, a wealthy British retiree who stayed at the Craigs' tented camp, proposed the idea of setting up a rhino sanctuary (Lewa had lost all its rhinos to poachers). A rhino sanctuary was established at Lewa and rhinos were brought in to stock it. Funding flowed in from various conservation organizations and Lewa now represents a formidable wildlife sanctuary in the region. Lewa, according to the (1999) AWF report, has a proven track record in balancing conservation objectives, local development and financial sustainability.

2.3 Basic Information about the Partnership and Project:

What the previous sections have demonstrated is that the area is owned by two separate kinds of groups. The first group is the Maasai who were marginalized, poor and derived a hard living from livestock, and to whom wildlife was a nuisance. The second was the wealthy, white owned wildlife sanctuary at Lewa Downs and Borana Ranch. Lewa and Il Ngwesi were separated from each other by a 12-foot, high voltage electric fence and a heavily armed security force. Although Lewa Downs had been employing members of the Il Ngwesi community for years, the borders very definitely separated them and both areas developed in their own way for many years. However there was always a link of some description. Probably the most important connection was that between Ian Craig (manager at the neighbouring Lewa, and also born and bred on that land) and the Il Ngwesi Group Ranch chief since 1978, Simon Ole Kinyaga, who have been friends since they were children. Ian had always had a good relationship with the Il Ngwesi community.

There has been very little in terms of wildlife tourism development of any kind on the Il Ngwesi GR, however it was used as a hunting area in the 1950's, (AWF, 1999). After the wildlife hunting ban was imposed in 1977, the only revenue that was being derived from the wildlife was through the occasional bird hunting parties and camel treks that would come through the area. With the advent of wildlife tourism to the region, especially on Lewa in the south, the connection was made that this could be an alternative way of earning revenue for the impoverished Il Ngwesi group ranch.

From the early 1980's Camel Trek Safaris was using the area for its camps with the permission of the elders but paid nothing for the use of these areas. With the encouragement of Ian Craig at Lewa Downs Wildlife Conservancy, the elders realised that they could earn some income to boost community revenues in the area. An informal agreement was struck between the elders and Camel Trek Safaris who started to pay for a tented camp on the ranch in 1982. The local community benefited from the employment opportunities and

camping fees charged to clients. Though the benefits to the local community were small, the initiative began to demonstrate the potential of wildlife tourism. The GR was earning about KShs 0.5 million p.a. (50,000 S.A. Rands, 7000 \$US) from Camel Trek Safaris (AWF, 1999). However in terms of wildlife numbers, Lewa had much more to offer than the neighbouring GR, and despite the potential II Ngwesi was largely left unutilised.

Despite the limited cooperative relationship there were larger issues to deal with. Lewa was continuously experiencing security problems in the form of poaching on its land. This insecurity was also being experienced on II Ngwesi land where poachers were hunting and also crossing their property to get to Lewa's wildlife. Bandits were also carrying out cattle raids on a regular basis. In addition the migratory elephants were extremely vulnerable to poachers bullets once they had left Lewa Downs property to move through II Ngwesi. The economic situation at II Ngwesi limited their possibilities to build a development project themselves and they also lacked the resources or the expertise to offer any kind of security. These pressing problems required the cooperation of both parties to overcome and so the formation of a partnership seemed to offer a solution (a more in depth analysis of the partnership is given in the Data Analysis chapter). The partnership was formed and the initial outcome was the opening of the II Ngwesi Lodge in 1996. The study now turns to the project that has garnered so much attention and that has changed the fortunes of the GR and the region as a whole.

2.4 II Ngwesi Lodge:

A labour-force of seventy men were selected from the community to built the Lodge under the supervision of Simon Douglas-Dufesne, the first manager. The creation of II Ngwesi Lodge was to be based upon participation and consent of the communities whose lives would be affected by it. The board of Directors of the II Ngwesi Company Ltd. owns the Lodge and also oversees its management.

The II Ngwesi Lodge is a luxurious 12-bed self-catering tourist Lodge built on the Group Ranch (II Ngwesi 2). The lodge is located on a small kopje (hill) called Loishimi and is backed by the Mukogodo range to the south while to the north stretches a view that is almost uninterrupted (see plates). It is located about 50 Km to the north east of Nanyuki and 20-25 Km west of Isiolo town (see map 2.1). The Lodge is built almost entirely out of local materials, utilizing fallen local hardwood (*Newtonia*) for the main supportive structures (see plates). The architecture is organic, designed to blend in with the environment. Apart from the main dining area and swimming pool there are four separate *bandas* (rooms) linked by narrow winding sandy paths cut through the indigenous vegetation. The architecture is

innovative - it has even been featured in the French *Elle* Magazine, July 1999 - and each room has evolved according to the wood used, supported on stilts to give them an elevated position. The walls are made of a mixture of cement and the local red sand/soil plastered onto wire mesh to maintain the natural flow of the structure. The *bandas* are open plan with a partition separating the flush toilets and washbasins, while a path leads to an open air shower. There are no windows or doors and the timber floors flow around the stilts and tree trunks which support a thatched roof. All the *bandas* were built to take advantage of the endless views of the area. Staying true to the ecotourism principles, solar panels provide the power for lighting throughout the lodge and for the heating of the water for showers, including the running of the swimming pool filter. In addition there is a managers house, a kitchen, and laundry room on the hill.

As mentioned earlier the Lodge has received widespread publicity within and without Kenya as a success story and potential model for other community-based wildlife enterprises (AWF, 1999). Fences have been removed so that wildlife can migrate between the two ranches, thereby reversing the trend of habitat fragmentation. Between August and December 1998, a team from the African Wildlife Foundation carried out an impact assessment of the Lodge "aiming to examine more comprehensively and impartially how it is affecting development and conservation in the area" (AWF, 1999). The AWF report stuck to a rigorous cost benefit economic examination and gathered quantitative information on livelihoods. By November 1998, several local benefits were said to be "already evident, including cash, employment opportunities, community development projects, and changing land management" (AWF report, 1999). The current study does not repeat the work done by the AWF, as it takes a more qualitative approach. Its basic quantitative information has however proved very useful as supplementary data.

2.4.1 Cultural Boma:

Community members from the Ntalabany and Leperua neighbourhoods decided to form a self-help group to establish a Cultural Boma (CB) as a spin-off from the lodge. The self-help group has a membership of 25 who each contributed KShs 5,000 to become shareholders collecting together some KShs 125,000. With this they constructed the Cultural Boma approximately 4 km from the Lodge and opened in January 1997. Visitors to the CB are made up of mainly Lodge visitors, the remainder coming from the Lewa Downs and Borana lodges and camps or Camel trek Safari's. Currently the CB focuses on two types of performance based on local culture and traditions (wedding ceremony of singing and dancing shown in plates 2.4).

2.5 Stakeholders in the Partnership

The initial stakeholders in the partnership were the Il Ngwesi Group Ranch Members and Lewa Downs Wildlife Conservancy (and to some extent Borana Ranch and the KWS are also involved). Stakeholders are "institutions, groups, individuals and other parties, which share a common interest in how they are affected by, or affect the Lodge, either directly or indirectly" (AWF, 1999). The objective of the stakeholder analysis is to understand who the beneficiaries are behind the environmental partnership at Il Ngwesi.

2.5.1 Il Ngwesi Group Ranch Members:

Within this broad category, there are many stakeholder groups with different interests according to geographical location/neighbourhoods, gender and age, and type of involvement. Firstly there are four specific groups with high involvement in the enterprise, though relatively small in proportion to Il Ngwesi's population. These are: the workers at the Lodge, 26 group ranch residents employed as tour guides, Lodge cleaners, Lodge managers, game scouts, a driver, and camel care takers. There are 25 members of the self-help group who own the Cultural Boma and 23 residents are employed as performers and handicraft makers.

There is considerable overlap between various categories. Some elders are members of both committees, some households have an elder in a committee and a son (or two) employed in the Lodge or Boma. Many of those employed at the Boma are family members of the self-help group that own it (AWF, 1999). The AWF report estimates that a total of 50 households out of 450 (about 11%) are receiving direct cash benefits from the Lodge (AWF, 1999). Compared to the majority of group ranch residents, these four overlapping groups have a greater stake in the management and direction of the Lodge.

The AWF's report went into a lot of detail to determine the effects of the lodge on the socio-economic standing of the communities in and around the GR. As noted, this study has benefited by having access to this information. The report shows that there are considerable differences in livelihood strategies, wealth, and stake in the Lodge among the 12 neighbourhoods considered as distinct stakeholder groups.

2.5.2 Lewa Downs Wildlife Sanctuary:

Lewa Downs Wildlife Conservancy is owned and managed by the Craig family. The family has lived in the area since the beginning of the century. Apart from the family itself, Lewa employs about 300 people, 90% of whom are from local communities (AWF, 1999). The

ranch used to be a cattle farm but has since converted its land entirely to the conservation of wildlife.

2.5.3 Borana Ranch:

Borana ranch is part of Kisima Farm Ltd. and is adjacent to both Il Ngwesi and Lewa. Principally a cattle ranch, Borana has now set aside a substantial wilderness area and established a luxury Lodge for wildlife viewing. The main partnership is between Lewa and Il Ngwesi, however Borana's manager Mr. M. Dyer is now committed to the development of the area and along with Ian Craig contributes his time and resources, including sitting in on the Il Ngwesi Lodge Board of Directors.

2.5.4 Kenya Wildlife Service

Apart from its role in raising the COBRA funding, KWS remains committed to the project by providing the three armed KWS rangers who live and work together with the Lodge and GR security staff to boost the security network within the GR. In addition they maintain contact with Il Ngwesi group ranch through the Community Wildlife Service (CWS) office at Nanyuki town. The KWS also concentrates on educating people through community forums about wildlife and helps communities to get necessary contacts and advice for wildlife based tourism.

2.6 Decision Making with respect to the Group Ranch and the Lodge.

There are three main bodies that control the activities on the GR. At the Group ranch level the 27 member Group Ranch Management Committee (GRMC) governs and represents the interests of Group ranch members. These are 450 registered households within Il Ngwesi GR representing an estimated 5850 people. The elders want to keep GR activities and development issues separate (per comm. D. Masere).

The Natural Resource Management Committee (NRMC) focuses on security, water and grazing resources, and ensures that bylaws governing protection of the wilderness area are adhered to (AWF, 1999). This is mainly because of the movement of people through the GR where security has been in the past and remains a serious issue. In addition resources are scarce in this area and it has to be governed properly.

Since the inception of the partnership, a Lodge Board of Directors was formed. It now has 7 members, 4 group ranch members plus three external directors (the Right Hon. Ole Kaparo, Ian Craig and Micheal Dyer). These members make all the decisions regarding the future of the Lodge and are an autonomous entity. However all actions are transparent and all

revenues after Lodge expenses are available for GR use. These committees disseminate every piece of information back to the people at the Annual General Meeting (AGM) where no proposal can be effected without 60% attendance, and capital inflows and outflows are recorded for all to witness. All the decisions with regard to the activities of the GR are based upon consensus and transparency.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has tried to formulate an insight into the characteristics of the area, the community and the other interested and affected parties in the Il Ngwesi area and the rationale behind their partnership endeavours. In addition it has described the outcome of the partnership, namely the Lodge and other projects such as the Cultural Boma. The study now turns to the Methodology chapter to describe how it is to use this information to investigate the area.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction:

Any form of knowledge that is constructed by means of a research process has an implicit or explicit design. This design includes the formulation of a research question, the clarification of a theoretical framework within which the question is to be investigated, the choice of a specific methodology used to inform the collection and analysis of data, and consideration of the academic philosophy that binds this process and within which knowledge is constructed. The researcher must choose a methodology that will appropriately inform the collection and analysis of data. There are various ways of carrying out research and the methodology chosen must be appropriate to the research question(s), the nature of the research, the time and cost constraints, and the size of the subject. In the construction of knowledge, it is important that the link between theory and practice is clearly demonstrated (Robinson, 1998).

This chapter explains the research options considered most suited to the requirements of the study, and relates these to the type of data that needed to be collected. First, the research process is discussed at a general level, by considering questions relating to the construction of knowledge. This allows for clarification of the philosophical position that lies behind the type of methodology chosen and its appropriateness to the study. The next section provides a detailed description of the methodology employed, explains why it was used, and discusses the problems experienced in the course of the research.

The research methodology was chosen because it best illuminated key questions generated from Long and Arnold's (1995) Environmental Partnerships theory, explained in Chapter One. Long and Arnold point out that environmental partnerships are difficult to evaluate because 'the goals of environmental quality are themselves difficult to measure' (Long and Arnold, 1995: 151). They suggest however that partnerships can be evaluated on at least three basic levels:

1. *Process management*: How well did the process of partnering work?
2. *Environmental and conservation goals*: Did the project accomplish its objective in improving a specific element of environmental or conservation quality? Did it increase the efficacy and equity of achieving environmental management?
3. *Indirect benefits*: Did the project produce benefits not directly related to the central environmental issue?

These criteria have informed the research design, as they suggested key research directions. This study offers an analysis of the process of partnering and the process of

management at Il Ngwesi, studies the power balance in the partnership, and also seeks to establish whether or not the partnership has been successful both at improving environmental and conservation goals and at generating indirect (development) benefits. The main focus, however, is on the partnership itself. This focus has informed the choice of research design and methodology in ways that are explained in this chapter.

3.2 General Approaches to Scientific Explanation and Knowledge Construction:

All research is underpinned by a philosophical approach to knowledge construction (Pratt, 1978; Cloke *et al*, 1991; Bless and Higson, 1995; Robinson, 1998). Philosophical considerations are in turn dependent upon the type of explanatory approach used in the construction of knowledge. The construction of knowledge generally has two generic routes to explanation, namely hypothetico-deductive testing and inductive generalisation. Deductive routes commonly being located within a positivist philosophy and inductive approaches commonly framed by social sciences approaches. Therefore research is interwoven with the epistemological and ontological assumptions that are implicit in philosophy, and which suggest the use of particular methodologies.

The investigation broadly seeks to understand the actions of people and their relationship with each other and nature. As Furze *et al* (1996: 31) note "there are no final laws which govern the ways people will or will not behave, for this is the result of complex interactions between individuals on the basis of shared or unshared cultural values". While the positivist sciences might see the world in terms of structured empirical observations and experimentation that is quantifiable and statistically testable, such laws are not available for the analysis of human diversity, power relationships, and processes of social change. At Il Ngwesi, biodiversity conservation is bound up in the development process, which in turn has implications for environmental management. The focus of the present study is the relationships involved in setting up the partnership, and thus the study is broadly informed by humanist social science which takes an active view of human agency. Individuals do not follow iron laws, but rather exercise their will and influence their environments.

3.2.1 Knowledge from the Social Sciences:

The relationship of human beings to the natural world is by definition a social one, socially constructed and socially patterned. A broadly humanist (as opposed to positivist) social science approach illuminates what Furze *et al* (1996: 32) call the "very complex relationship between society, dominant groups, dominant social values and nature". Using environment and development mechanisms for biodiversity conservation is an attempt to mediate between these factors in the nature/society relationship and to intervene in it where

appropriate and in the most beneficial way. As Giddens (1989) has said we now have an understanding of the "profound consciousness of the human authorship of social institutions. As human beings, aware of our achievements and limitations, we make our own history" (ibid; 654)

In explaining human or social reality, knowledge is thus recognised as the product of human consciousness. Knowledge is constructed through the subject attaching meaning to the object of study, and particularly in human geography, the subject trying to capture the feelings and meanings associated with the object. This is termed the hermeneutic approach (Graham, 1997). Social scientists are therefore said to study spatial relationships; relationships between people and environments; landscapes; and regions or localities. It is important to realise that physical reality is often included in human geographical studies as a framework within which social reality is situated and where social phenomena are perpetuated.

Humanism is not itself a social theory but rather a diverse set of ideas which have in common an emphasis on the humanity of individuals. People are capable of being creative (or destructive), reflective (or not) and, above all, they are moral beings, which is to say that there is a moral dimension to their actions (Flowerdew and Martin, 1997). Consciousness and intentionality are central concepts and human meanings and values are emphasised. With these general study parameters in mind, the research design can be crafted to fit in with the focus of the investigation.

