# Land Tenure, Ecotourism, and Sustainable Livelihoods:
# 'Living on the Edge' of the Greater Maasai Mara, Kenya

by

Ryan Todd Snider

A thesis
presented to the University of Waterloo
in fulfillment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Geography

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2012

# AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners. I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

# Abstract

Since its introduction into mainstream society two decades ago, ecotourism has become an international phenomenon. Claimed by its proponents to endorse ecologically, socially, and economically sustainable travel to natural areas, ecotourism is in many ways the conceptual fusion of conservation and development. Yet, despite the optimism often associated with the phenomenon, the question of the degree to which it actually contributes to development, however defined, has become a controversial issue. Theorists and practitioners hold a variety of opinions of ecotourism, ranging from cautious optimism (Honey 2008; Ross & Wall 1999) to outright rejection (Carrier & Macleod 2005; Wheeller 2003).

Unfortunately, research shows that the poorest of the poor generally bear the burden of ecotourism initiatives without receiving an equitable share of the associated benefits (Stem *et al*. 2003; Western & Wright 1994). In response, a sustainable livelihoods approach is proposed as a practical means of understanding the complex livelihood strategies employed by indigenous populations. While tourism research has often focused on the economic impacts of ecotourism initiatives, current livelihoods discourse suggests that the poor draw on a wide range of assets and incorporate a variety of livelihood strategies, in their pursuit of economic gain (Ashley 2002; Ashley *et al.* 2001; Bebbington 1999; Bennett *et al.* 1999; Zoomers 1999).

This discourse is especially timely for pastoral populations living adjacent to protected areas in Kenya. Recent changes in government policy have promoted the subdivision of land for private ownership (Homewood *et al.* 2009; Leserogol 2005; Lamprey & Reid 2004), an unexpected transformation that has led to the adoption of ecotourism as a sustainable livelihood strategy. Informed by development theory, tourism theory, and property rights theory, the purpose of this research was to examine the effect of different land tenure regimes on the distribution of benefits accrued from various ecotourism initiatives, and how those benefits impact the livelihoods of the pastoral Maasai living on the periphery of the Maasai Mara National Reserve.

Culturally-appropriate, participatory research methods were combined with the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework to document an indigenous perspective on livelihood sustainability. By adapting the conceptual framework to include cultural and historical capital, it served as a lens for viewing and identifying the culturally embedded meaning associated with the recent privatisation of Maasai property. These changes include: significant increases in income generated from ecotourism initiatives, an increased desire to cultivate land, an enhanced capacity for participating in the decision-making process, and greater diversification in local livelihood strategies. However, the empirical evidence also demonstrated that changing property regimes have led to the increased sedentarisation of these semi-nomadic people, resulting in modifications to their pastoral culture, reductions in their herd sizes, and the occasional obstruction of wildlife migratory patterns through the construction of permanent fences.

Keywords:     Ecotourism, Development, Sustainable Livelihoods, Land Tenure, Equity, Power, Distribution of Benefits, Kenya, Maasai, Property Rights

# Acknowledgements

As with any learning experience, and perhaps particularly with one of this magnitude, my efforts are the product of many others. Thus, I would like to acknowledge the support and encouragement of the many special people who enabled me to carry out this research project.

I give my deepest appreciation to my research advisor, Dr. Geoff Wall, for providing an environment conducive to my style of learning. In addition to engaging me intellectually, his understanding, support, and flexibility helped me overcome the numerous obstacles associated with cross-cultural field work. Similarly, I am deeply indebted to Dr. Bob Sharpe, Dr. Barb Carmichael, and Dr. Paul Eagles for their insightful comments, unwavering support, and quick turn-around times with their comments and feedback.

I am also very grateful for the administrative and field support provided by Ecotourism Kenya (Nairobi), as well as the financial support provided by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC), and the University of Waterloo Graduate Studies Office (UW-GSO). Without their generous support, this research would have been impossible.

I am indebted to my research assistant, Jacob Ole Sairowua. In addition to being willing to travel over incredibly bumpy roads, deal with searing heat, and answer my innumerable questions, Jacob opened the 'cultural gate' and made it possible for me to enter the inner reaches of Maasai

# Dedication

*To Murray and Loretta, for introducing me to East Africa and allowing me to run free.*

*And to Savannah Jade, in the hope that your passions will be equally inspired…*

# Table of Contents

# List of Figures

# List of Tables

# Chapter 1

## Introduction, Purpose, and Scope

*"There is always something new out of Africa"* **– Pliny the Elder (23-79 A.D.)**

### 1.1 Introduction and Overview

Since its introduction into mainstream society two decades ago, ecotourism has become an international phenomenon. As a segment of tourism that claims to involve ecologically, socially, and economically sustainable travel to natural areas, it is in many ways the conceptual fusion of conservation and development. Over time, the concept has evolved into a form of travel – usually to ecologically fragile and relatively pristine locations – that involves limited environmental impacts, provides funds for conservation, and educates the traveler. In addition, ecotourism's proponents aim to generate economic development, empower the host community, and foster respect for different cultural groups and their human rights (Honey 2008). Yet, despite these noble pursuits, the question of the degree to which ecotourism positively contributes to development – however defined – is becoming an increasingly controversial issue. As a result, theorists and practitioners hold a variety of opinions of ecotourism ranging from cautious optimism (Honey 2008; Ross & Wall 1999) to outright rejection (Carrier & Macleod 2005; Wheeller 2003).

Similar to the critiques associated with ecotourism, the concept of development is also highly contentious and incorporates a vast array of perspectives, both in theory and practice. The

meaning of the term has evolved over time, as have its dominant paradigms. A change in focus from 'stimulating economic growth' to 'empowering people' has led to the formation of a sustainable livelihoods approach. Such an approach describes the variety of ways individuals cope, adapt, and get by (Ashley 2002; Tao & Wall 2009; Freire 1970; Cernea 1985; Chambers 1995). For indigenous populations living adjacent to protected areas, ecotourism initiatives are often put forth as legitimate livelihood strategies for reducing poverty, empowering the community, and conserving the natural environment (Tao & Wall 2009; Stronza & Gordillo 2008; Honey 2008; Jones 2005; Stone & Wall 2004; Barkin 2003; Epler-Wood 2002; Scheyvens 1999; TIES 1990). In spite of the optimism often associated with the discourses of ecotourism and development, indigenous populations – who are often the poorest of the poor[1] – all too often bear the burden of the various initiatives without receiving an equitable share of the accrued benefits (Stem *et al*. 2003; Western & Wright 1994).

Despite the plethora of scholarly literature dealing with ecotourism and development, there is a dearth of research documenting the linkage between various property regimes and their influence on the distribution of benefits from ecotourism. This lack of grounded research is startling in light of the fact that numerous governments throughout sub-Saharan Africa are starting to adopt and implement land redistribution policies based on the erroneous premise that pastoralists are irrational, wasteful, and short-sighted. Garret Hardin's (1968) thesis entitled '*Tragedy of the Commons*' was an important catalyst for this worldview, as he theorized that the communal management of resources is an inefficient and destructive form of land use, and that communal

---

1 Development literature often refers to "the poor" as a generic group. While problematic in the sense that it homogenizes an extremely diverse group of people, this designation provides a convenient way to address the subject(s) of analysis by eliminating the need to constantly distinguish between individuals and households (i.e. 'the poor' as opposed to 'the individual/household').

land ownership hinders local development by limiting the residents' capability to efficiently use

the resources available to them:

> The tragedy of the commons develops in this way.  Picture a pasture open to all.  It is
> to be expected that each herdsman will try to keep as many cattle as possible on the
> commons…. as a rational being, each herdsman seeks to maximize his gain…. the
> rational herdsman concludes that the only sensible course for him to pursue is to add
> another animal… and another, and another… But this is the conclusion reached by
> each and every rational herdsman sharing a commons.  Therein is the tragedy.  Each
> man is locked into a system which compels him to increase his herd without limit –
> in a world that is limited.  Ruin is the destination towards which all men rush, each
> pursuing his own interest in a society that believes in the freedom of the commons.
> Freedom in a commons brings ruin to all (Hardin 1968, 1244).

Although Hardin's (1968) theory informed environmental and development policy throughout

much of the world in the 1960's and 1970's, the privatisation of common property regimes has

often proved dubious since there is little evidence of such "tragedy" in reality.  In fact, recent

scholarly research disputes Hardin's theory and substantiates that pastoralist populations have

maintained and continue to maintain highly coordinated forms of resource management and

conservation that prevent the degradation of natural resources (Western 2009; Homewood *et al*.

2009; Scoones 1995; Migot-Adhola *et al.* 1991; Ostrom 1990).  Furthermore, critics of land

privatization often express their concern about the inequitable distribution of benefits accruing

from the transaction, coupled with the threat that the pastoralist's culture and land are being

commodified (Leserogol 2010; Agrawal 2003; Brockington 2001; Behnke *et al*. 1993).

The tragedy of the commons is really a tragedy of open access.  Similarly, the literature

demonstrates that placing land ownership in the hands of an elite few diminishes rights and

security for the majority and, ultimately, leads to the disruption of traditional indigenous models

of land rotation, migration, and semi-nomadic pastoralism (Western 2009).  Still, despite the

growing body of evidence in favour of maintaining traditional forms of pastoralism and common property regimes, Kenyan government policies favour the private ownership of land and espouse the view that pastoralism (and group ownership of land) is an inefficient use of the resource. Consequently, new policies that promote the subdivision of common land continue to be enacted under the objective of curbing migration, settling families, increasing food production, and commercializing livestock management (Western 2009; Homewood *et al.* 2009; Leserogol 2005; Lamprey & Reid 2004). These recent changes in government land policy have transformed much of Maasailand and have resulted in the indigenous residents pursuing additional livelihood strategies to sustain themselves.

In order to advance our understanding of the dynamic interactions between changes in land tenure, ecotourism, and sustainable livelihoods, this research combines culturally-appropriate, participatory research methods with the concepts of a sustainable livelihoods approach. By shifting the scale of analysis to a people-centred, household-level perspective, the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) is evaluated for its usefulness in conducting cross-site comparisons of the capitals and assets influencing alternative livelihood strategies. However, as the SLF does not specifically incorporate local culture and local knowledge, a new framework for conceptualizing the impact of land privatisation on indigenous livelihoods is developed to better encompass the cultural and historical capital that infuse every element of the indigenous context.

By using the adapted conceptual framework as a 'lens' for viewing and identifying the culturally embedded meaning associated with the hidden realities of Maasai narratives, the study found that the privatisation of land has led to some significant transformations. These changes include:

significant increases in income generated from ecotourism initiatives, an increased desire to cultivate land, an enhanced capacity for participating in the decision-making process, and greater diversification in local livelihood strategies. However, the empirical evidence also demonstrated that changing property regimes have led to the increased sedentarisation of these semi-nomadic people, resulting in modifications to their pastoral culture, reductions in their herd sizes, and the occasional obstruction of wildlife migratory patterns through the construction of permanent fences.

## 1.2 Purpose of the Study

This doctoral research study will explore the implications that occur as land tenure regimes change from common to private ownership, and how these changes affect indigenous livelihoods derived from ecotourism initiatives. This discourse is especially timely for the pastoral Maasai population living adjacent to protected areas in Kenya, as recent changes in government land policy have promoted the subdivision of land for private ownership. Informed by development theory, tourism theory, property rights theory, and the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, (refer to Section 2.5.1) the purpose of this culturally-appropriate, participatory research is to examine the effect of different land tenure regimes on the distribution of benefits accrued from various ecotourism initiatives, and how those benefits impact the livelihoods of the pastoral Maasai located on the periphery of Kenya's Maasai[2] Mara National Reserve.

---

[2] Although 'Maasai' is the correct spelling for the Maa-speaking people, the British settlers corruption of the spelling prevails even to this day with the word 'Masai' printed on some maps. For the purpose of this study, both the people and the National Reserve will be spelled 'Maasai'.

## 1.3 Research Scope and Focus

By analysing the meaning associated with the concepts of land tenure, ecotourism, and pastoral livelihoods, this research focuses on the various implications that occur as land ownership regimes change from common to private ownership. Furthermore, it examines how changes in land tenure influence indigenous livelihoods derived from ecotourism. As mentioned previously, this discourse is especially timely for the pastoral and semi-nomadic Maasai populations living adjacent to protected areas in Kenya as government land policy continues to promote the subdivision of land for private ownership. In response to these changes, the following broad research objectives were developed:

1. To understand how pastoral livelihoods are constructed (through analysing the range of livelihood strategies found within three indigenous communities);

2. To assess the influence of different land tenure regimes on the various 'capitals' by using and adapting the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF);

3. To examine the extent to which ecotourism contributes to indigenous livelihoods, and the degree to which indigenous populations view and use ecotourism as a livelihood strategy.

4. To explore whether Maasai livelihoods based on ecotourism are sustainable, equitable and adaptive.

To meet these objectives, this participatory research employed a case study approach using multiple methods of data collection.[3] Surveys were conducted in 120 households in three indigenous communities (*Ole Keene, Oloolaimutia[4], and Ol Kinyei*) located on the periphery of the Maasai Mara National Reserve in southern Kenya.[5] Incorporated within the Sustainable

---

[3] Outlined in detail in Section 4.7, these methods include participatory impact assessment, household surveys, participant observation, participatory events, H-diagrams, and asset mapping.

[4] Although *Oloolaimutia* often takes on a variety of spellings in guidebooks and maps, for the purpose of this research study the author will use the traditional Maasai spelling.

[5] For a map of the three study sites, refer to Figure 5.2: Map of the Maasai Mara National Reserve and its Periphery.

Livelihoods Framework, (refer to Figure 2.3) ethnographic, social, economic, and historical data are used to document and compare the manner in which various land tenure regimes influence household assets, livelihood strategies, empowerment levels, and benefits accrued from ecotourism. To accomplish this, a wide range of quantitative and qualitative approaches are brought together within a standardized framework for collecting empirical evidence and analysing the social, cultural, and political impacts. Similarly, employing a variety of participatory research methods enhances understanding of the hidden meaning (and significance) embedded within indigenous perspectives on ecotourism, benefits, and land tenure; perspectives traditionally underrepresented in the scholarly literature (Stronza 2001).

Figure 1.1 reveals possible relationships between the key research components and suggests that the subdivision and privatisation of common property regimes leads to the adoption of a variety of new livelihood strategies. In turn, these new options lead to a number of economic and non-economic benefits that manifest themselves in the form of enhanced financial and human capital,[6] empowering the landowners to perceive themselves as able to make critical decisions (Scheyvens 1999; Rowlands 1997; Friedman 1992). As a result, this increases their capacity to influence those with power, demand a more equitable distribution of the benefits, and ultimately realize a more sustainable livelihood. At this point, enhanced financial and human capital can be re-invested into other livelihood strategies, furthering the development (and resilience) of the household.

---

[6] Financial and Human capital are two key components of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) detailed in Section 2.5.1

```
┌──────────┐        ┌──────────┐      ┌──────────┐         ┌──────────┐
│ Common   │        │Livelihood│      │Distribution│       │Sustainable│
│ Property │ ──▷    │Strategies│ ──▷  │of Benefits │ ──▷   │Livelihoods│
│ Regimes  │Privatisation      Benefits        Empowerment │           │
└──────────┘        └──────────┘      └──────────┘         └──────────┘
```
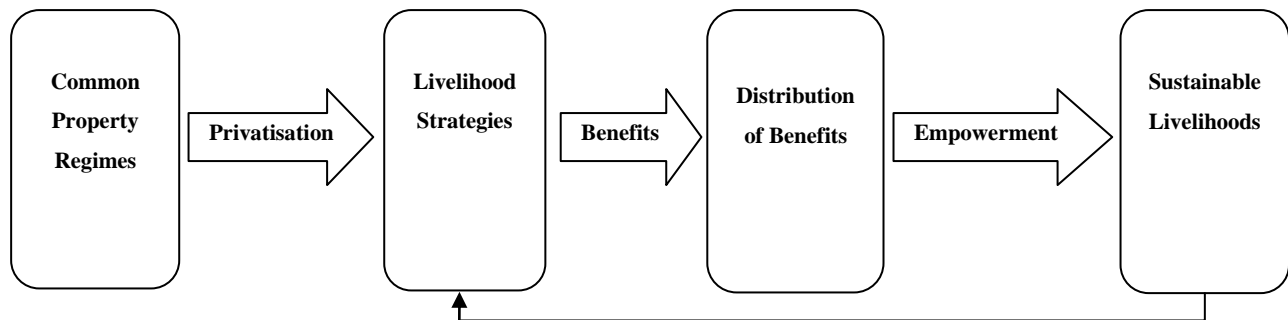
**Figure 1.1:  Conceptual Model of the Relationship between the Key Research Components**

## 1.4 Structure of the Dissertation

This doctoral dissertation examines land tenure regimes, ecotourism initiatives, and sustainable livelihoods for the pastoral Maasai of Kenya.  It is organized into eight distinct chapters.  The first chapter introduces the broad context from which the purpose, scope and objectives of the research have been formulated.  Here, many of the important terms and concepts used in the dissertation are defined, and the conceptual relationship between the key research components is modeled.

The second chapter commences with a thorough review of the literature pertaining to land tenure regimes and property rights theory.  In addition, the chapter provides a review of the scholarly discourse related to (eco)tourism theory, development theory, and the concept of a sustainable livelihoods approach.  The relationships between development and tourism are explored conceptually in order to gain a greater understanding of the manner in which the benefits from ecotourism initiatives can be distributed more equitably among indigenous communities.

The third chapter provides an ethnographic and critical history of Maasai livelihoods in context, examining how dramatic changes in Kenyan land tenure policy over the past century have influenced this group of semi-nomadic pastoralists. Building on this historical foundation, the Maasai Group Ranch system is examined in context, providing some rationale for the wide-ranging support for land subdivision and privatisation. The chapter concludes with an exploration of the manner in which power, participation and politics influence the (un)even distribution of benefits throughout Maasai society.

The fourth chapter pertains to the research approach and design, and outlines the importance of the positionality of the researcher and the local research assistant. After providing a review of the similarities and differences associated with qualitative and quantitative research, the four main research questions are delineated. These questions are followed by a clear description of sample selection methods, data collection, and information analysis. After providing a comprehensive review of research study methodology and the participatory methods used for conducting field research amongst Kenya's pastoral Maasai, the chapter concludes with the various research limitations and challenges encountered – as well as the various strategies employed to mitigate them – while in the field.

The fifth chapter provides rationale for the case study approach and provides historical context to the world-famous Maasai Mara ecosystem before intorducing the three study sites (*Ole Keene, Oloolaimutia,* and *Ol Kinyei*). For each of these study sites, an overview of the local geography,

historical context, and study of ecotourism as a livelihood strategy is put forth before examining the role of ecotourism as a livelihood strategy for each of the three communities.

The sixth chapter provides a platform for analysing the information gathered from the household surveys and participatory events. After presenting a general overview of the research results from all three sites, the socio-demographic characteristics and sustainable livelihood strategies employed by the research participants are depicted. Through the use of various statistical tests to decipher the strength of the relationships and their level of significance, the data are plotted in chart form. Separated into six forms of capital associated with the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF), the relationships between the different variables are evaluated for both private and common property regimes, with the results from the three communities compared and contrasted.

The seventh chapter provides a general discussion and interpretation of the research results. This discussion highlights the positive and negative consequences occurring as a result of the subdivision and privatisation of land, and more importantly, how these recent changes are transforming Maasai livelihoods. The results of the sixth chapter are then interpreted through the 'lens' of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF), such that the recent trend towards transforming property rights begins to take on new meaning. This information is then incorporated into a number of future implications for Kenyan land policy and Maasai livelihoods. These implications are followed by a delineation of the various theoretical, conceptual, and methodological contributions of the thesis, including a proposed conceptual framework that incorporates cultural and historical capital for an enhanced understanding of the impact of land

privatisation on indigenous livelihoods.   The chapter concludes by moving from theory to praxis and providing an overview of a practical example of an indigenous solution to recent land tenure changes; the community-owned wildlife conservancy.

The eighth and final chapter presents the various conclusions that can be drawn from the results. First, the original research goals and objectives are revisited before summarizing the responses to each of the original research questions.  After a final summary of the entire research study, some opportunities for further research are submitted, followed by the author's closing comments.

# Chapter 2

# Theoretical Context:  Land Tenure, Ecotourism, and Sustainable Livelihoods

*"Mmekinyunoyu eniatua etii enioriong"*

*"You cannot peel off the inner part before the outer part."* **– Maasai proverb**

## 2.1 Theoretical Background

The relationship between humans and their environment can be notoriously difficult to analyse conclusively (De Sherbinin *et al.* 2007).  The task is even more daunting in semi-arid pastoralist rangeland systems where the biophysical and socio-political conditions vary continuously through space and time (Homewood 2008).  Thus, in order to establish a research agenda that can capture and analyse the complexities associated with changing land ownership regimes, ecotourism initiatives, and pastoral livelihoods, this doctoral research incorporates a number of theoretical frameworks; namely the bodies of theory associated with property rights, (eco)tourism, development, and sustainable livelihoods.

## 2.2 Property Rights Theory

Before embarking on a discussion of the relationship between land tenure regimes, ecotourism initiatives, and sustainable livelihoods, it is imperative to define basic terms and concepts related to land tenure and the theory of property rights.  In the past, much of the confusion associated with property rights theory occurred when meanings of the term in one region were erroneously transferred and applied to other areas of the world, or when theorists failed to acknowledge possible variations existing within the different geographic contexts.  In order to mitigate this

complication, this dissertation uses the term 'land tenure'[7] to refer to the legal terms and conditions on which something is held; or more concisely, to the legal rights and obligations of the land holder (Bruce 1998). Due to the high importance currently placed on relationships within the context of land tenure, the term is hereafter defined as,

> the institutional arrangement that specifies and regulates the relationship between people and the land on one hand, and the relationship among actors, both as individuals or groups, with respect to the rights to own, use, control, and transfer land (FAO 2005; 19).

Within this context, the term 'tenure' includes the legal rights to gift, grant, buy, sell, lease, or mortgage land, as well as the rights to *use* the land according to a predetermined set of restrictions and/or obligations (Bruce 1998). These regimes are then used as a legal precursor to establish who can use specific resources, for how long, and under what pre-determined conditions (Dale & McLaughlin 1999). Building on this definition, Boliari (2008) maintains that the rules of land tenure, whether formal or informal:

(1) constrain and form the interactions between humans and the land, as well as the various interactions between different groups of people in relation to that land;

(2) set up legal mechanisms to effectively enforce the rules;

(3) specify and govern the various conditions under which access to these rights is granted;

(4) determine who has the legal rights to own, use, transfer, and control land resources;

(5) create incentives (and disincentives) for land transactions and development.


A review of these five components reveal that the concept of land tenure incorporates a complex web of economic, social, political, cultural, and legal factors – a web that relies on the strength of a sanctioned authority regime to assure compliance and good governance while preventing the

---

[7] The term 'tenure' is derived from the Latin expression for 'holding' or 'possessing'.

intrusion by non-owners (Bromley 1992; Feder & Feeny 1991). Since land tenure regimes are dependent on, and embedded in, the social and historical contexts within different geographic regions, the term *property regime* is put forth as a more accurate descriptor of the concept. To better understand the embedded meaning associated with various property regimes, it is vital to recognize that property is not simply an object (e.g. land), but is rather, "a benefit stream that is only as secure as the duty of all others to respect the conditions that protect that stream" (Bromley, 1992; 10).

Thus, property regimes are a triadic relationship involving the natural resource, the individual who is asserting rights over that resource (with expectation of a future benefit stream), and a third party[8] with the legal authority to enforce the claims over that resource. Incorporating these three components in different ways, the scholarly literature pertaining to property rights theory identifies four separate property regimes; namely (1) open access regimes, (2) common property regimes, (3) state property regimes, and (4) private property regimes. To satisfy the objectives of this research, all four of these regimes will be summarized, but the benefit streams associated with common and private property regimes will be examined in greatest detail.

### 2.2.1 **Open Access Regimes**

Open access regimes *(res nullius)* occur where there is no legal title to property. In fact, property rights in an open access situation are non-existent. Yet, despite the common misconception that open access regimes are "no man's land", Bruce (1998; 13) refutes the assumption that "everybody's property is nobody's property". Rather, it can only be said that "everybody's access

---

[8] Often, the third party is the State.

is nobody's property." Thus, open access regimes result from the absence of a respected legal authority committed to assuring compliance within a set of pre-determined conditions (Bromley 1992; Feder & Feeny 1991). Evidence shows that when there is no legal authority governing a region, the individuals who misappropriate the natural resources – and fail to manage them effectively – create *de facto*[9] open access regimes. In this case, the absence of an operational management and enforcement system essentially turns the natural resource into a commodity that is all too often exploited by whoever gets their first (Bruce 1998; Bromley 1992; Feder & Feeny 1991).

There is an important difference between *open access regimes* and *common property regimes* (refer to Section 2.2.2 for further discussion). The distinction lies in the understanding of the term '*property*'. As previously established, this study views property as a future benefit stream[10] that a higher authority (e.g. the state) protects, and as a result, there is no ownership under an open access regime. Since property rights have little meaning without the associated responsibilities, this leads to the primary challenge with open access resources – the fact that aspiring users have little reason to conserve the resource (Bromley 1989). Thus, open access regimes can be clearly distinguished from common property regimes in that there is no form of management in the former, whereas the manner in which a pre-determined group manages the latter is often highly organized and structured.

---

[9] *de facto* is a Latin expression that means "by [the] fact". In legal terms, it is meant to mean "in practice but not necessarily ordained by law", or "in practice or actuality, but without being officially established".

[10] Or income stream.

## 2.2.2 **Common Property Regimes**

Perhaps one of the most discussed concepts within land tenure literature is that of common property *(res communes).* For the purpose of this research, the term 'common property' is defined as:

> An area on which all landholders of a locality have a right to activities such as grazing stock or gathering wood (Bruce 1998; 3).

From this definition, common property is not classified as a form of ownership but, instead, is an arrangement of legally guaranteed use where all members of a given community are free to access and use the land simultaneously (Bruce 1998). Under this regime, members of the local community control the use (e.g. pastureland for grazing cattle) of the common property, and are able to exclude non-members from using it. Thus, common property regimes differ from the aforementioned open access regimes in that the community actually controls access to the resource (Ciparisse 2003; Forni 2000; Richards 1997).

Despite this important distinction between the two regimes, a review of the scholarly literature pertaining to natural resources and property rights produces a great deal of evidence that the concepts of 'commons' and 'common property' are still widely misunderstood (Forni, 2000; Bruce 1998; Bromley 1992; Ostrom 1990). The literature is replete with references to 'common property resources', often assuming the term is a universal classification, with the misinterpretation of the concept often leading to weak policy recommendations. In fact, Bromley (1992) asserts that there is no such thing as a common property 'resource', but rather, natural resources are merely managed as common property, state property, or private property. Similarly, this misunderstanding has also led to the incorrect assumption that users of common

resources had incentive to over-consume, since gains from doing so were realized by the individual, while the costs were spread over all owners. Thus, proponents of Hardin's (1968) 'tragedy of the commons' thesis[11] maintain that with population growth, land becomes an increasingly scarce resource, and the subdivision and privatisation of land will continue until all land is owned privately (Platteau 1996; Ault & Rutman 1993; Feeny 1988).

Despite the aversion to common property regimes in much of the literature (Lamprey & Reid 2004; Turner 1993; Hardin 1968; Demsetz 1967), it is important to note that the world is replete with examples of successful common ownership where the group of owners invest in the land, steward the natural resources, and coexist peacefully (Western 2008; Forni 2000; Scoones 1994; Bromley 1992; Berkes *et al*. 1989). For example, in sub-Saharan Africa, critical studies of pastoral populations have provided evidence that communally owned land can be a rational use of the semi-arid environments in which they live (Agrawal 2003; Fratkin & Mearns 2003; Thompson & Homewood 2002; Western & Wright 1994; Behnke *et al*. 1993). Although not always seen as being present at first glance, common property regimes often involve highly organized systems of managing access, usage, and governance of shared resources (Leserogol 2005; Behnke *et al.* 1993).

The previous distinction between common property regimes and open access regimes, shows that Hardin's (1968) 'tragedy of the commons' was actually referring to open access regimes without effective controls on the availability, use, and governance of the shared resource. Because

---

[11] In 1968, Garrett Hardin introduced the concept of the "tragedy of the commons" and argued that a "commons" will inevitably be overused and degraded since each user has every incentive to use as much of the resources as possible. However, research over the past three decades has dispelled Hardin's view and shown that traditional pastoralism is often as productive as well-managed commercial ranches (Western 2008).

common property regimes represent private property for the group (i.e. all others are excluded from access, usage, and the right to make decisions), it follows that local dwellers have rights (and responsibilities) in a common property regime (Forni 2000; Chopra *et al*. 1990; Ostrom 1990; Bromley & Cernea 1989; Ciriacy-Wantrup & Bishop 1975). These groups of inhabitants vary in structure and size, but are well defined social units with shared interests, cultural norms, and a common authority system (Bromley 1992; 1989).

More important though, is the manner in which these varied social units are viewed by the State. In regions of the world where the State views common property regimes in a negative light and discounts the interests of the individuals relying upon them, external threats and intrusions are responded to less seriously than those to private property (Bromley 1992). Thus, there is a strong correlation between the reluctance of the state to legitimize and defend certain property regimes, and the state's perception of the significance of the individuals relying on those regimes. For example, pastoralists throughout sub-Saharan Africa are often regarded as politically marginal, and the natural resources important to them tend to be of relatively low value to governing authorities. Consequently, the property regimes vital to pastoralism are only marginally protected, often leading to 'land grabbing'[12] and insecure tenure. Similar, when the state perceives the individuals intruding on pastoralist property regimes to be more valuable politically, there is even less incentive on their part to protect that common property (Chopra *et al*. 1990; Ostrom 1990; Bromley 1989). Clearly, common property regimes rely heavily on an over-arching system of governance[13] that protects certain rights and responsibilities. Rights and

---

[12] For an overview of the challenges associated with 'land grabbing' and insecure land tenure, refer to Section 7.4.1

[13] In such situations where there is no respected authority system, common property degenerates into open access.

responsibilities that are even more prevalent when viewed in the context of state-owned natural resources.

### 2.2.3 State Property Regimes

State property regimes differ from the previously discussed open access and common property regimes in that ownership and control lies solely with the state. In certain circumstances, individuals might have access to the resources, but only with the expressed permission of the state. In such situations, the state-owned natural resources are managed by its government agencies, or leased to various individuals, thereby allowing them usufruct rights over the resources for a specific time period (Bromley 1992; Cernea 1985). Thus, state property regimes are differentiated by the separation of ownership (i.e. rights), control (i.e. management), and use. More succinctly, 'ownership' resides with the general public, 'management and control' resides with the civil service, and 'use' resides with a group or individual (Bromley 1992). Yet, because State management and control often leads to inefficiency and the under utilization of resources, the literature still deems private property regimes to be the most efficient form of ownership.

### 2.2.4 Private Property Regimes

The economic theory of property rights suggests that private ownership of land is often the most efficient because it provides the clearest delineation of rights and responsibilities (Cheung 1970; Demsetz 1967). This hypothesis influenced the corollary theory that common property regimes inevitably led to the aforementioned inefficiencies associated with overuse (or underuse) of natural resources since the gains from this overexploitation accrued to the individual while the costs were spread over all users (Hardin 1968; Demsetz 1967). This contributed to the

formulation of much of the policy related to pastoral rangelands, since private property regimes were generally considered to be the most efficient use of land (Alston *et al.* 1996; Feder & Feeny 1991; Barrows & Roth 1990). According to the theory of property rights, private property regimes are generally viewed to be more stable than common regimes due to their legal authority to exclude unwanted intrusions. The literature also demonstrates that private land ownership regimes provide greater incentive for landowners to invest in their property, since it is they alone (and not the larger community) who will accrue the benefits (Cheung 1970; Hardin 1968; Demsetz 1967). Similarly, the theory postulates that an increased investment in the land will not only improve efficiency and productivity, but will also increase household income (Bruce & Mighot-Adholla 1994). Thus, the theory suggests that owners of private property have an incentive to reinvest in the production of the resource and engage in its conservation, to ensure their future survival (Kabiri 2007).

Arguments promoting the benefits of private property regimes are extremely pervasive throughout the literature. Market-oriented economists deem land privatisation to be a necessary precursor for economic development (Platteau 1992). However, this line of thinking must not go unchallenged, for a critical review of the literature demonstrates that the type of ownership regime is not nearly as important as the degree to which that regime is governed and enforced. Kabiri (2007) adheres to this critique by arguing that the ownership of resources must be devolved to a level where individuals believe they have control over the resource. In situations where this is not the case, the user constantly lives in fear of dispossession, resulting in resource insecurity. This insecurity then compromises sustainable resource consumption and tends to lead to environmental degradation through over-consumption of natural resources (Kabiri 2007).

Thus, in regions of the world where there is a dearth of good governance and resource security, innovative ways of working within the cultural context to enhance the capacity of indigenous land regimes are required.

### 2.2.5 **Land Tenure Regimes within the Sub-Saharan African Context**

Recent academic research demonstrates that the function of land within much of sub-Saharan Africa is much more complex than originally understood in Western economic thought (Platteau 1996; van den Brink *et al*. 1994).  Throughout sub-Saharan Africa, land serves important social and political functions[14] uncommon in the West,[15] and is often deemed the cultural basis of power and belonging (Cross 1991).  Since land tenure regimes based on Western institutional models have often proved ineffective in achieving their stated development objectives for much of sub-Saharan Africa, the failure of these reforms underscores the inappropriateness of neoclassical economic thought to the African context.  Thus, there has been a recent push to embrace the cultural context to enhance the capacity of indigenous land institutions and strengthen their legal basis (Bruce & Migot-Adholla 1994; Platteau 1992).

Through reviewing national land policies for a number of sub-Saharan African states, it is clear that the subdivision and privatisation of pastoral rangelands is occurring – and will continue to occur – rapidly.  As this relatively recent transformation in property regimes has provided an opportunity for new landowners to adopt new livelihood strategies that were previously deemed

---

[14] The granting of land is a primary mechanism for structuring society and gaining political power and allegiance; the holding of land is the primary indicator of societal belonging (Cross 1991).

[15] Although most nations comprising the "West" are located in the Northern Hemisphere, the divide is not completely defined by geography.  As nations develop economically, they may become part of the "West", regardless of their geographical location.

unfeasible, this research study examines the feasibility of adopting ecotourism as a livelihood strategy for Kenya's pastoral Maasai who have recently been granted legal land title. Before examining this relationship between land tenure, ecotourism, development, and sustainable livelihoods, it is important that the terms are defined, and the associated theory is discussed.

## 2.3  (Eco)tourism Theory:  Definitions and Discourse

Ecotourism originated as an alternative response to the negative socio-cultural, economic, and environmental impacts resulting from the rapid growth of mass tourism in the 1980's and 1990's (Jaakson 1997; Belsky 1999).  The adverse effects of this burgeoning industry included the inequitable distribution of economic benefits, economic leakages, deforestation, wildlife disruption, and cultural degradation (Mowforth & Munt 2003, 1998; Weaver 1998).  Discovery of these consequences led to a growing concern about the disparity between those who were benefiting and those bearing the brunt of the loss, causing a "shift in focus from the well-being of the tourist industry to the well-being of the host community" (Weaver 1998; 31).  Hence, a new emphasis was placed on the call for an alternative form of environmentally, culturally, and socially responsible travel (Honey 2008).  And thus, the concept of ecotourism was born.

Due to the diversity of forms of ecotourism, it is understandable that there is no commonly accepted or widely-held definition of the concept (Weaver 1998; Wearing & Neil 1999; Ross & Wall 1999).  An overview of definitions illustrates the evolving nature of the varying characteristics assigned to the idea over time.  For example, originally there was a heavy emphasis placed on the 'natural' component of ecotourism, characterized as:

22

Travel to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objectives of studying, admiring, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural manifestations (both past and present) found in these areas (Ceballos-Lascurain 1988; 2).

However, the concept quickly evolved to encompass considerably more than simply 'nature-based travel' to 'natural' areas, with subsequent definitions including the importance of distributing environmental and socio-economic benefits to the local population (Honey 2008; Ross & Wall 1999; Epler-Wood 2002). For example, two years later The International Ecotourism Society (TIES) coined the more popular and succinct description of what ecotourism might be:

Responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people (The International Ecotourism Society 1990).

This definition implies that ecotourism ought to provide benefits to the host community. Indeed, without local acceptance and the improvement of local well-being the application of the concept is apt to fail (Stronza & Gordillo 2008). As this is especially true for unique cultures located in ecologically sensitive regions of the world, the scope of the concept has grown to include the objectives of minimizing environmental impact, creating environmental awareness, equitably distributing economic benefits, preserving local culture, supporting human rights, and empowering the host community to take an active role in the decisions affecting their lives (Honey 2008; Barkin 2003; Weaver 2001; Eagles *et al.* 1992; Jones 2005).

The list of desired attributes means that ecotourism requires a holistic approach – one in which the visitor strives to respect, learn about, and minimize impact on the environment and host community (Honey 2008; Weaver 2001). Thus, the previously mentioned definitions fall short of

the vast range of tenets and considerations currently associated with genuine ecotourism. For instance, the TIES definition does not explicitly include the mandate for enhancing local decision-making and empowerment. This integration is of utmost importance to indigenous cultures at risk of suffering the negative consequences of ecotourism initiatives without receiving an equitable[16] share of the associated benefits (Lindberg *et al.* 1996; Stone & Wall 2004). Thus, the significance of this socio-cultural element is addressed in Honey's (2008) definition, which is arguably the most fitting for the purposes of this study:

> Ecotourism is travel to fragile, pristine, and usually protected areas that strives to be low impact and (often) small scale. It helps educate the traveler, provides funds for conservation, directly benefits the economic development and political empowerment of local communities, and fosters respect for different cultures and for human rights (Honey 2008; 33).

However, as increasingly affluent and adventurous consumers demand travel to remote, natural, and exotic environments, a new set of convoluted and problematic issues occur (Boo 1990; Ziffer 1989; Cater 1994). For example, Honey (2008; 43) cautions against "green-washing" scams which reduce the concept to a popular buzzword following few of the principles and practices of genuine ecotourism. Similarly, she (2008; 69) cautions against the growing trend of "ecotourism lite" which brings only superficial changes[17] to the host community while neglecting the serious environmental and social consequences. Below, Figure 2.1 illustrates these distinctions in relation to the exceedingly rare and genuine ecotourism which meets all the aforementioned criteria.

---

[16] Equity rather than equality is the key to an effective distribution of benefits. While benefits cannot (and should not) be distributed equally between stakeholders, they ought to allow for equitable access to opportunities and decision-making (Ashley & Hussein 1999).

[17] These changes could include energy efficient light bulbs or 'bathroom cards' requesting that towels be used more than once.

**Green-washing**
business as usual
with empty slogans

**Ecotourism 'Lite'**
cosmetic changes
(e.g. 'green' design)

**Genuine Ecotourism**
meets all criteria
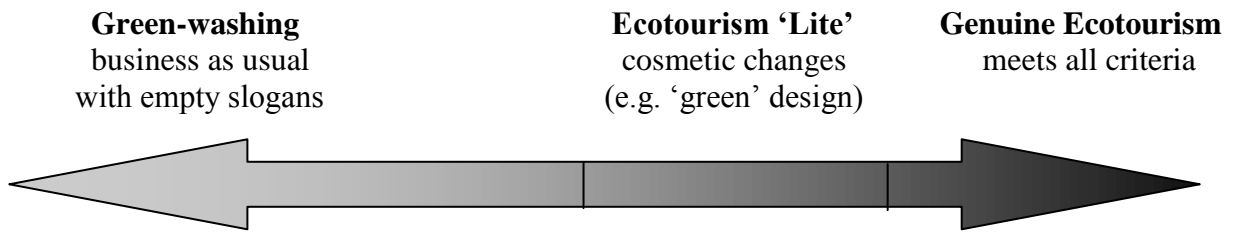


**Figure 2.1:  The Ecotourism Continuum
(Honey 2008; 1999)**

When all the associated tenets of genuine ecotourism are followed, there are still a number of challenges that can arise.  For example, while clearly opposed to tourism that compromises local values in favour of economic gain, Butler (2004) maintains that simply advocating for ecotourism as a low-impact alternative to mass tourism is also an inadequate perspective.

> In some areas, for some people, in some situations, [ecotourism] is certainly better than mass tourism.  In many cases, however, such areas would most likely not experience mass tourism anyway.  The question then should be: is alternative tourism an appropriate form of development, not instead of mass tourism, but in its own right?  Can it be controlled and directed so that benefits go where they are intended, negative aspects are mitigated or avoided, and the developments remain sustainable and within capacity limitations, both human and physical? (Butler 2004; 322)

As indigenous populations tend to reside in locations too remote to draw many tourists, Butler's (2004) comments reinforce the sentiment that the value of ecotourism as a tool for community development must incorporate more than just the environmental and economic elements.  Instead, to better ascertain the role that ecotourism plays in the development process, there is need for greater empirical evidence and analysis of the cultural, political, social, and human impacts as well.  It is hypothesized that this information could be most objectively obtained through participatory research methods, since local participation throughout the research process would assist with gaining a greater understanding of the embedded meaning and significance ascribed

by the host population. As a result, this study embeds ecotourism in development theory to derive a greater understanding of the contribution that ecotourism might make to the empowerment of the hosts; particularly indigenous ones.

### 2.3.1 **Ecotourism as an Empowerment Tool**

Since the early 1980's, ecotourism literature has drawn heavily on the narratives of 'community', 'participation', and 'empowerment', both in developed and lesser developed countries (Southgate 2006). Specifically, a large portion of the literature indicates how the poor may benefit from participatory decision-making that ultimately leads to capacity enhancement and empowerment. This literature draws from seminal development theory, including Arnstein's (1969) *Ladder of Citizen Participation Model*, Freire's (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Chamber's (1983) *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*, and Cernea's (1985) *Putting People First: Sociological Variables in Rural Development*. Due to the large volume of research previously dedicated to this topic, the more recent writings of Rowlands (1997), Scheyvens (1999), and Parpart *et al.* (2002) will be examined most closely for the purpose of this research.

Rowlands (1997) articulated that empowerment must be viewed as more than mere participation in decision-making since it is manifest in multiple forms. It must also include the power (i.e. power over, power with, power to, power from within) required for people to perceive themselves as able and entitled to make critical decisions (Rowlands 1997). Building on this, Parpart *et al.* (2002) defined empowerment as:

> The acquisition of basic human needs, education, skills, and the power required
> to improve the quality of life (Parpart *et al.* 2002; 8).

The *means* of empowerment occur through enhancing human and social capital, two key

components that will be discussed later within the sustainable livelihoods approach[18].

Subsequently, the *manifestation* of this empowerment becomes evident as local residents increase

their capacity to control their lives and influence those with power (Ashley 2000). To emphasize

the importance of the host population sharing in – and having control over – the benefits accrued

from ecotourism, Scheyvens (1999) elaborated on the work of Arnstein (1969) and Friedman

(1992) to design her empowerment framework (refer to Table 2.1). The structure serves as a

'lens' for assessing the effectiveness of ecotourism as a tool for development through

incorporating four types of empowerment (economic, psychological, social, and political), while

also guiding analysis on the extent of the possible (dis)empowerment. Correspondingly, to

enhance the likelihood of the hosts becoming beneficiaries of ecotourism, Akama (1996)

suggested that:

> The local community needs to be empowered to decide what forms of tourism
> facilities and wildlife conservation programs they want to be developed in their
> respective communities, and how the tourism costs and benefits are to be shared
> among different stakeholders (Akama 1996; 573).

Upon considering Akama's (1996) comments in conjunction with Scheyvens' (1999)

empowerment framework, it is widely accepted that participation and empowerment are pivotal

components for receiving an equitable share of the benefits from local ecotourism initiatives. Yet

while tourism and development literature has recently begun to embrace the importance of

community development and community-based approaches, the conceptual challenge of clearly

defining what is meant by the term 'community' is often not addressed. For example, Hoggett

(1997) characterizes indigenous communities as heterogeneous, stratified, and fraught with

---

[18] For a detailed overview of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach, refer to Section 2.3.

| | **Signs of Empowerment** | **Signs of Disempowerment** |
|---|---|---|
| **Economic Empowerment** | • Ecotourism brings lasting economic gains to a local community.<br>• Cash earned is shared throughout the community.<br>• There are notable signs of improvement (e.g. new water systems, permanent houses). | • Ecotourism results in small, irregular cash gains.<br>• Most profits go to local elites, outside tour operators and government.<br>• Only a few gain direct financial benefits, while others lack the capital/skills to integrate. |
| **Psychological Empowerment** | • Self-esteem is enhanced through outside recognition of the uniqueness and value of their culture, natural resources, and traditional knowledge.<br>• Increasing confidence leads to further education and training.<br>• Access to employment and cash leads to an increase in status. | • People might not share in the benefits, yet their access to the resources of a protected area is reduced.<br>• Leads to confusion, frustration and disillusionment with the initiative. |
| **Social Empowerment** | • Maintains or enhances the community's equilibrium.<br>• Community cohesion is improved as individuals work together.<br>• Funds raised are used for community development purposes. | • Disharmony and social decay occur as residents take on outside values and lose respect for traditional culture.<br>• Disadvantaged groups bear the brunt of the consequences and fail to share equitably in its benefits. |
| **Political Empowerment** | • The community's political structure provides an avenue for people to raise questions relating to the ecotourism initiative.<br>• Agencies initiating or implementing the venture seek the opinions of residents and provide opportunities for their involvement as decision-makers. | • The community has an autocratic and/or self-interested leadership.<br>• Implementing agencies treat stakeholders as passive beneficiaries, failing to involve them.<br>• Local residents feel they have little or no authority over the way in which the ecotourism initiative operates. |

**Table 2.1: Framework for Determining the Impacts of Ecotourism on Local Communities (after Scheyvens 1999)**

complex power relations, yet much of the ecotourism literature incorrectly assumes the

community to be a homogenous entity. Similarly, while development theory is constantly

reiterating the importance of community participation and empowerment to the development

process, the vast majority of ecotourism literature reduces these concepts to the assumption that an initiative will be more likely to be sustainable with the support of the community (Blackstock 2005). In light of these diverging discourses, this study recognizes that 'communities' should not be understood as organic unified wholes, but groups of people with interests and motivations as diverse as the multiple actors within them (Agrawal & Gibson 1999).

Perhaps the most important outcome of increased local participation is that it enhances human capital (i.e. knowledge, leadership skills, self-esteem), strengthens local institutions, and increases the possibility that the participants are able to translate economic benefits into more broadly defined goals (Stonza & Gordillo 2008). In turn, this enhanced human capital can lead to even greater levels of participation and empowerment, thereby leading to the acquisition of the skills and knowledge required to adopt ecotourism as a livelihood strategy.

## 2.3.2 **Ecotourism as a Livelihood Strategy**

Touted as a means of reducing rural poverty and assisting with the Millennium Development Goals[19] (MDG's), much has been written concerning the concept of ecotourism as a potential livelihood strategy (Barkin 2003; Ashley 2002; Krantz 2001; Ashley *et al*. 2001; Ashley *et al*. 2000; Bebbington 1999; Chambers 1995; Chambers 1988). Yet despite its perceived merits, ecotourism is definitely not a panacea for poverty, and its potential as a viable livelihood strategy should be framed within the broader context of development theory. When viewed in this way, it is clear that there are a variety of ways in which individuals deal with the numerous obstacles

---

[19] The UN-Millennium Development Goals include reducing poverty, hunger, disease and environmental degradation by the year 2015.

facing them in order to *get by* and *get things done* (Ashley 2002; Ashley *et al.* 2001; Bebbington 1999; Bennett *et al.* 1999; Zoomers 1999). Ashley *et al.* (2000) emphasized this by stating:

> Participation by the poor in tourism, and the benefits they gain, depends on a range of critical factors including the type of tourism, planning regulations, land tenure, market context, and access to capital and training. Many of these can be influenced by changes in policy or external support. Further, there is plenty of unexploited scope for adapting tourism interventions to enhance livelihood benefits to the poor from tourism (Ashley *et al.* 2000; 1).

Although a few Non-Governmental Organization's (NGO's) and advocacy groups have recently started promoting ecotourism as an effective poverty reduction strategy, ecotourism as a livelihood strategy has only recently been considered in the tourism and/or development literature. For example, from their research among indigenous communities, Tao and Wall (2009) found evidence that employing ecotourism as a livelihood strategy has the potential to enable the accumulation of more wealth and diversify income streams, but also carries an element of risk if relied on as the sole strategy. Thus, it is important for indigenous communities to incorporate ecotourism initiatives into a mix of diversified livelihood strategies, defined here as,

> the process by which rural families construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in their struggle for survival and in order to improve their standards of living (Ellis 1998; 5).

Although tourism research has traditionally tended to focus primarily on economic impacts, development professionals and practitioners have recently begun criticizing this narrow-minded approach as it all too often overlooks the rural poor and their livelihoods (Stronza & Gordillo 2008; Simpson 2007; Jamieson *et al.* 2004; Stronza 2001). The importance of gaining a better understanding of rural livelihoods is underscored in Tao and Wall's (2009) research as their

ground-level examination found that the diversification of livelihoods brought about a number of important advantages to the host community by:

1. enabling the accumulation of more wealth for consumption and investment;

2. reducing the risk of being reliant on one form of income;

3. assisting with adaptive responses to stresses and shocks (e.g. seasonal variation, economic decline, environmental change); and

4. reducing the environmental pressure on fragile ecosystems.

In situations where indigenous populations adopt multiple income-generating strategies involving multiple land-uses and other sources of sustenance, they mitigate risk across a variety of activities in order to enhance livelihood security (Scoones 1998). As a result, in regions where livelihood security is deemed to be the main objective, detailed analysis should be an essential precursor to ecotourism development (Goodwin & Roe 2001). Thus, further research employing a sustainable livelihoods approach is required for gathering the people-centred and holistic information needed to adequately assess ecotourism's potential as an effective development strategy.

### 2.3.3 Ecotourism and the Distribution of Benefits

In theory, the primary appeal of ecotourism as a tool for conservation and development is that it can impart economic benefits to the host community while at the same time, maintaining environmental sustainability by reducing impact on – and consumption of – natural resources (Stem *et al*. 2003). However, one of the most contentious issues surrounding most ecotourism initiatives is the manner in which these local economic benefits are distributed. Generally, the individuals holding the most power stand to gain the most from the initiative, and it is rare that they are willing to share the economic benefits equitably with the rest of the host population. As

31

a result, there is a positive relationship between the equitable distribution of accrued benefits and the ecotourism initiative's success (Theophile 1995). This is often evidenced in situations where local residents feel alienated from the activity and soon start to contribute less to the initiative. Over time, such alienation leads to a decrease in participation and subsequent disempowerment. Unfortunately, as is the case in many development initiatives, increased ecotourism development often causes an inequitable distribution of revenues and this disparity often leads to a new set of tensions that did not exist previously.

According to Kinnaird and O'Brien (1996), ecotourism has not fared well at creating economic benefits for communities since a high percentage of the profit often 'leaks' back to the international tour operators. As a result, research shows that very few communities report receiving benefits of any kind, regardless of their involvement within the ecotourism initiative (Stone & Wall 2004; Lindberg *et al*. 1996). Despite the lack of agreement surrounding ecotourism definitions, guidelines, and principles, most ecotourism proponents do agree that a greater share of the associated benefits ought to go directly to the host population since they bear the brunt of environmental, cultural, and social impacts (Carrier & Macleod 2005; Wheeller 2003; Weaver 2001).

Although the vast majority of ecotourism literature focuses on the accrual and distribution of economic benefits, tourism researchers are beginning to acknowledge the important role that non-economic benefits play as well. These less tangible factors include enhancing local skill levels pertaining to management, negotiation and leadership – or what Scheyvens (1999) characterizes as empowerment. Other authors consider these elements to be facets of social capital that

ultimately strengthen local institutions (Jones 2005; Falk & Kilpatrick 2000). The fact that non-economic impacts are difficult to quantify, and are not perceived to be as important in a Western society consumed with materialism, means they have received much less attention up to this point. However, as the scholarly literature provides evidence that individuals are unlikely to alter their behaviour without the possibility of receiving some sort of direct benefit (Bunting *et al*. 1991), ecotourism initiatives that do not result in benefits to the host population will eventually lose community support.

As a result, a holistic framework for understanding how the host population defines the 'benefits' – and how these benefits are distributed – is required. This involves analysing the myriad ways in which ecotourism brings about change – ultimately leading to innovative ways of thinking, interacting and behaving (Stonza & Gordillo 2008). More importantly, it also entails examining the degree to which local participants are engaged throughout the process. By determining how the local population assigns meaning to various indicators, such a framework can be used to evaluate the initiative while promoting self-representation and collaboration (Stonza & Gordillo 2008; Jamal & Getz 1999), lessening the risk of the research being descriptively weak and ethnocentric (Crick 1989). Similarly, by incorporating local – and previously unheard – voices into the research, Stonza and Gordillo (2008) maintain that we, "may be able to understand more clearly how ecotourism plays out in specific contexts while also synthesizing data for more general predictions" (2008; 463). Thus, just as ecotourism tends to be more effective when the host population is actively involved throughout the initiative, evaluating the benefits and consequences to the host community might also become more meaningful when the stakeholders are engaged throughout the research and evaluation process.

2.3.4 **Gaps in the Ecotourism Literature**

Since first being introduced by Ceballos-Lascurain in 1988, the concept of ecotourism has been rigorously debated in theory and widely attempted in practice. Because the main priority within ecotourism research has traditionally been to determine the various outcomes generated by the initiative, most of the mechanisms (e.g. technologies, fees, regulations, policies) associated with the concept have already been heavily studied. However, some of the most significant components of the concept (e.g. community integration, political influence, relation to land ownership, and the distribution of benefits) remain vastly under-examined and merit further research using a detailed contextual approach (Honey 2008).

Despite the plethora of ecotourism research that has already been published, there is still much misunderstanding related to the various conditions under which ecotourism initiatives engage with local institutions. Although it is generally accepted that increased community participation fosters greater levels of trust, leadership, empowerment, self-esteem, and organization, (Scheyvens 1999; Western & Wright 1994; Arnstein 1969), there is need for further research on the relationship between land tenure and the distribution of benefits from ecotourism, the culturally embedded nuances ascribed to these benefits from an indigenous perspective, and the role of ecotourism as a livelihood strategy (Bray *et al*. 2005).

As a precursor to strengthening (eco)tourism theory, large sets of detailed data are required to provide the empirical evidence associated with certain relationships and outcomes. Yet, perhaps even more important than the scope of the data are the methods through which the data are collected, especially when the research pertains to remote and rural indigenous populations.

Historically, ''relatively few assessments of ecotourism's impacts at the local level have been performed'' (Stone & Wall 2004; 13), with even fewer emerging from the experiences and perceptions of the local population (Stronza & Gordillo 2008).  As local voices have been vastly underrepresented in tourism literature, indigenous perspectives on ecotourism – and the manner in which locals perceive the vast array of benefits and consequences – are poorly understood (Stronza 2001).  This is an extremely important component.  These 'unheard' voices almost always have a better understanding of the unconscious underpinnings of culture and society than do the majority of the elite.  Thus, instead of merely focusing on the environmental and economic impacts of tourism, it is imperative that ecotourism research involve previously unheard opinions in the quest toward developing an accurate and informed understanding of how the indigenous poor employ various livelihood strategies, define 'meaning', and sustain resources within their environment (Stronza & Gordillo 2008; Bebbington 1999).

Due to this dearth of cultural understanding and perspective, there is a need for ecotourism researchers to address some of the cultural gaps that have emerged by shifting the scale of analysis to a people-centred, household-level perspective.  By employing participatory research approaches, researchers might gain a more informed understanding of the lived realities and culturally-embedded views of 'benefits', as defined by the host population.  In turn, these culturally meaningful narratives could be collected in ethnographic case studies and compared across sites.  Further analysis could then determine the social, cultural and political impacts that affect local livelihoods.  The long-term challenge will be to decipher ways to maintain the genuineness of ecotourism while ensuring that the communities in which it occurs are empowered to determine the directions that it takes.  Thus, it is imperative that ecotourism

discourse is embedded within development theory to derive a greater understanding of the contribution that it might make to sustaining indigenous livelihoods.

## 2.4 Development Theory: Definitions and Discourse

Development is a highly contentious and multi-faceted concept that "seems to defy definition" (Cowen & Shenton 1996; 3). Its complexity is exacerbated by a vast array of perspectives, both in theory and practice (Telfer & Sharpley 2008). After World War II ended in 1945, prevailing theories assumed that stimulating economic growth through investment would naturally stimulate development (Rostow 1967). However, it soon became evident that countries were not developing as quickly as expected. Despite good intentions by the developed world, the lofty dream of modernization was dashed due to growing income disparities, rising unemployment, inadequate health systems, and escalating poverty (Telfer 2002; Mabogunje 1980). These dismal realities contributed to the realization that development is a *process.* In turn, the concept evolved[20] from focusing primarily on economic measures to incorporating increasing environmental concerns. Thus, the idea of sustainable development was born and defined by the Brundtland Commission as follows:

> Sustainable development seeks to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (WCED 1987; 40).

Although the concept was quickly accepted on the world stage for its emphasis on environmental sustainability, it has often been criticized for leaving too much open to interpretation and failing to distinguish between quantitative and qualitative growth (Wall 2002; DFID 1999; Daly 1995;

---

[20] For a detailed overview of the evolution of development theory and the respective paradigm shifts throughout, refer to Figure 2.2.

Conroy & Litvinoff 1988).  Daly (1995) reiterated these common criticisms by addressing the

disproportionate consumption that is so prominent within the more developed nations:

> The path of economic progress must shift from the growth mode (quantitative
> increase in resource use) to the development mode (qualitative improvement in the
> efficiency of use of environmentally sustainable resources).  That is what sustainable
> development must come to mean – i.e. more efficient digestion, not a bigger
> digestive tract (Daly 1995; 14).

Critics maintain that sustainable development places a greater emphasis on sustaining economic

growth than on sustaining the environment, and view this expansion of the market economy

(under the guise of sustainability) as a further exploitation of the Lesser Developed Countries[21]

(LDC's).  Similarly, because the Brundtland Commission defined sustainable development as a

tension between the environment and the economy, it essentially ignores the importance of

culture to the process and thus, completely undervalues indigenous knowledge.


Acknowledging the challenges associated with the concept, Goulet (1992) encouraged the

adoption of a holistic view that encompasses the following five dimensions:

- Social:         Improvements in public health, shelter, education and employment
- Economic:       The creation of wealth and equitable access to resources
- Cultural:       Protection of self-esteem and cultural identity
- Political:      Affirming human rights and well-governed political systems
- Environmental:  Conserving natural environments and using natural resources sustainably


In keeping with this holistic approach, Telfer and Sharpley (2008) defined the complex and

multi-dimensional concept of development as:

> A continuous and positive change in the economic, social, political and cultural
> dimensions of the human condition, guided by the principle of freedom of choice
> and limited by the environment's capacity to sustain such change (2008; 6).

---

[21] Much debate has occurred about how the poorest countries of the world should be referred to.  Various labels
include Third World, Global South, Undeveloped, and Low-consumption countries.  Here, the term Lesser
Developed Countries (LDC's) will be used.

Despite the optimism generated by this approach, there is no shortage of research demonstrating that the disparities between the Developed and Lesser Developed Countries continue to increase (Telfer & Sharpley 2008; Rahnema & Bawtree 1997). Post-development philosophies arising from disillusionment with ever-increasing regional disparities have rejected the concept of holistic development altogether; advocating instead for radical social change, power redistribution, and empowerment of the disenfranchised (Escobar 1997; Schuurman 1996). This most recent discourse views development as a process for empowering and transforming individuals (Reid 1999). It serves to strengthen the poor's ability to achieve the goals that they put forth, and does this in a way that enhances their capacity for self-determination.