3.3 Methodological Tools:

3.3.1 Inductive Approach:

The study's investigation into partnerships relies heavily on broad ideas based on semi theoretical claims where theory is not entirely universal but a close approximation to what is likely to be true (Pratt, 1978). There was no hypothesis generated, and the study lacks a formal organising theory through which deductive 'theory laden' facts are ordinarily selected. Therefore the research employed the inductive approach, normally used in an investigation of this nature. The deductive approach is usually applied when the researcher wishes to test an existing theory and he or she has to generate research hypotheses concerning the validity of that theory (Pratt, 1978)

3.3.2 Intensive and Qualitative Research Techniques:

Any investigation must be concerned with making the right choice between what Sayer (1992) has termed 'extensive' and 'intensive' research design. The two types of design ask

different sorts of questions, use different techniques and methods and define their objects and boundaries differently (Sayer, 1992). Intensive research is concerned with causal processes and how they work out in a particular case or cases. Extensive research is concerned with discovering some of the common properties and general patterns common to a population as a whole.

The intensive form was chosen because of the need to focus on the causal processes in the case of Il Ngwesi. Intensive research focuses on groups whose members may be either similar or different but who actually relate to each other structurally or causally. Specific, identifiable individuals are of interest in terms of their properties and their mode of connection to others (Sayer, 1992). Causality is analysed by examining actual connections. This is crucial in the present study because identifiable individuals in and around Il Ngwesi were of significance due to their influence on the partnership and their mode of connection to others. The use of extensive methods, namely, inferential statistics and numerical analysis (Sayer, 1992) was therefore unsuitable.

In intensive studies the individuals need not be typical and they may be selected one by one as the research proceeds and as an understanding of the membership of a causal group is built up (Sayer, 1992). This was very suitable as it afforded the researcher the opportunity to select individuals as the research proceeded and as an understanding of the membership of a causal group unfolded and was built up. This was especially useful at Il Ngwesi, because as information built up about partnerships the study developed without preconceived restraining assumptions. Intensive methods have a less formalⁿ less standardized and more interactive kind of interview style, therefore the researcher had a much better chance of learning from the respondents what the different significances of circumstances were. The respondents were not forced into an artificial one-way mode of communication in which they could only answer in terms of the conceptual grid given to them by the researcher (Sayer, 1992).

The nature of the enquiry allowed for unrestricted collection of information about the partnership process. By taking a small number of individuals and examining each in detail in terms of history and context, qualitative data on the processes, activities, relations and episodes of events was gathered. This revealed the interdependencies and internal characteristics of the data, allowing for more vivid and rich information to be compiled on the study area (Sayer, 1992).

3.4 The Research Design for Il Ngwesi:

The researcher spent eight weeks at Il Ngwesi and Lewa and although accommodation was provided for free the researcher covered all other expenses. Therefore given the time and cost constraints, the methodology chosen had to be precise and appropriate to the research question. The research design employed by the study relied on the typical methods of intensive research, namely structural analysis, informal, interactive interviews, and participant observation. These are all qualitative forms of gathering data. The researcher aimed to use qualitative research in the spirit in which Hakin (1987) described it, namely "seeing through the eyes of or taking the subjects perspective; describing the detail of a setting from the perspective of participants; understanding actions and meanings in their social context; emphasising time and process; favouring open and relatively unstructured research designs; and an approach in which the formulation and testing of concepts and theories proceeds in conjunction with data collection" (Hakin, 1987; 26).

3.4.1 Qualitative Data Collection Techniques:

The collection of perceptions regarding the partnerships was ascertained by purposive sampling in order to increase the range of data exposed and to maximise the ability to identify emerging themes. By selecting information-rich affected parties in close proximity to Il Ngwesi, a more in-depth documentation of the attitudes and perceptions towards the partnerships could be achieved. These themes will be combined in Chapters Four and Five to show what drives the partnership and what the key aspects to its success are.

Among qualitative researchers methods of enquiry are the questionnaire survey (formal), semi structured interview (informal), participant observation and interpretation of supporting documentation and texts. This study made use of all these techniques, described as 'triangulation' (Flowerdew and Martin, 1997; 112) in order to maximise understanding. The adoption of the semi-structured interview was used in order to gain access into the experiences and insight of the human subjects. This generated information that was generally multi dimensional and fairly unstructured in its content. A process of 'instant interpretation' also determined the questions that followed, keeping the interviews dynamic and flexible. The semi-structured interview included loosely pre-prepared questions based on the research questions from Chapter One (see Appendix 1.3). These were intended to open the enquiry and give the respondent the initial prompting into the investigation.

3.4.2 Semi-Structured Interviews:

Intensive research calls for a "meaningful type of communication which maximises the information flow by making use of communicative and social skills by being willing to adapt

preconceived questions and ideas in the course of the interview according to what is relevant to the respondent and by being prepared to discuss, as well as 'elicit', answers" (Sayer, 1992, 223). One of the distinct advantages of this form of enquiry was that respondents could raise issues that the researcher may not have anticipated, producing a 'deeper'¹ picture than the questionnaire survey (Silverman, 1993; 15). Semi-structured interviews were based on these assumptions and were conducted by means of pre-arranged meetings with specifically identified individuals. Mr. Edward Paya was appointed to act as an interpreter when necessary. The aim was to select an illustrative sample rather than a representative one. The study of the dynamics of the 'partnership' required an understanding from the perspective of the key players as well as that of the people who are interested and affected (shown in Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Stakeholder Groups and List of Respondents:

Elders	John Kisio, David Maserie
Lewa Downs Manager and Owner	Ian Craig
Community Development Officer	James Mwanyugi
Staff	
<i>Managers</i>	Gitonga Lipan, James Sariku Ole Kinyaga (Chief Simon Ole Kinyaga's son)
<i>Head of Security</i>	Edward Paya Lekiperus
<i>General Staff</i>	Kimunyi Gitonga (cook) Ngoima Kinyaga, Edward Mkombo, Malawi Senteria.
<i>Other staff spoken to</i>	Kirisho Demis, Mukampi Kinyaga, Peter Elgoi, Ole Kawai, Diwani Parkusaa, Njiman Kortol, Tirimas Parkusaa, Ltupason Kiyaa, Rongai Kinyaga, Liharaka Sarioyo, Sikintat Gila, Tongaa Kisio, Loibiruni Kinyaga, Partoipo Kinyaga.
<i>Cultural Boma</i>	Daniel Ndondo, Kimampi Legai, Daniel Morijo, Sesoi.
Informal conversations	Mr Michael Dyer (Manager and Owner of Borana Ranch), Richard Bonham (Owner of Richard Bonham Safaris and Ol Donyo Wuas Lodge, Chyulu Hills, Kenya).

A number of target respondents were focussed on during this study:

- Key individuals with direct involvement in the partnership (Community leaders and Lewa management)
- Representatives of the community
- Community development workers
- Interested and affected parties (staff at the lodge and CB)
- Those not involved in the partnership (women's groups)

Most interviews were done at the Lodge and in the place where respondents worked. This meant that the researcher would physically travel to these places, also giving an insight into the conditions of the places where respondents were. Interviews were carried out with a tape recorder (Dictaphone) that was unobtrusive but also enabled the researcher to focus on the interview rather than writing. Additionally, some notes were taken during the interviews. In this way the conversation could be run through several times, with the use of the recorder, so that essential points were not missed. All the respondents appeared not to mind that a recorder was present and on. The researcher made sure that permission was received to record conversations and its presence seemed not to inhibit the conversations, in fact its presence was quickly forgotten. Interviews were transcribed the same evening to retain their vitality.

3.4.3 Participant Observation:

Observation played a large part in this study and the researcher lived at Il Ngwesi for eight weeks. A few weeks were also spent at Lewa Downs and a few days at Borana Ranch. The researcher observed setting, interactions, relationships, actions, and events. This observation of human agency developed from the phenomenological perspective. This required the researcher to engage with a mixture of social relations and cultural characteristics, living and sharing some of the lives and experiences of the people of the area, whilst trying to understand them. Pile and Thrift (1995) have noted that culture and society have become far more central to geographical investigation, focussing on cultural, political and economic features. This kind of method also involves what has been termed the double hermeneutic or the interpretation of an interpretation. The study of conversational exchanges provides a concrete impression of what is happening at Il Ngwesi.

3.4.4 Supplementary Data Sources:

Structured Questionnaire:

This form of enquiry was used as a supplementary form of data collection to ascertain tourist's attitudes to this form of development/ecotourism initiative. It also proved a useful tool

for the owners to gather information on marketing, service rendered to clients and the tourist experience (see appendix 3.1).

The AWF Report:

The AWF's *Financial and Livelihood Impacts of Il Ngwesi Lodge* (1999) report contains extensive quantitative or statistical data collected by their teams. This study refers to this database to inform and support its investigation at Il Ngwesi. In practical terms the time available and costs involved suggested that the researcher utilise the AWF report as a good reference source. This study also aims to fulfil the role of an extension of the AWF study. The AWF report was concerned with whether Il Ngwesi was a success or not in economic terms, while, this investigation is concerned with the process of partnership itself. The researcher believes that the investigation can be used in conjunction with statistical surveys and quantitative analysis of the AWF report as a complimentary method of understanding the partnership processes at Il Ngwesi.

3.5 Problems, Limitations, Biases and Sensitivity Issues:

Ian Craig was my initial contact and he introduced me to the Il Ngwesi people. As a consequence my presence was initially identified with the Craig name. Permission was sought and realised from the elders and my association with them could have had some effect on the interviews. It was felt, however, that the combination of the interviews and participant observation would overcome some of the discrepancies.

It was a challenge for the researcher to remain objective as spending time at Il Ngwesi meant being drawn into the everyday trials and joys of the people and place. The researcher also had to remain objective in the face of power and wealth issues. The introduction of the power dynamic associated with money that wasn't there before (social differentiation) could also lead to one-sided responses especially from those who were benefiting most from the project. Because of this, the researcher sought out people who were not benefiting from the project to build a balanced view of the partnership.

The issue of language was also a challenge although English and Swahili are the official languages of Kenya. The isolated nature of the Laikipia area meant that although many do speak either English or Swahili or both, many Maasai only speak the OIMaa language. The use of the interpreter introduced the possibility of the distortion of meaning in both questions and answers through unconscious filtering of language. The researcher was continually aware of 'not affecting ignorance' in order to ensure uniformity or controlled conditions to avoid what might be considered as observer induced bias. In addition intensive results are

generally known not to be representative of a whole population. But the study believes that a study of individuals, particularly in the context of a study like the present one, is of great value.

The Il Ngwesi community adheres to the traditional patriarchal culture and women are not represented, do not vote at meetings and are only employed at the cultural boma making traditional artefacts. The majority tend to the households and children. Most did not speak a language the researcher could understand and translation was done through a man, so this was an obstacle to coherent understanding and was also filtered by the male translators interpretation.

The researcher had to be aware of himself in juxtaposition to the subject of enquiry. This implies a continual interrogation of self and subject. This was one of the most interesting features of research of this nature. There had to be a recognition of the dynamic social interaction between the interviewer and the subject. Although the researcher was born in Kenya and has spent a lot of time in regions similar in nature to Il Ngwesi he had to realise that this situation is still fundamentally foreign to his own, and the methods applied had to take account of these issues and the fact that the subjects' beliefs, understandings and world view are very different. The other thing that needed to be kept in mind was the power relationships between the researcher and the respondents from the area.

The views of the tourists would add an interesting dynamic, however it became evident that the questioning of tourists would be difficult and take up much more time than was available. One condition of the research was that there would be very limited contact with the tourists, as the ethos of the Lodge means that visitors have total privacy.

3.6 Conclusion:

The study retains an integrated position, where data is collected at the interface of environment (physical) and development (human) issues. However, the nature of the investigation is mostly informed by social science in an examination of the social dimension of human action. By examining the various ways of carrying out research, the appropriate methodology was established with regard to the research question(s), the nature of the research, the time and cost constraints, and the scope of the thesis. This chapter has argued that inductive and qualitative techniques are best suited to an investigation of this nature.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS:

4.1 Introduction:

This chapter draws on theory to provide an analysis of the specific environmental partnership that has emerged at Il Ngwesi. The supporting evidence was obtained during the researcher's period of fieldwork at Il Ngwesi when, as explained in the previous chapter, a range of intensive and qualitative methodologies were employed in order to study the partnership. This data is supplemented by more quantitative data on livelihood impacts presented in a recent (1999) study of the Il Ngwesi Lodge project conducted by the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) under the auspices of this Foundation's Wildlife Enterprise and Local Development Project (WELD).

The results are organised into three parts. The first section locates the Il Ngwesi/Lewa Downs partnership by identifying the conditions that existed before the partnership came into being, and explained the factors that made such a partnership possible. Il Ngwesi is then located or classified in terms of Long and Arnold's (1995) theory of environmental partnerships and using the two models discussed in Chapter One: i.e. the Environmental Partnership Model (EPM) and the Partnership Life Cycle Model (PLC).

A central aspect of partnership evaluation, according to Long and Arnold (1995), is that both direct and indirect benefits resulting from partnership-based projects must be ascertained. As the defining feature of the partnership from the point of view of environmental partnerships theory is its environmental nature, direct benefits refer to the environmental and conservation goals of the project. Such goals include not only material benefits, but also changes in attitude and behaviour towards the local environment and wildlife. Indirect benefits are those benefits generated by the project but not directly related to the central environmental/conservation issue. Such indirect benefits, in particular development benefits - Il Ngwesi is an Integrated Conservation and Development project or ICDP - are just as important as environmental/conservation benefits.

The quantitative research on direct financial benefits undertaken by the AWF researchers is particularly useful in determining the development benefits of the Il Ngwesi Lodge. Some information is also presented in the AWF report on environmental and conservation benefits. In the discussion below, the AWF researchers' findings are summarised, and the research is then extended through discussion of the qualitative findings of the present researcher, resulting from observation and in depth discussion with both partners and with community

members. The implications of the findings with respect to direct and indirect benefits, and their impact on the partnership, are then spelt out.

The final section of the chapter uses data obtained through the intensive and qualitative methodologies employed, to provide an analysis of the partnership itself. Six key aspects of the partnership, most of which were suggested by the conceptual points made by Long and Arnold (1995), are identified and discussed in detail. During the chapter each part is also discussed in terms of relevant questions generated by Environmental Partnerships theory as explained in Chapter One.

4.2 Situating the Il Ngwesi/Lewa Partnership

4.2.1 The Origins of the Partnership and Facilitating Factors

From the point of view of the managers of Lewa Downs, the partnership could be said to be founded on elephants. The main factor propelling them into partnership with the Il Ngwesi community was the need to conserve elephants and to allow them greater scope for movement in the region. As noted in Chapter Two, the elephant population in the area varies between 120-300 and they migrate from Lewa Downs, Il Ngwesi wilderness, Mukogodo forest to Loldaiga and Rumaruti forest from February to March and return to Olorungu, Leperua and Lewa plains to breed (AWF, 1999; see map 2.1).

The owner of Lewa Downs, Ian Craig, was aware of wider ecosystem management as a critical factor in elephant conservation. As he has stated, "what is within the park depends on what is without the park" (per comm. I. Craig, 14.02.00). Conservationists like Western (1998) see this as an important principle: Western has (1998) referred to it as 'parks build parks'. Elephants are wide ranging animals and require large amounts of space, so this is particularly important in the case of elephant conservation.

Elephants are a top priority in a country where they are regarded as endangered. In Kenya, between 1975 and 1990, the elephant population dropped by 85%, to approximately 20,000. Rhino's are even more endangered and as already noted, the Craig family are equally concerned with rhino protection. The widespread decimation of these species, amongst many others, was evident in the Laikipia region too, where the elephant population was almost wiped out and where the rhino population actually was destroyed. The reason for this decimation was the absence of conservation controls outside of national parks, the value of products from rhinos and elephants, and the presence of armed poachers: in sum, a lack of security.

Thus before the partnership, "the only way for Lewa to protect its wildlife was to build extensive security in the form of fences with a heavily armed security force to protect our wildlife. This effectively isolated us from everything outside the fences" (per comm. I. Craig, 14.02.00). This situation was clearly not desirable from the point of view of wider ecosystem management. It was also expensive and ultimately unsustainable. The potential advantages to Lewa of setting up a partnership then, were to safeguard the migrating elephant populations and other wildlife species on the ranch, by creating an extended security buffer zone in the form of the land of the neighbouring Il Ngwesi Group Ranch.