Thus, current development rhetoric has moved away from the promotion of neoliberal economic development policies couched within the concept of sustainability to a more focused engagement on ending poverty (Sachs 2006). This shift in mindset is evidenced in the internationally accepted development targets outlined in the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDG's). Unfortunately, even though these goals have been widely accepted and promoted worldwide, there is already resounding evidence that many of the countries – especially those in sub-Saharan Africa – are not on track to achieve them by the projected date of 2015 (Sachs & McArthur 2005). Yet, regardless of the ambiguities and complexities associated with the concept, or the fact that the disparities between rich and poor are continuing to grow, the elusive concept of development (by any definition) is highly sought after world-wide and continues to entice those searching for a more sustainable livelihood.

## 2.4.1 **Development and Tourism:  The Conceptual Relationship**

Despite the optimism often associated with ecotourism as a vehicle for development (by any definition), the degree to which it actually contributes to livelihood sustainability is a controversial issue and reflects a wide range of opinions (Honey 2008; Carrier & Macleod 2005; Wheeller 2003; Ross & Wall 1999).  Similarly, the ambiguity and elusiveness of development have led to an evolution of its dominant paradigms[22].  Since the 1950's, the concept has evolved chronologically through four main stages; modernization, dependency theory, alternative development, and post-development (Telfer & Sharpley 2008; Desai & Potter 2002; Sharpley 2000; Clancy 1999).  Within the *modernization* paradigm, economic growth was considered synonymous with development as it was widely accepted that all countries would eventually undergo a transformation from undeveloped to developed, thereby alleviating poverty and social inequality (Rostow 1967; Welch 1984).  In the late 1960's and 1970's, it became evident that the Lesser Developed Countries (LDC's) were not following the example of the Developed Countries (DC's) and were gradually becoming *dependent* on them (Todaro 2000; Clancy 1999; Palma 1995).

As a result, the advent of the 1980's was marked by rapidly increasing rates of poverty in the LDC's, provoking a change in mindset and the emergence of *alternative development*.  This paradigm shift moved the focus from 'things' to 'the environment' and inspired the emergence of a new development philosophy – sustainable development (Hardy *et al.* 2002; WCED 1987; Smith & Eadington 1992).  As previously established, the concept was aimed at creating an integrated fusion of economic growth and environmentalism without compromising the needs of

---

[22] Here, the term paradigm refers to a pattern of ideas, values, methods, and behaviour which are mutually reinforcing (Chambers 1995)

future generations (WCED 1987). A decade later, the shift in emphasis from 'environment' to 'people' led to the emergence of a post-development discourse. Joining the conversation were new voices[23] emphasizing a number of associated derivatives, including community empowerment, micro-enterprise, social justice, and sustainable livelihoods (Helleiner 2006; Sofield 2003; Ashley 2002; Scheyvens 1999; Chambers 1995).

In the same way development evolved through the 20th century, tourism has also undergone immense change by progressing through different paradigms at similar intervals (refer to Figure 2.2). Through his work on the chronological progression of the two concepts, Jafari (1989) maintained that tourism has evolved through four main platforms: advocacy, cautionary, adaptancy, and knowledge-based.
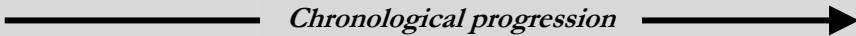
|  | 1950's & 1960's | 1970's | 1980's | 1990's – present |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Development** | Modernization & Economic Growth | Dependency Theory | Alternative (Sustainable) Development | Post-Development |
| | *Chronological progression* ⟶ | | | |
| **Tourism** | Advocacy Platform | Cautionary Platform | Adaptancy Platform | Knowledge-based Platform |

**Figure 2.2: The Chronological Progression of Development and Tourism**
**(after Sharpley 2000; Clancy 1999; Jafari 1989)**

---

[23] These include environmentalists, indigenous peoples, feminists, peace activists, etc. (Telfer & Sharpley 2008)

Running parallel to development discourse, the 1950's and 1960's brought about new developments in air travel and led to tourism being widely *advocated* as a vehicle for the Lesser Developed Countries to earn foreign exchange and expand employment opportunities (Sharpley 2000). Upon entering the 1970's, this advocacy was gradually overshadowed by a *cautionary* platform that bemoaned the negative impacts of tourism, criticizing the seasonality, environmental degradation, and cultural exploitation that was occurring (Telfer 2002). In order to mitigate these consequences, the 1980's witnessed the emergence of the *adaptancy* platform and encouraged alternatives to mass tourism – such as ecotourism, green tourism, and cultural tourism (Macbeth 2005; Epler-Wood 2002; Weaver 2001; Jafari 1989). These alternative forms of tourism were quickly adopted by the Lesser Developed Countries as a more effective means of minimizing negative impacts, increasing foreign exchange, and creating new employment opportunities (Krippendorf 1987; Mathieson & Wall 1982).

The 1990's and new millennium have been periods of unprecedented emphasis on transmitting electronic information, conserving the natural environment, listening to previously unheard voices, and reducing cultural impact. These emphases have led to a more holistic approach towards tourism, and what Jafari (1989) termed the *knowledge-based* platform. Thus, to incorporate the concept of sustainability so heavily emphasized in the development and tourism discourse, this study proposes that embedding judgments of ecotourism's value in development theory is pivotal to deriving an understanding of its potential to sustain livelihoods through a people-centred approach.

## 2.5 The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) was officially proposed by the Advisory Panel of the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987 (Ellis 2000; Conroy & Litvinoff 1988). Deeply rooted in the broad context of poverty and rural development research, the livelihoods approach differs from conventional evaluations by focusing primarily on people's lives – as opposed to resources or outputs (Sharpley 2000; Ellis 2000). The approach aims to promote development that is environmentally, institutionally, socially, and economically sustainable in order to generate positive livelihood outcomes (DFID 1999; Ashley & Hussein 1999). To fully understand the ramifications that occur when connecting the sustainable livelihoods approach with ecotourism, it is imperative that the approach is framed within the broader development context.

When researchers and practitioners have attempted to connect development with ecotourism, they have often defaulted to the tenets of 'sustainable development'. However, because 'sustainable development' can be nebulous, oxymoronic, and problematic (Honey 1999; Butler 1993; Wall 1997; Butler 1999; Weaver and Lawton 1999; Parpart *et al.* 2002), it is suggested here that the concept of 'sustainable livelihoods' be employed instead, as livelihoods can be more accurately observed, described, and quantified (Scoones 1998; Tao & Wall 2009). Similarly, as the approach is practical, holistic and integrative, Knutsson (2006; 90) writes that it is "genuinely transdisciplinary[24] as [it is] produced, disseminated and applied in the borderland between research, policy and practice." Although there is no widely accepted definition of the sustainable

---

[24] A transdisciplinary approach (as utilized in this context) allows researchers to work jointly using a shared conceptual framework drawing together disciplinary-specific theories, concepts, and approaches to address a common problem (Rosenfield 1992; 1343, 1351).

livelihoods approach, Chambers and Conway (1992) state their understanding of the concept as follows:

> A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base (Chambers & Conway 1992; 6).

Thus, it becomes apparent that sustainable livelihoods are adaptive strategies[25] based on local knowledge which individuals utilise as coping mechanisms in difficult and unforeseen circumstances (Helmore & Singh 2001; Carney 1999; Bebbington 1999; Chambers & Conway 1992). In situations where indigenous populations want to become involved with ecotourism, it is crucial that they evaluate the impacts and consequences of the proposed initiatives on their livelihood resources (i.e. human, social, natural, physical, financial), assess their various needs (past, present and future), and accurately ascertain their abilities (strengths and weaknesses) (Tao & Wall 2009). Through this self-evaluative process, a sustainable livelihoods approach can encourage individuals to become more self-aware and understand their abilities in their own terms (Tao & Wall 2009; Chambers 1995; Cernea 1985; Freire 1970).

### 2.5.1 The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

Just a few years after Chambers and Conway promoted the value of the sustainable livelihoods approach, a number of major development agencies[26] created a wide range of conceptual frameworks[27] based on the approach and adopted them into their programming (Knuttson 2006).

---

[25] Adaptive strategies are, "the changes and adjustments people make in their livelihood systems in order to cope under difficult circumstances" (Helmore & Singh 2001; 3)

[26] These included DFID, Oxfam, Care, and the UNDP.

Rapid acceptance of the approach was due to the fact that it offered an innovative way to think holistically about the objectives, scale, and priorities of development (Shen *et al*. 2008; DFID 1999). Through employing a people-centred approach to development that focused on their livelihood assets[28], it became evident to development agencies that the poor draw on a wide range of *livelihood assets,* to incorporate a variety of *livelihood strategies,* in pursuit of a vast array of *livelihood outcomes* (Ashley 2002; Ashley & Hussein 1999; Bebbington 1999; Bennett et al. 1999; Zoomers 1999). For the purpose of this study, the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) illustrated in Figure 2.3 – as developed by the Department for International Development (DFID) – will be employed as it most accurately incorporates Chambers' and Conway's (1992) definition[29] of a livelihood.

---

[27] These included the Agri-systems SLF, Khanya's SLF, IDS rural livelihoods framework, Capitals and Capabilities Framework, etc.

[28] These livelihood assets include human capital, financial capital, social capital, natural capital and physical capital.

[29] The term 'livelihood' is defined by Chambers and Conway (1992) in Section 2.3.
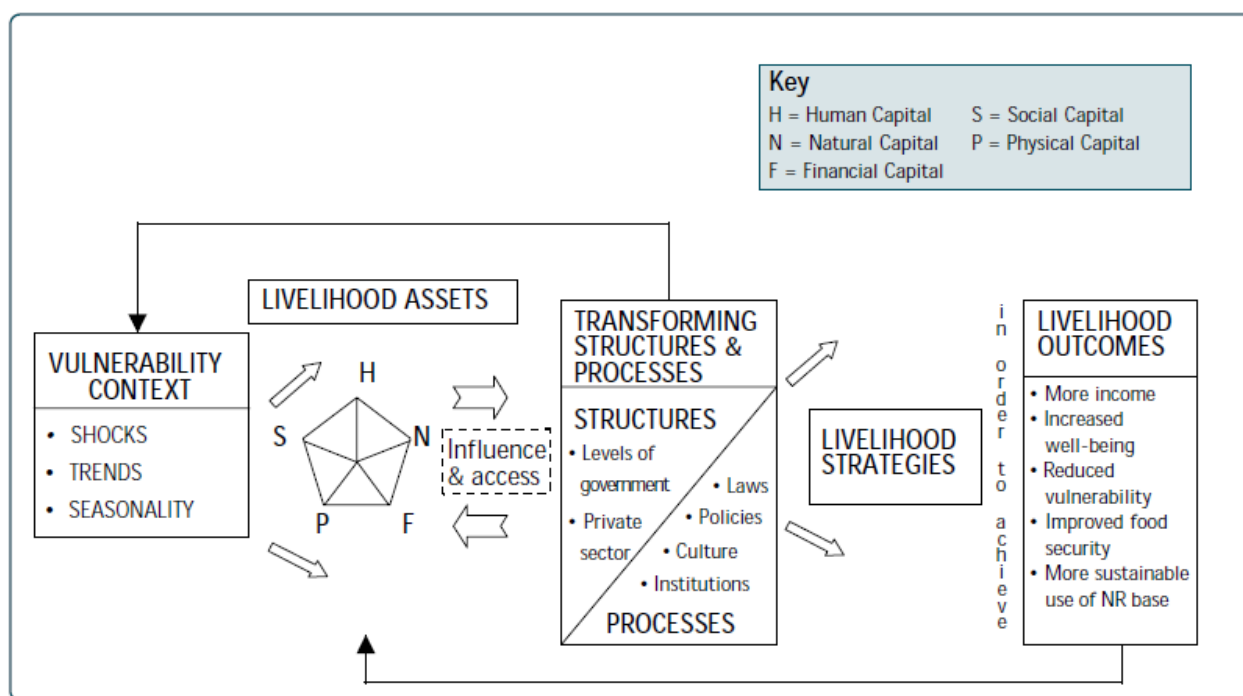
**Figure 2.3:  The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework**
**(DFID 1999)**

People-centred, holistic, and intent on maximizing local strengths (i.e. livelihood assets), the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework provides a common structure for comparing unquantifiable impacts, allowing the investigator to get close to the "development impact" as perceived by the local population (Ashley & Hussein 1999; 52).  It permits the merging of different approaches to understand various issues (e.g. land tenure), and how these issues shape the livelihoods of the rural poor.  Most importantly, the SLF provides the opportunity for field researchers to actively involve local people throughout the process; particularly through group discussions, participatory impact assessments, and participatory events[30].  For these reasons, the framework is put forth as

---

[30] For an overview of the activities involved in a participatory event, refer to Section 4.7.4

an effective means of evaluating livelihood sustainability[31] based on the five key features

summarized in Table 2.2.

| Key Feature | Component | Summary |
|---|---|---|
| **Vulnerability Context** | • Shocks<br>• Trends<br>• Seasonality | Vulnerability frames the external environment over which people have limited or no control. People's livelihoods, choices, and assets are affected by shocks, trends, and seasonality. |
| **Livelihood Assets** | • Human<br>• Natural<br>• Financial<br>• Social<br>• Physical | A range of assets are fundamental to the poor in their pursuit of the variety of positive livelihood outcomes that people seek. |
| **Transforming Structures & Processes** | • Structures<br>• Processes | Structures involve the private and public sectors, whereas processes consist of policy, laws, institutions and culture[34]. |
| **Livelihood Strategies** | • Sequencing<br>• Clustering<br>• Diversification[32] | Livelihood strategies encompass the range and combination of choices and activities employed to generate positive livelihood outcomes. |
| **Livelihood Outcomes** | • Increased well-being<br>• Reduced vulnerability<br>• Empowerment[33]<br>• Sustainable resource management<br>• More income | Livelihood outcomes are the achievements of various livelihood strategies.<br><br>Outcomes are the pathway to assessing livelihood sustainability.<br><br>Livelihood outcomes assist with understanding the various motivations and priorities that people possess. |

**Table 2.2:  The Key Features of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework**
**(after DFID 1999; Scoones 1998; Shen *et al*. 2008)**

---

[31] Using the framework allows often elusive household livelihood strategies to become apparent (Cramb *et al.* 2004).

[32] Livelihood diversification: "the process by which rural families construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in their struggle for survival and to improve their standards of living" (Ellis 1998; 5).

[33] In terms of the SLF, empowerment and the ability to influence others may be defined by local stakeholders as a desired 'outcome', or can also be viewed as local people enhancing their influence over the 'transforming structures and processes' (Ashley 2000).

2.5.2 **Critiques and Modifications to the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework**

Over the past two decades, a number of development professionals have started acknowledging that all people, even the poorest of the poor, have the capabilities and assets required to make a living (Scoones 1998; Chambers & Conway 1992). This paradigm shift led to the subsequent creation and promotion of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) and Framework (SLF). To better understand the complex issues and challenges facing large swaths of rural Sub-Saharan Africa, the framework employs a systematic analysis of five livelihood assets, the institutions that influence access to those assets, the composition of livelihood strategies, and the various vulnerabilities[34] that affect an individual's choice of those strategies (Shen *et al*. 2008; Ellis 2000; Ellis 1998; Carney 1999).

As is often the case with any attempt to convey conceptual order to a complex system, several authors have critiqued the DFID-Sustainable Livelihoods Framework due to a number of its limitations (Knutsson 2006; Cahn 2002; Murray 2001; Carney 1999; Bebbington 1999). First, the conceptualization of the DFID-SLF does not provide sufficient scope for the incorporation of local culture and hence, local knowledge, into livelihood decisions. This is problematic, because *cultural capital* – defined by Throsby (1999) as a set of attitudes, practices, and beliefs that are fundamental to the functioning of society – plays an important role in an individual's decision-making process. Similarly, as culture infuses every element of the indigenous context, its role is pivotal and necessitates inclusion. Although the concept of cultural capital is somewhat integrated into the SLF via the notions of human and social capital, its crucial role in influencing livelihood strategies can be further emphasized by placing it within the asset pentagon. Such an

---

[34] Originally, DFID considered culture to be part of the Vulnerability Context. More recently, DFID began to regard culture as a process, along with laws, policies, and institutions.

alteration would improve understanding of the embedded local meaning and impact of cultural practices on land use and livelihood strategies.

A second critique of the SLF states that the absence of *political capital* makes light of the importance of power, voice, and decision-making capabilities. Because the concept of political capital embodies the range of power relations influencing access to assets and entitlements, it follows that political capital can be acquired and stored as an asset to be drawn upon when constructing one's livelihood (Baumann & Sinha 2001). Because the extent and nature of power relations are quite well documented in the literature (Timothy 2007; Parpart *et al.* 2002; Scheyvens 1999; Friedman 1992), the incorporation of political capital in the framework would add emphasis to the importance of local politics within indigenous communities. As well, it would highlight the range of issues raised within tourism discourse regarding the role of power. Similarly, adopting the concept of political capital within the SLF would better enable field researchers to assess how decisions are made, and determine who has the power to influence the policies that affect peoples' lives (Francis 2000).

Third, the concept of *historical capital* is another key component not covered adequately in the original SLF. Passed from generation to generation via oral narratives, dances, or ceremonies, historical context is closely related to the cultural context and increases appreciation for the variety of ways people alter, shift, or adapt their livelihood strategies over time (i.e. sowing, harvesting, marketing, etc.). In its original form, the SLF has been criticized for suggesting a one-time 'snap-shot' assessment; yet research clearly demonstrates that peoples' livelihoods are dynamic and constantly changing. Thus, in order to understand how people adapt their livelihood

strategies to vulnerabilities over time, it is critical that the researcher emphasizes the longitudinal importance of historical capital.

Fourth, the SLF fails to adequately address issues of *social differentiation*, and how these issues govern lives. It is well established that there are many different social and economic hierarchies embedded in indigenous communities, and this differentiation needs to be examined and accounted for. Although the framework is an effective tool for examining livelihoods and comparing them among households, it does not effectively highlight intra-household differentiations (i.e. adults vs. children; husbands vs. wives). Because social differentiation often plays a critical role in setting livelihood priorities, the framework can be strengthened by performing household surveys that extract responses from a number of different individuals residing within a residence.

Finally, perhaps the greatest shortcoming of the SLF is that it does not equip the researcher with the tools required to evaluate *local participation and empowerment* (Murray 2001; Ashley & Hussein 1999). Although the framework does enable field researchers to draw upon a variety of different methodologies (e.g. gender analysis, institutional appraisal, stakeholder analysis), it does not lead naturally to the enhancement of local capacity and empowerment. As the concept of empowerment is increasingly present throughout development discourse, it is crucial that the concept be adequately examined. The concept of empowerment is already embedded within the SLF and is based on the assumption that access to additional assets empowers the poor to gain greater control over their circumstances (Helmore & Singh 2001; Ashley and Carney 1999). However, the aforementioned critique of the SLF's handling of power and political capital,

suggests that the concept of empowerment needs to become more explicitly intertwined with the framework. Thus, to avoid being criticised as a top-down approach targeting only a select group of local residents (i.e. typically the most powerful and wealthy), the SLF ought to be complemented with Scheyvens' (1999) empowerment framework (refer to Section 2.3.1), as well as a number of participatory research methodologies (refer to Section 4.7 and following).

The above critiques of the SLF delineate the shortcomings associated with the well-documented conceptual framework. Because the approach aims to represent the convoluted nature of livelihood systems in a simple and logical manner, there is an inherent risk that the relative importance of certain factors, and the various relationships between those factors, might be overlooked. However, the shortcomings of the approach arise due to the fact that livelihood systems are extremely complex, and that the framework is used to examine them holistically (Carney 1999). As a result, it is imperative that the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework not be viewed as a rigid template for rural development, but rather, as an adaptable and dynamic framework for guiding development planning and intervention. Thus, when the aforementioned critiques are modified with various adaptations (refer to Section 7.5.2) and perspectives, the SLF becomes a helpful and useful tool for thinking holistically about the outcomes, scope, and priorities of development.

## 2.6 Chapter Summary

The second chapter sets the foundation for this research study by providing a thorough review of the scholarly discourse pertaining to land tenure regimes, (eco)tourism theory, development theory, and the rationale behind a sustainable livelihoods approach. Through comparing and

contrasting open access, common, state, and private property regimes, much of the confusion that arises from variations within different geographic contexts is mitigated. Here, the term 'land tenure' is used to refer to the legal terms and conditions on which something is held, and represents the legal rights and obligations of the land holder (Bruce 1998). A review of current property rights literature suggests that private land ownership is most favoured by sub-Saharan African governments due to the landowners' incentive to invest and conserve their natural resource (Kabiri 2007). However, in regions of the world with weak governance and policy enforcement, indigenous populations often form innovative and unique management and governance structures that take into account their local and cultural context.

Next, the relationships between development and tourism were explored conceptually in order to better understand the manner in which the benefits from ecotourism can be distributed more equitably. As indigenous populations tend to live in unique and ecologically sensitive regions of the world, the scope of ecotourism has grown to include the objectives of minimizing environmental impact, creating environmental awareness, equitably distributing economic benefits, preserving local culture, supporting human rights, and empowering the host community to take an active role in the decisions affecting their lives. In situations where these objectives do occur, it is generally accepted that participation and empowerment are enhanced, resulting in a more equitable distribution of the accrued benefits. However, there are major gaps in the knowledge concerning the culturally-embedded meaning ascribed by the host population to the concept of 'benefits', and this is an area of study that warrants further attention.

By embedding ecotourism discourse within development theory a clearer picture of ecotourism's potential as a tool for development is obtained. Just as the tourism sector has evolved over time, so has the concept of development. However, when researchers and practitioners have attempted to connect the two concepts, they have often defaulted to the tenets of 'sustainable development' – a term that has been criticized as nebulous, oxymoronic, and problematic (Honey 1999; Butler 1999; Wall 1997). In response to these challenges, the concept of 'sustainable livelihoods' is employed instead as these can be are more accurately observed, described, and quantified (Tao & Wall 2009; Scoones 1998).

Deeply rooted in the broad context of poverty alleviation and rural development, the concept of sustainable livelihoods differs from sustainable development. Instead of concentrating on resources and outputs, it focuses on people's lived realities. In turn, the approach aims to enhance positive livelihood outcomes by promoting rural development that is environmentally, institutionally, socially, and economically sustainable. When combined with the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF), tourism and development researchers are provided with a common structure for comparing unquantifiable impacts and displaying the "development impact" as perceived by the local population (Ashley & Hussein 1999; 52). The success of the approach is due to its emphasis on people. Now that the foundation has been laid for the theoretical background to the research, it is time to meet the people central to the research – Kenya's pastoral Maasai.

# Chapter 3
# Pastoral Maasai Livelihoods in Context

*"Megiroroyu nole dukuya"*

*"The words of the elders are blessed"* – **Maasai proverb**

## 3.1 The Ethnographic Setting:  The Maasai and the Study Region

The East African Maasai are semi-nomadic pastoralists of Nilotic origin, and have lived on the savannah grasslands of southern Kenya and northern Tanzania since the 17th century (Galaty 1993).  Numbering 350,000 in Kenya and 200,000 in Tanzania, the indigenous residents of this semi-arid region are some of the most renowned pastoralists in the world (CBS 2006).  Organized into patriarchal and patrilineal extended households *(Maa: ilmareita)*[35], Maasai families depend on livelihoods that are deeply intertwined with the keeping of cattle, sheep and goats for their meat and milk.  Since livestock are owned individually, most Maasai desire to increase the size of their herds in order to ensure livelihood sustainability during times of drought or disease (Dahl & Hjort 1976).  Yet, despite this intimate connection to their livestock, animals are often loaned to friends and relatives in distant regions as another means of reducing risk during times of vulnerability and securing a ready supply of milk, blood and meat – the main staples of the Maasai diet (Grandin *et al*. 1989).  However, as the cultivation of land is starting to play a more important role in some Maasai households, it is becoming more common to see Maasai consuming potatoes, rice, beans, ground maize meal (*Kiswahili: ugali*), and spinach (*Kiswahili: sukuma wiki*), to supplement their high protein diets.

---

[35] In the Maa language, a singular household is known as *olmarei,* while many households are known as *ilmareita*.

Maasai society is organized into four broad socio-spatial scales. In order of descending size, these scales are: the territorial region (*Maa: oloshon*), the neighbourhood/community (*Maa: enkutoto*), the homestead (*Maa: enkang*) and finally, the household (*Maa: olmarei*) (Spencer 2003; Spear & Waller 1993; Bekure *et al.* 1991; Spencer 1988). Since marriage is polygamous, the household is typically comprised of a married man, his wives (ranging in number from 1-12), and their unmarried children and grandchildren (Serneels *et al.* 2009). Within the homestead, each wife constructs a small house to accommodate herself, her children, and (occasionally) her husband. Thus, a number of houses (*Maa: ilmareita)* are grouped together within the homestead for cooperative herding and social purposes. A great deal of research has been conducted on the positioning and occupancy of these houses but, broadly speaking, the homestead is comprised of a number of small houses built in a semi-circle around a livestock corral (Coast 2002; Homewood & Rodgers 1991; Spencer 1988). However, as Maasai land tenure regimes shift from common to private ownership, it is increasingly common to see Maasai houses consisting of a cement floor, plastered walls, and a corrugated tin roof (Serneels *et al*. 2009).

Organized around a linear progression of age-sets and clans, Maasai tradition initiates adolescent males into warriorhood (*Maa: moran*) through the practice of circumcision. Upon completing this rite of passage, the next stages are junior elder, senior elder, and retired elder, with the retired elders traditionally holding most of the decision-making power for their communities (*Maa: enkutoto*) (Grandin 1991). These age-sets are held in extremely high regard with young boys (between the ages of 6 and 12) responsible for herding the smaller stock (e.g. sheep and goats), and the young men (between the ages of 12 and 35) mainly responsible for the cattle (Lamprey & Reid 2004).

The Maasai have long been regarded as a picturesque people (refer to Figure 3.1) and their images are often associated with tourism in Kenya. As described by Fratkin (1991):

> Few other African societies have been as romanticized and popularized by Europeans and Americans, while simultaneously neglected and underdeveloped as the Maasai. Despite their image as 'free and noble warriors', the Maasai have seen their grazing lands continuously reduced by colonial appropriation, the creation of national game parks, the steady incursions of agriculturalists, and most recently by the creation of the private titles to individual ranches which are dividing the remaining land (Fratkin 1991; 112)



**Figure 3.1:  Maasai Women Dressed in their Traditional Clothing and Beadwork**

The pastoral Maasai that are the focus of this study, reside on the periphery of the Maasai Mara National Reserve in southwestern Kenya (refer to Figure 3.2) – the most visited national reserve in the country (CBS 2006). The MMNR covers the northernmost extension of the greater Mara-

Serengeti ecosystem and is commonly accepted as "one of the richest assemblages of wildlife in the world [supporting] about 237 herbivores per square kilometer, making it one of the most productive natural terrestrial ecosystems" (Waithaka 2004; 79). Although the wildlife residing in the region have co-existed with Maasai pastoralists for over 400 years (Lamprey & Reid 2004; Seno & Shaw 2002), the Reserve's steady rise in popularity as a safari destination has placed the local residents at the centre of debate over land use strategies and the distribution of benefits from tourism. In order to obtain a clearer understanding of the ways this debate impinges upon the Maasai, it is important to examine their historical relationship with the land.



**Figure 3.2: Map of Kenya and the Maasai Mara National Reserve**
**(Blue Rhino Maps 2010)**

## 3.2 Brief History of the Maasai

Throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Maasai were recognized as fierce warriors and were universally revered for their ability to over-power their agricultural neighbours. This reputation put them in good stead and helped protect their land from Arab slave traders and the early explorers (Spear & Waller 1993). However, during the transition to the Colonial period,[36] the Maasai lost their dominant position as members of the more populous agricultural tribes began ascending the ranks of government (Fratkin & Mearns 2003; Waller 1988). As evidenced in Table 3.1, with the weakening of Maasai political and military dominance, the Maasai were disposed from their land via the enactment of a number of new land treaties by the British Colonial powers. Under the Anglo-Maasai land treaties of 1904 and 1911, traditional Maasai land (i.e. the Laikipia region of the Great Rift Valley) was expropriated for the newly arriving British settlers; thereby relegating the Maasai to the less arable regions of present-day Kajiado and Narok Districts in the southern Maasai reserve (Hughes 2006; Fratkin & Mearns 2003; Seno & Shaw 2002; Galaty 1996).

Traditionally, land controlled by the Maasai was managed communally with access to the resource governed by an elaborate constellation of social networks (Kurimoto & Simonse 1998; Waller 1985). Since Maasai customs dictated that individuals were not permitted to 'own' natural resources, all members of the territorial region *(Maa: oloshon)* had equal access to the land and various water points within the Reserve. However, as Kenya gained independence from Britain in 1963, the newly elected government implemented a number of initiatives aimed at

---

[36] The colonial history of Kenya starts with the Berlin Conference. In 1885, the European nations 'scrambled' to carve up Africa for themselves. In 1894, the British declared a Protectorate over Uganda and Kenya and, in 1920, the protectorate became an official colony (lasting until December 12, 1963).

promoting private beef and dairy ranches as a means of curtailing pastoral herding on communal

rangelands throughout Maasailand[37] (Swift 1991).  Unfortunately, it soon became evident that

| Era | Key Events | Historical Summary |
|---|---|---|
| 1000 – 0 BC | | Cushitic-speaking farming and herding groups spread as far as the Southern Rift.  Nilotic groups differentiated into Plains and Highland Nilotic language groups (Ehret 1974). |
| 0 – 1500 AD | | Livestock herding groups across East Africa interact with the incoming Bantu people and adopt the use of iron.  Emergence of specialized pastoralism versus mixed farming/herding economy (Marshall 2000; 1994).  The Maasai spread southwards into Kenya 1000–1500 AD. |
| Ca. 1700's | Maasai expansion | Maa-speaking groups extend from Lake Turkana (N. Kenya) throughout the Rift Valley and present day Maasai steppe (East–Central Tanzania).  Maasai displace the Barabaig/Oltatwa from the Ngorongoro Highlands (Borgerhoff *et al*. 1989). |
| Ca. 1800's | Iloikop wars | Central Maasailand is dominated by the Kisongo and Loita groups;  The Maasai living on the Laikipia Plateau are destroyed and dispersed;  The outlying Maa speaking groups (Il Parakuyo, Il Chamus, Ndorobo) begin to combine farming, fishing, foraging, trade and other activities with their traditional pastoralism (Spear & Waller 1993). |
| 1890's | Emutai | Rinderpest pandemic/epidemics/livestock losses lead to social disruption and massive losses of humans and livestock.  The Maasai being to lose political and military dominance (Waller 1988). |
| 1900-1910 | Advent of colonial rule   Maasai moves | British influence and involvement grows, and many Maasai rebuild their herds through serving as mercenary forces for the British (Waller 1976).   The Maasai are removed from the Laikipia Highlands by white settlers and ranchers, and are relocated to Narok/Kajiado Southern Reserve (Waller 1990). |
| 1940's-1960's | Protected areas in Maasailand | The Maasai Mara National reserve is created;  Amboseli National Park is created;  a number of areas (Lake Nakuru, Lake Bogoria, etc.) in the Rift Valley are protected. |
| 1960's-1990's | Independence | Maasai Reserve lands are held in Trust and designated for Group Ranches, but later subdivided and privatized (Rutten 1992 ; Galaty 1999). |
| 2000's | Land issues | Mara group ranches almost fully privatized;  Other Maasai group ranches debating privatization. |

**Table 3.1:  Summary of Maasailand Historical Timelines**
**(after Homewood *et al*. 2009)**

---

[37] Maasailand denotes a loosely bounded area of East Africa mainly populated by Maa-speaking communities.  It is not a formal term and does not denote an administratively recognized region (Homewood *et al*. 2009).

corrupt government officials were undermining the initiative by distributing the most valuable parcels of land to the more influential and politically-connected members of the Maasai community (Thompson & Homewood 2002). Land distribution was clearly a contentious issue, and drastic changes in land management were soon to occur.

## 3.3 Land Tenure Regime Change

Maasailand has experienced drastic changes over the past 50 years. The transformation has been made more complex by a constant conflict in priorities between meeting basic human needs for an indigenous population mired in poverty, and trying to maintain environmental stability. Rapidly increasing population growth, in-migration by agricultural-minded people[38], reduced access to natural resources, and the loss of mobility due to the subdivision and privatisation of rangeland has challenged the traditions generally associated with this pastoral population (Homewood *et al*. 2009). With the advent of independence, property regimes have slowly been transitioning from communal *(Maa: enkop nemedung'o)* to private, *(Maa: enkop nadung'o*[39]*)* with the Group Ranch[40] concept acting as an intermediate stage between the two. These changes in ownership structure have created radical consequences for the Maasai – the most significant being the need to diversify livelihood strategies due to the drastic reduction in the number of livestock a household is able to rear.

---

[38] Over the past two decades, Maasailand has been under pressure from agriculture-minded people (e.g. Kikuyu, Kipsigis, Kalenjin) who are constantly searching for larger tracts of land for farming.

[39] Interestingly, there is no word in the Maa language for 'private land', but *Enkop nadung'o* translates closely to 'demarcated land' and will be used to convey the concept throughout this dissertation.

[40] For a detailed overview of Group Ranches and their structure, refer to Section 3.4

Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, as the ability to sustain livelihoods through livestock production has become exceedingly difficult, the traditional core of Maasai cultural identity has been altered as well (Waller 1999). These alterations have resulted in a cultural shift away from their traditional semi-nomadic subsistence lifestyle, to one that involves diversifying their livelihood strategies through adopting multiple income streams. These include small-scale farming, entrepreneurial activities, and various ecotourism initiatives (Rutten 2004; Ogutu 2002; Thompson & Homewood 2002). The implications of these changes on Maasai livelihoods are complex and the story of their marginalization, exclusion and dispossession from their traditional rangelands continues to unfold (Galaty 1999). However, in order to better understand the manner in which these implications came about, it is important to examine the historical context of these changes by tracing their root back to the formation of the Group Ranch system.

**3.4 The Group Ranch System**

Kenya's independence from Britain in 1963, coupled with the prevailing neoclassical economic theory of the day, led to the eventual formation of the Group (Land Representatives) Act of 1968. Through its enactment, the Government of Kenya "conferred formal and legal land tenure to a community of co-residents" (Fratkin & Mearns 2003; 115) in the form of 'Group Ranches'. Under this system, groups of Maasai pastoralists were provided with legal land title to large tracts of rangeland with the goal of increasing herd productivity and decreasing the perceived rangeland degradation (Mwangi 2007; Galaty 1999). The ranch structure is made up of a body of members to whom legal land title has been jointly awarded and an elected management committee responsible for the coordination and implementation of the various development projects on the ranch (Mwangi 2007). More specifically, Grandin (1986) explained the concept as follows:

A group ranch is an organizational structure in which members hold a collective title deed to an area of land, although animals are owned and managed individually. Day to day management of the ranch is the responsibility of a democratically elected committee with the right to incur debts and enforce its decisions on registered members (Grandin 1986; 9).

Although sound in theory, from the outset the Group Ranch system suffered from the rampant embezzlement of funds and low rates of compliance with the de-stocking[41] imperative (Mwangi 2007; Fratkin & Mearns 2003). Similarly, elected officials within the Group Ranches often misused their positions of power and leased (or sold) portions of the ranch to influential and politically-connected members of the community for personal gain (Homewood *et al*. 2009; Mwangi 2007). These corrupt practices led to a high degree of dissatisfaction amongst the membership. As a result, a few Group Ranch members opted to subdivide and distribute individual parcels of land to each member, rather than lose out to powerful 'big men' and 'land grabbers'[42] (Mwangi 2006; Galaty 1999; Kimani & Pickard 1998). Although the first example of this land privatisation process commenced in the early 1970's with the Kaputei Group Ranch, land subdivision only became common practice more recently (i.e. early 2000's) when the Kenyan government began actively encouraging the shift to private property as an economic development strategy (Mwangi 2003). As a result, it is clear that the traditional core of Maasai culture is rapidly changing as greater emphasis is being placed on power, participation, and the distribution of benefits.

---

[41] De-stocking: the process of reducing the number of cattle owned by an individual.

[42] 'Land grabbing' of common property by the Central government, political 'big men' and immigrant settlers, led to the desire for the greater tenure security provided by private land- title deeds.

**3.5 Power, Participation, and the Distribution of Benefits**

As illustrated in Figure 3.3 and Figure 3.4, over 1 million tourists visited Kenya in 2009, generating over 62 billion Kenyan shillings (approx. CAN$ 775 million dollars) in tourism earnings (Kenya Ministry of Tourism 2010; Kenya National Bureau of Statistics 2010). Yet despite the growing demand for wildlife tourism and the massive amount of foreign exchange injected into the Kenyan economy, the vast majority of Kenya's Maasai living within the Greater Maasai Mara continue to live in abject poverty.
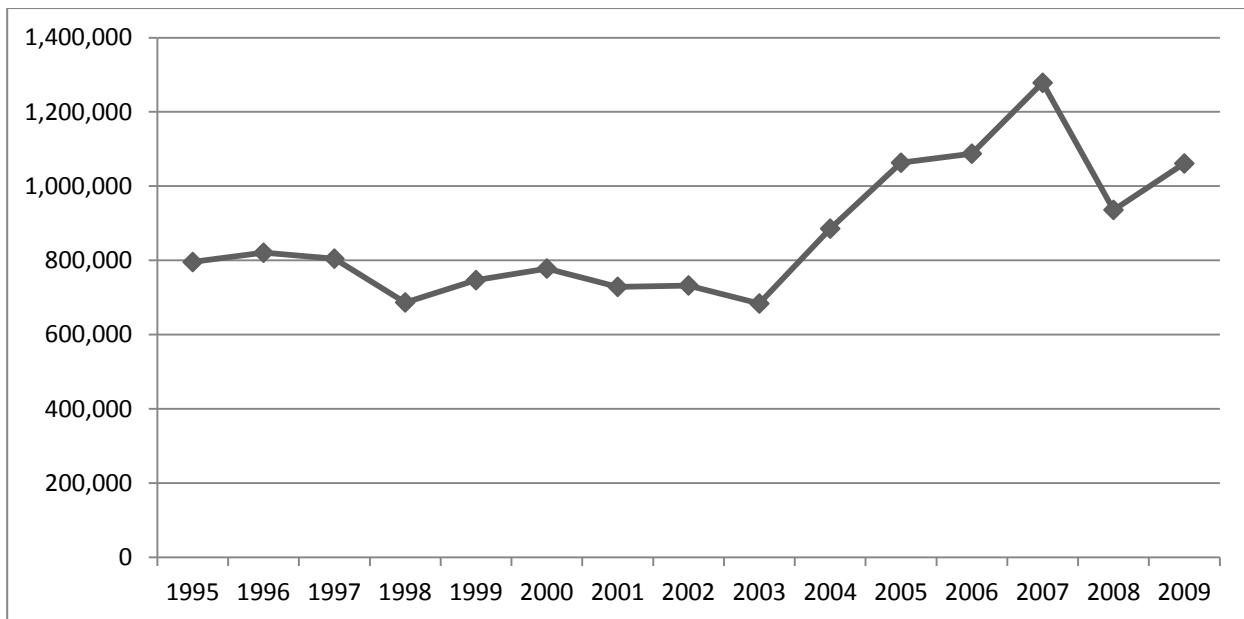


**Figure 3.3: Holiday Visitors to Kenya (1995-2009)**
**(Ministry of Tourism 2010)**

In addition to missing out on an equitable share of the benefits, most Maasai households lack the political power required to participate in the various decision-making processes that affect them. Their semi-nomadic pastoral lifestyle tends to hinder their ability to attain political power, and their remote location, coupled with low levels of formal education, are also hindrances. Not only

does this exclusion from the governing process impede their ability to address the rampant corruption that prevents them from obtaining a fair share of the MMNR gate revenues[43] (Rutten 2004), this lack of transparency and political power also prevents the Maasai from voicing their concerns regarding land management, tourism planning, and local development.
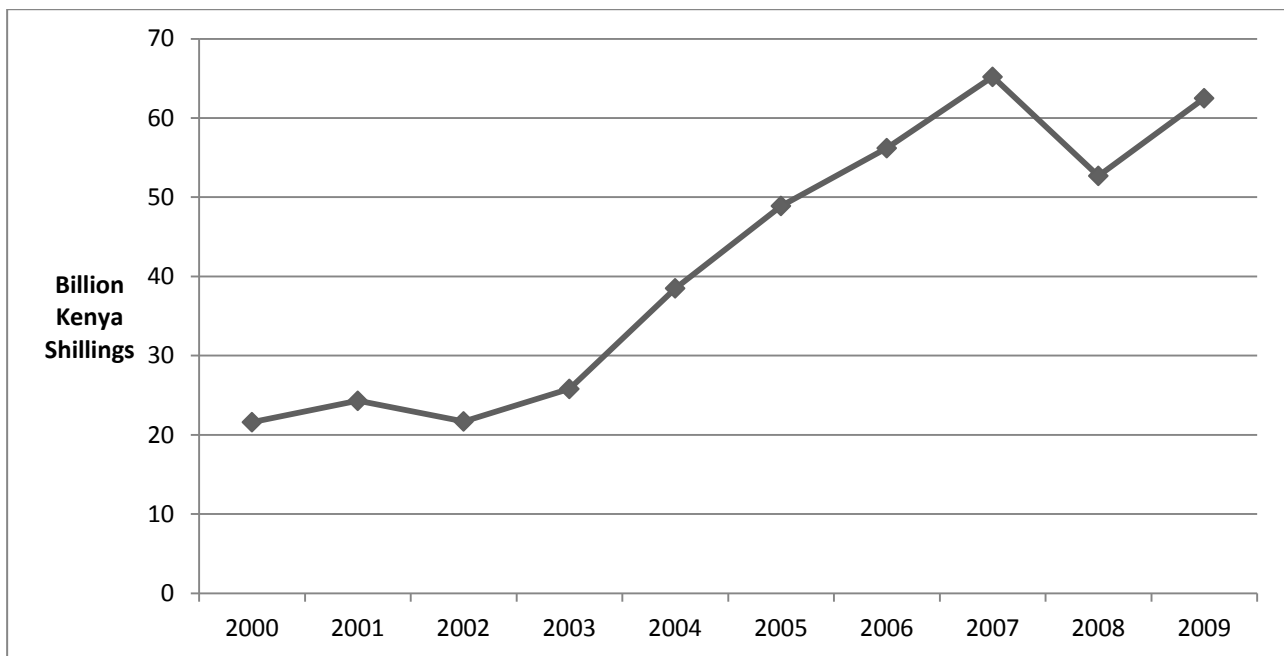


**Figure 3.4: Tourism Earnings[44] in Kenya (2000-2009)**
**(Kenya National Bureau of Statistics 2010)**

When tourism occurs in a region where local residents perceive the benefits – however defined – to be significant, there is an increased incentive to manage the land and conserve resources efficiently (Stem *et al.* 2003). Thus, as the local population continues to grow, livestock continue

---

[43] Despite tourist revenues to the Maasai Mara National Reserve totalling millions of dollars annually, only an extremely small fraction trickles down to the Maasai living in the region, with most households reporting no benefits whatsoever (Rutten 2004).

[44] At the time of writing, 1 CAN$ = 80 Kenyan Shillings.

to multiply, and land is increasingly cultivated, it is all the more crucial that the resident Maasai are empowered with the opportunity to participate in the decision-making processes pertaining to the Reserve and its environs. According to prevailing theory, this increased power and participation would soon lead to a more equitable distribution of the Reserve's tourism revenues, would encourage greater support for tourism activities, and would provide incentives to manage the land in a manner compatible with wildlife conservation (Charnley 2005; Scheyvens 1999).

Unfortunately, because the profits from the Reserve's gates have continued to leak to the local elite and the politically connected, there has been a noted rise in local resentment (Honey 2008). This animosity results from the inequitable distribution of economic benefits and the fact that some members of society are prospering at the expense of others. For example, while some members gain formal employment as safari guides and park rangers, and others sell their handicrafts and beadwork in the informal sector, the vast majority of the population remain 'voiceless', unemployed, and adversely affected. Even when tourist revenues do make their way to the household level (via cultural visits, formal employment, selling of crafts), the infusion of this cash often presents a whole new set of challenges for the local residents (Stronza & Gordillo 2008). This newly-acquired income is rarely (if ever) distributed equitably, and this often leads to a new set of social conflicts between the *'nouveau riche'* and poor since substantial income disparities within the communal society are relatively recent (Ogutu 2002). As a result, because the institutions for resolving conflict are weak, the level of trust and cohesion between individuals is often compromised (Jones 2005).

Before falling subject to Western discourse and exaggerating the importance of economic benefits, it is important to remember that field research shows many indigenous communities place an equal – if not greater – significance on non-economic benefits (Stronza & Gordillo 2008; Chambers 1994). For example, participation in the decision-making process, ownership of property, and enhanced levels of local empowerment, are often cited by indigenous communities as highly valued non-economic benefits (Stronza & Gordillo 2008; Migot-Adholla *et. al* 1992). Once such advantages are realized and the hosts believe that their voices are being heard, they in turn are more likely to manage and conserve local resources efficiently (Barrow & Murphree 2002; Scheyvens 1999). Thus, there is increasing evidence that ecotourism's real connection to development comes through enhanced human capital (i.e. political power and participation in decision-making), rather than through economic benefits alone (Stonza & Gordillo 2008; Scheyvens 1999).

## 3.6 Chapter Summary

The third chapter provided an ethnographic and critical history of Maasai livelihoods, and examined how dramatic changes in Kenyan land tenure policy over the past century have influenced this group of well-recognized pastoralists that have co-existed with wildlife in southern Kenya for over 400 years (Lamprey & Reid 2004; Seno & Shaw 2002). However, due to the Reserve's steady rise in popularity as a safari destination, local residents are placed at the centre of the debate over land use strategies and the distribution of benefits from tourism.

Recent changes in land tenure regimes throughout Maasailand have led to a constant conflict in priorities for the pastoral Maasai. Torn between meeting basic human needs and trying to

maintain environmental stability, their traditional semi-nomadic lifestyle is under a great deal of pressure. Rapidly increasing population growth, reduced access to natural resources, and the loss of mobility due to fenced-off rangeland are all challenging the traditions generally associated with pastoral populations (Homewood *et al*. 2009). Yet, despite all these changes, the most significant adjustment results from the need to diversify local livelihood strategies due to a drastic reduction in mobility. With the increasing obstacles to sustaining local livelihoods through livestock production, the Maasai have witnessed a cultural shift away from their traditional semi-nomadic subsistence lifestyle toward the adoption of multiple income streams. However, the fact that they have been able to adopt small-scale farming, land cultivation, and various ecotourism initiatives in such a short time displays their propensity for resilience.

Building on this historical foundation, the context of land tenure regimes for pastoral livelihoods was examined in detail before exploring the degree to which power, participation, and politics influence the (un)even distribution of benefits throughout Maasai society. For example, indigenous communities often rank the non-economic benefits (e.g. participation in the decision-making process, ownership of property, and enhanced levels of local empowerment) on par with economic ones (Stronza & Gordillo 2008; Migot-Adholla *et. al* 1992). Thus, there is increasing evidence that real connection between ecotourism and development comes through the enhancement of human and social capital, rather than through economic benefits alone (Stonza & Gordillo 2008; Scheyvens 1999). Thus, it is crucial that all ecotourism research involving indigenous communities is approached and designed to elicit local voices and self-representation wherever possible.

# Chapter 4
# Research Approach and Design

*"Mmeishaa elukunya nabo eng'eno"*

*"One head cannot hold all wisdom"* **– Maasai proverb**

## 4.1 Introduction

As previously established, the poor generally bear the burden of ecotourism initiatives without receiving an equitable share of the associated benefits. To gain a greater understanding of these inequalities, a sustainable livelihoods approach is put forth as a means of understanding the complex livelihood strategies of the poor. A review of current livelihoods discourse reveals evidence of these intrinsic complexities since the poor draw on a wide range of *livelihood assets* to incorporate a variety of different *livelihood strategies,* in pursuit of a vast array of *livelihood outcomes* (Ashley 2002; Ashley & Hussein 1999; Bebbington 1999; Bennett *et al.* 1999; Zoomers 1999).

This discourse is especially timely for pastoral populations living on common property regimes adjacent to protected areas in Kenya, as government land policy continues to promote the subdivision of land for private ownership (Homewood *et al.* 2009; Leserogol 2005; Lamprey & Reid 2004). This relatively recent transformation has created new opportunities for the adoption of ecotourism as a sustainable livelihood strategy, and this research sets out to examine this phenomenon. Informed by development theory, tourism theory, property rights theory, and the

Sustainable Livelihoods Framework,[45] the purpose of this culturally-appropriate, participatory research is to examine the effect of different land tenure regimes on the distribution of benefits accrued from various ecotourism initiatives, and how those benefits impact the livelihoods of the pastoral Maasai located on the periphery of Kenya's Maasai Mara National Reserve.

## 4.2 Positionality of the Researcher – A Personal Narrative

All too often, the positionality of the researcher is overlooked when evaluating how the research was approached and designed. Since the researcher plays an active role in selecting the topic and determining how the research is undertaken, it follows that he also influences the nature of the research and, potentially, its outcomes. In recognition of this relationship, I highlight my own positionality with the study area and the manner in which I am written into the research.

I have been intimately connected with the study site since 1980 when my parents first took our family on safari to the Maasai Mara National Reserve for my eighth birthday. We were living in Kenya at the time, and this was my first introduction to the sweeping savannahs, countless mega-fauna, and ornate people of Maasailand. It was an awe-inspiring experience that I still remember fondly, 30 years later. Growing up in Kenya afforded me the opportunity to grasp a solid understanding of Kiswahili, the *lingua franca* of the region, and opened my eyes to widespread social injustice. As a result, I have been involved with East Africa in various humanitarian and development capacities ever since, and continue to guide groups of Canadians on socially responsible safaris throughout the region.

---

[45] Refer to Section 2.5.1

Although some positivist scholars advocate the elimination of personal bias from the research process in order to be completely objective, post-positivist scholarship recognizes that it is impossible to achieve absolute objectivity in research (Babbie 2001; Trochim 2000). Similarly, Mishler (1986) argues that the challenges associated with research bias, "are not solved by making the researcher invisible and inaudible [or] by painting him or her out of the picture" (Mishler 1986; 83). Thus, post-positivist research tends to position the researcher within the research and that is exactly where I have positioned myself. Although I have white skin and come from an economically privileged background, I have always been attracted to working with the economically disadvantaged. In order to mitigate the differences between the two cultural contexts, I concur with Hay (2005) that cross-cultural research needs to be 'decolonizing' in nature and ought to provide some value to those it represents.

> Colonial research reflects and reinforces domination and exploration through the attitudes and differential power embodied in its research relationships with 'others', its dismissal of their rights and knowledge, its intrusive and non-participatory methodologies, and often also in its goals and in its use of research findings. Post-colonial research is a reaction to and rejection of colonial research and is intended to contribute to 'others' self-determination and welfare through methodologies and the use of research findings that value their rights, knowledge, perspectives, concerns, and desires and are based on open and more egalitarian relationships. Decolonizing research goes further still in attempting to use the research process and research findings to break down the cross-cultural discourses, asymmetrical power relationships, representations, and political, economic, and social structures through which colonialism and neo-colonialism are constructed and maintained (Hay 2005; 32).

For the purposes of this study, I use the term 'decolonizing research' to represent a method of empowering the traditionally marginalized and oppressed with the training and tools required to become active participants in the decisions that affect their lives. The study is designed to be sensitive to differences in gender, class, status, and clan. Consequently, the research methodology was established within the context of this transformational process, and it was

specifically designed to break down the colonial discourses and constructions which have pervaded much research amongst the indigenous Maasai in the past.

## 4.3  Research Assistant

Since language is an intricate component of one's way of life, culture, and values, the input of local research assistants and translators played a crucial role in my attempt to gain a better understanding of Maasai livelihoods and their lived realities.  Khasiani (1992; 184) reiterates this sentiment by stating, "the relationship between language and culture is such that a close examination of an aspect of a language will reveal the speaker's way of doing things, thoughts, and values in that specific facet of life".  This idea is built on the hypothesis of Sapir (1951) and Whorf (1956) that speakers of different languages view their world differently, and form a worldview revealed to them through their language.  Thus, one's 'real world' is unconsciously formed via the language of the group (Sapir 1951).  Essentially, language determines (or shapes) our perceptions of reality in such a way, that people who speak the same language and hail from the same culture tend to rely on shared background knowledge in their understanding of what is observed and heard (Ormondi 1992; Islam *et. al* 1984).

Since the objectives of this research included the gathering of data on various aspects of Maasai livelihoods (e.g. household size, land ownership regime, livelihood strategies, attitudes), it was of utmost importance to involve the local residents as a team working alongside the researcher, (refer to Figure 4.1) or in collecting specific aspects of information on their own.  Field research has shown this participatory approach to be reliable and valid as members of the host population

are able to incorporate their local knowledge and understanding into the research (Cramb *et al*. 2004; Catley 1999; Chambers 1994).



**Figure 4.1:  The Researcher Alongside Members of the Local Research Team**

Although this participatory field research involved many members from the local community, the majority of the 'cultural brokering' was conducted by Jacob, a young Maasai man who had grown up on the periphery of the Reserve.  Although Jacob was one of few from the region to graduate from a Kenyan university, he was still intimately involved with the local culture, community dynamics, and nuances of the local languages (Maa and Kiswahili).  As a result, Jacob was instrumental in the sampling of households from each of the three study sites and informing them (in the Maa language) of the survey's nature and basic methodology.  Once the

research team felt the details (explained by the researcher in Kiswahili, and the research assistant in Maa) were understood by the potential participants, they were asked whether they would agree to participate in a household survey as well as a few upcoming participatory events. Interestingly, 100% of the households that were informed of the nature and purpose of the study agreed to take part.  It is believed that this high rate of success was directly attributable to the level of trust and respect garnered by Jacob.

## 4.4  Qualitative and Quantitative Research

Qualitative and quantitative research methods were employed in order to better understand the various spatial and household level variables connected to Maasai livelihoods.  Following the work of McCracken (1988), their outcomes were then compared and contrasted in order to corroborate, elaborate, and illuminate the research.  Table 4.1 deconstructs qualitative and quantitative research techniques into five man categories and summarizes the main differences between the two.

Since this research focused primarily on an indigenous and mostly non-literate population, many of the chosen research techniques were qualitative in nature.  Although qualitative methods tend to be more time-consuming in data collection and analysis, the rich information they provided far outweighed their disadvantages.  Similarly, the application of qualitative research methods assisted with testing the validity of the responses based on the participants' perceptions and attitudes – factors which are not easily measured by quantitative methods.

| | Qualitative | Quantitative |
|---|---|---|
| **Goal** | Goal is to isolate and define categories during the research process. | Goal is to isolate and define the categories as precisely as possible before the study is undertaken, then to determine the relationship between them. |
| **Looks for** | Looks for patterns and themes of inter-relationships between many categories. | Looks for sharply delineated relationships between a limited set of categories. |
| **Questions** | Questions asked may cause the respondent difficulty and imprecision. | Questions asked allow the participant to respond readily and unambiguously. |
| **Sample Size** | Sample size is small | Sample size is generally large (sufficient to meet statistical rigour), and results can be generalized to a larger population. |
| **Tends to be** | Tends to be more intensive in its objectives. | Tends to be more extensive in its objectives. |

**Table 4.1:  Qualitative vs. Quantitative Research**
**(after McCracken 1988)**

As part of a mixed methods approach, quantitative research techniques were also utilized as a means of gathering and analysing the descriptive, spatial, and economic data pertaining to Maasai livelihoods.  Here, the purpose of collecting quantitative data was not to achieve a comprehensive, in-depth analysis but, rather, to offer a basic overview of the economic factors related to income from ecotourism and the distribution of the accrued benefits.  The quantitative research was enriched with previously collected secondary data such as published/unpublished literature, land lease payment records, historical records, and statistics related to annual tourist arrivals.  Similarly, questions requiring quantitative responses were asked on the household survey as a means of gathering data for subsequent statistical analysis (and triangulation), such as the distribution of income, household size, and means of formal employment.

**4.5 Research Questions**

Working in close relation to the main purpose and objectives of this research study, the following four research questions were formulated in order to gain a greater understanding of the relationships between land tenure, ecotourism initiatives, the distribution of 'benefits', and Maasai livelihoods:

1) How do ecotourism initiatives contribute to the sustainable livelihoods of the pastoral Maasai living in Kenya's Greater Maasai Mara?

2) What impact does land ownership have on the benefits received from ecotourism initiatives?

3) What is the relationship between stakeholder participation, empowerment, attitudes, and the equitable distribution of benefits?

4) How does increased land privatisation influence indigenous livelihood strategies?

**4.6 Research Approach and Design**

Examining the various 'livelihood assets', and lived realities of the Maasai residing in three different study sites through the 'lens' of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework permitted the undertaking of a cross-site comparative analysis of the various livelihood strategies employed. This comparative approach incorporated household survey data with common variables, data collection methods, and data analysis across the three sites. Table 4.2 outlines the main research questions, the data collection methods associated with the corresponding livelihood assets, the quantitative analyses that proved useful for examining Maasai livelihoods, and the complementary qualitative methods (e.g. participant observation,[46] participatory impact

---

[46] Refer to Section 4.7.3 for a review of Participant Observation (PO)

| Research Question | Livelihood Asset | Methods of data collection | Methods of analysis |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. How do ecotourism initiatives contribute to the sustainable livelihoods of the pastoral Maasai living in Kenya's Greater Maasai Mara? | Financial Capital<br><br>Human Capital<br><br>Social Capital<br><br>Natural Capital<br><br>Physical Capital | Household surveys on random samples to determine how ecotourism activities provide livelihood benefits.<br><br>Participatory Impact Assessments (PIA) concerning attitudes, goals, status, and well-being.<br><br>Participant Observation (PO) and Participatory Events (PE). | Use the SLF to assess changes in assets, activities, outcomes, and links to external institutions and policies.<br><br>Comparative analysis of empirical data in the three study sites. |
| 2. What impact does land ownership have on the benefits received from ecotourism initiatives? | Financial Capital<br><br>Human Capital<br><br>Natural Capital<br><br>Physical Capital<br><br>Cultural Capital<br><br>Political Capital | Attitudinal surveys on land ownership, environmental impact, and income generation.<br><br>Household surveys on economic activities and returns.<br><br>Key informant interviews, semi-structured interviews and Participant Observation. | Comparative analysis of financial data, and distribution of benefits in the three study sides.<br><br>Statistical analysis<br><br>Qualitative comparison and cross-referencing |
| 3. What is the relationship between stakeholder participation, empowerment, attitudes, and the equitable distribution of benefits? | Human Capital<br><br>Financial Capital<br><br>Political Capital | Attitudinal surveys on participation, empowerment, transparency, accountability, and revenue distribution.<br><br>Key informant interviews and household surveys on economic activities and returns<br><br>Participatory Impact Assessments (PIA) concerning empowerment and equity. | Comparative analysis of management models and financial data in the three study sides.<br><br>Statistical analysis<br><br>Qualitative comparison and cross-referencing |
| 4. How does increased land privatisation influence indigenous livelihood strategies? | Human Capital<br><br>Social Capital<br><br>Cultural Capital | Participatory Impact Assessments (PIA) concerning local attitudes, and cultural preservation.<br><br>Participant Observation (PO) and Participatory Events (PE). | Comparative analysis of attitudinal data in the three study sites.<br><br>Statistical analysis<br><br>Oral narrative |

**Table 4.2: Primary Research Questions, and Methods of Data Collection and Analysis**

assessment[47], participatory events[48]) that assisted with triangulation of the data. In turn, data were then analysed within the context of land ownership, livelihood strategies, empowerment, attitudes, and the distribution of benefits from ecotourism.