The Il Ngwesi community would also benefit from improved security extended beyond the fences of Lewa Downs, as bandits frequently raided livestock in the Group Ranch. Other potential advantages were to create revenues from ecotourism for development, and obtain an alternative income unrelated to livestock. This however would involve a major change in practices of land use and environmental orientation. Social change is always extremely difficult to bring about, and in examining the way the partnership was set up, its success and the changes it has produced, this thesis is also about the way in which social change was initiated and maintained at Il Ngwesi.

While the elephants and security issues were instrumental in prompting the partnership, the other important condition for its creation was the vision of Ian Craig and the Il Ngwesi Group Ranch chief since 1978, Simon Ole Kinyaga, who have been friends since they were children. These two individuals possessed the necessary boldness to conceive and champion the idea of a wildlife buffer zone at Il Ngwesi and for the community to derive revenue from it. It was clear that there was an identifiable commonality between the partnership goals and each organization's (Lewa and Il Ngwesi) goals, that of wildlife conservation and community development.

The outcome of these combined efforts was the concept of the Il Ngwesi ICDP/ecotourism lodge (introduced in Chapter Two). Initial propositions were received with suspicion, as land issues are highly sensitive in Kenya, because of the misappropriation of land and the historical grabbing of land from the Maasai going back as far as colonial times. However, the Lodge was given real impetus when Kenya Wildlife Services' (KWS), Wildlife and Development Fund [largely funded by USAID COBRA Project] and the Liz Claiborne and Art Ortenburg Foundation put up the initial capital investment needed to build a Lodge made up of grants worth KShs 9.8 million.

4.2.2 Classification in Terms of Environmental Partnership Model

This section locates Il Ngwesi in terms of the 'partnership typology' suggested by Long and Arnold (1995) and discussed in Chapter One. In order to do this, it is necessary to measure the partnership against two parameters, both relating to the initiation or seeding stage of the partnership. These parameters are, first, the degree of conflict historically found among parties prior to partnership formation; and, second, the degree of overlap that exists between the partnership goals and each participant's goals.

Using these scales and the diagram discussed in Chapter One, it is argued that Il Ngwesi and Lewa were marked by 'low conflict'. This is due to their prior relationship based on the leaders friendship and the employment of many of the Il Ngwesi community members on Lewa. There was also commonality of interests in terms of improving security.

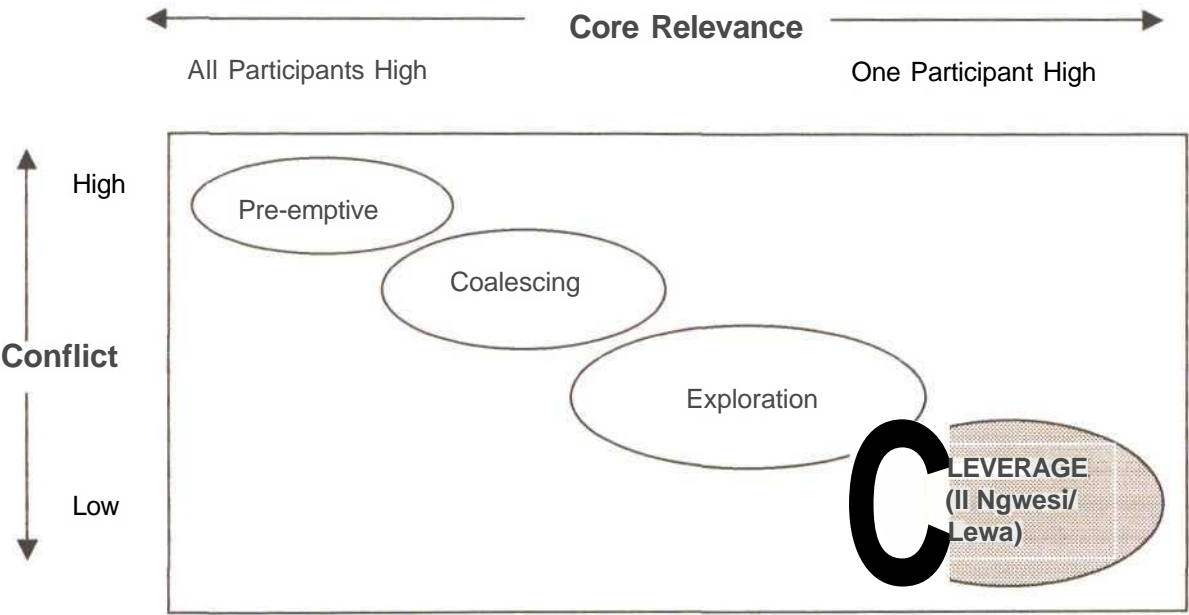
Long and Arnold (1995) point out that the degree of interest need not be symmetrical for the partnership to take off. However, there must be one party that believes the issue to be of crucial significance, that is, the 'core relevance' must be high for at least one partner. There is thus recognition by this partner that others see the issue as relatively unimportant to their organizations. In the case of the Il Ngwesi/Lewa partnership, Lewa felt that security and wildlife movement could be considerably improved by encouraging the Il Ngwesi community to join in the effort by giving them an incentive. As the Community Development Officer, James Mwanyugi, has noted "Lewa has tried to focus on raising the standard of our good neighbours. In this way we ensure that we are not the only ones concerned with conservation. We want to raise their standards, their capabilities where in the near future we can sit together at a table and argue on wildlife factors, and this is the only way to ensure that you have good neighbours" (per comm. James Mwanyugi, 22.01.00). But at the time the community were poor, concerned mostly with pastoralism, considered wildlife a nuisance and were worried about any suggestions about giving land over to conservation. As mentioned, land in Kenya has been a delicate issue for a long time. However, Simon Ole Kinyaga, the chief of the Il Ngwesi, had a vision regarding the potential of the place, and he was ultimately able to win over the people.

The concept of 'low relevance' also dictates that other parties will only provide assistance to the party who views the issue as important, so long as they do not have to manage the process, or so long as the process is not an inconvenience in terms of time and resource expenditure (Long and Arnold, 1995; 118). In the case of the Lewa/Il Ngwesi partnership, Lewa was to raise the funds, organise the expertise for design and construction of the Lodge and manage the process. This asymmetry, one group considering the partnership issues

critical and other groups considering then non-critical, is typical of the 'low relevance' scenario.

When placed on the environmental partnerships map (from Chapter One) the 'low conflict' and 'low relevance' result places Il Ngwesi/Lewa in the 'Leverage Partnership' area (see fig. 4.1).

Fig 4.1 The Il Ngwesi/Lewa Partnership Located in the Environmental Partnerships Map (Long and Arnold, 1995)



'Leverage Partnerships' are described by Long and Arnold (1995) as partnerships that "enhance environmental quality and generate clear 'wins' for the participants" (ibid; 115). In Leverage Partnerships the activities are not based on the willingness of the groups to compromise, but rather on the willingness of groups to make an effort that will lead to positive environmental results. According to environmental partnerships theory parties enter into Leverage Partnerships because:

- They see the merit of an environmental project, but cannot justify undertaking it on their own.
- They view information exchange and resource pooling as a more efficient and effective solution to an environmental issue.
- One group that is championing a 'win-win' project needs other groups with other resources to buy into its solution.

Lewa Downs management could clearly see the merit of an environmental project that increased the range for elephants and extended conservation outside of the heavily fenced boundaries of Lewa Downs. As already noted, the central environmental issue at Il Ngwesi was that of the wider ecosystem management. James Mwanuyugi, the Community Development Officer is employed specifically to help build the capacity of the community. He has noted that:

No one knows why animals go here or there, it is intuitive, they go here for water, there for birthing, somewhere else when they are sick. All these things cannot be contained within one park. If we are to reach the goal of conservation the wider ecosystem management should be focussed upon (per comm. James Mwanuyugi, 22.01.00).

In order to achieve this more integrated conservation strategy, Lewa Downs needed the cooperation of the Il Ngwesi community, who did not necessarily see things the same way.

In terms of the second issue, once the conservation issue had been conceptually broadened (at least on the part of the leadership) to encompass a development strategy as well, there certainly was awareness on the part of both groups of the need to share information and pool resources. Simon Ole Kinyaga, the chief of the Il Ngwesi, had a vision regarding the potential of the place and the contribution that ecotourism had for income generation. In general, Long and Arnold (1995) note that members of Leverage Partnerships are fairly like-minded and can easily discuss their expectations. If they see value in the partnership, each side will commit resources. Each of the parties had something of value to contribute: knowledge, money, land, equipment, political influence or implementation skills.

In the case of the Il Ngwesi/Lewa partnership, Lewa possessed and was prepared to provide: expertise, access to technical and logistical support, access to funding, hotel/client experience, overseas and local client base, credibility, wildlife to facilitate restocking of Il Ngwesi land, knowledge and residence in the area, and contacts. The Il Ngwesi community had: expert knowledge of area and animals, ownership of land resources (vital conservation, tourist and buffer zone land), understanding of wildlife. So to create an effective partnership, the two needed to combine these factors. Ian says that:

from the days of the cattle operation at Lewa, we had dealings with the people at Il Ngwesi, there was always a link. Then with the transition to wildlife I needed those guys on board from the beginning to really make it work. So they have been involved in some way right from the start (per comm., Ian Craig, 14.02.00).

It has to be noted that Community Development is a much used and notorious term. In many cases it can mean the making of development plans and then 'involving' the community. This

statement was not accepted uncritically however, the researcher observed the close relations between the people of Lewa and Il Ngwesi and the statement was not seen as just token.

In terms of the third point above, Lewa Downs was championing a 'win-win' project that needed Il Ngwesi with their resources to buy into its solution. Leverage Partnerships are formed when one group convinces the other to participate. Usually this involves convincing those that are supportive of, but not deeply motivated by, the central issue. The key constraint is the convincing of the less motivated partner and the key opportunity to success is the effective organizational champion. This usually happens when the committed leader convinces the other party that the benefits that would accrue would far exceed the potential costs of participation. The typical seed phase of Leverage Partnerships is marked by one of the partners not being actively involved in the environmental issue that the other is trying to resolve; and yet participants do not feel wary or mistrustful of their counterparts. This certainly applies to the seed phase of the Il Ngwesi project.

For Lewa Downs, a private game ranch, security was the key issue, and it provided the point of overlap with the neighbouring community. The managers had problems of poaching on their land and they could not guarantee the safety of the migrating animals. They knew that there was insecurity on Il Ngwesi land too, perpetrated by bandits and poachers. A community member and head of security at Il Ngwesi noted:

Before, this area [the wilderness area of Il Ngwesi] was very hostile and known as a hideout of the bandits, so most of the village knew there were a lot of insecurities and the bandits used to walk everywhere here. This was a good route for them on their raids, also the government wasn't here so they were free to do what they wanted (per comm. Edward Paya, 06.02.00).

Thus in order for Lewa Downs to effectively extend the borders of the protected area, the community and their land had to part be of the plan. The community had to be offered an incentive in order to enter the partnership. Lewa Downs management argued that the potential ecotourism project could offer the community much needed income from the natural resources on their land to fund developments that they needed, and an alternative income apart from pastoralism. As James Mwanyugi has noted:

Many years ago there had been camel safaris in the region for almost 20 years and it wasn't paying anything, so Ian suggested they charge them for the use of their land. Then suddenly they were getting something for what was happening on their land. Ian actually said that they could build a lodge and they acted upon that idea together. We decided to show them how they could 'milk an elephant' and 'milk a rhino', these are metaphors that Maasai understand, I am more effective communicating in African idioms and parables (per comm. J. Mwanyugi, 22.01.00).

Leverage Partnerships are based on the participant's sense that an attractive mutually beneficial opportunity exists (Long and Arnold, 1995). Lewa Downs management could see the potential that existed and had convinced the Il Ngwesi community that there was opportunity for benefit to them too. A central factor was that, in this case, both groups already had a relationship and a mutual trust. This trust goes back to the days when Ian Craig would go to the Il Ngwesi area as a child. "I used to go down there lots as a kid, 3 to 5 days sometimes, just exploring, sometimes hunting, so my interest in the area and people goes back a long time" (per comm. I. Craig, 14.02.00). This was supported by Mwanyugi's statement, "Ian and the likes of Simon Ole Kinyaga have been friends since they were small, they are, as they say in Maasai, age-mates" (per comm. J. Mwanyugi, 22.01.00). In addition, as mentioned earlier, Lewa employs about 300 people, 90% of whom are from local communities (AWF, 1999).

Long and Arnold suggest that, during the execution phase, the participants in Leverage Partnerships create a strong sense that they are doing something important, even urgent. "We had to do something, otherwise all of the wildlife here would have been lost" (per comm. i. Craig, 14.02.00). They see themselves creating a model that will have a significant impact on other organizations, and develop a sense of ownership and maintain excitement and involvement in the project. This is very evident from some of the comments, "We are very proud of what we have achieved here, now many tourists from all over the world come to see what we have done" (per comm. E. Paya, 06.02.00). It was also very evident in that the researcher observed how the Elders and employees showed the visiting Mbirikani community (who intend to build a lodge on their group ranch near Amboseli, based on the concept of Il Ngwesi) around the lodge with great pride. One of the elders, John Kisio said, "three or four communities have come to Il Ngwesi to see what we have done here" (per comm. J. Kisio, 12.02.00).

According to theory, when Leverage Partnerships are successful, they provide an excellent payback to those who participate in them, which is a disincentive to terminate. The Il Ngwesi/Lewa partnership has provided a tremendous payback to both parties so far (as will be shown). It has enhanced conservation and environmental quality and generated clear 'wins' for the participants.

Long and Arnold note that partnerships that fail to keep participants involved tend to lose focus and momentum (Long and Arnold, 1995). There are several reasons why participants

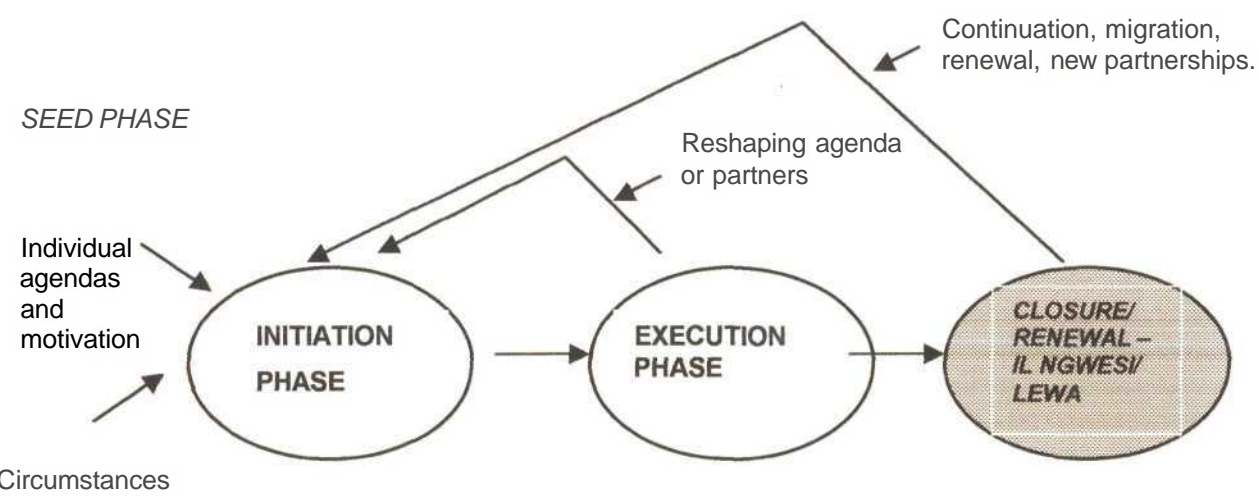
drop out or lose interest: little is being accomplished, individual organizations fail to find a suitable role, involvement is proving too intensive, or the champion leaves.

In the case of the Il Ngwesi/Lewa partnership a lot has been accomplished in a short time. Also, expertise is local and champions are resident in the area and have no intention of moving. Ian Craig notes, "I want to see this thing through, maybe my son will take over the operation one of these days, if he wants to" (per comm. I. Craig, 14.02.00). Simon Ole Kinyaga's son James works at the Lodge as the assistant manager, "I love it here, I like the fact that I can stay and work in the place where my family lives and where I was born" (per comm. J. Ole Kinyaga, 18.02.00). Locating the Il Ngwesi/Lewa partnership in terms of the Environmental Partnerships Map, it has helped to explain how the partnership first began and how it evolved.