As will be outlined in greater detail in Section 4.7, this mixed methods approach was used to bring together ethnographic, economic, political, environmental, and participatory approaches as a means of gaining a greater understanding of the key factors underlying recent changes in Maasai livelihoods. Employed together, a wide range of qualitative and quantitative approaches was assembled within a standardized framework to develop an understanding of the scale and diversity of local livelihood strategies.

### 4.6.1 Sample Selection

Before commencing the field research, the main challenges were to decide upon the various locations to be examined, the sampling method for selecting the households to interview, and the number of households to be surveyed in order to ensure the results would be representative and support statistical analyses. Through a review of the scholarly literature pertaining to pastoral and semi-nomadic populations, it became evident that a number of challenges would arise when establishing a representative sample in areas where households are remote, scattered, and mobile. As field research amongst these groups of people tends to involve traveling long distances on poor roads, traversing swollen rivers, and long periods of time, an innovative and flexible methodology for defining the sample frame and sample size was required.

---

[47] Refer to Section 4.7.4 for a review of Participatory Impact Assessment (PIA)

[48] Refer to Section 4.7.5 for a review of Participatory Events (PE).

After much discussion with Maasai elders, Jacob (the research assistant), and local conservation officials, three study sites were purposefully selected. Two of the communities[49] (i.e. *Oloolaimutia, Ole Keene*) reside on common property regimes, while members of the third community (i.e. *Ol Kinyei*) have already undergone land subdivision and began receiving private title deeds to their land in 2005.[50] Since all three of these sites share a common language, culture and geography, the researcher felt that they would be excellent cases for comparing and contrasting local livelihoods. After the research sites were selected, the researcher and his assistant would drive out to the specified location, slaughter a few goats in the traditional Maasai custom, share the meat with the residents, and explain the nature of the research. After reading the Ethics Consent Form[51] (refer to Appendix B) to the potential participants in English and Maa, the community members were given the opportunity to ask any questions they might have. Then, 40 names from each of the three communities were randomly selected from Group Ranch registers and district electoral lists, and each of the randomly selected households were asked whether they were interested and willing to participate in the surveys and participatory events. If household members agreed[52], the head of household signed the Ethics Consent Form and the research assistant made a note of where their household was located and their mobile phone

---

[49] These three communities will be described in much greater detail in Chapter 5.

[50] The demarcation process first began in 2003, but was halted a few months later following a court order. Upon resolution, the first titles in Ol Kinyei were then issued in 2005. As of November 2010, only 247 titles out of the possible 1700 have been acquired due to the fact that many Maasai do not have funds to pay the survey fee, do not know the location of their parcels, or just do not see the value in holding a land title (Grieves-Cook 2010).

[51] Research on human subjects was officially approved through the University of Waterloo Office of Research Ethics (ORE #15798) on July 27, 2009 under the title, "Ecotourism and Sustainable Livelihoods: 'Living on the edge' of the Greater Maasai Mara, Kenya".

[52] In the very few cases where a household did not agree to participate (e.g. absence, sick, moving), another name was randomly selected from the Group Ranch register or district electoral list.

number attained, if available[53]. A subsequent date was then arranged for the household survey. The researcher was impressed with how committed the subjects were to keeping their appointments and participating throughout the process.

### 4.6.2 Data Collection

Data pertaining to land tenure, ecotourism, and Maasai livelihoods were collected in three communities (i.e. *Oloolaimutia, Ole Keene,* and *Ol Kinyei*) over a period extending from September 2009 through March 2010. Within these three communities, 120 households (*Maa: ilmareita*) were involved with the research in order to provide access to variation in land tenure (common versus private) and livelihood strategies (ecotourism, cattle grazing, craft marketing, etc.). The unit of analysis used throughout the study was the household, a Maasai term which corresponds approximately to an independent male head of household with his dependents (e.g. wives, unmarried children, and grandchildren). All 120 households were interviewed about land ownership regimes, attitudes to ecotourism, livelihood strategies, household wealth, involvement with cultivation, household income, level of participation, and the distribution of benefits from ecotourism. In addition to addressing these themes, demographic information was recorded for each household including household size, number of adults/children, gender, level of education, age, and the number of years they have lived within the region. Quantitative analysis of these demographic data was used to describe the variations that exist between Maasai households in

---

[53] Despite the remote locations associated with this research, mobile phone technology was extremely prevalent and the vast majority of households surveyed owned at least one mobile phone.

each of three locations, with the level of significance[54] between these differences determined through conducting ANOVA tests.

Because the Maasai tend to be reluctant to count their livestock, the research team adopted a creative approach to elicit accurate information. Instead of simply asking the subjects to provide the number of livestock they owned, the head of household was asked to specify his cattle, sheep and goats according to their age, sex, location, and function (e.g. breeding versus non-breeding, milking versus dry). This system worked quite well because it was consistent with the way the Maasai normally categorize their livestock. Since the research assistant was a Maasai cattle owner himself, his knowledge of the region and the culture contributed to obtaining reliable and accurate information. Unfortunately, the task of obtaining reliable data was simplified by the fact that the recent drought had devastated the herds of many of the surveyed households, with some participants reporting they had lost over two-thirds of their stock due to the natural disaster. As with any field research conducted in remote settings, it is acknowledged that over or underestimation might have occurred in a few instances, but the researcher has no reason to believe the discrepancies would differ significantly across the three surveyed communities.

### 4.6.3 Data Analysis

As predicated by Marshall and Rossman (1989), "data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure, and meaning to the mass of collected data" (Marshall & Rossman 1989; 112). Thus, in an attempt to bring structure to the data collected for this research, several dependent variables were analysed in relation to one independent variable (i.e. private vs. common land ownership).

---

[54] Throughout this study, significance is reported at the $p < 0.05$ level.

These dependent variables were then separated into the various categories highlighted within the asset pentagon of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework:

- Land use (crop cultivation, livestock grazing, leasing land)
- Human capital (decision-making ability, empowerment, participation)
- Financial capital (income from ecotourism, employment, handicrafts, village visits)
- Physical capital (roads, schools, medical centres, cattle dips)
- Social capital (organization, traditions, ceremonies, relationship with livestock)
- Natural Capital (wildlife, poaching, human-wildlife conflict, wildlife migratory patterns)

In order to minimize errors and omissions in the collected data, both the quantitative and qualitative data were coded[55] while still in the field, providing the opportunity to ask for further clarity as needed. Once the coding was complete, the researcher returned to Canada and entered the data into a statistical software program (SPSS v.17 for Windows 2007) for further analysis. The majority of the information collected was either nominal or ordinal scale data (with some interval scale data interspersed), and the data were analysed using the descriptive techniques outlined by Hunter and Brown (1991). This included calculation of the means, modes and standard deviations for the relevant interval data. Similarly, while conducting chi-square tests, t-tests, post-hoc tests, ANOVA's, and Pearson's correlations, the general statistics were presented visually in the form of frequency tables, bar charts, and histograms. In turn, these statistical tests assisted with deciphering the significance level of the various relationships and informed the degree to which the researcher could draw conclusions.

---

[55] For example, rating scale questions were given a code as follows:
highly positive = 2;  positive =1;  neutral = 0;  negative = -1;  highly negative = -2

## 4.7  Research Study Methodology

As the manner in which indigenous populations are viewed has been altered in recent years, so too have the associated research methods.  These alterations have included a reversal in thinking from top-down to bottom-up, from homogeneity to heterogeneity, and from large-scale infrastructure to 'grass-roots' learning (Knutsson 2006; Scoones 1998; Chambers 1994).  Along with this relatively recent transformation, the methods of assessment have also shifted away from relying solely on extractive survey questionnaires, ultimately leading to the adoption of a whole new set of participatory assessment tools.  Through enabling these changes in the way the poor are viewed, Mortimore (2005) articulates how the research makes itself more useful to them,

> It is by trying to understand how poor people manage their livelihoods and their natural resources in conditions of great difficulty that science can learn to make itself more useful to them, rather than by promoting transformations based on imported models (Mortimore 2005; 47)

By involving members of the local population in carrying out assessments, previously unheard voices are empowered to take an active role in the research (Freudenberger 1999; Ashley & Hussein 1999; Chambers 1994).  With this in mind, this research was designed to encourage two-way communication between the researcher and the participants, ultimately engaging them to participate in this development-related research.  To ensure this would occur, the principal investigator and his local research assistant participated in two community meetings in each of the three study sites as a precursor to determining the research issues relevant to the host population.  Through this close involvement with the beneficiaries, a culturally-appropriate research approach was formed, eventually leading to the discovery of unique interpretations and insights.

Section 4.2 provided some detail regarding the nature of the researcher's experience within the region since this narrative played a key role in the selection of the various research methods. Although there are challenges that can occur when the researcher is positioned too closely to the subjects (or too far removed from them), the researcher does not share the conviction of many scholars that his role and positioning necessarily affect the validity of the results. On the contrary, the view here is that the reliability and validity of field research are more closely related to the quality and validation of the research methods, than to the mere positioning of the researcher (Salzman 2002). Thus, a wide range of qualitative and quantitative methods facilitated the cross-checking and triangulation of information from a variety of sources, ultimately enabling a greater confidence in the validity and reliability of the results.

In keeping with this shift in thinking, a number of participatory research methods were implemented for gathering information, with the goal of better understanding the issues from the perspective of the Maasai community. Many of these participatory methods have proven effective in cross-cultural research amongst other indigenous populations, and include household surveys, participant observation, participatory impact assessment, participatory events, H-diagramming, asset mapping, and historical mapping.

4.7.1 **Participatory Methods for Gathering Information**

As previously established, basing the research approach on the sustainable livelihoods concept has gained rapid acceptance as an innovative way of thinking holistically about the objectives, scope, and priorities of the poor (Shen *et al*. 2008). Through combining a suite of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) methods with the sustainable livelihoods approach, it is postulated that

new perspectives on the lived realities of the poor can be documented. Credited with much of the early, innovative work on PRA techniques, Robert Chambers (1994) describes the concept as:

> A growing family of approaches and methods to enable local people to share, enhance, and analyse their knowledge of life and conditions, and to plan, act, monitor and evaluate (Chambers 1994; 102).

Thus, PRA provides a vast array of methods[56] that aim to elicit knowledge in an empowering and enabling manner from those being surveyed (Cramb & Purcell 2001; Chambers 1994). Instead of imposing ideas and values from the outside, PRA techniques are distinguished through incorporating members of the local population in the shared – usually visual – representations and analyses. These representations can include mapping or modeling on paper (or on the ground); scoring and ranking with stones (or bottle caps); and sorting cards under various criteria (Chambers 1994). Due to their reliance on local input and involvement, PRA techniques coupled with the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework proved to be an effective means of exploring indigenous livelihoods from a culturally-appropriate perspective. This approach was further accentuated through inviting members of the host community to play a pivotal role in collecting information via the household surveys.


4.7.2 **Household Surveys**

The unit of analysis used throughout the study was the household (*Maa: olmarei*), a Maasai term which corresponds approximately to an independent male head of household with his dependents. In all 120 households, the head of the household (whenever possible) was interviewed to gather data on a variety of indicators such as land ownership regime, attitudes to ecotourism, livelihood strategies, household wealth, involvement with cultivation, household income, level of

---

[56] As the number and variety of participatory methods is constantly increasing, Appendix E includes many of them, but is not a comprehensive list.

participation, and the distribution of benefits from ecotourism. Although an effort was made to interview Maasai women whenever possible, the fact that they often relinquished the role to their husbands meant they were under-represented (i.e. 46 out of 120) in the household surveys. However, in houses where the men were out grazing the cattle or conducting business in town, the women readily accepted the offer and provided some interesting insight. To encourage their input even further, the women and men were often separated from eachother for certain discussions during the participatory events, and this resulted in some lively and animated dialogue.

Since household surveys are generally deemed to be an effective method of gathering comparable and quantifiable data on local attitudes, activities, and livelihoods, (Babbie 2001; Trochim 2000) this study conducted the surveys in combination with a variety of participatory research methods with the goal of assessing of Maasai livelihoods. Likert[57] items, ranking scales, and closed questions were incorporated within the survey to assist with quantifying attitudes and perceptions (De Vaus 2001; Robinson 1998). Synthesis of these quantitative data with the qualitative information gave additional depth and breadth of understanding with regards to the Maasai way of life (Briedenhann & Wickens 2002; Kanbur 2001). In addition, this mixed methods approach allowed for triangulation which, according to scholarly literature, results in greater reliability and validation of the data (Simpson 2007; Chung 2000; Marsland *et al*. 2000).

---

[57] A Likert item is simply a statement which the respondent is asked to evaluate according to any kind of subjective or objective criteria; generally the level of agreement or disagreement is measured (Robinson 1998).

### 4.7.3 **Participant Observation**

According to Laurier (2003), participant observation is characterized as a qualitative method based on participating, observing, and living alongside the subjects with the intent to better understand how they organize and participate in their cultural, economic, political, and social environments. Unlike other methodologies which emphasize the importance of objectivity and distance, participant observation aims to get as close as possible to the phenomenon being studied (Laurier 2003). Sauer (1956) emphasized the importance of this sentiment when he remarked,

> Underlying what I am trying to say is the conviction that geography is first of all knowledge gained by observation, that one orders by reflection and reinspection of the things one has been looking at, and that from what one has experienced by intimate sight comes comparison and synthesis (Sauer 1956: 295).

Gaining knowledge through observation is often used by researchers working with indigenous populations sharing a strong sense of identity, and it has proven to be an effective means of learning as much as permissible about their lived realities and embedded nuances. If conducted with sensitivity, self-awareness, and acute observational skills, Trochim (2000) maintains that participant observation can provide the context with which to better understand aspects of cultural beliefs and behaviours. Similarly, by documenting a naturalistic view of human behaviour as viewed within a cultural context, it also provides a more general basis for using specialized data-gathering techniques later on. Above all, the technique provides a perspective on life from the host culture.

Despite these benefits, it is acknowledged that participant observation must be approached with some degree of caution as it is not as effective when carried out by those not intimately involved and embedded within the activities they are observing (Laurier 2003). On the other hand, when

researchers become too heavily involved with the inner-workings of the host culture, it is more difficult to be objective. Thus, it is imperative that investigators 'ground' their observations in such a manner that their participation does not adversely affect the subject of the study or impose a fictional reality. Because this has proven to be a concern in much research pertaining to indigenous populations, Lincoln and Guba (1985) put forth four objectives for enhancing the trustworthiness of qualitative data and minimizing research bias. To accomplish this, the gathered information should be transferable, dependable, credible, and confirmable (Lincoln & Guba 1985).

With this in mind, a conscious effort was made to spend as much time as possible living alongside the Maasai and observing their behaviour in various settings. Here, participant observation was manifested by the investigator living in a Maasai house for a period of time while the household surveys were being conducted. This opportunity to live among the Maasai built a degree of trust between myself and the subjects, and provided the avenue for me to witness diversity and richness not often seen by non-Maasai. Similarly, having my 4 year old daughter accompany me on some of the field visits strengthened the relationship even further, and opened up additional opportunities for dialogue with the women and children (Figure 4.2).

**Figure 4.2: The Researcher's Daughter Participating in a Field Visit**

As one of the only 'outsiders' ever to sleep overnight in Losho (near Oloolaimutia), it was a privilege to share in their lives and witness first-hand the traditions they have maintained for centuries. In addition to the strong rapport that was built with a number of the members of the community, the common living situation provided some common ground by helping dissolve some of the hierarchical issues that often occur between members of an indigenous community and a researcher. As a result, the high level of trust that was established led to some interesting

and rich responses, and provided the platform for measuring the impacts of change through conducting a participatory impact assessment.

### 4.7.4 **Participatory Impact Assessment (PIA)**

In order to determine the degree to which changing land ownership regimes are influencing Maasai livelihoods, this research study employed the principles of Participatory Impact Assessment (PIA) as an effective method for measuring the impacts of the change. Through adapting various PRA tools in combination with conventional statistical approaches, the method acknowledges the Maasai as experts and recognizes them as "capable of identifying and measuring their own indicators of change" (Catley 1999; 9). Within the context of this research, the aim of the PIA was to answer three specific questions:

1. What changes have occurred since land was privatised?

2. Which of these changes are attributable to the change in land tenure?

3. What differences (positive/negative) have these changes made to people's livelihoods?

Whereas quantitative research tends to focus on measuring the results of an initiative (e.g. income generated; number of people employed), PIA asks *if* and *to what extent* these activities actually benefit the host population. More importantly though, PIA examines the causal factor behind these benefits (Catley *et al.* 2008). Employing various PRA methods within PIA allows the respective impacts to be measured against a number of locally defined impact indicators such as changes in decision-making ability, level of local participation, and livelihood security. These impact indicators point to the end result of an initiative (or dramatic change) on people's lives by measuring the assets, resources, and attitudes of those affected (Catley *et al.* 2008). Through

incorporating a participatory ranking and scoring method, these qualitative indicators (usually based on attitudes and/or perceptions) can be quantified and presented numerically.

Comparative scoring methods can also be employed to develop a retrospective baseline against which impacts can be measured. This is a key factor, for there is often a dearth of baseline data available within most remote, indigenous communities (Barkin 2003; Stronza 2001; Weaver 2001). Similar to the flexibility of PRA, PIA can be adapted to find a balance between the rigours of quantitative methods and the richness of qualitative inquiry (Watson 2008). As illustrated in Figure 4.3, an eight-stage approach empowered the indigenous Maasai with the culturally-appropriate tools to measure impacts using *their own* indicators and *their own* methods (Catley *et al.* 2008).

**Eight Stages of a Participatory Impact Assessment**

| Stage 1: | Define the questions to be answered |
| Stage 2: | Define the geographical and time limits of the project |
| Stage 3: | Identify and prioritize locally-defined impact indicators |
| Stage 4: | Decide which methods to use, and test them |
| Stage 5: | Decide which sampling method and sample size to use |
| Stage 6: | Assess project attribution |
| Stage 7: | Triangulate |
| Stage 8: | Feedback and verify the results with the community |

**Figure 4.3: An Eight-Stage Approach to Designing a Participatory Impact Assessment (Catley *et al*. 2008)**

Before attempting to infer too much meaning from these locally-defined impact indicators, it was imperative that the research team gained a greater understanding of the local context underpinning the responses. Since livelihood strategies vary temporally and spatially, PIA must be combined with an understanding of the historical and cultural context, and one of the most effective ways of doing this proved to be in combination with the participatory events.

### 4.7.5 **Participatory Events**

In addition to conducting the household surveys, participatory impact assessments, and observing the participants carrying out their daily activities, a number[58] of 'participatory events' (refer to Figure 4.4) were also facilitated in each of the three study sites. With the goal of empowering the mostly non-literate participants with a safe space for expressing their ideas, groups of 10-14 local residents were invited to attend a 2-3 hour session where a number of participatory rural appraisal (PRA) techniques were employed to discern the diverse range of opinions and perceptions. These events often occurred in local schools and churches, but were occasionally conducted outside under a large Acacia tree. In keeping with Maasai tradition, the gatherings often involved the slaughtering of a goat prior to the official session, and it was during these informal periods prior to the event that the researcher felt he obtained some of his richest and most interesting data.

---

[58] Three participatory events were conducted in *Ole Keene*, two in *Oloolaimutia*, and three in *Ol Kinyei*.

**Figure 4.4:  A Participatory Event in Oloolaimutia**

Through a participatory technique called Asset Mapping (refer to Figure 4.5), the participants drew diagrams of their community to illustrate the position of various structures that they perceived as assets (e.g. water points, schools, roads, park borders, tourist lodges).  In turn, these asset maps enabled the collection of a wide range of qualitative data that included the natural resources, social institutions, and physical infrastructure available to the participant.

**Figure 4.5: An Example of an 'Asset Map' from Oloolaimutia**

Once asset maps were completed, the participants established Historical Timelines (refer to Figure 4.6) by placing the key events (e.g. park demarcation, construction of schools, establishment of safari lodges) that they perceived as important to their region on a timeline in chronological order. Regardless of the historical date the participants decided to commence with, it was interesting to note how many of the recalled events revolved around their cattle. Climatic conditions such as famine, drought, and long rains all have a pronounced effect on Maasai livestock, and these featured prominently on all the timelines. Similarly, the establishment of

cattle dips and veterinary services both played an important role in the exercise, further illustrating the intricate link between the Maasai and their cattle.



**Figure 4.6:  Drawing an Historical Timeline During a Participatory Event**

After the 'asset' and 'historical mapping' exercises were completed, the researcher then drew a large 'H' on a flipchart, and wrote a question in the top centre area of the 'H-diagram' (refer to Figure 4.7). The question was simple and focused such as: "How do you feel about tourists visiting your village?", or "How has land privatisation affected your livelihood?" The researcher then drew an unhappy face on the left side of the 'H', followed by a happy face on the right side

of the 'H'. The local participants expressed their positive and negative responses to the question and informed the researcher whether each response should be listed on the 'unhappy' or 'happy' side of the 'H' diagram.
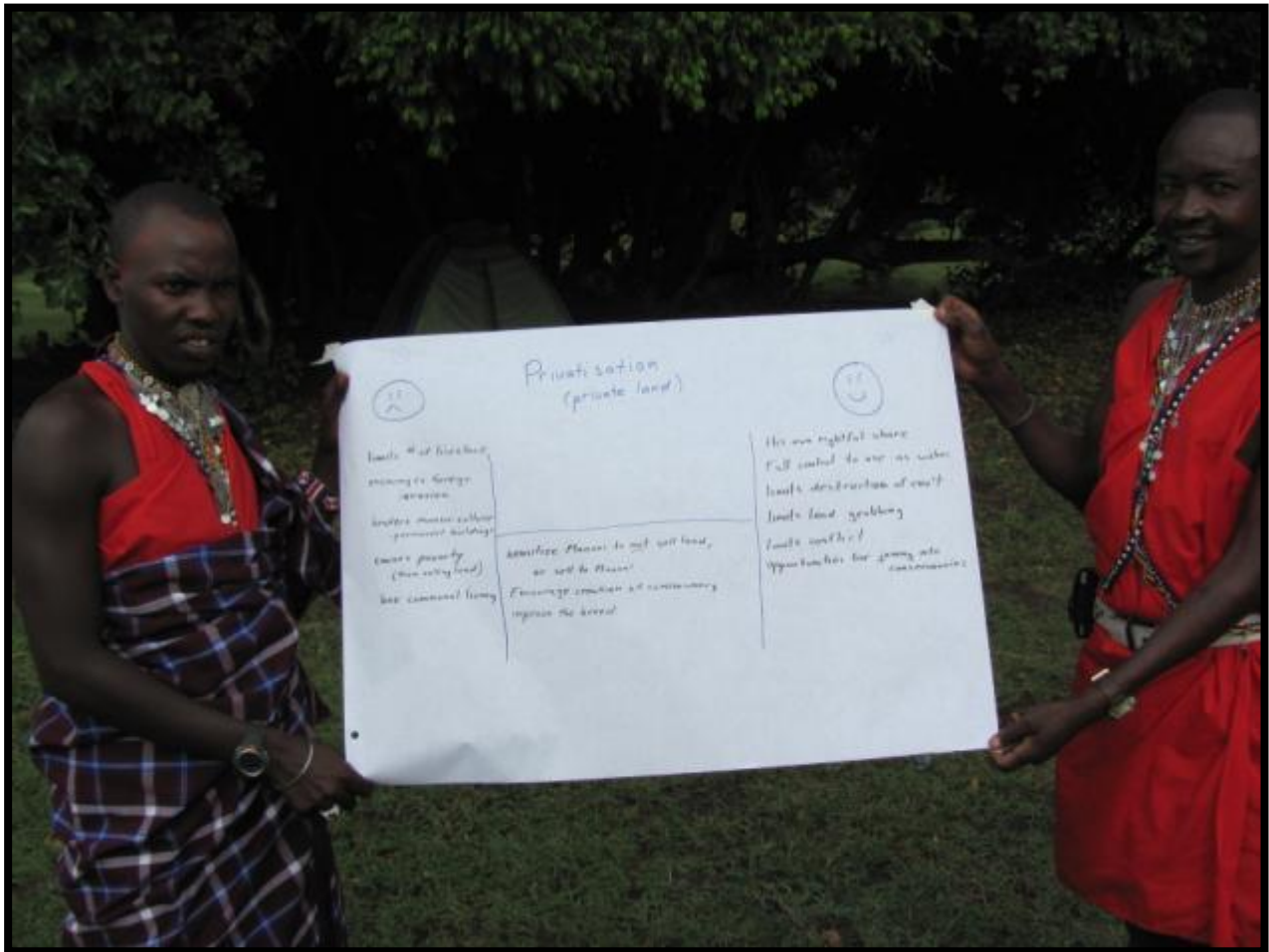


**Figure 4.7: Two Participants Displaying Their 'H' Diagram on Land Privatisation**

Once the participants had answered the question to their satisfaction, the researcher then encouraged them to describe 'things they would like to change' about the issue in question. This information was recorded under the horizontal line of the 'H' and the comments in each section of the 'H' were then ranked and prioritized by the participants themselves. After the ranking and

scoring exercises were completed, all comments were then grouped according to specified livelihood assets (i.e. human capital, financial capital, natural capital, etc.). A few weeks after the participatory event, the researcher visited the group again to ask some of the same questions and check the locations of the structures drawn on the maps.

After the asset maps, historical timelines, and 'H' diagrams were completed, the results were compiled by the researcher and members of the research team in search of prevailing ideas and cross-cutting themes. In keeping with the rankings and prioritizations put forth by the respondents during the participatory events, the research team was able to tease out the various commonalities and compile them into chart form (refer to Table 7.1). Outlying responses were not included in the aggregation process, but were discussed amongst the research team and used as a 'stepping stone' for leading to tangential discussions in the subsequent events. However, before the information gathered in the participatory events was added to the chart, the data were cross-checked and triangulated with the information collected via the household surveys as a means of assessing the degree of accuracy and importance.

### 4.7.6 **Triangulation**

As previously established, Lincoln and Guba (1985), maintain that a qualitative study must be credible, transferable, dependable and confirmable. To achieve these important objectives, 'triangulation' is used to incorporate more than one source of data when attempting to understand a single point (Marshall & Rossman 1989). In this way, triangulation combines the results from several research methods to confirm the dependability and credibility of those results. When

conducting participatory research, the principal strategy to reduce bias[59] and enhance the quality of the collected information is to incorporate a number of diverse perspectives, thereby offsetting the biases that may result from examining an issue from only one angle.

Triangulation is an important stage of the assessment phase. It involves the use of other sources of information (e.g. previous studies, scholarly reports, government surveys, quantitative data) to cross-check the results (Catley *et al*. 2008). Thus, it is imperative that the qualitative data are evaluated within the context of the quantitative data since "it is only after the qualitative investigator has taken advantage of the quantitative research that [he/she] is prepared to determine the distribution and frequency of the culture phenomenon that has come to light" (McCracken 1988; 17). In compliance, the researcher made a conscious effort to further validate the reliability of the information by continuously disseminating the results to the research participants so they themselves could verify the results.

**4.8 Research Limitations, Challenges, and Mitigation Strategies**

Despite best intentions, there are always a number of limitations associated with any selected research methodology that could possibly lead to vast alterations in the results. Thus, it is important to critique the various limitations associated with the research methods while, at the same time, exploring the various mitigation strategies employed to minimize their impact. For example, a number of logistical challenges were encountered while carrying out field work in this remote region of Kenya. As could be expected, these challenges included inclement weather, unreliable mobile phone technologies, language barriers, currency fluctuations, and poor road

---

[59] These can include disciplinary bias, gender bias, spatial bias, wealth bias, education bias, informant bias and researcher bias.

access (refer to Figure 4.8). However, due to the fact that the researcher lived and worked throughout East Africa for a number of years prior to conducting this research, he was able to mitigate most of these obstacles with the assistance of his research team and his experience in the region.



**Figure 4.8: Driving Through a Swollen River on the Way to *Ol Kinyei***

Although indigenous knowledge and culture are not rigidly framed within the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF), this research uses the framework as a 'lens' for viewing the various ways in which the Kenyan Maasai 'get by' and 'eke out' a living. In turn, this 'lens'

provides the platform for analysing activities and perceptions with a people-centred approach that is relevant and pertinent to the host population, as defined by them. As a result, the gathering of livelihoods data provides a benchmark for examining Maasai realities and, by extrapolation, how they are changing over time. However, as with all theoretical models, there are a few shortcomings of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework insofar as it does not include elements such as cultural capital, political capital, and historical capital. Similarly, the concepts of participation, empowerment, and social differentiation (i.e. age, gender, level of education, marital status, and ethnicity) are not explicitly addressed within the framework, which is why the SLF is considered to be more of a 'lens' than a rigid framework.

As elaborated upon in Section 2.5.2, the researcher attempted to overcome this gap by addressing the missing concepts and placing their various determinants within an adapted framework (refer to Figure 7.1). For example, stronger community organization and cohesion (i.e. participation) can be considered expansions of social capital, whereas increased skills and confidence (i.e. empowerment) are merely a desired livelihood outcome representing enhanced human capital. Similarly, the new-found power to influence external forces (i.e. political capital) can be attributed to the strengthened link between human activities and external organizations (Ashley & Hussein 1999). Thus, despite the fact that the framework does not provide a grand unifying theory, it is still deemed to be a flexible and effective tool for gaining a greater understanding of the livelihoods of the poor.

While participatory research methods are an improvement on the extractive approaches traditionally employed within indigenous research, engaging in a participatory study as part of a

doctoral dissertation evokes a new set of challenges. Because the Academy often requires research objectives and questions to be defined before the researcher enters the field, participatory researchers often find it extremely difficult to involve local stakeholders in all the aspects of the research process (e.g. setting the agenda, conducting wealth rankings, selecting PRA tools, gathering information), while satisfying the rigorous academic requirements. Similarly, limited time in the field due to funding constraints hinder longitudinal studies and shorten observation times. Because this study focused on documenting the nature, scale, and significance of indigenous livelihoods in a cross-cultural setting, a plethora of research challenges occurred that needed to be overcome. Although research challenges vary throughout the year (i.e. seasonality) and over time, Table 4.3 ranks and summarizes the various challenges encountered by the researcher, as well as the corresponding mitigation strategies that were employed to reduce their significance. Yet, despite all the associated challenges with conducting field research in remote, indigenous communities, the researcher feels confident that the mitigation strategies that were employed helped to minimize errors and maintain the credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability of the data.

| Research Challenges | | Mitigation Strategies |
|---|---|---|
| **Financial and Temporal Constraints** | <ul><li>Interviews always take longer than originally expected.</li><li>Logistical challenges and poor roads throughout Maasailand can increase transportation costs.</li><li>Expectation that tea will be taken before/after the interview.</li><li>Subjects might expect 'a gift' in return for their time.</li></ul> | <ul><li>Provide adequate time for the research.</li><li>Visit the household the day before, informing them when you will be coming, and that tea is not necessary.</li><li>Explain the nature of the research beforehand in the community meeting and that there is no budget for gifts.</li></ul> |
| **Sampling Issues** | <ul><li>Maasai households and communities are complex, and careful thought must be put into an approach that includes the poorest as well as the (often absent) wealthiest.</li><li>Difficult to establish a representative sample where households are scattered, mobile and remote could prove difficult.</li></ul> | <ul><li>Make use of the village and electoral lists available.</li><li>Involve the local community in (PRA) mapping exercises. In addition to getting a good overview of the area, their participation will allow for a variation in wealth, land size, and environmental conditions.</li></ul> |
| **Hierarchical Societies** | <ul><li>Within Maasai social structure, the marginalised cannot simply state their opinion freely.</li><li>Research often plays into the hands of the local elite and is open to self-serving manipulation by political interests.</li></ul> | <ul><li>Display humility and sensitivity to all members within the community.</li><li>Spend time with key informants to learn the hierarchical structure within the region.</li></ul> |
| **Inequalities of Power** | <ul><li>Conflicts of interest between local stakeholders.</li><li>Maasai often provide false information if they assume that is what the researcher will want to hear.</li><li>Second-guessing the possible implications of the research.</li><li>Maasai women do not usually speak with 'outside' men alone.</li><li>Participatory methods are often conducted very publicly and subjects may not want to speak openly about sensitive issues.</li></ul> | <ul><li>Interview subjects in groups and individually.</li><li>Ask similar question (re-worded) two to three times throughout the interview as a 'check'.</li><li>Explain the nature of the research beforehand.</li><li>Involve female research assistants on the team.</li><li>Conduct PRA activities but ask the sensitive questions during the household survey.</li></ul> |
| **Mistrust and Scepticism** | <ul><li>Due to a long history of colonial and post-independence interventions, there is a general mistrust of foreigners.</li><li>As meaning is embedded in Maasai culture and language, it is difficult to obtain accurate information when viewed as an outsider with vested interests.</li></ul> | <ul><li>Align with a trusted and respected NGO (e.g. African Wildlife Fund., Ecotourism Kenya)</li><li>Involve university-trained Maasai research assistants.</li><li>Be accountable and transparent in all activities.</li></ul> |

**Table 4.3: Research Challenges and Mitigation Strategies Within The Kenyan Context**

**4.9 Chapter Summary**

The fourth chapter detailed the research approach and design by outlining the importance of the researcher's positionality within the study. Since the role of the researcher is often overlooked when conducting field research in indigenous communities, a conscious effort was made to address this concern by incorporating local research assistants and indigenous knowledge wherever possible. By doing so, the researcher's positionality and personal bias on the results were mitigated. Through integrating the host population into all aspects of the study, this attempt at 'decolonizing research' represents a method of empowering the traditionally marginalized and oppressed with the training and tools required to become active participants in the decisions that affect their futures. As a result, the approach deconstructed the colonial discourses which have often pervaded research amongst the indigenous Maasai in the past.

After reviewing the similarities and differences between quantitative and qualitative research, the four main research questions were delineated, addressing the various spatial and household level variables connected to Maasai livelihoods. In turn, these research questions were followed by a clear description of the selected methods for sampling, collecting, and analysing the data. As part of a mixed methods approach, both qualitative and quantitative research techniques were employed in order to gather and analyse the descriptive, spatial, and economic data pertaining to Maasai livelihoods. As outlined, the purpose of collecting quantitative data was not necessarily to achieve a comprehensive in-depth analysis but, rather, to offer a basic overview of the economic factors related to income from ecotourism and the distribution of the accrued benefits.

Just as thinking about indigenous communities has been altered in recent years, so too have the methods of assessment. In keeping with this theme, this research was specifically designed to involve the local residents throughout the research process, thus empowering the marginalized with a new set of skills. To accomplish this, a number of participatory research methods that have proven effective in cross-cultural research amongst other indigenous populations were incorporated. These methods included household surveys, participant observation, participatory impact assessment, participatory events, H-diagramming, asset mapping, and historical mapping. By incorporating this suite of techniques, previously unheard voices (i.e. women, youth, disabled) were provided with a platform for sharing their perspectives on changing land ownership regimes, attitudes to ecotourism, livelihood strategies, interesting in cultivation, and the distribution of benefits.

After reviewing the participatory methods used for conducting the field research, the fourth chapter concludes with an overview of the research limitations encountered, as well as the various strategies employed to mitigate them. Whenever fieldwork is conducted in remote locations, there are always a number of challenges that can arise. Thus, through critiquing the various logistical, conceptual, and research challenges, it was possible to find solutions for mitigating their impact. Now that the theoretical framework, research approach, and methodology have been outlined, it is time to turn our attention to the participants within the research – Kenya's pastoral Maasai.

# Chapter 5

# Introduction to the Field Sites:  Comparative Case Studies

*"Be as familiar with observation as you are with the place you live"* – **Maasai proverb**

## 5.1 The Case Study Approach

Case study research is a widely accepted means of chronicling historic events, characterizing relevant issues, and addressing research questions (Lincoln & Guba 1985).  With this in mind, the researcher selected a comparative case study approach as the most appropriate means of understanding the complex intertwining of the environmental, political, socio-cultural, and economic factors that might be ignored or misinterpreted under a different approach.  Although Maasailand is heterogeneous and multi-faceted, the underlying cultural and societal links between the various communities are so deeply rooted that the comparative case study approach has often proven to be an effective means of enhancing the outsider's understanding of the local context (Homewood *et al.* 2009).

## 5.2 The Setting:  Kenya's Maasai Mara Ecosystem

Named after the local Maasai residents and the long winding Mara River which divides it, Kenya's Maasai Mara National Reserve (MMNR) was established in 1961 and covers a land area of 1,510 km$^2$ (Seno & Shaw 2002).  Situated within the Great Rift Valley, this northern continuation of the 30,000 km$^2$ Mara-Serengeti ecosystem is a natural phenomenon spanning the African continent from the Mediterranean Sea to South Africa (Seno & Shaw 2002).  Despite being situated just south of the equator, the region is characterized by a cool climate due to its

high altitude (4,500-5,500 meters) and has low, variable, and bimodal rainfall patterns ranging from 600-1,000 mm annually (Homewood *et al*. 2009).

Due to its proximity to the equator, the annual fluctuation in temperature is insignificant, with the mean maximum temperature ranging between 26 and 30 degrees Celsius throughout the year (Homewood *et al.* 2009). Owing to the shift of the inter-tropical convergence zone (ITCZ), the Mara ecosystem experiences a short rainy season from October to November, and a longer rainy season from March to May (Lamprey & Reid 2004). The fertile volcanic soils provide support for the wide-open savannah grasslands which are interspersed with thickets of acacia trees and seasonal rivers (Norton-Griffiths *et al.* 2008; Lamprey & Reid 2004). This combination of environmental attributes supports pastoralist populations and massive herds of migrating wildlife that have co-existed with one another for hundreds of years in their search for better grazing (Homewood *et al.* 2009). Due to the prolific number of species living in the region, land use within the MMNR is restricted to wildlife-viewing tourism with the surrounding rangelands acting as a buffer zone between the Reserve and the cultivated "high potential lands" in the northern part of the district. Because the Reserve's boundaries are not fenced, the borderlands host resident wildlife throughout the year, with transient and migratory species spilling out onto them during the dry season (Galaty 1999; 1993).

The Maasai Mara is not the largest national reserve in Kenya, but its' magnificent flora and mega-fauna attract many more visitors than any other game park in the country (Central Bureau of Statistics 2006; Sindiga 1995). As illustrated in Figure 5.1, over 300,000 tourists visited the Maasai Mara National Reserve in 2006, with the trend continuing upward until the country's

tourism sector was devastated by post-election violence[60] in December 2007. Yet, despite the fact that tourist arrivals to Kenya have risen dramatically over the past fifteen years, the vast majority of Maasai households are still mired in abject poverty. As a result, most Maasai report feeling short-changed and disappointed by the lack of benefits they receive from tourism, despite the colossal amount of income generated by the Reserve (Sachedina 2008; Norton-Griffiths 1996; Douglas-Hamilton 1988).
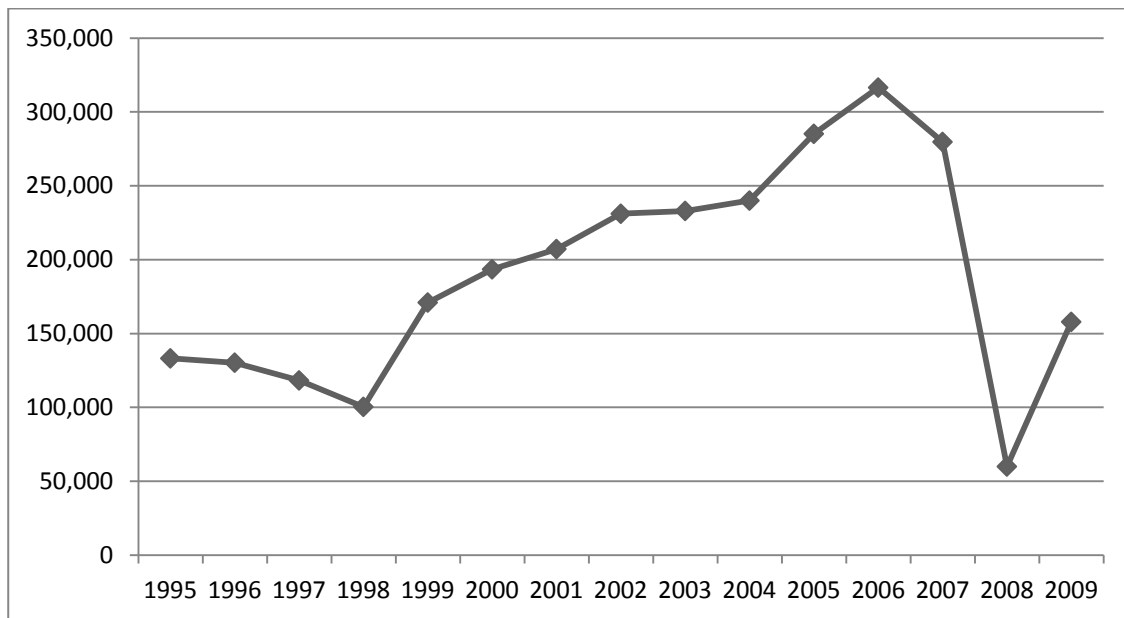


**Figure 5.1: Visitors to the Maasai Mara National Reserve (1995-2009)**
**(Kenya Ministry of Tourism 2010)**

---

[60] Kenyans often refer to the political, humanitarian, and economic crisis that erupted after the presidential election held on December 27, 2007 as 'post-election violence'. Supporters of both political parties alleged that the other party was involved with election result tampering, information which was eventually confirmed by international observers and the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK).

The property rights to the Maasai Mara National Reserve have been entrusted to the Narok County Council (NCC) in 'Trust', and the NCC is responsible for managing the Reserve on behalf of the Maasai residing in the district. In theory, it is the responsibility of the NCC to devolve a portion of the tourist revenues generated from the Reserve to the surrounding Maasai communities for social investment and development initiatives (Talbot & Olindo 1990). In practice however, the funds collected by the NCC rarely (if ever) trickle down to the general population (Rutten 2004; Monbiot 1994). It appears highly unlikely that the local councilors controlling MMNR revenues will adopt a broader power-sharing arrangement with the Maasai in the near future, and many Maasai have recently resorted to demanding control over their own parcels of private land through the subdivision of common property. But before turning to a discussion of the positive and negative impacts associated with the privatisation of land, the three research sites will be introduced and described in detail.

## 5.3 Introduction to the Field Study Sites

As Kenya has become famous for its spectacular wildlife and landscapes, ecotourism has flourished and become the country's largest earner of foreign exchange (Kenya Ministry of Tourism 2010). In fact, international and domestic tourism contributes over 22 per cent of Kenya's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), with over 40 percent of all tourists visiting the Maasai Mara National Reserve (Kenya Ministry of Tourism 2010). As a result, the MMNR provided an excellent backdrop for this research due to its popularity as a tourist attraction, and the fact that the subdivision and privatisation of land has occurred in some regions and not in others, allowing for a control group from which to draw comparisons.

With these factors in mind, research for this study took place in the three communities of *Ole Keene, Oloolaimutia,* and *Ol Kinyei,* (refer to Figure 5.2) covering seven different sub-locations (*Endoinyo Narasha, Koiyaki, Megwarra, Nkoilale, Ol Kinyei, Sekenani,* and *Siana*) in order to provide variation in land tenure (common versus private) and livelihood strategies (ecotourism, cattle grazing, handicraft and beadwork, etc.). Within these three communities, 120 households (*maa: ilmareita*) were involved with the research from September 2009 through March 2010. The three study sites were purposefully selected due to the structures of their current land ownership regimes. Two of the communities (i.e. *Ole Keene, Oloolaimutia*) still reside on common land, while members of the third community (i.e. *Ol Kinyei*) began receiving private
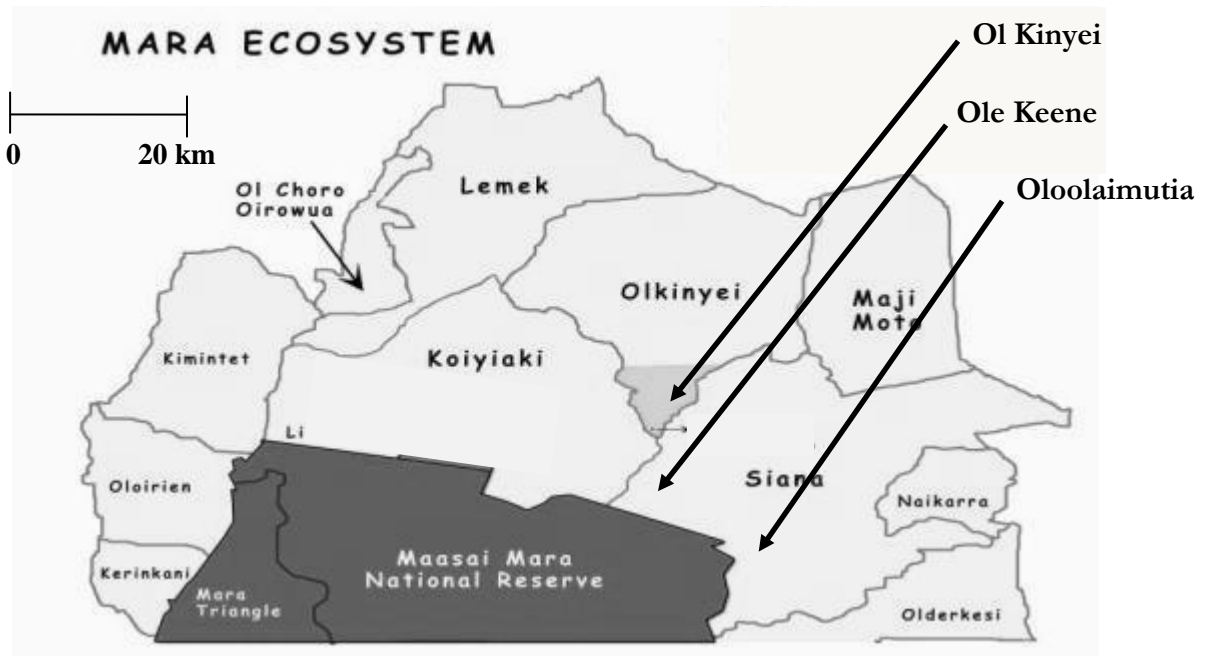


**Figure 5.2: Map of the Maasai Mara National Reserve and its Periphery**
**(Grieves-Cook 2008)**

title deeds to their land in 2005.  The residents in all three locations permitted entry and allowed

the researcher to live among them, providing a valuable opportunity for understanding the

various processes, interactions, and structures that pertained to the pertinent research questions.


Understandably, the Maasai are extremely interested in the impact of land subdivision and

privatisation on their culture and communities.  The researcher felt well accepted and did not

receive any opposition from the local elders (*maa: laibon*).  Similarly, the Maasai elders residing

on common land that had not yet been privatised were especially welcoming and supportive of

the research as they hoped to use the research results and feedback for informing their decisions

on future directions.  This high level of acceptance, coupled with the cross-checking and

triangulation of the results, led the researcher to believe the data are credible and reasonably

assured.


As will be discussed in the following sections, the two communities with common land

ownership regimes (*Ole Keene* and *Oloolaimutia*) are relatively accessible to most tourists due to

their close proximity to the National Reserve.  However, visiting the third community (*Ol Kinyei*)

involves considerably more time and effort due to the poor road infrastructure and distance from

the Reserve boundary.  Not surprisingly, this spatial component plays an important role in host-

visitor interactions, and strongly influences the selection of local livelihood strategies.  Since all

three communities are intimately involved with ecotourism (e.g. cultural homestead visits,

leasing of land to safari companies, sale of handicrafts and beadwork, and formal and informal

employment as safari guides and naturalists), it follows that a significant portion of Maasai

household income[61] is generated from involvement in the tourism sector. As a result, the following three case studies are put forth as a means of chronicling the manner in which various ecotourism initiatives have developed in each of the three regions, as well as the manner in which the recent privatisation of land in Ol Kinyei has (or has not) influenced that development. The case studies provide an avenue for meaningful livelihoods discourse by bringing traditionally unheard voices to the forefront.

## 5.4 Case Study: *Ole Keene*

The community of *Ole Keene* (refer to Figure 5.2) lies adjacent to the unfenced northern border of the Maasai Mara National Reserve and plays host to a wide variety of wildlife when they graze for foliage and water outside the Reserve. Situated on the western border of the Siana Group Ranch[62], this parcel of land boasts a total area of 629 km$^2$ and is unadjudicated land held in trust by the Narok County Council (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics 2010). In practice, the area operates much like a Group Ranch with a management committee involved in the various decisions pertaining to land use. This structure appears to be on the verge of changing though, as the residents of *Ole Keene* recently (i.e. January 2011) commenced a registration exercise for the purpose of subdividing and privatising the land.

The smallest of the three study sites, *Ole Keene* consists of 60 households spread out along the eastern side of the main road leading to the Sekenani gate. With 40 households participating from each community, *Ole Keene* recorded the most comprehensive representation (67%

---

[61] For a detailed overview of Maasai financial capital, refer to Section 6.5.

[62] For a detailed overview of the Group Ranch system, refer to Section 3.4.

coverage) of the three sites. The community hosts one primary school (kindergarten to grade 3), after which the children must walk up to seven kilometers to the government-run Sekenani Primary School. In addition to the local primary school, the African Inland Church serves as a focal point for community meetings and social gatherings and was referred to with a sense of pride by most of those interviewed. Due to the small size of the community, the nearest health clinic and pharmacy are located seven kilometers away in Sekenani. However, for more serious cases, the nearest medical centre[63] is located 28 kilometers away in the town of Talek, requiring the use of a vehicle over an extremely poor road.

After conducting household surveys with the residents of *Ole Keene*, it was determined that the importance of living in close proximity to the main road and nearby safari lodges cannot be overstated, since geographic location plays a pivotal role in the selection of livelihood strategies. The fact that the Maasai residing in *Ole Keene* are located close to the core of the Reserve means that the majority generate their household income by working in safari lodges, selling beadwork and handicrafts, and hosting tourists in their cultural villages. For this reason, *Ole Keene* boasts the highest employment rate (1.95 individuals per household) of the three study sites. However, the residents are quick to point out that their employment in the lodges is usually limited to the menial, low paying jobs (e.g. gardeners, cooks, cleaners, security guards) due to their traditionally low levels of formal education. As a result, there is often an underlying tension present between the resident Maasai involved in menial employment and their more highly educated colleagues from Nairobi who usually receive the higher-paying managerial positions.

---

[63] A regional medical centre provides more comprehensive health care than a community medical clinic, but not as much as a district hospital.

Thus, it is important to further examine the role of ecotourism as a livelihood strategy, and the manner in which these initiatives are shaping Maasai culture and identity in *Ole Keene.*

5.4.1 **Ecotourism as a Livelihood Strategy**

Despite the ever-increasing numbers of tourists passing through their community in search of wildlife, the residents of *Ole Keene* recognize that they are only receiving a tiny fraction of the total income. Rapid population growth[64] coupled with increasing rates of poverty, have contributed to a slight decrease in the number of wild herbivores residing within *Ole Keene* and its environs (Serneels *et al.* 2001; Ottichilo *et al.* 2000). Similarly, as the local residents are theoretically entitled to receive a share of the tourist revenues to off-set the cost of human-wildlife conflict (e.g. elephants trampling their gardens, lions killing their cows), the fact that the devolution of funds rarely (if ever) trickles down to them is a constant source of consternation.

These frustrations, coupled with *Ole Keene'*s proximity to the Reserve gate, have led some of the more enterprising residents to invite tourists to visit their houses as a means of generating an additional revenue stream. Here, tourists have the opportunity to enter traditional Maasai homes and villages to see first-hand how the Maasai have lived for centuries. Tourists are frequently entertained with a number of traditional dances, followed by the opportunity to enter the small houses made of mud, sticks, and cow dung. In order not to disrupt the tourists' 'authentic' experiences, the local residents are careful to keep all electronic and 'Western' products (e.g. watches, running shoes, radios) out of sight from the visitors.

---

[64] Coast (2001) estimates a natural population growth rate of 3.4% per annum.

In addition to charging a fee for entering the village, the women generate income by selling handicrafts and beadwork to the tourists. These souvenirs include the traditional beaded jewelry that Maasai women and young girls have been making for generations (refer to Figure 5.3). More recently, they have also started offering some non-traditional beaded items such as dog collars, mobile phone cases, and spears that come apart to fit into a suitcase. Some villages have even started accepting credit cards. Thus, the debate over cultural authenticity and Maasai heritage raises major concerns amongst village elders and anthropologists alike, and will continue to be a source of contention as the younger generation appears to be more open to assimilation than their parents.



**Figure 5.3: Maasai Women Wearing Their Traditional Beaded Jewelry**

Cultural visits and souvenir sales play an important role in local livelihoods, for without these additional sources of revenue, local rates of poverty would be exacerbated even further. However, as the degree to which these revenues contribute to household income has rarely been studied, these figures are quantified and discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 in order to ascertain the comparative advantage (with respect to cultural visits and souvenir sales) that Maasai residing in close proximity to the Reserve enjoy over their colleagues living further from the boundary.

## 5.5  Case Study:  *Oloolaimutia*

Located within the large Siana Group Ranch, the community of *Oloolaimutia* (refer to Figure 5.2) is situated along the main road leading to the north eastern gate of the Maasai Mara National Reserve.  Strategically situated at the very point where the rolling Siana hills open up into the wide open Siana plains, the community of *Oloolaimutia* serves as the final administrative and market centre encountered before entering the Reserve.  The community has one elected representative on the Narok County Council (NCC) and it is his responsibility to ensure that 19% of the millions of dollars collected as gate entry fees are received by the community for road maintenance, school refurbishment, teacher salaries, and health care (Thompson *et al.* 2009). However, as is the case in much of Maasailand, poor governance, weak institutions, and rampant corruption within the Narok County Council has resulted in increased uncertainty and an escalation in rates of poverty amongst the estimated 14,000 Maasai living in Siana (Thompson *et al*. 2009).  This challenge is further exacerbated by high levels of in-migration from Somalia and Tanzania to the rapidly growing towns located on the Reserve boundary.

The relatively recent increase in population puts added strain on the physical capital within the region as there is currently only one government-run primary school (i.e. pre-school to grade 8) serving the entire region. As a result, a few of the wealthier community members have constructed three private schools (i.e. pre-school to grade 3) to service this recent growth in demand. However, at a price of 9,000 KSHS (CAN$ 110) per year, the costs are prohibitive for the vast majority of the local residents. Even if families can come up with the funds required for attending primary school, the government has still not constructed a secondary school in the region, and teens are either forced to drop out of the education system or overcome the numerous obstacles associated with attending the nearest secondary school in Maji Moto, located 60 kilometers away. As a result, literacy rates amongst the *Oloolaimutia* Maasai are extremely low, and formal employment opportunities are correspondingly poor.

Just as the private sector stepped in to fill the void in educational infrastructure, it has also become tired of waiting for the government to fulfill its promises and have constructed two private health clinics as well. However, rare visits from a doctor, combined with prohibitive costs for the majority of the residents, result in primary health care that is still inaccessible for many. Thus, resident Maasai who aren't able to afford private health care are faced with the difficult dilemma between traveling 90 kilometers to the nearest public hospital in Narok, or foregoing medical attention altogether. Unfortunately, for many of the Maasai residing in *Oloolaimutia*, the latter option is selected all too often and the levels of local public health are some of the poorest in the country.

Thus, many of the residents of *Oloolaimutia* have started tilling small (1 acre) farms to grow maize corn that can be sold at the local market near the Reserve gate. However, because these vegetables are grown on common land and the grower does not have exclusive access or ownership of the produce, there is little incentive to invest in fences that would protect the vegetables from local thieves or marauding animals. As mentioned earlier, since it is expected that the large Siana Group Ranch will be subdivided and privatised in the near future, local residents are apprehensive to invest funds into permanent houses or fences, for they know they will most likely be displaced from their current site once the privatisation process begins.

### 5.5.1 **Ecotourism as a Livelihood Strategy**

Situated in close proximity to a number of safari lodges and eco-resorts lining the Reserve boundary, the (approx.) 300 households residing in *Oloolaimutia* are strategically placed to capitalize on the growing ecotourism sector. However, since all the land within the region is still tenured under a common property regime, the majority of the residents do not possess the political power to participate in the decision-making process that affects them. High levels of poverty and a complete dearth of government investment in local infrastructure (i.e. physical capital), have resulted in many of the residents looking to tourism to generate income and sustain their livelihoods. This involvement is manifest in a variety of ways, but the most profitable initiative involves the setting up of cultural villages where visitors pay a fee of 1,600 KSHS (CAN$ 20) to take photographs while participating in traditional dancing, singing, and cultural activities.

With hopes of diversifying their income streams, a group of fifty *Oloolaimutia* women recently received a grant of 850,000 KSHS (approx. CAN$ 10,000) from the Kenyan Arid Lands Program (K-ALP) to construct a large craft shop for displaying their beadwork and handicrafts a short distance outside the Reserve gate. When interviewed, the women reported that approximately 70 tourists visit the shop on a good day, but there are many days – especially in the rainy season – without any visitors. Despite the fluctuating financial returns associated with the initiative, the craft shop serves as a source of social capital and has provided a sense of pride and accomplishment for the women involved. In addition, the women's responses indicate increased levels of organization, participation, and decision-making ability. As a result, a number of the women interviewed mentioned that the construction of the curio shop was, "one of the best things that ever happened to [them]" (Subject #65).

Despite the success and optimism associated with the ecotourism initiative, the women's cooperative has been concerned by recent reports that the Narok County Council (NCC) desires to be involved with the management and administration of the craft shop. This apprehension comes as a result of the fact that levels of transparency, accountability, and trust in the Narok County Council (NCC) have declined rapidly over the years. Consequently, local residents have shifted their energies and activities towards serving their own interests and doing whatever it takes to receive the benefits they feel are rightfully theirs. Thus, general dissatisfaction with seeing tourism-related income 'leak' out of the region to corrupt politicians and NCC members has prompted a renewed interest in alternative models of land tenure; namely the subdivision and privatisation of land that has already occurred only fifty kilometers away in *Ol Kinyei.*

116

**5.6  Case Study*:  Ol Kinyei***

As illustrated in Figure 5.2, the *Ol Kinyei* Group Ranch covers a large swath of land bordered by the Siana, Koiyaki, Lemek and Maji Moto Group Ranches.  It is comprised of approximately 5,000 Maasai households spread throughout the region and boasts the highest number of cattle per household due to its close proximity to the rich Loita Plains.  These all-season grazing lands stretch out to the north of the Group Ranch and are covered by dwarf shrub and whistling thorn (*Acacia drepanolobium*) grasslands (Serneels & Lambin 2001).  Because of very little in-migration in the past, this region was often considered 'true Maasailand' as the *Ol Kinyei* Maasai existed very much the same way that their fathers and forefathers did.

However, as the Government of Kenya continues to uphold the view that pastoralists are irrational and inefficient users of their land, various land policies have been recently enacted to discourage the common property regimes that have existed for centuries (Thompson et al. 2009; Homewood et al. 2009; Mwangi 2007; Lamprey & Reid 2004; Seno & Shaw 2002).  As illustrated in Figure 5.4, in 2005 the *Ol Kinyei* Group Ranch was fragmented into thousands of small parcels of land ranging in size from 100-140 acres.  Each parcel of land (and official land title deed) was then allocated to an individual Maasai landowner, providing him[65] with the legal right to sell, lease, or develop his plot as desired (Grieves-Cook 2008).