4.2.3 Classification in terms of the PLC (Partnership Life Cycle) Model

In terms of classifying the current status of the partnership, the Partnership Life Cycle (PLC) needs to be consulted. As discussed earlier, the partners have come through the initiation stage, identified their goals and formed a basis for working together. The result of their collaboration were the building of the Il Ngwesi Lodge and Cultural Boma representing the execution of the partnership's agenda. Long and Arnold suggest that with Leverage Partnerships, participants have the option to terminate the relationship, continue it in its present form, or modify it. The Il Ngwesi/Lewa partnership is presently located at the closure/renewal point in the Partnership Life Cycle (see fig 4.2).

Fig 4.2 Il Ngwesi/Lewa Partnership in the Partnership Life Cycle



In this case the partners have elected to continue the partnership in its present form. The contributing factor to this decision is that Il Ngwesi and Lewa are inextricably linked in terms of the geographical area, their tourism focus, and circumstances, and will therefore be connected for a long time, although the relationship will probably take on a different form. The association is thus to some extent symbiotic.

4.3 Direct and Indirect Benefits of the Project to Date

Long and Arnold (1995) argue that, in order for an environmental partnership to work, measurable conservation/environmental benefits must be achieved within a reasonable time (direct benefits); and also there must be benefits generated by the project that are not directly related to the central environmental/conservation issue (indirect benefits). This section begins by using existing quantitative data from the AWF study to gauge whether or not the partnership is fulfilling those two criteria. Qualitative data generated through the methodologies discussed in Chapter Three, is then presented. This data focuses less on economics and more on perceptions of the participants in the project of the direct and indirect benefits it has provided.

4.3.1 Direct Benefits as Determined by the AWF 1999 Report:

Is the project accomplishing its objective to improve a specific element of environmental quality? Does the project provide direct benefits for biodiversity conservation?

The AWF report did not carry out a thorough wildlife resources study, especially regarding issues like the maintenance of species diversity and richness. However, direct conservation/environmental benefits were recorded in an impressionistic fashion. From a desperate situation regarding wildlife, where it was believed that species were nearly wiped out, many community members are noticing a turnaround in wildlife fortunes. "There is a claim within the community that wildlife numbers in the wilderness area have increased. In Leperua, it was reported that it is now very common to see a lion within a homestead during the day" (AWF, 1999, 50).

The AWF PALI (Participatory Assessment of Livelihood Issues and Impacts) survey linked the benefits of wildlife conservation and development to the reaction of the community (see table 4.1). This is supported by their livelihood findings:

The Lodge has changed the cost-benefit ratio of conservation to members of key stakeholder groups. From the overall community perspective, and that of the bulk of households in the community, the link between the wildlife resources and the bursaries, development funds, improved security and potential cash dividends enjoyed is clear. These benefits were not

received before the Lodge was constructed, and while costs are being born, the benefits still outweigh the costs for most, if not all, households" (AWF, 1999; 50).

The report argues that the community has linked the improvements in livelihood to the fortunes of the wildlife and the Lodge. It was noted that "the Lodge promotes positive attitudes towards conservation locally and among decision makers. They are able to link changes in the community, even small ones, to conservation" (AWF, 1999, 50). The PALI survey showed that the community felt the advantages and disadvantages of the Lodge.

Table 4.1: Significance of Advantages and Disadvantages of the Il Ngwesi Lodge
(adapted from: AWF, 1999, 33)

	Percentages			
	Not significant	Little significance	Significant	Very significant
Advantages				
Increased security			2	98
Conservation of wildlife	5		2	93
Infrastructure development (roads and communication)			21	79
Provides wages for employees	19		9	72
Income replaces Harambee (community fundraising)	5	22	17	55
Boosts community spirit	10	15	26	48
Prevents other people from grazing at Il Ngwesi	28	2	3	67
Prevents Il Ngwesi members from grazing in the area	7	36	9	48
Provides community cash income	35	7	16	43
Disadvantages				
Collective income not yet distributed	21	10	3	66
People disagree	12	15	21	52
Only a few people benefit from employment	15	20	17	48
Insecurity increases	15	1	26	48
Some neighbourhoods benefit more than others	14	26	19	41
Increased wildlife damage	24	19	14	43
Loss of grazing area	38	24	10	28
Wildlife and tourists gain, not local people	40	17	22	21

These figures confirm that with the exception of security the most significant benefit of the Lodge to the majority of the group ranch members was wildlife conservation at 93%. However there is an inconsistency in that although 93% of community members think that wildlife conservation is an advantage, 40% believe that 'wildlife and tourists gain, community loses' and that wildlife damage is a significant disadvantage (43%).

It is true that this positive conservation outcome has other consequences, in particular an increase in potentially dangerous animals. There are now a higher number of cases of livestock loss and crop damage due to wildlife. The AWF study (1999) recorded that 53.4% of respondents in the PALI household survey stated that "wildlife damage has increased, which means that one of the impacts of the Lodge is increased conflict in land use between wildlife and livestock" (AWF, 1999; 50). However, direct observation on the ranch revealed that the wilderness area is being left intact and there is no encroachment (AWF, 1999; 50).

4.3.2 Indirect Benefits as Determined by the AWF 1999 Report

Is the project producing benefits not directly related to the central environmental issue?

Theory indicated that one of the main outcomes of an environmental partnership is that there should be benefits not directly related to the central environmental issue. Partnerships must build capacity to convert agreements into tangible and sustainable improvements to both environmental quality and communities' lives.

The AWF report which has focussed on livelihoods, has generated significant data in terms of the theory's concept of indirect benefits to Il Ngwesi, as well as Lewa, from the partnership. In terms of basic earning capacity the revenues have increased dramatically since the days of yearly earnings from camel trek tourism amounting to under 10,000US\$ (70,000 SA Rand). Since the Lodge and Cultural Boma were built they have together generated an estimated 6.3 million KShs (representing just under 100,000 US\$ - 700,000 SA Rand) for Il Ngwesi households from December 1996 to November 1998 (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Summary of Combined Financial Flow from Lodge and Cultural Boma
(source: AWF, 1999, 25)

For 24 month period in KShs:	Wages	Casual earnings	Profits to owners	Group ranch income	TOTAL
From Lodge	2,238,890	1,800,000	1,490,000		5,528,890
From Boma	362,220	99,070	100,000	190,000	770,210
TOTAL	2,620,030	1,899,070	100,000	1,680,000	6,299,100
% of total	42%	30%	2%	27%	100%
Known number of direct beneficiaries	48	Many, actual figure N/A.	25	450	

The AWF (1999) report established that the Lodge has created employment and led to the opportunity to establish the Boma. Although employee earnings total 2.5 million shillings benefiting 48 families, Table (4.3) shows that the Lodge has also generated wider livelihood impacts for the 450 household community. The earnings from the Lodge have been useful to the community. For example there has been a strengthening of the group ranch institutions, particularly the Natural Resource's Management Committee (NRMC) and Group Ranch Management Committee (GRMC). The AWF note that "50% of collective income goes to the development fund of the GR, which in turn has invested in infrastructure and social projects on the ranch. Though the magnitude and scale are not big, people are able to link these developments to the Lodge" (AWF, 1999, 46). Table 4.3 shows where the GR has allocated funds. Developments include: basic construction of school classrooms, cattle dips, and funding for higher education.

Table 4.3: Allocation of Group Ranch Development Account Income (source: AWF, 1999, 22)

Income spent on:	Percentage	Amount in KShs
Management	10	115,000
Development of schools	25	287,000
Bursaries	10	172,000
Dividends to GR members	50	575,000
Total	95¹	1,490,000

¹Does not add up to 100%. GRMC has discretionary power to allocate the collective income earned. Source: AWF Report.

The AWF (1999) confidently state that "in terms of amount earned so far relative to project investment and household's income levels, these earnings are very significant" (AWF, 1999, 46). It must be noted that the development impact of the Lodge is more significant than it might be elsewhere because the area is relatively isolated and insecure. The report concluded that:

the Lodge impacts are very significant to the community and are a big boost to their livelihoods. These impacts are likely to be sustainable because it enables the community to invest in asset building. In addition the impact on rangeland management, security of livestock, infrastructure, education and health has been significant and largely positive (AWF, 1999; 49).

The AWF study has been useful in that it has confirmed that there has been not only improved environmental and conservation goals but significant indirect benefits to the community too.

4.3.3 Views of the Community and the Leadership on Direct and Indirect Benefits

The AWF (1999) report does not go into detail regarding perception issues as it was not their primary concern. However, the researcher spent considerable time probing the leadership of the partnership, Lodge and CB employees, and the members of the Il Ngwesi community in order to understand their perceptions. In addition the researcher also observed settings, interactions, relationships, actions, events and so on. The present researcher tackled, from a different perspective, the issue of direct and indirect benefits from the project. The results are presented next.

4.3.3.1 Direct Benefits to Conservation and the Environmental Impacts:

Is the project accomplishing its objective to improve a specific element of environmental quality? Does the project provide direct benefits for biodiversity conservation?

According to the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) 1994, conservation is a utilitarian approach that embraces preservation, maintenance, sustainable utilisation, restoration and enhancement of the natural environment. This means that wildlife and the unique ecosystem must be protected from destruction and sustainably maintained. Conservation is a goal and represents an opportunity for success in that it has three distinct functions: it evokes passion and provides funding from conservationists; it represents a precious resource from which communities can derive benefit; and it serves as a rallying cry for the partners whose enthusiasm is vital to the projects success.

An important aspect of biodiversity conservation is social change. Is the Lodge contributing to the community's livelihood. James Mwanyugi says that previously wildlife was seen as a nuisance:

like having a jigger on your foot, its surviving, but at your expense. You see wildlife survives through people, it finds its security through people and it is maintained by the people, yet it does not pay for itself. We are trying to make wildlife pay because before it is a liability. In the past when they received nothing from the wildlife, they actually used to lead poachers to the wildlife (per comm. J. Mwanyugi, 22.01.00).

This powerful statement suggests that unless something was done to include the Il Ngwesi people the wildlife would remain an irritation and in danger of being eliminated.

Theory says that attitude changes are an indicator of the durability of agreements and sustainability of projects (Long and Arnold, 1995). This is one of the most important issues regarding the opportunities for the success of the partnership. This happens through the changing of people's behaviour thereby minimizing damage or even improving environmental quality in the future. If the partnership convinces participants, non-participant organizations considered to have an impact on the environmental issue, and the public to improve the environmental quality, it has enhanced its return on investment. Attitude changes are an indicator of the durability of agreements and completed projects. The sustainable maintenance of wildlife in this context involved an attitude change which in turn led to behaviour changes. Firstly, communities had to be made aware of the potential value of wildlife, especially on their land. This realisation promoted a change in how wildlife is perceived. Second, Lewa had to cease to view the people beyond its borders as a threat. This attitudinal change toward wildlife and the environment meant that it now has value to these people and they will fight to preserve it. The attainment of conservation objectives for example is dependent on the impacts of the Lodge and the links perceived between those impacts and conservation.

A clear theme that emerged during the interviews was that wildlife is no longer viewed as worthless to the people. Those who benefit directly from its survival from wages at the Lodge are particularly passionate about this area. James Ole Kinyaga is the assistant manager and now conducts walking tours every morning for tourists.

I was always interested in the animal, bird and plant life of the area from the stories my grandfather used to tell me about them. Now I am learning the Latin names and I can share my stories with the visitors and they share their stories with me. It is interesting to see how interested the visitors are in the environment here and also about my culture (per comm. James Ole Kinyaga, 18.02.00).

This was a striking feature of Il Ngwesi, the person sharing stories is a Laikipia Maasai, not a tour guide from outside. He was combining his knowledge of legend, culture, medicinal plants and ritual related events with his extensive knowledge of Latin names and animal and bird behaviour. This combination was received by tourists with great enthusiasm. In addition Lodge workers became part of that enthusiasm, sharing their culture and wanting to know more about why tourists were so fascinated with their home area. When a particular animal would appear, such as elephants or the leopard, the staff would hurry to find guests to show them.

This attitude was not confined only to the Lodge employees. Further afield at the Cultural Boma the reactions were similar. "Nowadays we are looking after the wildlife for the tourists and our benefit" (per comm. Daniel Morijo, cultural boma, 10.02.00). "Before we were afraid of them (wildlife) and we didn't go near them, but now they are providing us with money so we like them" (per comm. Sesoi, Cultural Boma, 10.02.00).

The wildlife species on Lewa in turn gain significantly from the extended security that now stretches much further north. It helps keep the elephant (and other species) migration routes open to Samburu, thus preventing over-use of land in Lewa by elephants while ensuring viewing opportunities for tourists staying at Il Ngwesi Lodge. The joint security surveillance plays a significant role in reducing poaching thus ensuring the safety of endangered species like the black rhino, which is one of Lewa's conservation objectives. Ian Craig is pleased with the security situation:

We benefit greatly from having Il Ngwesi on board. There is now a much more effective security force and we now know what is happening in that piece of country, whereas previously we had no idea. I just don't have a worry about that area now (per comm. I. Craig, 14.02.00).

The community's attitude change has happened beyond purely the benefits that the survival of wildlife can bring them. It appears that they are beginning to enjoy its presence and the prestige it is bringing to the area. This was evident when the researcher was at the Lodge without other guests, and the staff would sit and talk and watch the elephants in the valley below. This community changed their attitudes when they became aware of the uniqueness of their area and the animals that live on it.

This has another important dimension, that of education for the area. Il Ngwesi is an example of what can happen on a large tract of undeveloped land in northern Kenya which is still communally owned. Il Ngwesi is a small part of a much larger Laikipia ecosystem which

shares similar characteristics. The positive gains at Il Ngwesi have already had an effect on the attitudes of the other communities in the region. Once the value of the ecosystem and the wildlife is made clear, the opportunities for conservation and development in the whole region are very substantial. The evidence of this is beginning to evolve as witnessed by the researcher in terms of the interest shown by the Le Kuruki community and the new ecotourist Lodge on Namunyak community land (see fig. 2.1)

Accordingly these attitude changes have had the effect of giving wildlife the space and safely to flourish. From the reaction of many respondents wildlife is thriving at Il Ngwesi.

There is a lot more wildlife now, especially elephant, lions, leopard and giraffe. Before we had very little wildlife here and a lot of poachers. The wildlife actually realised that they have a safe environment so they are returning (per comm. E. Paya, 06.02.00).

There are many more wildlife here than before. Like with the Giraffes and Leopards who were hiding before, now there are no people or cattle disturbing the animals so they have come back (per comm. N. Kinyaga, 26.01.00).

There were many comments like this recorded at Il Ngwesi. The thriving and reappearance of the 'big five' would represent an even bigger incentive for tourists to visit the area. While the researcher was at Il Ngwesi, he regularly saw elephants, and even leopard, a species that has been in hiding for years.

Another benefit is that of new controls on other environmental issues in the area. For example the area around the lodge is not used for grazing and therefore is left for wildlife use. "There has also been a change of vegetation, this area used to be public and many other communities used to come here to graze but now this is our land and we restrict people, even our members are told not to bring their cattle here" (per comm. E. Paya, 06.02.00). Now the focus is on maintaining the ecosystem which supports healthy biodiversity. Apart from the change in vegetation and land use, the migration process has resulted in the exchange of genetic material vital for survival of individual species. This in turn has contributed to improved grazing management within the ranch. In normal seasons, grazing takes place in neighbouring Isiolo and Samburu, the strategy being to cultivate an attitude among neighbours that grazing is not available, in part to keep away potential intruders to the ranch. Only in severe drought is livestock grazed within the ranch.

According to theory, complete attitude change is necessary otherwise it can be a limitation to the success of the partnership in the long term (Long and Arnold, 1995). Projects are immediate and measurable, whereas attitude and behaviour changes are neither. Both are

necessary in the pursuit of an environmentally sustainable future for human populations and natural systems. If the people do not see wildlife as a valuable resource and act accordingly, the project will fail. The evidence has shown that the Il Ngwesi community does now see wildlife as a valuable resource. Their new regard means that the way the people view wildlife has fundamentally changed. As long as the tourists continue to visit the people will receive income from wildlife and will protect it.

Issues holding back the success of the partnership regarding conservation have to do with the increased number of wildlife in contact with people, as observed by the AWF. Some species are dangerous (elephant, lions, leopards, etc) and there are many incidences of them clashing with humans. Clearly defined spaces have helped to minimise the contact that people and wildlife have had. In addition with the increased wildlife numbers, bandits and poachers will be attracted to the area to collect trophies that fetch high prices.