---

[65] The masculine pronoun is used purposefully here, as according to 'unwritten Maasai law', women and girls are not permitted to inherit nor own land.  However, as the recently enacted Kenyan constitution gives equal rights to men and women in matters pertaining to inheritance and land ownership, it will be interesting to see how this juxtaposition between customary laws and constitutional laws plays out within Maasai society in the coming years.
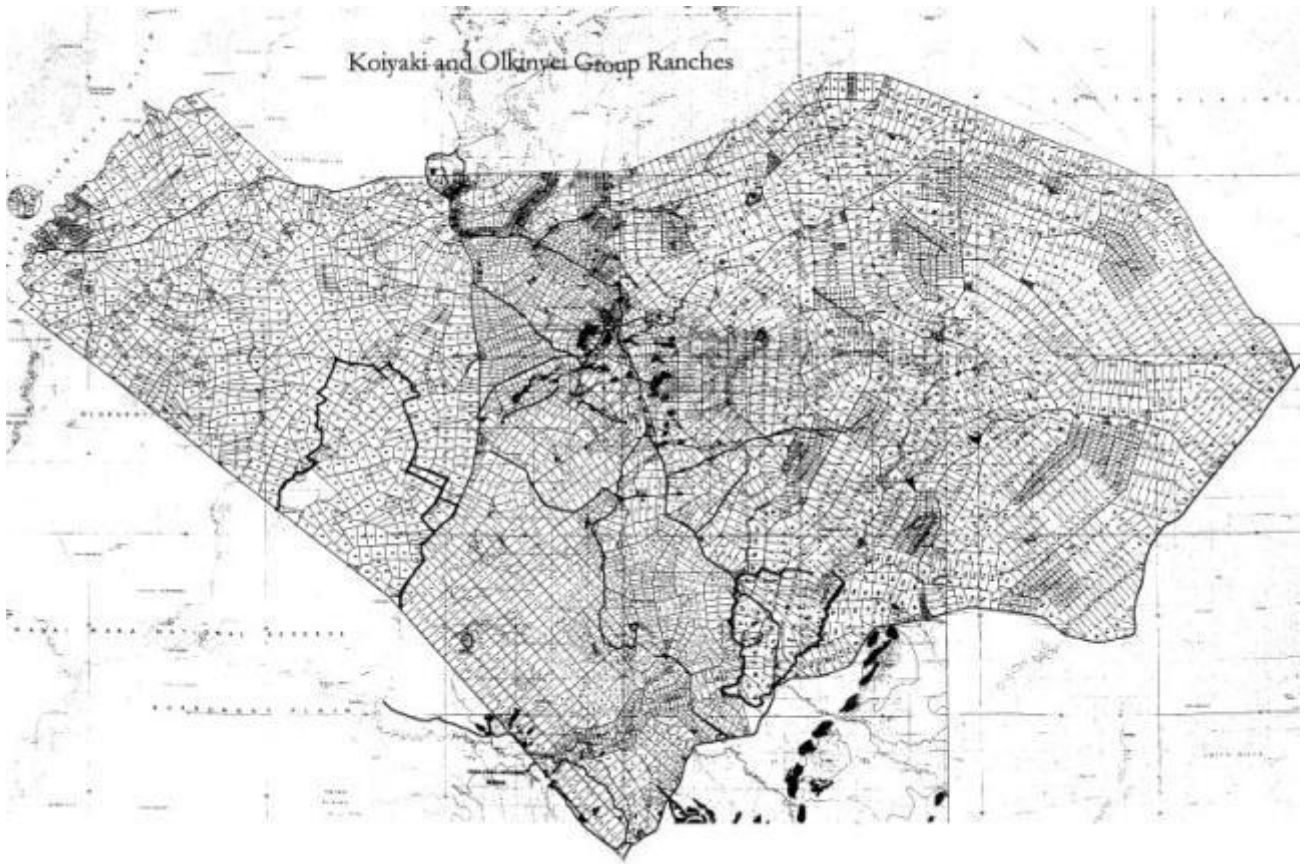
**Figure 5.4: Map of Subdivided Land Parcels on the *Koiyaki* and *Ol Kinyei* Group Ranches (Grieves-Cook 2008)**

With the advent of land subdivision and privatisation, the semi-nomadic pastoral lifestyle embraced by the Maasai since time immemorial came to an abrupt end. For the first time, a few of the residents undertook small-scale cultivation on their property. This farming is primarily restricted to the growing of maize, for the land in *Ol Kinyei* is too dry for growing other vegetables such as carrots, peppers, lettuce, and cabbage. Similarly, water scarcity related to the inadequate number of boreholes (i.e. wells) makes irrigation nearly impossible.

Despite its growing population, the Government of Kenya has not invested proportionally or equitably in the physical capital of the region. Currently, only 9 schools[66] service the entire region, and as a result of the poor educational infrastructure, only a small percentage of the local children complete Grade 8. Because there are no secondary schools within the region, students who are interested (and able to pay the associated tuition fees) must move to the region's administrative capital (approx. 100 km away) to attend secondary school.[67] Consequently, only an extremely small percentage of the population residing in *Ol Kin*yei holds a secondary school diploma.

International missionaries reached the region relatively early and the six churches serving the community are a testament to that zeal. In addition to providing a place of worship, these churches serve as meeting places for community meetings and social gatherings. The religious influence is also felt within the health sector as the two local medical clinics are run by the Presbyterian Church of East Africa (PCEA). But these clinics are run strictly by nurses, and the residents of *Ol Kinyei* must travel approximately 100 kilometers to the *Narok* Hospital when they require the services of a trained medical doctor. As a result of this somewhat desperate situation, it follows that local residents are looking to new livelihood strategies to enhance development within their community – with the most potential appearing to come from ecotourism.

---

[66] Of the 9 schools in Ol Kinyei Group Ranch, 4 schools provide education from grades 1-8, while 5 schools only provide grades 1-6.

[67] In Narok town, students choose between attending Narok Boys High School, Maasai Girls Secondary School, Ole Tipis Girls High School, and St. Mary's Girl's Secondary School.

### 5.6.1 **Ecotourism as a Livelihood Strategy**

Of the three study sites examined in this research, the *Ol Kinyei* Maasai reside the furthest from the Reserve boundary and have traditionally had the least interaction with tourists. Thus, income-generating opportunities from selling handicrafts, setting up cultural villages, or obtaining employment within the various safari lodges are extremely limited. The problems associated with high rates of unemployment and low levels of education are exacerbated by the effects of increased land degradation from severe over-grazing, small-scale cultivation, intensive ranching, and the clear-cutting of forests for the production of charcoal (Thompson *et al*. 2009; Grieves-Cook 2008).

To cope with this trend and help reduce their vulnerability to the associated shocks and stresses, 1,616 of the new landowners organized themselves collectively by linking their individual land parcels into large community-owned wildlife associations to form the *Ol Kinyei* Wildlife Conservancy (Grieves-Cook 2011). Covering an area of approximately 16,000 acres, the conservancy acts as a strategic buffer zone for the Reserve and hosts an important corridor through which (approx.) 1.5 million wildebeest and zebra migrate annually (Grieves-Cook 2008; Africa Research Bulletin 2007). Establishing a joint venture partnership with an award winning[68] and socially responsible tour operator, the community of *Ol Kinyei* has embraced ecotourism as an additional livelihood strategy with the three-fold objective of conserving local wildlife, securing their environment from incompatible land use (e.g. wheat farming, charcoal production,

---

[68] In November 2008, Gamewatchers Safaris Limited won the Responsible Tourism Award at the World Travel Market in London for their operation of Mara Porini Camp in the Ol Kinyei Conservancy. The award was received for demonstrating that a high revenue, low impact, wildlife conservancy approach can benefit the Maasai through job creation and land conservation (www.porini.com).

subsistence agriculture), and diversifying revenue streams (Homewood *et al.* 2009; Grieves-Cook 2008; Stiles 2007).

Human impact on the natural environment has been reduced by limiting tourism facilities to one safari tent for every 700 acres, with no camp having more than 12 tents (Grieves-Cook 2008; Africa Research Bulletin 2007). In return, each individual landowner receives a monthly lease payment that is directly proportional to the size of his land parcel, instead of per visitor. This is significant in that the landowner has a guaranteed monthly income paid to him directly, as opposed to receiving his share via a central committee (e.g. Narok County Council, Group Ranch Management Committee). By receiving the funds directly, accusations of leakages and corruption are minimized, and the residents of *Ol Kinyei* are relieved of the pressure to constantly attract more tourists as they receive a pre-negotiated rent payment regardless of the occupancy rates.

## 5.7 Chapter Summary

The fifth chapter provided a rationale for the case study approach which is especially useful for chronicling historic events and characterizing relevant issues (Lincoln & Guba 1985). The researcher selected this approach to gain a greater understanding of the complex inter-relationships between the environmental, political, socio-cultural, and economic components of Maasai livelihoods. Fortunately, as the issue of land subdivision and privatisation is of utmost interest to the Maasai residing in the study region, they were extremely hospitable to the researcher and hoped to use the results to inform their future decisions.

Next, the historical context to the world-famous Maasai Mara ecosystem was outlined. Named after the local Maasai residents and the long winding Mara River which divides it, Kenya's Maasai Mara National Reserve (MMNR) was established in 1961 and covers a land area of 1,510 km$^2$ (Seno & Shaw 2002). Even though the Maasai Mara is not the largest national reserve in Kenya, it is world renowned for its incredible diversity of wildlife. Since the Maasai Mara attracts more visitors than any other game reserve in Kenya, the borderlands surrounding the Reserve provide an excellent backdrop for this ecotourism-related research. Similarly, the fact that the subdivision and privatisation of land has occurred in some regions and not in others allowed for a control group from which to draw comparisons.

For each of the three study sites, (*Ole Keene, Oloolaimutia,* and *Ol Kinyei*) an overview of the local geography, demographics, and physical capital was provided. Through comparing and contrasting these defining characteristics for each case study, it was possible to gain a greater appreciation for the context from which the local residents select their livelihood strategies. Similarly, through comparing the various strategies adopted by the Maasai living on common property regimes with those living on private ones, the researcher was able to lay the foundation for the next chapter which examines the influence that changing property regimes have on Maasai livelihood strategies.

# Chapter 6

# Ecotourism in the Context of Changing Property Regimes

*"It is better to be poor and live long, than to be rich and die young"* – **Maasai proverb**

## 6.1 Introduction

The results of the field research focus on the inter-relationships between ecotourism initiatives and livelihood sustainability for two different property regimes – private and common. In addition, the various factors that influence the distribution of benefits from ecotourism are also examined in detail. Thus, the accompanying tables and figures display the results gathered from the participating households in the three surveyed communities (i.e. *Ole Keene, Oloolaimutia, and Ol Kinyei*). Since preliminary tests revealed that the researcher was dealing with normally distributed interval/ratio data, and that the sample size (n=120) provided sufficient degrees of freedom, various parametric tests were employed throughout the analysis. As a result, these statistical tests were conducted on the data collected in the household surveys and participatory events, and are illustrated and summarized in the following sections. Subsequent chapters will discuss the implications of the results (Chapter 7) and draw conclusions (Chapter 8).

## 6.2 Research Results from the Three Case Studies

The results from the literature, household surveys, and various participatory events are grouped into seven sub-sections below, namely; s*ocio-demographic characteristics, sustainable livelihood strategies, the distribution of benefits from ecotourism, infrastructure quality, Maasai perceptions of change, stakeholder participation, empowerment and equity, transitions within the community*, and *Maasai attitudes towards ecotourism*. Through plotting the empirical data

collected via the household surveys, and triangulating it with the literature review and qualitative data recorded during the participatory events, a number of interesting themes emerged. Examining these themes in context allowed for the comparing and contrasting of the consequences for Maasai livelihoods that were associated with the recent changes in property regimes. However, before any conclusions can be drawn, it is important to first examine the context from which the results are being collected, thus necessitating an understanding of the socio-demographic characteristics of the surveyed households.

## 6.3 Socio-demographic Characteristics

Building on the detailed description of the region provided in the previous chapter, Table 6.1 highlights a number of the key socio-demographic characteristics collected during the household surveys. In total, the researcher surveyed a random sampling of 120 households distributed evenly throughout the 3 research sites, representing a total surveyed population of 1,108 individuals.

| Location | Land Tenure | Subject Interviewed | | Household Size | Adults | Children | Education of Head of Household | Surveyed Household Population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | (M) | (F) | (average) | (average) | (average) | (years) | |
| *Ole Keene* | Common | 28 | 12 | 9.02 | 3.70 | 5.32 | 4.65 | 361 |
| *Oloolaimutia* | Common | 6 | 34 | 6.92 | 2.75 | 4.50 | 2.0 | 277 |
| *Ol Kinyei* | Private | 40 | 0 | 11.75 | 4.12 | 7.62 | 2.1 | 470 |
| Total for 3 communities | | 74 | 46 | -- | -- | -- | -- | 1,108 |
| Avg. for 3 communities | | 24.7 | 15.3 | 9.23 | 3.53 | 5.82 | 2.92 | 369.3 |
| ANOVA | | 0.000 | | 0.006 | 0.027 | 0.014 | 0.078 | 0.159 |
| Significance | | Yes | | Yes | Yes | Yes | No | No |
| Significant difference at 95% confidence level; $p < 0.05$ | | | | | | | | |

**Table 6.1: Socio-demographic Characteristics Across Three Sites**

As outlined above, a test of homogeneity analysis (ANOVA-ONE WAY) was conducted to determine the level of significance between the different variables. Through this test, it was determined that significantly more households within the region are headed by men[69], although the community of *Oloolaimutia* did prove to be the exception. In *Ol Kinyei*, where the land privatisation process has already been completed, only men were eligible to receive land titles and thus, only men were interviewed regarding their perceptions of the process. However, the women played an important role in the participatory discussions and provided some interesting insights that will be referred to in the subsequent sections.

Household size on private land is significantly larger than on common land, and this is reflected in the number of adults and children in the household. In all three communities, the head of the household had attained an extremely low level of formal education, with only 11%[70] of those surveyed completing Secondary School, 17% completing Grade 8, and a staggering 70% never having attended school at all. As a result, the average number of years of education completed throughout the region is extremely low (< 3 years).

### 6.4 Sustainable Livelihood Strategies

Livelihoods are considered to be sustainable when they are resilient to external shocks and stresses, independent from external support, maintain environmental integrity, and do not compromise the livelihood options open to others (DFID 1999). As livelihoods are comprised by

---

[69] As the researcher was aware that the vast majority of households within the Greater Maasai Mara are headed by men, a concerted effort was made to interview female heads of households wherever possible. Due to the polygamous nature of Maasai society this often created a new set of challenges, but it was believed that incorporating perspectives from both genders enriched the data.

[70] Due to the size of the sample (n=120), all calculated percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

a variety of different activities, Figure 6.1, Figure 6.2, and Figure 6.3 summarize the relative importance of these activities in each of the three research sites. As evidenced below, the three charts illustrate a largely pastoralist population, with 100% of the households surveyed owning livestock. Thus, it is not surprising that livestock farming ranks as the most important source of income across all three sites, with 94% (n=113) of the households ranking livestock farming in their top three sources of income. The seven households which didn't rank livestock farming in their top three forms of income generation were located in very close proximity to the National Reserve gates, and they relied more heavily on income generated from tourists visiting their homes and purchasing their crafts and beadwork.

As outlined previously in Section 5.4, the residents of *Ole Keene* share a large tract of common land[71] bordering the northern boundary of the National Reserve. Although there are commonly accepted boundaries demarcating each household's land, none of the inhabitants hold legal title deeds to the land where they reside. Figure 6.1 illustrates that the residents of *Ole Keene* generate most of their income from their livestock, followed by craft and bead work sales to tourists. This further illustrates the importance of location in the selection of livelihood activities. Being located along the main road to the Reserve and in close proximity to the main (Sekenani) gate, affords them the opportunity to actively participate in the tourism sector. Despite the fact that the Maasai residing in *Ole Keene* do not hold legal land title, 35% (n=14) of the households surveyed report that they are currently leasing out 'their land' to small eco-camps. Due to a number of environmental restrictions, it is extremely difficult to obtain a permit for constructing

---

[71] Ole Keene is situated on the Siana Group Ranchlands of the Greater Maasai Mara. Although effectively operating as a group ranch under a management committee, it has yet to be officially adjudicated (as a Group Ranch) and in theory, remains Trust land. (Thompson *et al*. 2009).

new lodges and camps within the National Reserve.  Thus, there is a strong demand for land not subject to the same environmental regulations just outside the periphery of the Reserve.  The fact that these landless inhabitants are able to enter a commercial contract with an eco-camp by leasing land that they do not legally own is an example of the weak institutions and governance structures within the region.
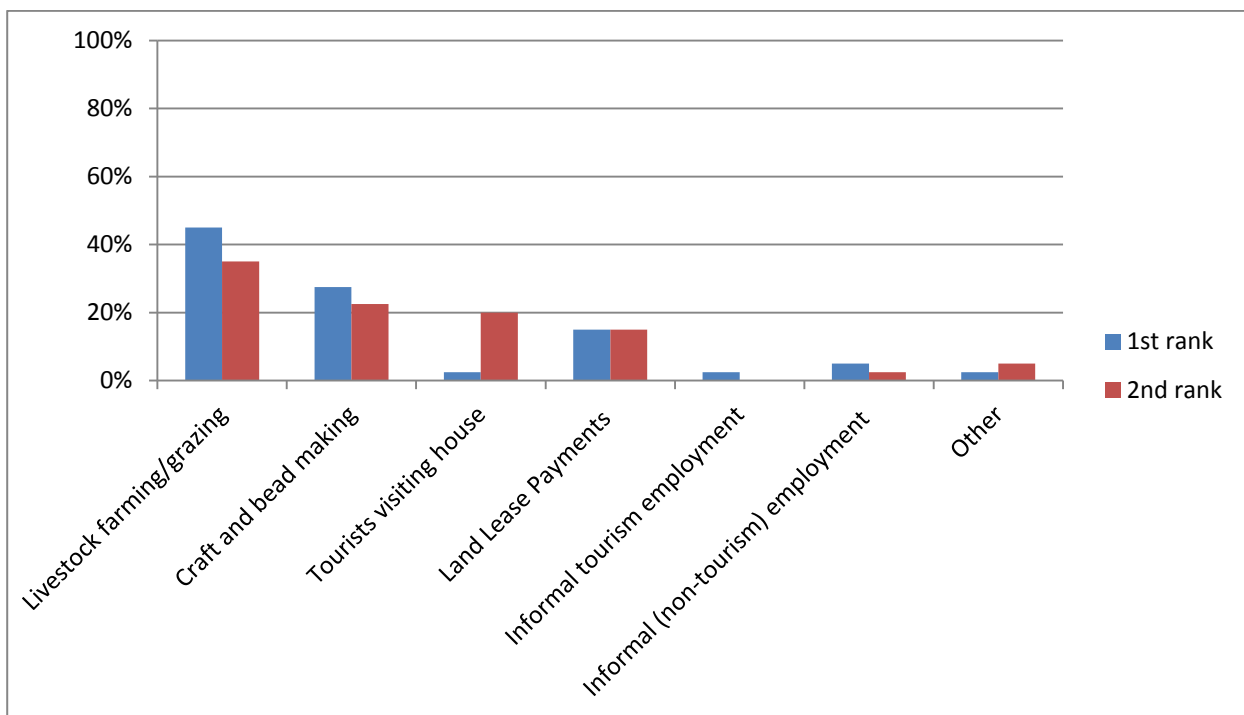


**Figure 6.1:  Ranking of the Importance of Various Activities to Household Livelihoods**
**(*Ole Keene* – Common Land)**

The residents of *Oloolaimutia* also reside on common land and their responses are generally quite similar to those of *Ole Keene*.  However, when the women[72] of *Oloolaimutia* received a financial grant to build a small trading centre where they could sell their handicrafts and bead work, their

---

[72] Since many of their husbands had taken the livestock approximately 150 kilometres away to Kilgoris to escape the intense drought that enveloped the region during this phase of the field research, many more women were interviewed in this community than in the other two.

income earning capacity soon increased dramatically. Thus, their prime location near the *Oloolaimutia* Gate, coupled with the recently constructed trading centre for selling their handicrafts, led the respondents to rank craft and bead making on par with livestock farming as the most important source of income (refer to Figure 6.2). This phenomenon is very rare throughout Maasailand and is mainly attributable to the investment in physical capital funded by the government of Kenya's Arid Lands Program (K-ALP) referred to in Section 5.5.1.

In addition to generating income from selling crafts and farming livestock, the residents of *Oloolaimutia* are also one of the first-known Maasai communities within the region to actively cultivate crops. This statement was reiterated in one of the participatory events by Subject #52 when she stated,

> Now that the land for grazing cattle has become less and less, it is important that we Maasai start to grow crops to survive. It is true that our mothers never grew crops, but the time has come for us to learn if we want to feed our families (Subject #52).

Despite the fact that most tourists do not appreciate seeing cultivated land on the periphery of the National Reserve, much of the demand for these crops comes from the eco-camps and safari lodges accommodating these same tourists. Since vegetables purchased locally are much cheaper and fresher than those driven (250 km) from the capital city of Nairobi, it is estimated that land cultivation will continue to increase in direct proportion to the demand. In addition, the residents of *Oloolaimutia* have recently adopted the practice of bee-keeping as a livelihood strategy, generating income by selling honey to the nearby eco-camps and lodges.

128
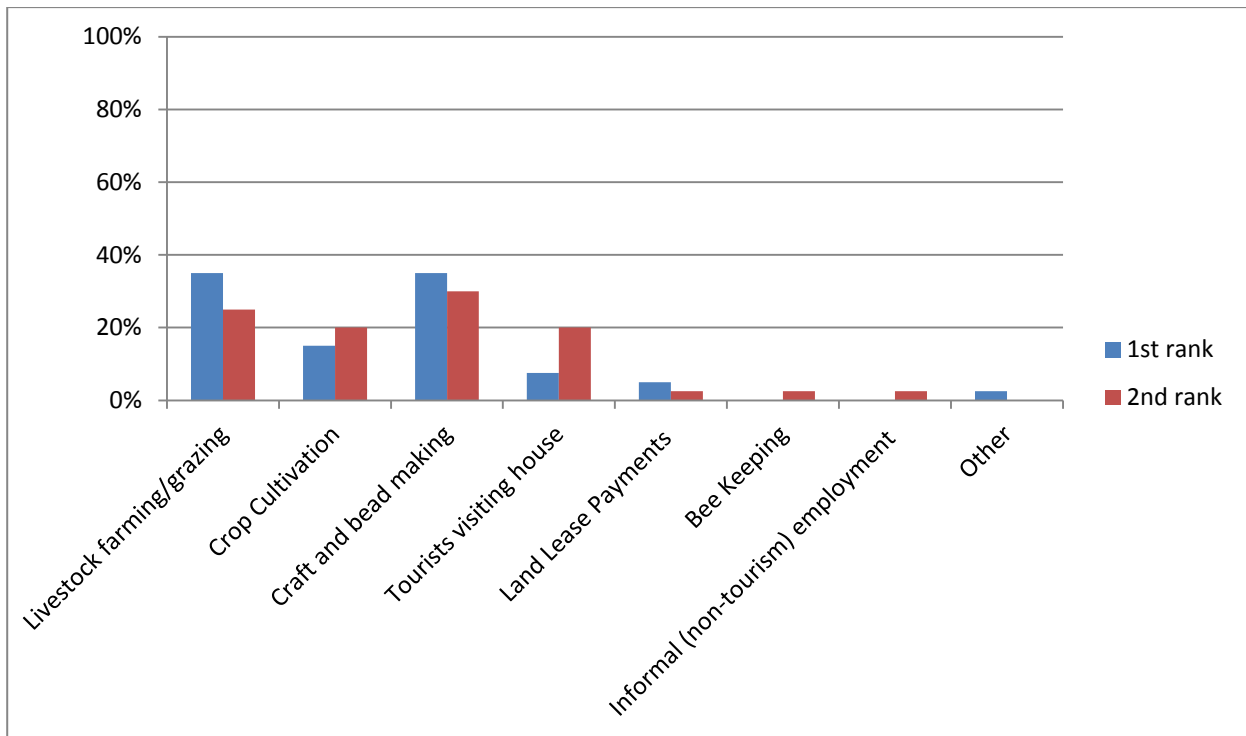
**Figure 6.2: Ranking of the Importance of Various Activities to Household Livelihoods
(*Oloolaimutia* – Common Land)**

In sharp contrast with the first two sites situated on common land, the community of *Ol Kinyei* was one of the first to subdivide its Group Ranch into private parcels of land, thereby providing local residents with the opportunity to obtain legal land title deeds. When the land privatisation process commenced in 2005, the local elders formed a joint venture partnership with Gamewatchers Safaris, a well-known, socially-responsible safari company operating primarily in Kenya. By linking their land and leasing it collectively to the safari company, the landowners of *Ol Kinyei* embraced ecotourism as an additional livelihood strategy (Grieves-Cook 2008). Since the residents live too far from the Reserve boundary for most tourists to visit, they do not have the same opportunity as their counterparts in *Ole Keene* or *Oloolaimutia* to generate revenue from selling crafts or hosting tourists at their homes.

As illustrated in Figure 6.3, in order to cope with these aforementioned challenges, the residents of *Ol Kinyei* have exercised their newfound land title rights by dedicating a portion of their land for the cultivation of crops, while leasing out the remainder of their land to the safari company. This allows the landowners to generate a regular and stable income calculated according to the size of the land being leased. Interestingly, almost all of the Maasai residing in *Ol Kinyei* have adopted the leasing of land as a livelihood strategy, and almost all exhort the leasing of land for the stable income it provides year-round. However, the participatory events facilitated some interesting discussions related to the manner in which these dramatic changes are influencing their traditional culture.
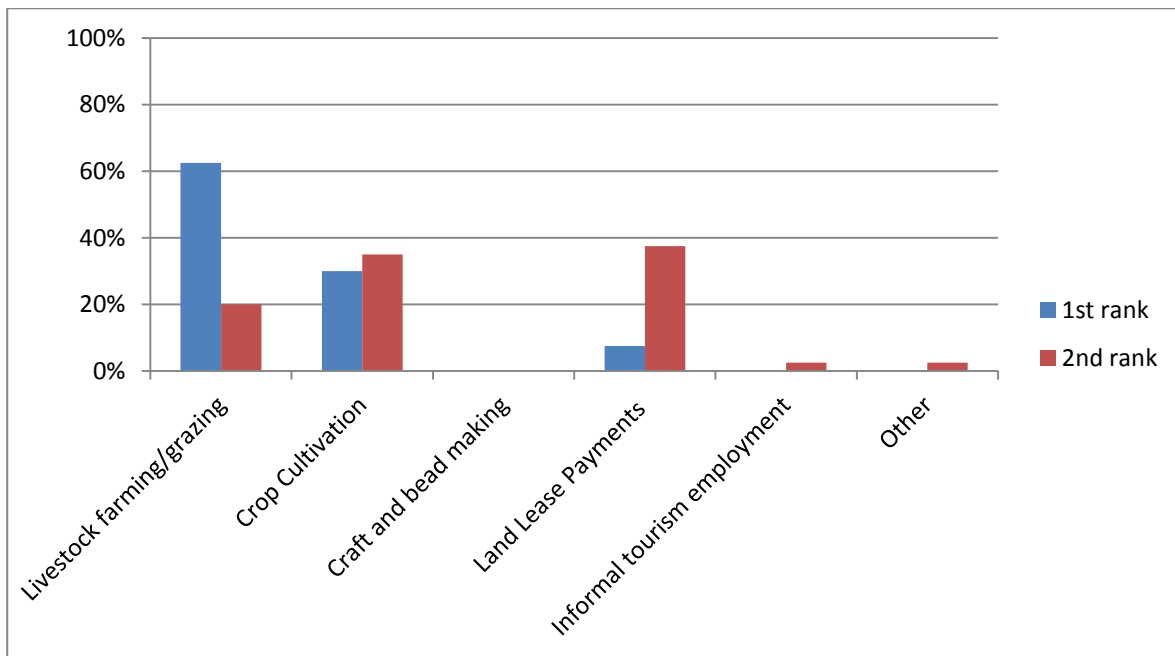


**Figure 6.3: Ranking of the Importance of Various Activities to Household Livelihoods**
**(*Ol Kinyei* – Private Land)**

While facilitating the participatory discussion with the H-diagram tools depicted in Section 4.7.4, one of the negative consequences associated with land privatisation came to light: land

subdivision is not always transparent and the process[73] often leads to increased conflict amongst neighbours. Similarly, defined parcels of land correlate with a specific carrying capacity, and the number of cattle that can be grazed is limited by the size of their parcel of land[74]. This juxtaposition is illustrated through the comments of Subject # 84,

> Before a man could own many cattle and could graze them far distances from his home. But now, we must graze our cattle on our own land or our neighbours will be upset with us. If the land is not enough, then there is no point in trying to obtain more cows (Subject #84).

Despite these negative drawbacks, the residents voted unanimously in favour of the privatisation process for a number of reasons. Privatisation provides them rightful ownership without interference and allows them to use their land title as collateral for bank loans. Similarly, land ownership makes it worthwhile to invest in digging boreholes and planting trees since the resources are legally theirs. But most importantly, a land title deed drastically reduces the fear that their land will be 'grabbed'[75] by local politicians or other 'big men.' As the Maasai still consider themselves to be 'cattle-people', and still prefer livestock farming to any other income-generating activity, the recent privatisation process has led many Maasai to face the difficult choice between leasing out their land to safari companies for stable income and using their land to graze their livestock as their fathers and forefathers have done[76].

---

[73] Although the respondents reported that the land privatisation process often causes conflict due to a lack of transparency, once land titles have been issued, land-related conflict is dramatically reduced.

[74] When asked to elaborate further during the participatory events, the residents of Ol Kinyei responded that their land could reasonably maintain 50 cows on the average land parcel of 170 acres.

[75] This concept of 'land grabbing' and insecure land tenure will elaborated on further in Section 7.4.1

[76] At the time of writing, the landowners of Ol Kinyei choosing to lease their land to the safari company were required to keep their cattle, sheep and goats from entering the boundaries of the leased land.

Since large tracts of Maasailand continue to be subdivided and privatized, the amount of common land available for *Ol Kinyei* residents to graze their livestock continues to diminish. Still, 88% (n=105) of those responding maintained that their children will have a "better life" than that of their parents. Although a "better life" can mean very different things to different people, the general response could be summed up in the words of Subject #46,

> Yes, I have a good life because I am married to a man who provides for the family, my children are healthy and go to school, and our cows are enough (Subject #46).