The other issue is the competition that exists between wildlife and people for fodder requirements for livestock. The area is semi arid and suffers from periodic droughts (such as this year, 2000) and people will move livestock into the area which will have consequences. Yet the researcher witnessed that the people of Il Ngwesi know that the ultimate responsibility over the resources and wildlife resides with them. This responsibility has made them protect resources and maintain the integrity of Il Ngwesi wilderness area.

One other issue that must be mentioned is the importance of the difference between the goals of tourism and the goals of conservation. Tourism tends to concentrate on the conservation of certain species that are attractive to tourists and may not be fully conscious of biodiversity conservation as a whole. It must be remembered that the system is interlinked and the preservation of one set of species over another could have detrimental effects on the whole system in the long run. However setting aside a large piece of land for the protection of the wildlife will have the effect of creating a safe habitat for other species not necessarily valued by tourists.

4.3.3.2 Indirect Benefits in terms of Development

Is the project producing benefits not directly related to the central environmental issue?

Theory suggests a substitution of unsustainable land use systems for sustainable systems must be accompanied by indirect benefits (unrelated to the environmental one). Communities must be provided with the skills and resources needed to increase their incomes. In this way alternative resource use options are effected that are sustainable as well as more productive.

During the interviews most respondents claimed that there were benefits to the wider community. The Lodge and Cultural Boma have created employment for 26 and 23 people respectively. "We have benefited from the employment and our families benefit and we get to stay at our homes" (per comm. Daniel Ndondo, cultural village, 10.02.00). This is especially important as the community members in the past have had to leave their homes to go in search of work. In addition to them staying in their home area, earnings in turn have promoted local businesses. A spin-off from the Lodge has been the creation of additional markets for the famous honey of the area and handicrafts for sale to tourists.

There is a consensus that all the community is benefiting from the impact on security of members and livestock, infrastructure, education and health.

We are running two projects, the Lodge and the Boma, there are benefits, the people run the Boma and an opportunity to work which helps us, the members. The group ranch is getting dividends indirectly and directly and they are happy (per comm. E. Paya, 06.02.00).

Yes, the people have money for food and the money we earn from the lodge we can give to the people for projects (per comm. Edward Mkombo, 26.01.00).

Nowadays money comes from the lodge and we have built some mills and some students have gone to school, we have 4 children in secondary school (Kimunyi Kitonga, 27.01.00).

The Lodge has brought a highly prized benefit, the ownership of a vehicle for transport, which routinely serves as an ambulance to take people to hospitals and health centres.

I would say that we have come up so to speak, everyone has improved, for example if someone is sick there is a car that can take them to hospital. Everyone in the community has access to a vehicle in emergencies (per comm. E. Paya, 06.02.00).

The Lodge is seen as generally supporting the local livelihood activities, because it supports pastoralism and the management of the rangeland, while providing some other limited economic opportunities. However, the key pastoralism benefit is protection of grazing in the wilderness area.

The other important benefit of the partnership is the security that has been brought to the area. This is mainly due the security scouts who have access to vehicles and VHF radio technology, associated with the Lodge. This was confirmed by the AWF (Table 4.3) where the community felt that the most significant indirect benefit of the Lodge is the increased security (98%). "Our children were in danger in the past, when raiding parties would take our

cattle and hurt or even kill them. Now we know exactly what and who is on the group ranch at any time" (per comm. E. Paya, 06.02.00j).

As well as livelihood security there has also been an intangible benefit regarding empowerment. With the increased revenue and control, the GR institutions are benefiting in terms of capacity building. These institutions are now instrumental in deciding how areas are to be used and the dividends are to be distributed. The GRMC and NRMC members have access to information through seminars and workshops and through meetings with Lewa management.

One complication is the jealousy felt by other communities living next to Il Ngwesi, which can cause conflict. This can be seen as a constraint but also a major opportunity says Ian Craig and James Mwanyugi.

Jealousy doesn't worry us, because we think it is a healthy jealousy. They are trying to be better than their neighbours so they are going all out to produce good projects. They cannot understand why Il Ngwesi was poorer than them and now they are rich (per comm. J. Mwanyugi, 22.01.00).

Another difficulty relating to the success of the partnership regarding development is that the changes usually alter the dynamics of the area in that there is

- Increased involvement of market economies, encouraging the over exploitation of resources that were previously harvested only for local subsistence.
- A breakdown of traditional value systems, which often directly or indirectly encouraged conservation of environmental resources.
- Population growth, leading to over exploitation of resources in order to meet needs.
- Technological change, often making it physically easier to over-exploit natural resources (from Gibbs and Bromley, 1989).

All these points have to do with the breakdown of traditional structures and can have destructive consequences. Many argue that this breakdown can be directly attributed to development and all the efforts will have the opposite effect in the end. These issues are very important at Il Ngwesi where community is strong and where traditional Maasai culture plays a large part in the people's everyday life. Their way of life has and is under threat in most other areas in Kenya. The most frequented tourist destinations in Kenya, such as Amboseli and The Mara are all Maasailand.

4.3.5 Implications for the Partnership

The evidence from the AWF report and the researcher's own work has shown that there are some concurrent observations regarding direct and indirect benefits. The wildlife has increased and there is a positive attitude change toward it now. In addition the physical environment has benefited from the rangeland management that is now in place, maintaining species diversity and richness. There have been significant earnings from the Lodge and Cultural Boma that have been very useful to the community as well as strengthening the GR institutions. In addition the security of people, livestock as well as wildlife is now firmly in place. In general, the project is generating both direct and indirect benefits for conservation and the researchers data would agree with the AWF report. This section is necessary to explain what the implications of this success are for the partnership.

As the community becomes more financially and socially empowered the partnership will take on a new form. The balance of power between the partners is currently much more equal, although it has quite some way to go. Despite the fact that Il Ngwesi operates by itself, the project still receives assistance from Lewa. However, as they assume more of a controlling influence over the partnership, the community will become more of a contributor to the day to day running and planning of conservation and development initiatives. This will mean that Lewa will relinquish some of their responsibilities to the partnership and instead of being a driving force, will only be offering advice and assistance on community driven initiatives. The partnership will become stronger and have the **ability** to be more effective in future endeavours. Lewa and even Il Ngwesi will have more resources available for partnerships with other communities to extend the protected area further.

The attention the project has received has also justified to the initial donors the KShs 5.8 million for the Lodge construction. Future funding will be easier to come by for both Lewa and Il Ngwesi for the development of other projects on the GR, such as infrastructure development, training and the introduction of additional wildlife species. In addition, the partnership concept is useful and has proven successful enough to warrant additional funding opportunities.

4.4 Partnership Analysis

Having established that substantial direct and indirect benefits are being generated as a result of the partnership, the study now moves to an analysis of the partnership itself. There are six key aspects of a partnership and most of these conceptual points have been identified by Long and Arnold (1995). The next part of the data analysis is to identify these aspects and discuss them in detail with regard to the Il Ngwesi/Lewa partnership. Each

theme is discussed in terms of the relevant question generated by Environmental Partnership theory as explained in Chapter One. The study intends to identify the defining constituents that make up the Il Ngwesi/Lewa partnership.

4.4.1 Leadership:

How important is strong and fair leadership to the success of the project, and what is the leadership in fact like?

Leadership is key to the success of any environmental partnership and the projects that might emerge from it. Long and Arnold (1995) argue that individual leaders must possess the boldness to conceive and champion unusual ideas, the patience and confidence to overcome obstacles and the commitment to bring ideas to completion (Long and Arnold, 1995; 8). These leaders must also give any partnership credibility and a sense of import and relevance. Once the partnership has begun, these committed individuals must collectively possess a passion for innovation and risk taking and a substantive knowledge of the issues to be addressed. They will also help to maintain internal focus and momentum towards the goals established at the outset (Long and Arnold, 1995; 8).

The task of the leaders does not stop there, they must continue to steward the partnership through its life cycle, overseeing, mentoring and protecting the essential purpose for which the partnership was formed. Individually each participant ideally possesses a combination of characteristics, including the following: some source of expertise, credibility within their organization and within their sphere of activity, the ability to learn and listen, commitment to the process, and a willingness to move toward unconventional solutions. None of these are sufficient to drive the partnership toward successful outcomes, without all the participants having a sense of vision, a commitment to success, and a capacity for teamwork. The combination of these will make partnerships work (Long and Arnold, 1995; 9).

It was immediately evident that the partnership between Lewa and Il Ngwesi is successful because it has strong leaders. There are two key issues that give the partnership its particular strength. The first is the vision of certain key players in the area, the second is to do with the nature of their relationship and commitment to the area. Ian Craig, Simon Ole Kinyaga and the Il Ngwesi elders were the initial leaders who formed the Il Ngwesi/Lewa partnership.

Many credit Ian Craig with having the idea of building the lodge and starting the partnership, Ian's enthusiasm was clear to the researcher from many discussions held with him during the field work period. For example his vision is

to put together the projects that we are working on right now, namely Le Kuruki, Namunyak (see Fig 2.1), so that within our lifetime there will be rhino right through there, if we can get rhino right through here and have a dynamic tourism business running, with the community benefiting from it, we will have achieved everything (per comm. Ian Craig, 14.02.00).

Richard Bonham, of R. Bonham Safaris and Ol Donyo Wuas Lodge near the Chyulu hills in Kenya is trying to establish a partnership with Mbirikani Group Ranch (mentioned earlier), and he brought that community to Il Ngwesi for them to see a project of this nature up and running. He believes 'Ian is a visionary' (per comm., R. Bonham, 07.02.00).

All of Ian's efforts would have come to nothing had there also not been Simon Ole Kinyaga. Both men commanded a lot of respect with the community and had a substantive knowledge of the area and issues to be addressed. Ian grew up on Lewa and he and Simon have, as mentioned earlier, know each other for a long time. Simon is a revered leader who has received a good education and wanted to make a difference on the group ranch. He convinced the Il Ngwesi elders who also began to see the vision these men had for the place.

The elders were essential in disseminating the vision for the place, but also in lending credibility to the plans, putting to rest any fears the people might have had. Collectively they encouraged the people to see a new future for the area. Ian notes that "one huge advantage is that the people have genuine respect for their elders so it makes things much easier" and they are "a completely cohesive community" (per comm. I. Craig, 14.02.00). In addition these leaders have the responsibility of guiding a community that has no previous expertise regarding tourism and the revenues derived from it, "a lot of people have no idea what a dividend is or what a shareholding is, and why should they, it's not in their culture" (per comm. I. Craig, 14.02.00).

A major boost to the partnership has been the addition of the respected politician, Mr. Ole Kaparo (speaker of the house, Kenyan Parliament) who assumed the role of chairman of the Board of Trustees. His involvement is seen as important by the leading men in the community. For example James Mwanyugi said, "he is a great politician, he is wealthy in Maasai terms and contributes his time without wanting to be paid, ensures the right leadership, this is key, like the other wazees (elders), like John Kipsoi, they really are concerned and are good people" (per comm. J. Mwanyugi, 22.01.00).

The vision of these leaders was translated into a strategy and tactic that was to become the Il Ngwesi Lodge. Its continued survival and success requires continuous energy and attention. Since the partnership was established these leaders have proved essential in the maintaining of the internal focus and momentum towards the partnership goals. This was observed by the researcher when 'sitting in' on the Lodge board of Trustee meeting which included the elders, Mr Ole Kaparo and Ian and Michael Dyer (from Borana). The agenda was focussed, business-like and the future plans for the lodge discussed. While the researcher was living in the area, he also observed Mr. Craig and members of the Il Ngwesi elders visit the Lodge often, checking the day to day workings and providing encouragement in their presence and assistance where needed.

Theory says that leadership would act as a constraint if partnerships failed to engage confident, flexible people (Long and Arnold, 1995; 9). It will also be constrained if the leaders do not create the appropriate mix of people, goals, and capacity building. The other main constraint to success is accountability and transparency. James Mwanyugi (the Community Development Officer at Lewa and Il Ngwesi) who used to work with KWS, has determined views on this:

The Maasai Mara is a place where we tried to keep revenue flowing and we disregarded the corrupt part. Now learning from our previous mistakes, we tried to approach this community differently. Firstly empowerment, we tried to make them aware of keeping an eye on what was happening, like looking through a microscope at the issues. All this must grow with the project. We have the luck of being at the beginning of the project, the Mara is a little late, and nobody can do anything about it. With Il Ngwesi there is a risk when revenues get big. We are trying to encourage the right kind of leadership (per comm. J. Mwanyugi, 22.01.00).

At this early stage leaders have to make an extra effort to make their actions well known, transparent, and to be accountable at all times.

4.4.2 The Balance of Power in the Partnership

Is there trust between the community and its leaders, and its 'expert' partners? Are there issues which threaten this trust and what is the power balance in the partnership?

The power and trust issue must be understood in two ways. The first, regarding the members of the partnership and the power balance that exists between them. The second is to do with the structures of power at Il Ngwesi, and how the community deals with power structures amongst themselves and between the members and the leaders. This section focuses on the first; the latter is considered in the next section.

There are many questions regarding the issue of power and it has been the focus of much academic attention. Pinnock (1996) says, the question that is begging to be asked about such projects is the degree to which partnerships are formed with local communities and how much say these communities have in management decision-making. Typically communities live alongside wildlife and without their help conservation and/or tourism operations cannot function (Western, 1994). In addition conservationists or big business usually have the capital and skills without which locals cannot initiate tourism. Pinnock (1996) suggests that however well intentioned, partnerships with a powerful senior partner who has probably initiated, funded and implemented the project is 'inherently unequal.' These are legitimate concerns and must be addressed in any partnership.

However, with the Il Ngwesi/Lewa partnership there is a fundamental difference and this represents a very important dynamic that plays a big part in why Il Ngwesi is successful. Lewa is not in the partnership to make money. Ian says,

I am interested in the whole aim and objective of what we are working for. There are two main objectives, I have a personal interest in seeing it work, the same reasons that you would like to see it work if you were in my position and the other is security, I mean security has given us enormous savings, If those guys were negative to the idea our lives would be very, very different (per comm. I. Craig, 14.02.00).

Lewa does not own the lodge or any of the land, and Il Ngwesi relies on the support of Lewa in many ways. This emphasises the element of trust and it cannot be underestimated when it comes to any partnership. It is important that the Il Ngwesi community has ownership and control and is intimately involved, and although the partnership is asymmetrical at this time, it was noted that the situation is continuously changing in the community's favour. James, the community development officer says that:

when the community can do all these things for themselves we will have achieved something, and that is empowerment. Empowerment is what I am after, but I constantly have to ask myself what empowerment is. The first steps of empowerment are taking responsibility, and the power to make decisions (per comm. J. Mwanyugi, 22.01.00).

Long and Arnold (1995) note that each of the stakeholders possesses power, whether through financial capacity, regulatory authority, resource ownership, etc., and therefore the ability of any one organization to construct and implement a plan of action is extremely limited (Long and Arnold, 1995). In addition without trust 'even the most successful partnerships can fall apart' (Long and Arnold, 1995; 145). It appears that, in theory,

responsibility must be completely shared, and people will be passionate about projects if they are intimately involved. Equity is then a key component.

The partnership was obviously unequal while in the early stages, especially as the community had no skills regarding the construction and running of a tourist lodge. Lewa assumed the role of stimulating the construction of the Lodge and securing of the GR borders. Community was however involved in discussions at the leadership level, and also in supplying labour for the construction of the Lodge at Il Ngwesi. Mobilising the community helped to define the governing bodies better and help them build concrete agendas. The community assumed responsibility relatively quickly to the point where today they totally control the natural resource use, the distribution of dividends and have the majority representation in the governing of the lodge. "We run everything around here, Lewa helps us when we ask otherwise everything is controlled by the Il Ngwesi people" (per comm. E. Paya, 06.02.00). Il Ngwesi had many initial advantages to do with power and trust structures and the dynamics of these issues was different to many other places. As mentioned already the leadership champions already knew and trusted one another. "You know the whole thing is built on trust, and that trust is there. When I speak to the elders and they to me, I know that what they say is what they mean" (per comm. I. Craig, 14.02.00). The champions trust each other and the community trusts their leaders. "We as a community know how Ian works, he has helped us to get to where we are today" (per comm. E. Paya, 06.02.00).

4.4.3 Degree of Trust and Commitment to the Partnership is Able to Inspire

Do the community members trust the leaders and do they feel that they 'own' the project?

The second issue is to do with how the community handles its own affairs. The other opportunity for success and another key dynamic regarding Il Ngwesi was the size and power structures within the community. They are a relatively small cohesive entity, they had no real tourism background, and adhered very strongly to traditional Maasai power structures. As mentioned earlier, they are "a completely cohesive community, something we may have trouble with at Namunyak (the other community that is planning a similar partnership) as they have a different way of doing things" (per comm. I. Craig, 14.02.00). Gibbs and Bromley (1989) affirm this concept, saying that the cohesion of the community is vital, those that function well are usually characterized by clarity of definition, both of group membership, and of how compliance is to be achieved and disputes resolved. Conditions include the existence of clear definitions both of the resource itself and of those having the right to use it, of capability to monitor use, of mechanisms for the resolution of conflicts and of systems of graduated sanctions on those who violate the rules. The researcher witnessed

community cohesion. Group ranch membership was well defined, clear use rights regarding resource use were well known and governance left up to distinct governing bodies. These had all been loosely in place but strengthened considerably since the partnership began. However structures could be criticized for non-transparency and slow processes (AWF, 1999).

Three main governing bodies represent the structures of power at Il Ngwesi and ensure equity of representation, revenue distribution and transparency. They also monitor the community activities and resolve conflicts where necessary. The Natural Resource Management Committee (NRMC) monitors what occurs on the GR regarding resource use and allocation. They have set aside a large area around the Lodge which is livestock and people free:

The community knows that the area around the lodge is set aside for the tourists use alone, everyone knows that we can only venture there during the worst droughts. In addition with the added security we don't have to compete with other non-members for resources on our own land (per comm. E. Paya, 06.02.00).

The 27 member Group Ranch Management Committee (GRMC) represents the interests of Group Ranch members and handles the dividend distribution and project implementation. These committees disseminate every piece of information back to the people at the Annual General Meeting where no proposal can be affected without 60% attendance and capital inflows and outflows are recorded for all to witness. All the decisions with regard to the activities of the GR are based upon consensus and transparency. "We can have a say in what happens on the GR at the AGM and we are all members of that group ranch so we have a say and a privilege to do that" (per comm. E. Paya, 06.02.00). The 7 member Lodge Board of Directors determine the development strategies and affairs of the Lodge.

Additionally, participants that are given some 'ownership' are encouraged to be more effective than participants who are limited partners (Long and Arnold, 1995; 123). The AWF report (1999) acknowledged the importance of ownership and autonomy. The GR members own the 8,700 ha of land on which the Lodge is built. The communal ownership of resources improved incentives for communal resource management. As the AWF noted:

- People are willing to work together, to pool financial and natural resources as well as traditional knowledge.
- Common tenure arrangements are more amenable to ecosystem level approaches to management of wildlife than are the smaller management units of individual ownership. They help internalise the costs of resource use, avoid negative impacts of encroachment

or poaching and contribute to the development of collective management rules which are administratively more efficient and less costly (AWF, 1999; 62).

Power and trust will become a problem when clarity regarding use rights, ownership and cohesion of the community is lost, and when sudden changes affect the common property management system. There needs to be more structures put in place to keep the governing bodies in check.

Additionally, community is a term that should be used with caution as all communities, whether traditional or non-traditional, are sure to have internal conflicts, different objectives and demands. This nearly always relates to the economic situation, gender or social standing of individuals within a community (Western and Wright, 1994). It is dangerous to use the term community too loosely, as there is no certainty of maintaining a 'common goal' since individuals may retain their 'individual' goals. This point is important in that the majority of the community must have a collective vision of what the partnership is trying to achieve. The researcher and the AWF report found that membership of the GR wasn't always clear and this issue needs to be addressed.

4.4.4 Partnership Capacity (i.e. utilization of local expertise)

To what extent is the partnership able to draw on local expertise and on capacity inherent within it?

A key question of the Il Ngwesi/Lewa partnership is that the expertise is a resident, permanent part of the project. Many ICDP projects have failed in African contexts (see appendix 1.1). A factor that has contributed to these destructive prescriptions of the past, is advice from non-resident development 'experts' that has actually proved hazardous for the people and wildlife of Africa (Chambers, 1983). These 'experts' have often failed to understand not just the social context but the wider ecological context as well. The difference here is that at Il Ngwesi the experts are all part of the partnership project, and they live and work in that place. This is a vital component to the success of these kinds of projects as it shows commitment to the partnership's goals and ensures project sustainability.

Expertise is inherent in both partners. Lewa's management capacity includes wildlife conservation knowledge and expertise, access to technical and logistical support (VHF radios, airplanes and vehicles), access to funding, hotel/client experience, overseas and local client base, credibility, has wildlife to facilitate restocking of Il Ngwesi land, has residence in the area, and contacts. All of these are being used to support the Il Ngwesi

project with wildlife management and security for people and wildlife. Funding supports additional initiatives as well as expensive technical support such as the fuel for planes. The small touches at the Lodge are possible with the attention to detail that is offered. The project could benefit greatly in the future when the area is totally established with the reintroduction of species such as Rhino, and of course Lewa have valuable expertise in managing rhino populations. Its reintroduction along with the other 'big five' species will act as a big tourist draw card.

The Il Ngwesi community capacity includes expert knowledge of the area and its animals, ownership of land resources, understanding of wildlife and growing tourism capability. This is seen in the total management of the lodge being in the hands of the community, and all the jobs in and around the Lodge being held by community members. James Ole Kinyaga as the resident flora and fauna expert is a perfect example. What is encouraging is that as the community's capacity grows, they will run the whole operation in the future. This will serve as an example for other communities.

4.4.5 Ability to Attract External (Donor) Funding

To what extent is the project dependent on money from outside, who is contributing the donor funds, and who is undertaking the work of fund raising?

According to theory, funding is vital as it offers very real assistance to partnerships to achieve their environmental and conservation goals (Long and Arnold, 1995). A major contributor to the success of partnerships is access to funding. Funding is essential for a variety of tasks: the funding of community capacity building programs and training programs, subsidizing of the tourism lodge development costs, and lodge infrastructure costs (e.g. rerouting fences, roads, etc.). The AWF report noted that 'with no donor, and no outside assistance in Lodge design and construction, the Il Ngwesi Lodge would probably never have been built' (AWF, 1999, p.17). There are conflicting schools of thought regarding donor funding. Many feel that funds will offer fledgling initiatives the chance to improve the total package, as a halfhearted attempt will fail very quickly. Others feel that the free provision of donations may increase levels of dependency in the community. Many question how reliant communities and projects are on funding and what will happen when funding is withdrawn. Erskine (1996) reports that a central element to community development is empowering and enabling people, rather than directing and controlling them by perpetuating their dependence on handouts. Many feel that efforts should be made to procure funding from donor agencies at favourable interest rates or soft repayment conditions to finance the development, but these should not be in the form of pure donations.

However, many feel that if conservation is being achieved this warrants donor funding from the outside from those who can afford to, and want to contribute towards conservation. Ian Craig is a supporter of this view:

I feel that Il Ngwesi is doing an enormous amount for the welfare of elephant in the region. The world at large is very willing to pay for the protection of elephant and wildlife in general. We raise money, AWF and KWS raises money and many institutions, but Il Ngwesi stands alone, they are using their generated money for the protection of animals. Sure they are seeing revenue back, sure it isn't sure if it is a sustainable project, but the rest of the world is ready to support it (per comm. I. Craig, 14.02.00).

The Craigs have had substantial experience in raising donor funding to set up their own operation. In addition a major aim of the partnership is to give communities a chance to gain understanding, experience and expertise to become self-sufficient faster, because up until the seed phase of the partnership, these communities do not have any of these skills regarding the construction of the lodge or the running of projects. This remains an important point in a partnership and it must be emphasized that funding is especially important in the seed phase and should become less important later on. Funding should be used only as providing start up funds. James Mwanyugi says:

we want the community to be able to handle themselves, we are the intermediary until that time, its like a baby jumping into your car and saying 'I'm going to Nairobi'. They are not ready yet, we are helping them until the time they can drive the car by themselves (per comm. J. Mwanyugi, 22.01.00).

Ian Craig says that all businesses need a few years before they can see real returns.

Funding offers these initiatives an opportunity to start well, build a high standard lodge, and overcome expensive factors easier, such as wildlife control, patrolling, anti poaching, etc. Ian Craig believes it is justified:

The main thing with Il Ngwesi is that it is up and running, it's making money, it's got world attention, it's got the support of international conservation bodies. It's a nice vehicle for when we need to make money and when we know what we need money for, and for local communities to see that it does work. They have lost no land, they have gained employment, income and they have seen that wildlife is an option to cattle (per comm. I. Craig, 14.02.00).

James Mwanyugi believes Lewa wins too,

by getting a good name from what they do with their neighbours, so Lewa is seen as someone that goes beyond its borders. It eases funding possibilities. When people actually come here and see what is happening they go away with the impression that it is actually working (per comm. J. Mwanyugi, 22.01.00).

The Global Environmental Fund (GEF) is supporting Il Ngwesi's future projects this year with a donation of 12,000 US dollars. A meeting to decide how the communities will spend their money was held after the researchers' departure. James Mwanyugi from the partnership will be using his experience to negotiate with the World Bank. James says that the money is going towards filling the gap in the community's expertise, namely "technical assistance and hotel training from Utalii [Nairobi based Hotel school]. The community is putting together a 5-year plan, where they will decide what other uses there are for the money" (per comm. J. Mwanyugi, 22.01.00).

The problems regarding funding are twofold; the first is the lack of control of these funds and even misappropriation; the second has to do with complacency and the relying upon funding to bail communities out of situations where they haven't made the project work. Regarding the first, funding must be accompanied by tight controls and accountability. In terms of the second some believe that proper community development requires the community to raise the funds for projects themselves, as this is the only way that they will consider the project theirs and work tirelessly for its success. Others disagree stating that many of these communities are very poor and cannot possibly raise the funds themselves. This remains an ongoing debate.

Conservation has provided and continues to provide funding for the partnership and its goals. The wildlife also represents a strong draw-card for tourists, who come to an area because of it as well as the natural beauty. This translates into the provision of jobs, access to tourism revenue, and the sustainability of a larger ecosystem, amongst other opportunities. Increasing Lodge profitability, employment, spin-off business potential and development investment will help to ensure the sustainability of conservation gains.

4.4.6 Enabling Environment: The Ecotourism Industry in Kenya

Is this project 'genuine ecotourism' or 'ecotourism lite', and does Kenya provide an enabling environment for such projects?

This is the one factor that is outside the control of the partnership members. However, this issue is critical to the success of the partnership and must be included. According to Honey (1999) ecotourism is fast becoming an important tourism niche market. If done correctly its principles will ensure communities are an integral part of the package. It will attract the right kind of tourist, sensitive to the area, its people and the unique features. In addition, the impact of these tourists will not interfere too much with the local culture, as these ecotourists

will be interested and culturally sensitive. This offers a real alternative to the destructive mass-market tourism Kenya has pursued for so many years.

Kenya's tourism industry is currently suffering from huge declines in tourist visitor numbers, ecological destruction of its parks, dwindling wildlife numbers, disgruntled communities living in the buffer zones, increasing competition from the rest of Africa, crime, and political unrest which has left 'the industry in shambles' (Honey, 1999). Kenya needs to reassess its tourism options and ecotourism presents an important opportunity. Its potential is beginning to be understood at Il Ngwesi too. "We didn't know that this would be marketable but now we know that it is much wanted throughout the world" (per comm. E. Paya, 06.02.00).

Honey (1999) offers a set of principles (discussed in Chapter One), which has enormous potential in places like Il Ngwesi. Ecotourism offers an opportunity for success in that not only does it offer a sound environmental approach to conservation in such an ecologically delicate area, it attracts an ever-growing market that adheres to a sound environmental ethic. The tourists that the researcher met that visited the place were doing so because of Il Ngwesi's ecotourism reputation and their interest in the project. The positive comments were numerous:

Just great - the best community conservation project that I have seen. Giacomo Durazio - EU Delegation.

It is such a hopeful sign for the future of Kenya that the community owns and runs such a special place in such a professional and unique way. David Schwimmer, NY.

This in my opinion is what Africa desperately needs to survive into the future. It has been one of the most rewarding experiences of my life. An excellent example of how people and the environment can live in harmony and the people benefiting through the interaction. Norman Johnson (SANP tour from South Africa).

Ecotourism will only become a problem if it is done incorrectly and if tourist demand declines. In terms of ecotourism as a process, as discussed in Honey (1999), it has been misunderstood for a long time. The 7 principles that Honey (1999) has proposed suggest how a change to 'genuine ecotourism' if they are adhered to (Table 1.1 is repeated here). The researcher measured the project against Honey's (1999) principles and found that Il Ngwesi did represent genuine ecotourism, although principle 3 regarding environmental awareness needed to be given more attention (see recommendations).

Table 1.1 (Repeated): "Genuine Ecotourism" Characteristics (after Honey, 1999):

1. *Involves travel to natural destinations:* These destinations are often remote, whether habited or uninhabited, they are usually under some kind of environmental protection at a national, international, communal or private level.
2. *Minimises impact* Tourism causes damage, ecotourism strives to minimise these adverse effects by using recycled or plentifully available local building materials, renewable sources of energy, safe disposal of waste, and environmentally and culturally sensitive architecture.
3. *Builds environmental awareness:* Ecotourism means education, for both tourists and residents of the nearby communities.
4. *Provides direct financial benefits for conservation:* Raising funds for environmental protection, research, and education through a variety of mechanisms, including park entrance fees, tour company, hotel, airline, and airport taxes; and voluntary contributions.
5. *Provides financial benefits and empowerment for local people:* Campsites, lodges, guide services, restaurants, and other concessions should be run by or in partnership with communities surrounding the park or tourist destination. More importantly, if it is to be viewed as a tool for rural development, it must also help shift economic and political control to the local community.
6. *Respects local culture:* Ecotourism is less culturally intrusive and exploitative than conventional tourism.
7. *Supports human rights and democratic movements:* Mass tourism typically pays scant attention to the political system of the host country or struggles within it. Responsible travellers must carefully assess the consequences of travel both on the country's ecosystem and cultural norms and on movements for social and political democratisation and human rights.

Environmental education and awareness are vital to an understanding of the issues but also in encouraging people to apply the correct principles, and thereby ensuring sustainability. The researcher found it interesting that many respondents in the community didn't really know what ecotourism was. "Not really. I think it is something to do with people staying together with animals" (per comm. Gitonga Lipan, 25.01.00). "No, I have never heard of it" (per comm. D. Ndondo, 10.02.00). In addition tourism is a continually changing market and therefore is an enterprise that needs on going attention, promotion, upgrading of facilities and an adaptive and flexible management to succeed (Hackel, 1999, in Hurt, 1999).

One other issue is the over-saturation of the niche market that would have a detrimental effect on these projects. If the development of other attractions, similar to Il Ngwesi goes ahead, there is a danger of not getting an economically viable number of tourists at these lodges. Research needs to be done regarding the potential to fill all these planned initiatives. At the moment ecotourism in Kenya seems to have a long-term future and is certainly a good matrix for the partnership to be embedded in.

4.5 Conclusion:

This chapter has evaluated the partnership using Long and Arnold's (1995) criteria, namely, process management, or how well did the process of partnering work, whether environmental and conservation goals were achieved, and whether the project produced benefits not directly related to the central environmental issue. In addition it has also identified the defining constituents that make up the Il Ngwesi/Lewa partnership. However the chapter builds on Long and Arnold and is not bound by their theory.

The analysis located the Il Ngwesi/ Lewa Downs partnership within the environmental partnerships map as a Leverage partnership. It also establishes the status of the partnership within a partnership life cycle and what the implications were. Direct conservation and environmental benefits and indirect benefits were identified according to the AWF report and according to this study's research. This included observation and discussion with all the participants. Finally the study goes into depth in identifying the constituents of the partnership and it was analysed in terms of these. Constraints were also considered that would affect the partnership.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND MODEL GENERATION:

5.1 Introduction:

The data analysis presented in the previous chapter enabled the researcher to classify the Lewa/Il Ngwesi partnership, thus placing it within a broader frame of reference. It also contributed to understanding by providing an analysis of the partnership in terms of its constituent elements, and by describing the direct and indirect benefits that have already resulted from the partnership.

This chapter aims to use the data to produce a diagram that illustrates in graphic form the specific case study of community/private partnership at Il Ngwesi. Using what was learnt from this Il Ngwesi diagram, the information is then generalised and a model, titled the Community Conservation Partnership model, is created. This section attempts to combine all the key ingredients of a well functioning partnership and to represent these as a model. It is hoped that this model will prove useful to parties attempting to set up partnerships in similar situations to Il Ngwesi.

5.2 Thematic Discussion: The Current Leverage Partnership at Il Ngwesi

The Lewa/Il Ngwesi partnership showed clearly the characteristics of a Leverage partnership described by Long and Arnold (1995). The potential partners had an opportunity to enhance environmental quality and generate clear 'wins' for both participants. The powerful partner Lewa saw the opportunity but could not justify undertaking the initiative alone. Instead of the current system of fencing and guards, resource pooling and information exchange was a much more efficient and effective solution to overcoming the environmental issue, which involved the security of migrating wildlife and the creation of a wider protected ecosystem. Lewa championed the 'win-win' opportunity and needed Il Ngwesi and the community's resources to buy into the solution. The Il Ngwesi people did see the potential for the partnership and this has thus far already had several positive outcomes. Their efforts resulted in the building of a Lodge, established safe boundaries, helped conservation and ensured community development.

Il Ngwesi differs from other community projects in that it is not backed by big business but instead by a powerful concerned neighbour (and, of course, donor funders). The Il Ngwesi ecotourism development is run by local people with the assistance of their resident local neighbour. The partnership does not have a finite life cycle as the partners are inextricably linked. This has many advantages in that there is significant overlap in terms of goals and in both cases the place itself is important and meaningful: neither is likely to move away.

However the next stage in the Partnership Life Cycle involves the community assuming more power and autonomy with regard to the Il Ngwesi project.

At this point, a close partnership is necessary for both sides, albeit for different reasons. These are summarised in the table below:

Table 5.1 Partnership Advantages:

Reasons why Maasai need partnership	Reasons why Lewa needs partnership
^The Maasai cannot sustain projects alone in entirety (at this time)	Lewa cannot protect wildlife that naturally crosses its borders (buffer zones) where it is in danger of being killed
The Maasai must be 'broken in' slowly with the benefit of past tourist experience, technical support, hotel knowledge etc. Mistakes at this delicate juncture are ill afforded	Lewa cannot run the lodge on a lease basis alone as there needs to be a total commitment to conservation and that requires community ownership (in some form, e.g. of the lodge) and a reason to protect the wildlife

In addition, clear benefits or 'wins' are being generated for either side:

Table 5.2 Generated 'Wins'

'Wins' for Maasai:	'Wins' for Lewa:
Get development	Start winning the fight against poaching and the killing of wildlife
Access to funds for this and other projects	Get security on their borders
Become environmental and conservation activists	Secure more funding
Have opportunity to show culture to visitors	Make their own Conservancy sustainable
	Feel they are contributing something back to the area and people

It is clear that these benefits are fulfilling the aims of the partnership and justifying its creation.

In the previous chapter, key aspects of the nature of the partnership itself were analysed under six themes. All these themes are interrelated and interdependent, as explained below.

The issues of leadership and trust (in particular between the partners but also between community members and community leadership) are closely related. As mentioned in Chapter Four, Leverage partnerships are 'inherently unequal' at the start, and therefore require strong elements of trust in order to be established. In this case, both partners possessed power in that Lewa had access to funding and expertise that Il Ngwesi needed, and Il Ngwesi had the resources, in terms of land and skills that Lewa needed. In terms of leadership both had strong leaders that were instrumental in initiating, championing and seeing their vision through. These leaders knew one another well. Because of their long-standing relationship, the partners were able to deal with difficult issues as they both did and do trust one another. In addition, because the partnership was unequal, there had to be a degree of trust between the community and Lewa that the intentions of the latter partner were honourable.

In addition, the members of the Il Ngwesi community had to trust that their leadership were making the right decisions. Although subject to conjecture (the AWF report suggested that there are transparency problems) those interviewed believed the community is close-knit with a strong cultural respect for its elders. In addition the community needed to trust that their leadership would be transparent and accountable.

Partnership capacity also links with the degree of trust the partnership is able to inspire. As the local experts at Lewa are resident, committed and not going anywhere, this inspires trust from the community. This has major repercussions for the project as all the participants are committed. In addition local knowledge and culture is being viewed as significant and valuable. The level of community 'buy in'¹ appears to be high.

The issue of donor funding links to capacity and the building up of self reliance. Conservation efforts have the ability to attract good capital outlay funding to produce well constructed, high standard tourist accommodation and infrastructure. This is very important. Donor funding is also available for ecotourism projects like Il Ngwesi which have received much attention because of their strong community development components. However, donor funding should only play a large part in the early stages of a partnership. Capacity must increase and reliance upon donor funding must decrease.

Finally the attainment of conservation objectives is dependent on the impacts of the Lodge and the links perceived between these impacts and conservation. Communities rarely judge or value development projects according to their conservation value. Should the projected social and economic benefits not be appreciated and valued, the community will not support the development and would seek alternative uses for the resources. Attitudes are based upon power: empowered communities are those whose poverty and economic pressures have been alleviated. A stable society and economy based on sustainable resource use can facilitate opportunities for conservation and further development. In this case, opportunities were generated through ecotourism which appears to be linking conservation, development and funding to create a sustainable future for Il Ngwesi.

5.3 Model Generation:

5.3.1 Il Ngwesi Partnership Process Diagram:

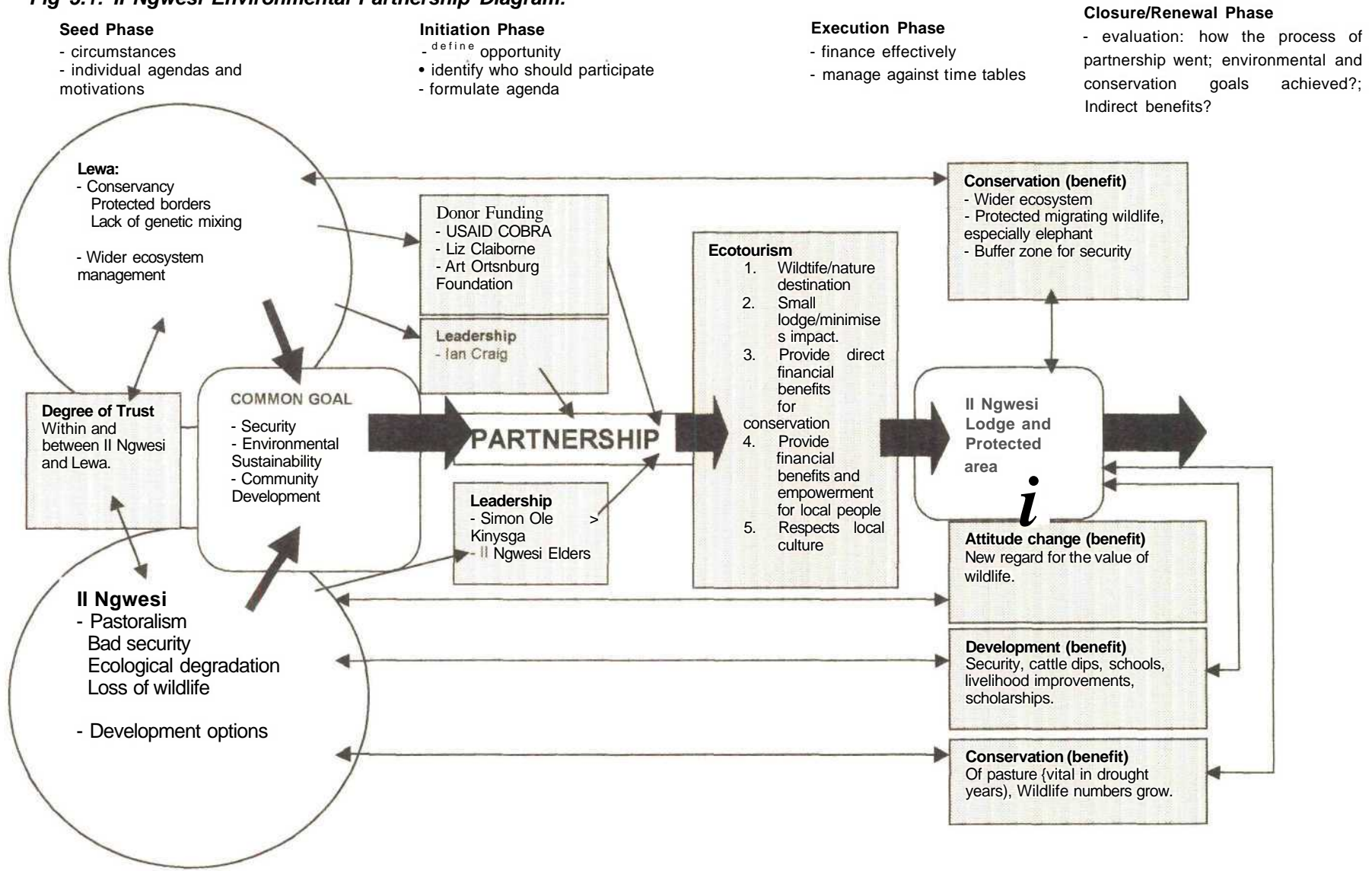
Combining the partnership evolution and analysis section with a discussion of benefits and partnership characteristics, a rough guide to the successful implementation of the community conservation partnership at Il Ngwesi emerges in the form of a diagram. Note that this displays in graphic form the specific process at Il Ngwesi. The diagram is chronological or dynamic in that it shows how the partnership started and how it progressed over time. The (future) partners are portrayed separately, what they both had to offer is highlighted, and the common goal of both partners is shown. The diagram shows graphically the environmental partnership life cycle of the Il Ngwesi/Lewa project to date, with the shaded boxes showing the opportunities for the success of the partnership.

During the seed phase the circumstances of the separate participants are shown in the large circles. An essential ingredient was the element of trust between the partners from the beginning. As the project progressed into the initiation phase, the common goal of both participants emerged more clearly. In the case of Il Ngwesi and Lewa it was security, environmental sustainability and community development. Each partner was stressing different factors. This led to the partnership proper, but with the addition of the vital ingredients of donor funding from USAID, COBRA etc., and strong leadership in the form of Ian Craig and Simon Ole Kinyaga. The execution phase was the culmination of all the planning, agenda setting, fund gathering and especially the enthusiasm from the partners. With the addition of the essential principles of ecotourism the protected area was established and the Il Ngwesi Lodge built.

Once the Lodge had been established the direct and indirect benefits feeding into the (closure)/renewal stage were the security now provided for migrating animals, a robust buffer

zone for Lewa and the wider ecosystem management. In addition the attitude of the community regarding the wildlife has changed, as development is seen in the form of security, livelihood improvements, GR institution empowerment and strengthening, and general GR development. Other feedback is witnessed in the form of better resource management on the GR. The arrows indicate that the trust and commitment shown and the benefits coming from the Lodge and CB feed back to the community and Lewa, strengthening capacity and balancing power issues toward a more equitable partnership.

Fig 5.1: Il Ngwesi Environmental Partnership Diagram:



5.3.3 Community Conservation Partnership Model:

From the Il Ngwesi experience, a more general or abstract model for partnership-based community conservation initiatives can be derived. The model presented here provides a graphic illustration of the essential ingredients needed for a sound community conservation environmental partnership, whose goal is to achieve wildlife and conservation of biodiversity while providing community development. The more powerful partner should ideally demonstrate a proven commitment to the development of the partnership which is environmentally sustainable and will create sustainable community benefits. In addition this partner should: have access to capital investment (identify donors and development institutions), provide tourism management and development expertise, contribute to credibility, provide *in situ* training, provide access to tourism marketing expertise and access to technical support.

The community must have a structure which represents the interests of all members of the community. While the project staff will be directly drawn from the community, some locally based experts may be required to set up the operation initially. The functions of the community partner are to: provide land, manage community interests, disperse funds generated by tourism enterprise to development projects, recruit community input into the development, and utilize expert knowledge of the area and animals.

The key concept of the model is the incorporation of the community at the top of the management and development structures and not simply as a token partner or limited beneficiary. With these features, the two participants may now form the partnership. It must be noted that partnerships always manifest their own sets of characteristics based on those involved, their history, their power relationship, etc. An essential ingredient however is the factor of trust within and between partners.

The essential ingredients of leadership and donor funding are vital. Leadership will bring credibility, commitment and the ability to inspire enthusiasm. Donor funding will cover the costs of the building of Lodges, infrastructure and training. The next stage is the execution phase where, with the principles of ecotourism firmly in place, a protected area can be established and Lodges built.

The closure/renewal stage will involve a review of the process and an assessment of what the direct and indirect benefits were. If the partnership is successful, the benefits will include conservation achievements, extending the buffer zone, providing security to wildlife and

achieving wider ecosystem management. Other benefits, made possible by the new opportunities for ecotourism will include, community development and poverty alleviation with infrastructure improvements, health and education, rangeland management and security of livestock. The effect of these benefits will be an attitude and behaviour change in the community. They will see the potential of conservation and act accordingly. This phase will determine whether the partnership will end or take on a different form.

Fig 5.2: Community Conservation Partnerships Model:

Seed Phase

- circumstances
- individual agendas and motivations

Initiation Phase

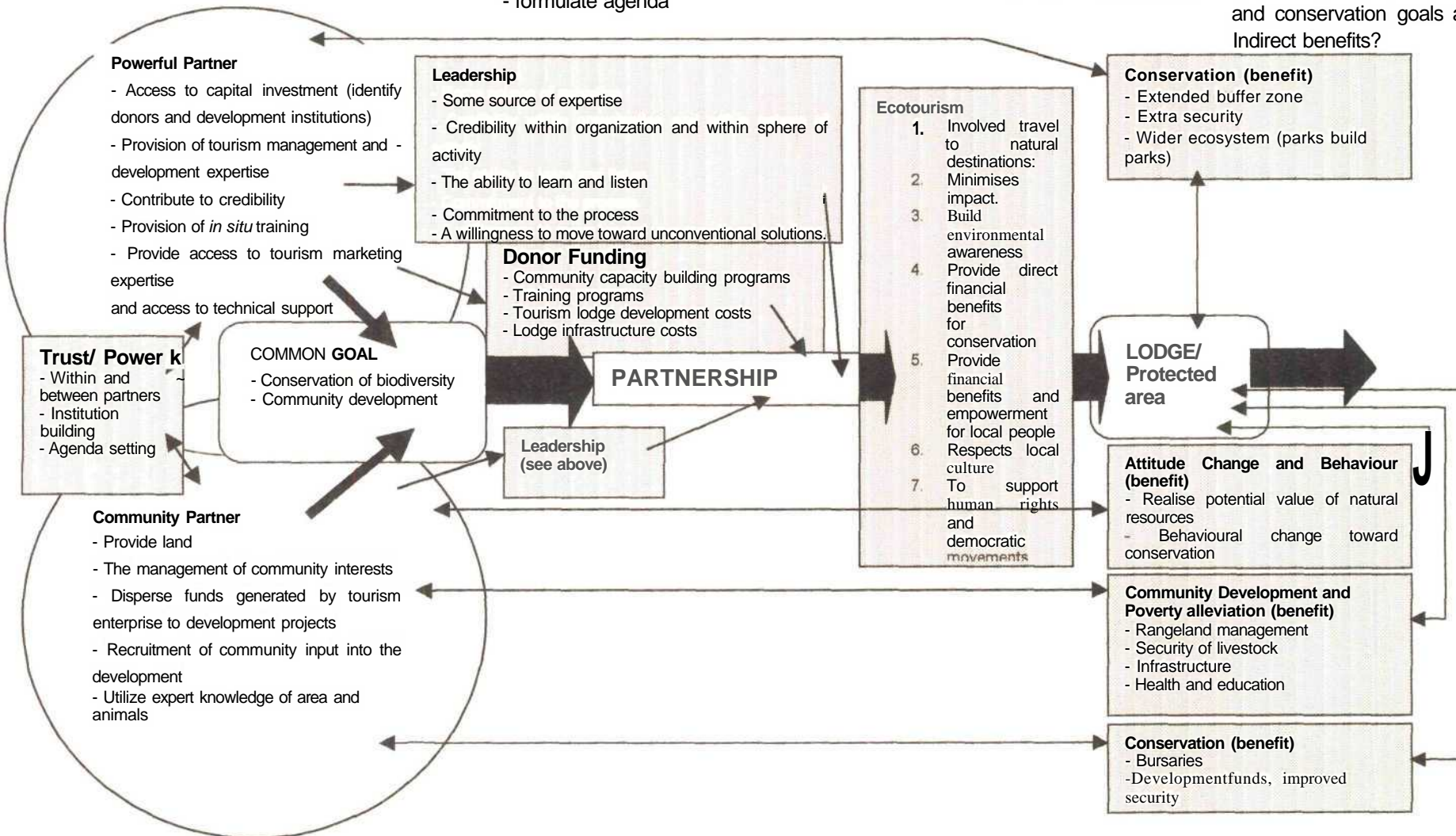
- define opportunity
- identify who should participate
- formulate agenda

Execution Phase

- finance effectively
- manage against time tables

Closure/Renewal Phase

Evaluation: how the process of partnership went; environmental and conservation goals achieved; Indirect benefits?



The model has provided a clear and concise description of key ingredients essential for a successful Community Conservation Partnership. Bearing in mind the place specific peculiarities, care should be taken to address these key issues.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IL NGWESI

6.1 Conclusion

This study used Environmental Partnerships theory as an analytical tool to examine the partnership underlying the ICDP/Ecotourism project at Il Ngwesi. One result of the investigation was the creation of the Il Ngwesi/Lewa partnership life cycle diagram. From the partnership diagram, the extraction of generalities produced the Community Conservation Partnership Model. The diagram and the model are important in that they show how successful partnerships can be formed to deal with the worldwide environmental challenge, especially the problem of people wishing to meet their modest but often unattainable objectives within an environment that is increasingly being divided, expropriated and degraded in ever more subtle ways.

It must be stressed however that the circumstances at Il Ngwesi are unique, and of course that no two programmes can be exactly the same. Different situations may require the employment of different methods of participation. Il Ngwesi and Lewa possess a unique and very fortunate set of circumstances, which have together proved extremely significant to the success of the project. These unique circumstances at Il Ngwesi include key factors such as the lack of competition for land, the exclusion of 'big business' and the as yet unsaturated market for small ecotourism developments, explained further below.

The fact that the area was not highly contested was one of the key factors to the success of this project. It was a marginalized area that had received little attention, and had harsh environmental conditions, hence the largely ignored poacher activity. This is in contrast to other wildlife areas such as Amboseli and the Maasai Mara which have experienced many problems. The other key factor was that 'big business', or at least exploitative developers were not part of the project. Although it may not be possible to keep these institutions out, the study feels that the exclusion of these kinds of 'partners' would be highly desirable. In addition the project is situated in an area that has not experienced much development in terms of small ecotourism ventures. These initiatives are particularly suited to the area, however the saturation of the market with similar developments could have detrimental effects on this niche market.

The fact emerges clearly from the analysis that *place* is the decisive contributor to the project's success. The commitment to the place and the assertion of local identities made possible by the project are extremely important. Neither partner will be leaving anytime soon, and both have realised that they have to compromise in order to realise benefits from the

partnership. Therefore this study suggests that there is great importance attached to place, local identities and loyalties.

Returning to the key research questions (this section will not revisit all the questions answered in the data analysis), the first asked:

- What kind of partnership is the project based on and is its continuance necessary to the project's survival?

The analysis has detailed the kind of partnership the project is based upon and discussed the reasons its continuance is necessary at this point. However, at some point in the near future it change to become a more distant relationship. However the study has also shown that the partners are very much part of the area and the continued collaboration has the ability to go from strength to strength.

The second question asked:

- What is the power balance in the partnership and how does this affect the project's long-term ability to generate direct and indirect benefits?

The power dynamics in the partnership have already been analysed in detail. While there clearly is an imbalance in power, this is gradually changing. Levels of trust are high. The mutual benefits have prompted a close relationship which has facilitated the success so far. In turn this built up trust will make possible long-term direct and indirect benefits.

The study is important in that it has unpacked the methodology, rationale and the essential ingredients to the success of this partnership. Il Ngwesi holds great significance for the area as well the future of community conservation initiatives. Its positive effects for the region, in terms of conservation and development, cannot be emphasised enough.

6.2 Recommendations:

Despite the successes of the Il Ngwesi/Lewa Downs environmental partnership, there are several issues that this study has identified that need to be addressed in order to improve the project further.

6.2.1 Habitat Database:

Neither this study nor the AWF study were able to carry out ecological research on species number and richness. It is believed that the best way to keep track of improvements and/or degradation of habitats is to build a database of species type and number, livestock pressures, environmental change (rainfall figures, etc) to complement the social and economic data already captured by the AWF report (1999). This will facilitate the monitoring of any changes, which will provide a warning so that attempts can be made to address any

problems in advance. In addition it will be a useful tool for measuring conservation and biodiversity improvements i.e. 'direct' environmental/conservation benefits.

6.2.2 Education:

The empowerment of the local people is the essential element to community conservation and therefore human resources need to be strengthened by capacity building and improving education. The importance of educating the next generation about sustainable resource use and the value of natural resources found at Il Ngwesi cannot be emphasised enough. Therefore, any education strategy should incorporate a commitment to the pursuit of the four key concepts of sustainability (after Oelofse, 1997) that is: futurity, ecological integrity, social justice and public participation.

Although Il Ngwesi conformed to most of the ecotourism principles specified in Honey (1999), the one area that needs a lot of attention is the education component. Ecotourism also means education, for both tourists and communities. Tourists would benefit greatly from receiving more information about the project and what the partnership is trying to achieve as well as about the local culture. This information would help them to appreciate much more the importance of this project but also minimise their impacts while visiting sensitive environments and cultures such as Il Ngwesi. An information brochure could introduce tourists to the issues at Il Ngwesi and later an information centre could be built where tourists could really interact with in this ecotourism and community based wildlife initiative. This information will also be useful for when these tourists visit other sensitive areas. As Ehrenfield (1996) says "one should earn the right to be a tourist".

6.2.3 Capacity Building:

Another observation at Il Ngwesi was that there was a need to strengthen community governing institutions. Studies by Murphree (1991) show that community institutions generally provide more effective resource management than centralized government or outside institutional management, however in many projects community institutions remain under-utilized resources for project planning and resource management. Strengthening the organizational capabilities of the local Il Ngwesi institutions is critical to effective management and control of projects and resource use. The Il Ngwesi institutions need to assume more of a controlling influence over the running of the GR in general.

6.2.4 Staff Training:

Training is another issue that needs serious attention. Although the lodge has been running for a few years there is still a lack of adequately trained personnel with regard to the

standards that are required for a tourist lodge, especially one that is dealing with international tourists. The researcher felt that tourist experiences could be vastly improved if there could be more attention paid to detail at Il Ngwesi Lodge. This would require staff to receive either in-house expert training or for key employees to go to Hotel training school. This also applies to the other tourism experiences such as the Cultural Boma.

6.2.5 Inclusion of Women:

Much more attention should be paid to the inclusion of women in major decisions and to offer them opportunities for employment in the partnership activities. The traditional role Il Ngwesi women play in society is very important, especially when considering that women in rural communities are both managers and users of the natural resource base through their daily lives. In terms of opportunities for employment, perhaps the development of further revenue generating projects will help to address this issue (see diversification below).

6.2.6 Donor Funding

Funding is also another big issue that has been discussed at length. Some suggest that the conception, funding and management of such projects should be domain of the community only. Wildlife utilisation programmes should in essence be self-funding. However many disagree with this thesis believing that the criteria for money lending must be much more rigorous with conditions attached regarding institution and capacity building and that projects should aim for self sufficiency. This study feels that there are perhaps other methods of funding future projects. Given that Il Ngwesi has been successful and is turning over a profit, the community could consider initiating a Community Development Fund, where communities and donors could pool their money and form a central lending fund with incentives, at favourable interest rates or soft repayment conditions to finance future developments. This would create more ownership and commitment from communities in the region.

6.2.7 Tourist Questionnaire:

A questionnaire should be presented to tourists at Il Ngwesi to keep up with changing attitudes and the demands of guests. An initial version of a style of questionnaire was developed by the researcher and given to the Il Ngwesi staff and by the time the researcher left the study site, many had already been filled in and collected (see appendix 3.1 for an example of the questionnaire).

6.2.8 Diversification:

There is great potential for income generation at Il Ngwesi beyond revenue from tourist stays at the lodge, as has already been witnessed with the Cultural Boma. There are possibilities for a small shop or outlet at the lodge to offer tourists Maasai cultural artefacts. The Il Ngwesi people are famous for their honey and could earn much more revenue from its sale and from Maasai jewellery and ornaments in such a shop. Another possibility being exploited in other semi arid areas in Kenya is the development of 'Wildwood' enterprises. This entails the collection of fallen Kenyan hardwoods for use in furniture, picture frames, etc.

This thesis has provided an analysis of a community based conservation project in northern Kenya and has considered broader theoretical questions relating to the establishment of successful environmental partnerships. The environmental partnership analysed here has provided insights which can be applied to future partnership initiatives.

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Appendix 1.1

Examples of ICDP "failures":

i) CAMPFIRE, Zimbabwe.

The CAMPFIRE programme (Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources) initiated in Zimbabwe is continually referred to and often quoted as one of the best examples of community based resource management in Africa and rural communities benefiting from wildlife utilisation (Child, 1994; NED, 1994;). CAMPFIRE is founded on the philosophy of sustainable rural development that enables rural people to manage and to benefit directly from indigenous wildlife. The basic principle of this programme is the empowerment of local communities with decision making and management of the resource base through providing them with access to, control over, and responsibility for the resource base. In combination with this, the programme is founded on the principle that local communities should receive tangible benefits from the utilization of natural resources. A critical analysis of the programme (IIED, 1994) reported that the programme was marked by successes but also failures. Successes are reported to include:

- reduction of poaching in participating areas.
- local sustainable land use planning.
- increase of household revenues.
- establishment of schools, clinics, grinding mills and other community infrastructure.

However, the IIED (1994) analysis reported that a primary failure has been the unwillingness of the governing councils to devolve real responsibility and power to local community structures to manage their own natural resources. The programme has therefore not been community driven, but rather remains dependent on outside input and control. It has been widely acknowledged that the introduction of controlled resource utilization is difficult if ownership and access rights have not been fully transferred to the local community and are not legally enforceable (IIED, 1994). Kiss (1990) states that it is these use rights that are essential in making the resource valuable to the community, and therefore worth protecting. Furthermore, the full revenue generated from wildlife management has not been passed on to the local communities. CAMPFIRE is said to have generated the equivalent of US\$2.6 million in income, primarily from trophy hunting (HSUS, 1997). However apparently only 11.6 per cent of this was returned to households. The communities have also remained passive recipients in the development programme,

ii) Amboseli Pipeline Project:

Brown and Wyckoff-Baird (1992) report on the failure of the water pipeline project at Amboseli National Park in Kenya. The Kenya government promised social benefits to the Maasai from the establishment of the park which included a water pipeline system to an arid

area outside the park, eliminating the need for the Maasai to enter the park with their cattle. Government funding cutbacks however prevented necessary repairs to the pipeline resulting in a breakdown in the system, and a return of the Maasai and their cattle into the park. IIED (1994) believed that if the project could have integrated social services with conservation, by financing the project with revenue generated from sustainable resource utilization within the park, such as ecotourism, then it could have succeeded. Instead the revenues went to central government and the Maasai never received a share of it (IIED, 1994). Development initiatives need to rely largely on local resources rather than on external capital and resources. Cost sharing, as far as possible, with local communities increases their level of involvement and ownership.

Appendix 1.2

Kenya's failed Ecotourism experiments:

Kenya had begun experiments with revenue sharing of park fees and tourism in several of its most famous protected areas as far back as the 1960's and 70's. The Maasai Mara and Amboseli Game Reserves began programs that embodied the principles of local community participation in wildlife conservation, mixed land use in the buffer zones, and tourism. These are often considered 'the earliest ecotourism programs in Africa' (Honey, 1999). In the Mara in 1987, for example, about half of the tourism development was in the dispersal area and Maasai land owners were found to 'have a positive attitude toward tourism' (Henry *et al*). With tourism proving so lucrative, both poaching and the cost of anti poaching efforts had dropped to almost nothing. Contrary to the situation in most of the rest of Kenya, elephant and rhino numbers were increasing.

However the biggest problem were regarding controls on how revenue was to be spent. There was a lack of democratic selection of Council Members who controlled the park management since the early 1960's. This lack of transparency in terms of where the funds went led to corruption and powerful politicians on the Council or within central government pocketed large sums of tourism money (Honey, 1999). By the early 1990's, it was becoming obvious that the game reserve, local people, and tourism were all suffering from the corruption, land grabbing, and lack of investment. A 1991 survey of the Mara by Wildlife Conservation International (WCI) found a deterioration of the tourism experience, infrastructure, and visitor facilities as well as wildlife protection. By the late 1990's, the Maasai Mara remained, according to the NGO's leaders and local activists, 'a mess' and a 'political hot potato', and its once promising and pioneering ecotourism experiment lay largely in shambles (Honey, 1999).

Appendix 1.3

Opening Questions for analysis of ICDP/Ecotourism Projects such as Il Ngwesi:

1. Is the project based on partnership? If it is, how crucial was this partnership for the initiation of this project and how necessary is it for its maintenance (in the case of a long term project)
2. Can the project be located and 'typed' according to the Environmental Partnership Map?
3. Can the project be located in terms of the Environmental Partnerships Lifecycle?
4. Is there a vision for the project that everyone in the area is aware of? How was this vision derived and what is the extent of 'buy in' to the vision?
5. How important is strong and fair leadership to the success of the project, and what is the leadership in fact like?
6. Is there trust between the community and its leaders, and its 'expert' partners? Are there issues which threaten this trust?
7. What is the power balance in the partnership?
8. What specific interests do the partners have in common?
9. Is the project accomplishing its objective to improve a specific element of environmental quality? (In the Il Ngwesi case, is there evidence of more wildlife and has there been an attitudinal change to its existence?)
10. Is the project producing benefits not directly related to the central environmental issue? (at Il Ngwesi, does the project provide direct financial benefits and empowerment for the local community? How are financial benefits that accrue from the project shared?)
11. What are the limits of empowerment in this case? Have less powerful groups (eg women) been enabled to play a more participatory role in the day to day running of the project?
12. Is this project 'genuine ecotourism' or 'ecotourism lite', and how does this relate to the nature of the particular partnership in this case?
13. To what extent is the project dependent on the money from outside, who is contributing the donor funds, and who is undertaking the work of fund raising?
14. Does the project provide direct benefits for biodiversity conservation, both financial (by raising funds for the protection of the area) and in terms of environmental education for both tourists and the local community?
15. What is the likely future of the project, given the nature of the partnership on which it rests?

16. What insights does this project offer for other community/wildlife projects in Kenya?

Appendix 3.1: Tourist Questionnaire:

Questionnaire
II Ngwesi Lodge

- 1. Country of Residence.....
- 2. Why did you choose II Ngwesi in particular to visit (please rank according to preference, where 1 is the most important and 6 being the least)
 - i. WILDLIFE.....
 - ii. MAASAI CULTURE.....
 - iii. WILDERNESS EXPERIENCE.....
 - iv. THE LODGE.....
 - v. A RECOMMENDATION.....
 - vi. OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY).....
- 3. What activities did you participate in while you were here? (Please rank according to preference)
 - i. BUSHWALKS.....
 - ii. CULTURAL BOMA VISIT.....
 - iii. BIRDWATCHING.....
 - iv. WILDLIFE VIEWING.....
 - v. OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY).....
- 4. Does II Ngwesi represent, in your view, what 'the real' Africa should look like? Y/N
- 5. Do you think that this could be a blueprint for future lodges in this region, and perhaps the country? Y/N
- 6. How does the lodge compare with other lodges and hotels in Kenya?
 - a. Better... b. Similar... c. Worse...
- 7. Do you think this project is a way for the II Ngwesi people to preserve their culture?
Y/N
- 8. What did you enjoy most about your trip?
.....
- 9. What do you think could use improvement here?
.....

Many thanks, I hope you enjoyed your stay.