To compare and contrast how the various livelihood strategies were ranked by the 120 respondents, an ANOVA one-way test was used to determine the significance of various activities to the household's livelihood across the three sites. The responses were sorted by means of a basic ranking system with ties broken via a sequential score method.[77] Table 6.2 displays the significance found in community members' ranking of the importance of livestock farming, crop cultivation, craft/bead making, cultural tourist visits, land leasing, and informal employment. Interestingly, three of these activities (i.e. craft/bead making, cultural tourist visits, and land leasing) are closely linked to ecotourism initiatives within the region. As the land available to each household continues to decrease, it is generally understood that income generated from ecotourism-related activities will need to increase in order to cope with the shortfall associated with reduced numbers of livestock.

---

[77] Note: A t-test for equality of means was also conducted on this data in order to determine significance (2-tailed).

| Livelihood Strategy | F | Significance Level | Significance Yes/No |
|---|---|---|---|
| Livestock farming and grazing | 11.694 | 0.000 | Yes |
| Crop farming and cultivation | 42.881 | 0.000 | Yes |
| Craft and bead making for sale | 90.629 | 0.000 | Yes |
| Receiving portion of Park Gate fees | 1.000 | 0.371 | No |
| Cultural tourism to your house (*Maa: enkang*) | 50.155 | 0.000 | Yes |
| Receiving lease payments for your land | 12.994 | 0.000 | Yes |
| Government assistance | 1.000 | 0.371 | No |
| Beekeeping | 2.232 | 0.112 | No |
| Formal employment (taxes paid) in tourism sector | 1.000 | 0.371 | No |
| Formal employment (taxes paid) in non-tourism sector | 0.580 | 0.562 | No |
| Informal employment (no taxes paid) | 6.448 | 0.002 | Yes |
| Other livelihood activity | 2.604 | 0.078 | No |

**Table 6.2: Significance of Activities to the Household's Livelihood Across Three Sites**

However, perhaps even more important than the amount of revenue generated from ecotourism is the manner in which financial capital is distributed across the population. The next section examines the role that property rights play in the distribution of benefits from ecotourism; a factor that has been largely unexamined but warrants attention in the wake of ever-increasing privatisation.

## 6.5 Financial Capital: The Distribution of Benefits from Ecotourism

Ecotourism is widely accepted as a tool for conservation and development that provides local economic benefits while maintaining environmental sustainability (Stem *et al*. 2003). However, empirical evidence to back up this claim is rather sparse. This section addresses the role that land ownership plays on the accrual and distribution of benefits received from local ecotourism initiatives. Within this context, the term financial capital represents the financial resources that individuals use to achieve their livelihood objectives (DFID 1999). As illustrated in Figure 6.4,

prior to the time the residents of *Ol Kinyei* started leasing out their land, the residents of *Ole Keene* and *Oloolaimutia* earned – on average – considerably more income. This difference was mainly due to the fact that the latter two communities are located in close proximity to the Reserve boundary, and their residents are much more heavily influenced by the tourism sector. In other words, prior to the land subdivision process there was significant income disparity between those living near the core and those living in the periphery. However, now that the landowners of *Ol Kinyei* hold legal land title to their recently acquired land parcels and have entered a contractual agreement to lease their land to a safari company, their average annual income is actually greater (150,000 kshs[78]) than their counterparts living in *Ole Keene* (123,625 kshs) and *Oloolaimutia* (54,000 kshs).
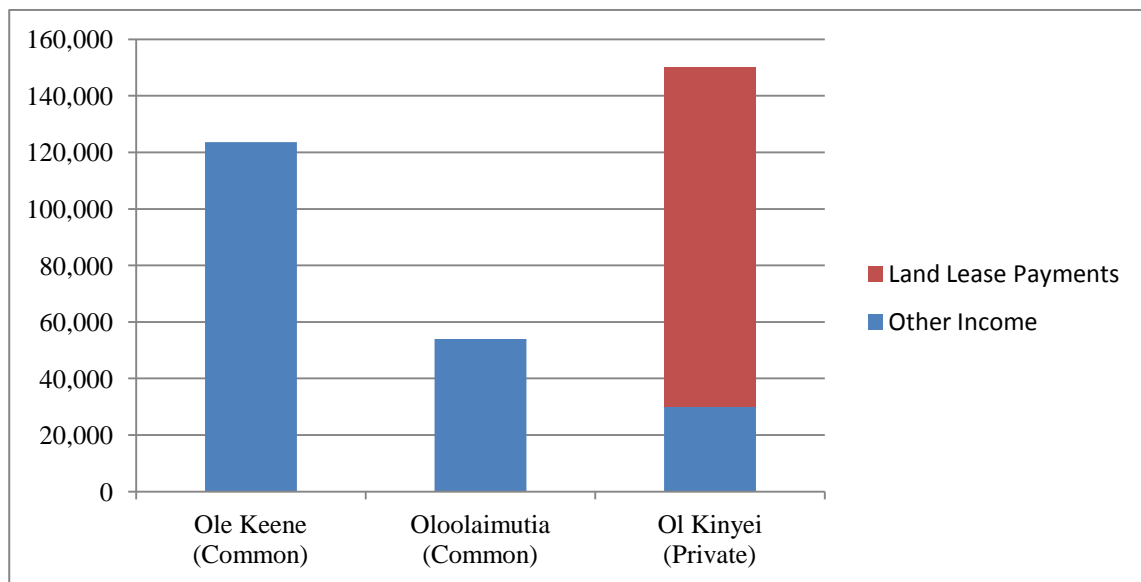


**Figure 6.4: Reported Annual Income (Kenyan Shillings) Across Three Sites**
**(1 CAN$ = 80 kshs)**

---

[78] At the time this research was conducted, 1 Canadian dollar (CAN$) was equivalent to 80 Kenyan shillings (kshs).

ANOVA-one way tests on the respective field data reveal a significant difference (p<0.05) between the three groups and provides further evidence of the important role that the leasing of land plays in sustaining livelihoods. When the three data sets were examined further, the standard deviations for *Ole Keene* (130,147 kshs), *Oloolaimutia* (76,166 kshs), and *Ol Kinyei* (27,352 kshs) reveal that the income levels in *Ol Kinyei* are much more equitable across all households; an important by-product of the monthly lease payments made to all landholders.

Using the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) as a 'lens' from which to view rural poverty, household financial capital was assessed by recording the number of cattle, sheep, and goats owned by each household. By plotting financial capital per household and implementing an ANOVA-one way test on the data, Figure 6.5 illustrates a significant difference between the three communities. Through the participatory events held in *Ol Kinyei*, it was ascertained that this difference results from the fact that the private landowners are using their significantly (p<0.05) increased income generated by leasing out their land to purchase more livestock which they are often grazing on common land that has not yet been subdivided.
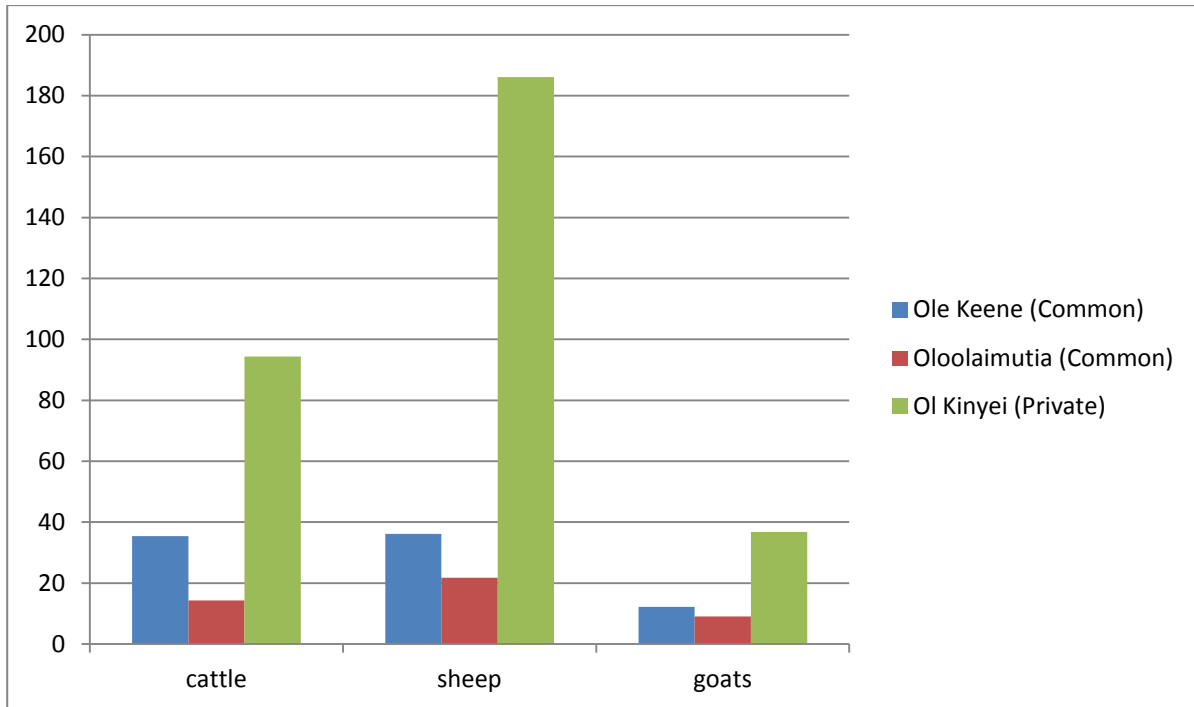
**Figure 6.5:  Livestock per Household across Three Sites**

In order to adequately assess the role that ecotourism initiatives contribute to livelihood sustainability, the respondents were asked how their tourism-related income has changed over the past decade.  As mentioned earlier, tourism-related income is generated through hosting tourists in local villages, selling handicrafts and beadwork, obtaining employment in local lodges and eco-camps, working as guides or naturalists, and – for those holding legal land title – leasing out land to safari companies or eco-camps.  Basic statistical tests revealed that 48% of the surveyed households had seen their tourism-related income "increase a little" over the past decade, while 15% of the households responded that theirs had "increased a lot" during the same period.

Despite being located in close proximity to one of the main entrances to the Reserve, 35% (n=14) of the households surveyed in *Ole Keene* reported that their tourism-related income had

decreased in the past decade, while 43% (n=17) reported an increase (refer to Figure 6.6).  To determine the significance of this result, a post-hoc test of multiple comparisons was conducted and a significant difference (0.000) between the two 'common land' communities (i.e. *Ole Keene* and *Oloolaimutia*) was discovered.  Similarly, when the data for Ol Kinyei was tested against that of *Oloolaimutia*, a significant difference (0.009) was also established.
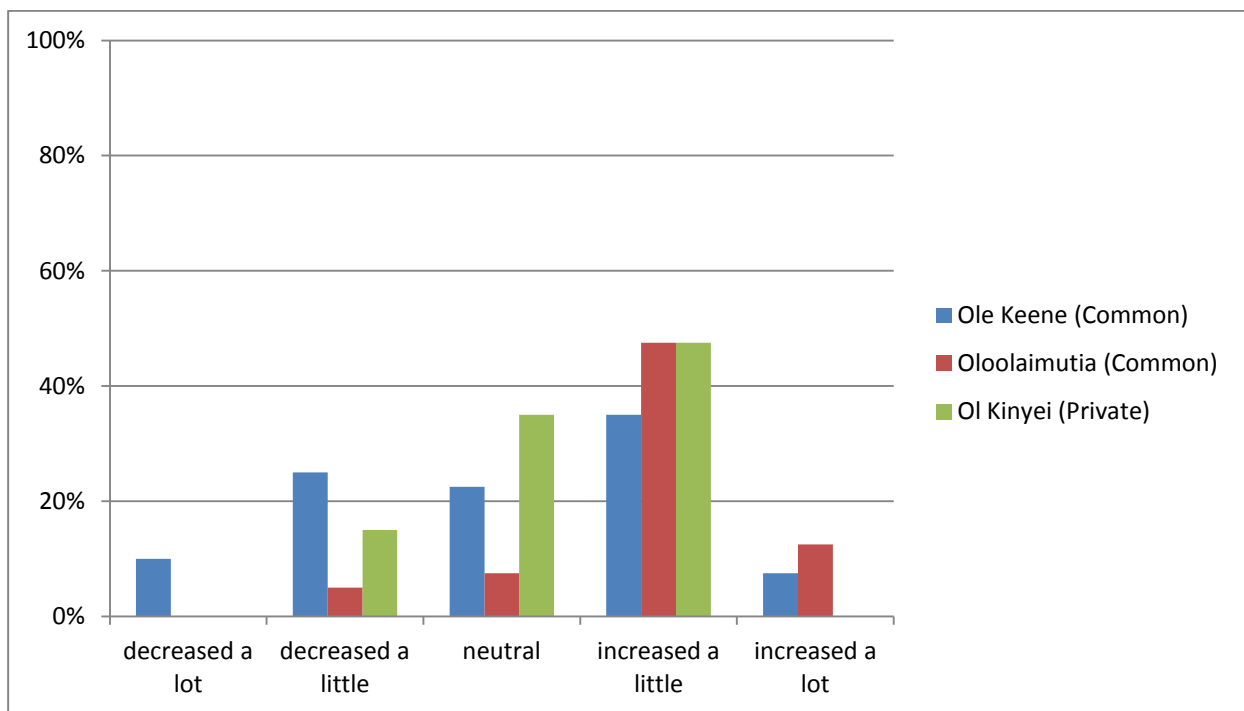


**Figure 6.6:  Changes in Tourism-related Income Over the Past Decade**

When this topic of tourism-related income was addressed in one of the participatory discussions held in *Ole Keene*, it quickly became evident than there was a strong correlation between the ability to speak English and the amount of income generated from tourism.  This was emphasized by Subject # 14 when he reiterated,

The more education one has completed the more chance of obtaining good employment in the tourist sector. If one can speak good English, he can even obtain employment as a driver or a guide, but if his English is poor then he can only find work as a cleaner or a cook (Subject # 14).

Because education levels are extremely low throughout Maasailand, it appears that most Maasai will continue to be relegated to the lower paying menial jobs. And since extremely little investment is received from the government for physical infrastructure projects in the region, it is likely that the local education sector will be plagued by an inadequate number of schools staffed by severely underpaid teachers for some time to come.

## 6.6  Physical Capital:  "The Worst Road in the World"

Physical capital incorporates the basic infrastructure and commodities required to support indigenous livelihoods (DFID 1999). This infrastructure includes changes to the physical environment (as opposed to natural environment) that assist local residents with meeting their basic human needs by increasing their productivity. The infrastructural components required to sustain livelihoods often include affordable transportation, secure shelter, adequate potable water and sanitation facilities, affordably energy, and access to information (DFID 1999). Since local residents often prioritize certain services more than others, the embedded meaning with which these services are defined and prioritized by the host community must be taken into account. Thus, it quickly becomes evident that physical capital is most effectively analysed through a participatory approach, and for that reason, the information pertaining to physical capital was collected via the various participatory events facilitated by the research team.

Many safari lodges and eco-camps have begun promoting their initiatives by organizing socially responsible activities for their visitors[79], and a number of new schools and health clinics have been constructed in the past few years. For the first time visitor, the shiny new signs outside these institutions might suggest that investments and improvements are being made to the region's physical capital. However, when observed at the ground level, many of the local residents expressed frustration that outside groups continue to build these new structures despite a serious lack of resources to hire nurses and teachers, or purchase the medical and school supplies. This frustration was summed up well by Subject #62,

> Many tourists are building schools and health clinics to assist us, but when it comes time to pay for the staff or purchase the necessary supplies, those tourists are nowhere to be found (Subject #62).

Often referred to as "the worst road in the world," the pathetic road linking Narok town to the gates of the Maasai Mara National Reserve is infamous for its pot holes and 'washboard' surface. In fact, the road is so terrible that many of the tourists who drive to the Reserve are so opposed to ever driving on the road again, that they opt to purchase an air ticket for their return journey to Nairobi. Across all three sites, 58% (n=70) and 36% (n=43) reported that the road to the Reserve was "very poor" and "poor" respectively. Because the same road is used by all three communities, it is not surprising that there was no significant difference in their responses. The fact that the road infrastructure is so appalling is not only a testament to the weak institutions and governance models associated with the Reserve, but also adds considerable time and expense to the transportation of goods from the nation's capital to the lodges and eco-camps serving the Maasai Mara.

---

[79] For more detail on these socially responsible initiatives, refer to Section 6.10.

One of the main themes that arose during the participatory events highlighted the frustration encountered by individuals trying to obtain bank loans for improving local infrastructure or expanding their herds.  The fact that most Maasai do not own any collateral or fixed assets (e.g. land, house, or vehicle) makes it extremely difficult for them to obtain financing.  However, even when bank loans are made available, they come with some often unexpected challenges as indicated by Subject #1,

> Yes, [there are local banks that offer loans] but it is a challenge when it comes time to repay the loan.  Many Maasai have found themselves in trouble after taking a loan. Personally, I would prefer to borrow from a camp, or lease my land to a camp (Subject #1).

Clearly, the needs associated with physical capital in the region are not being met.  High levels of poverty continue to pervade Maasailand, and there are few resources to overcome these obstacles. Unfortunately, without increased investment in local infrastructure, the abject poverty that the research team found so prevalent across all three sites will most likely persist in the coming years.  And since the Maasai have no reason to believe that the Kenyan government will pay any more attention to them than it has in the past, it is imperative that they begin to realize that revenue generated from tourism might be their best option; an option made possible by marketing their incredibly interesting and unique culture.


## 6.7 Cultural Capital:  Maasai Perceptions of Change

Ever since the Maasai resettlement policies of 1904 and 1911[80], a variety of different factors have led to changes in land use and livelihood strategies employed by the Maasai residing in the Greater Maasai Mara ecosystem.  As discussed in Section 2.2.5, the assumption that private land

---

[80] For a detailed overview of the Anglo-Maasai Land Treaties of 1904 and 1911, refer to Section 3.2.

ownership is a more effective foundation for economic growth than that of common land tenure has prompted the Government of Kenya to consistently strive towards 'modernizing' the pastoralist's lifestyle. Modernization – combined with rampant population growth, an ever-increasing pressure to cultivate, and frequent cycles of drought brought on by changes to the climate – has forced the Kenyan Maasai to cope in an atmosphere of unprecedented change. In order to determine how Maasai households are adapting to these changes, the following section provides an in-depth look at the manner in which the Maasai themselves perceive these changes, and how different land tenure regimes influence their traditional way of life.

During the period of time when this field work was conducted, Kenya (and specifically Maasailand) was going through one of its worst droughts on record. The serious dearth of rainfall dried up the rivers and turned much of the grazing land into a dustbowl, creating serious consequences for Maasai livestock. In some regions throughout the ecosystem, households reported that up to two-thirds of their cattle had died. The drought took a major toll on livelihood sustainability and personal well-being. Despite this environmental calamity, when the respondents were asked whether they owned more or less cattle than they did a decade ago, 70% responded that they owned more today. As evidenced in Figure 6.7, the residents of *Ol Kinyei* responded unanimously (100%) that they owned more cattle today than they did a decade ago. They attributed this increase to the newfound wealth accumulated by leasing their land to the safari company and using their land title as collateral when applying for loans from the bank.
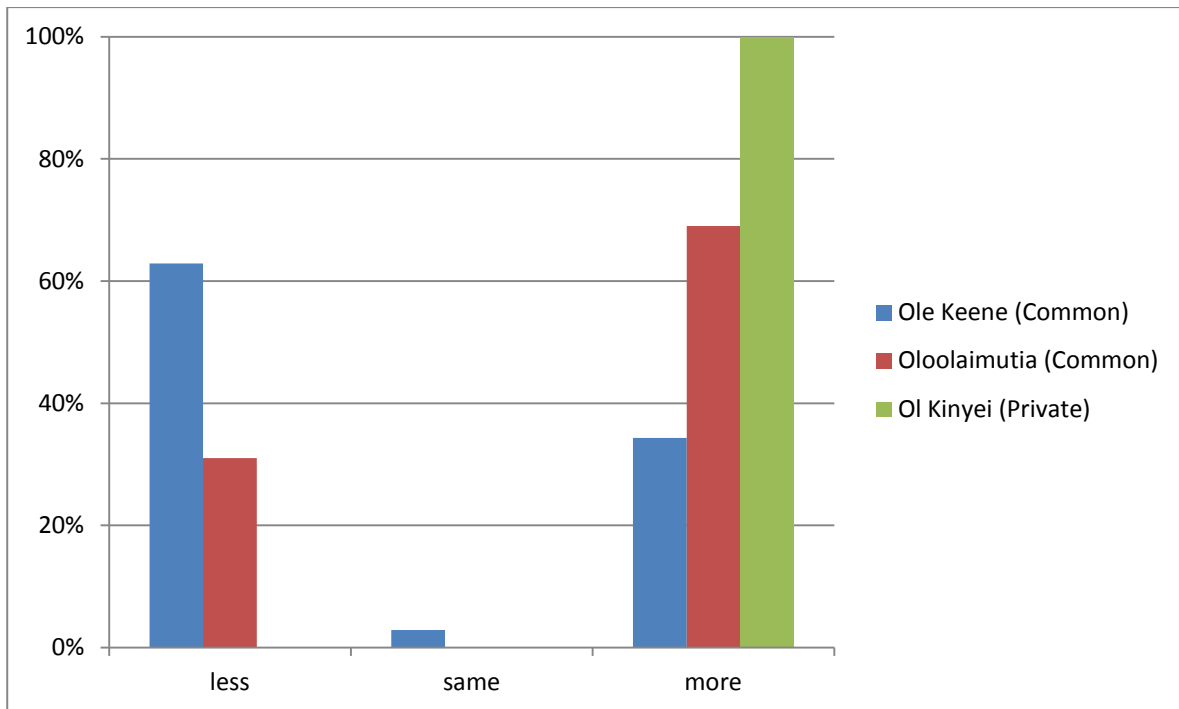
**Figure 6.7: Change in the Number of Cattle over the Past Decade**

As outlined in the various participatory events held in *Ol Kinyei*, the fact that the residents are no longer permitted to graze their livestock on the land they are leasing out is a major source of contention and is creating a new challenge for Maasai culture. The importance and significance of cattle, goats and sheep to the pastoral Maasai can be better understood through the following quote from Subject #67,

> For us Maasai, the most important thing is cows. They are like our children and we know each of them by name. When they die in this drought, my heart hurts like it is one of my own children dying. For me, my main goal is to acquire more and more cows. Then my family will not be so vulnerable to future droughts, and we will have a good life (Subject # 67).

Although the Maasai were traditionally semi-nomadic pastoralists with very little interest in cultivating the land, the recent changes in cultural capital have led to an increase in Maasai agro-

pastoralism. As evidenced in Figure 6.8, an ever-increasing number of Maasai households have started to adopt agriculture as a livelihood strategy. However, as the subdivision of common property resources continues to occur, many Maasai households find it increasingly difficult to maintain their traditional lifestyle. Consequently, they are diversifying their livelihoods in order to adapt to the various stresses and shocks they encounter.

Perhaps change is nowhere more evident than in the communities where the majority of residents have attained legal title to a parcel of land. For example, when the landowners of *Ol Kinyei* were asked about their intentions for the future, 72% stated that they would like to purchase more land, while only 5% expressed interest in selling their land. The fact that the demand for land heavily
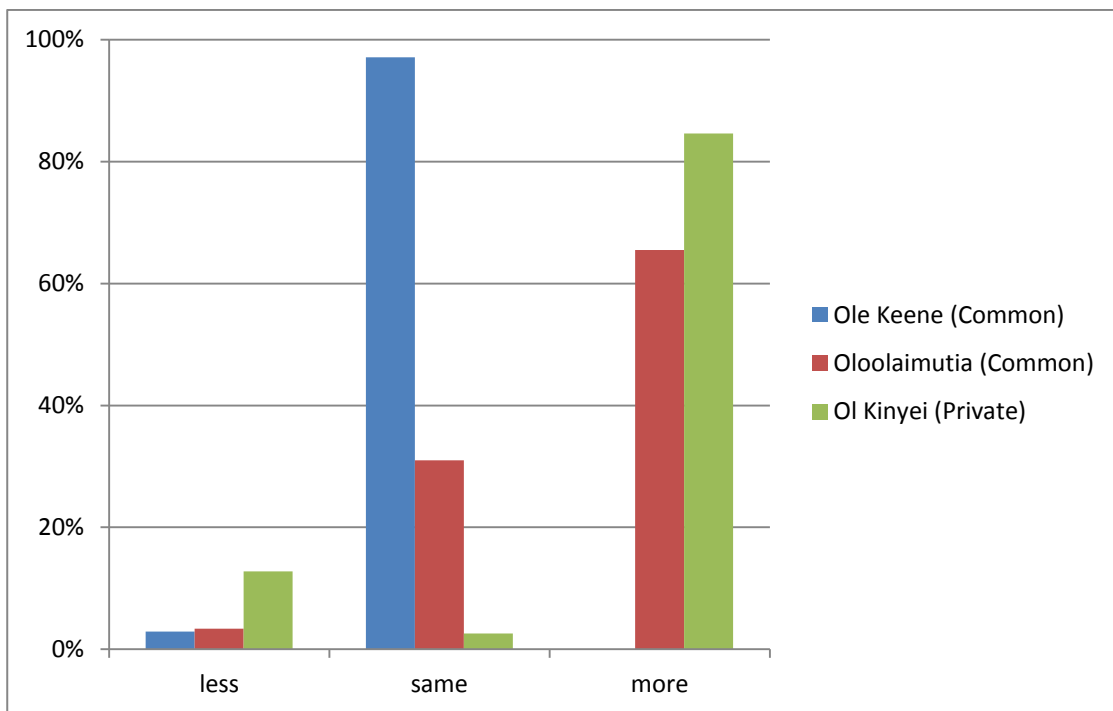


**Figure 6.8: Change in the Amount of Land Cultivated over the Past Decade**

outweighs the supply demonstrates the value of the commodity to the Maasai population and underscores the likelihood that land will continue to increase in value. Similarly, as 69% of the *Ol Kinyei* landowners report that they have a water-point (e.g. bore-hole, river, or pond) on their property that can be used for irrigation, and 85% (n=33) of the 39 households that responded plan to cultivate a portion of their land in the future, there is little doubt that the semi-nomadic pastoral lifestyle that has defined the Maasai for centuries will quickly come to an end once a critical mass obtains land title.

The residents of *Ole Keene* and *Oloolaimutia* still do not have legal land tenure, and their rates of land cultivation are much lower due to the insecurity associated with farming on common land. Moreover, since they are not officially permitted to erect fences on common land, their crops are always at risk of being invaded by resident wildlife. However, the residents of *Ol Kinyei* holding legal land tenure can erect fences around their farms. This allowance, coupled with the higher level of security associated with growing crops on private land, means that a significantly ($p<0.05$) greater number of *Ol Kinyei* households complement their income through agriculture. The importance of the security associated with private land is emphasized through the comments of Subject #92,

> When farming on common land, anyone can come at any time and pick some of your vegetables whenever they wish. But with private land, you can build a fence to protect your crops and then no one can come to steal the vegetables you are growing (Subject #92).

The reality that land privatisation appears to lead to an increase in land cultivation leads to a whole new set of challenges for Maasai culture. As open rangelands are turned into farms, and newly erected fences block traditional wildlife migratory routes, resident wildlife (and the

revenues generated from wildlife tourism) will be adversely affected. Similarly, as the open savannahs that draw tourists from all over the world are turned into farmland, and the migrating herds that have traditionally roamed outside the Reserve boundaries are reduced to residing within it, the international desire to visit Maasai Mara will gradually decline.

Clearly, traditional Maasai culture is changing due to escalating external pressures and demands. As in all societies, some members find themselves in a better position to adapt to change while others find themselves increasingly pushed to the margins. In order to determine the level to which the stakeholders residing outside the Reserve boundary will be able to cope with – and recover from – these additional stresses and shocks, it is important to examine the concepts of participation and empowerment as they pertain to the equitable distribution of benefits from ecotourism-related initiatives.

## 6.8 Human Capital: Participation, Empowerment and Equity

The degree to which ecotourism initiatives impact indigenous communities is closely related to the level and type of control the host population has over its development (refer to Section 3.5). In other words, it is not only important who makes the decisions, but how those decisions are made, how they are implemented, and to what extent the host population participates in the process. Here, the term 'human capital' refers to the combined skills, knowledge, and ability that enable individuals to pursue various livelihood strategies (DFID 1999). At the household level, the amount of human capital varies according to household size, skill levels, leadership potential, and the depth of participation. In addition to being of intrinsic value, the enhancement of human capital is a precursor to empowerment and, ultimately, livelihood sustainability.

Income generation is an important benefit derived from local ecotourism initiatives, but is often insufficient on its own for alleviating poverty amongst indigenous communities. Thus, other types of benefits – such as participation in ownership and the decision-making process – are often deemed equally important. Generally, these non-economic benefits lead to the enhancement of human (and social) capital and were often cited by the respondents as benefits they hoped to attain through interaction with the tourism sector. However, as evidenced in Figure 6.9, there is wide disparity in the level to which local residents feel involved in decision-making processes. Because decisions regarding entrance fees, road construction, policy formulation, and development planning are usually made at the National or District level, the Maasai have traditionally felt excluded from the discourse. Those without legal land title experience an even lower level of involvement and integration in the decisions that affect them. In fact, 34% (n=13) of those residing on common property regimes in *Ole Keene*, and 77% (n=30) of those in *Oloolaimutia,* responded that they were "not at all" involved in the local decision-making process.

Interestingly, the results from those owning land in *Ol Kinyei* were significantly (p < 0.05) different, as nearly all (98%; n=39) respondents reported that they felt "highly involved" in the tourism-related decisions associated with their region. Arguably, this spike in perceived involvement and integration is one of the main benefits accrued from recent land privatisation since it is a precursor to livelihood sustainability. Because these positive sentiments are uniform across the entire community, it is surmised that the enhancement of human capital through increased involvement and integration could be one of the most equitably distributed advantages across the community.
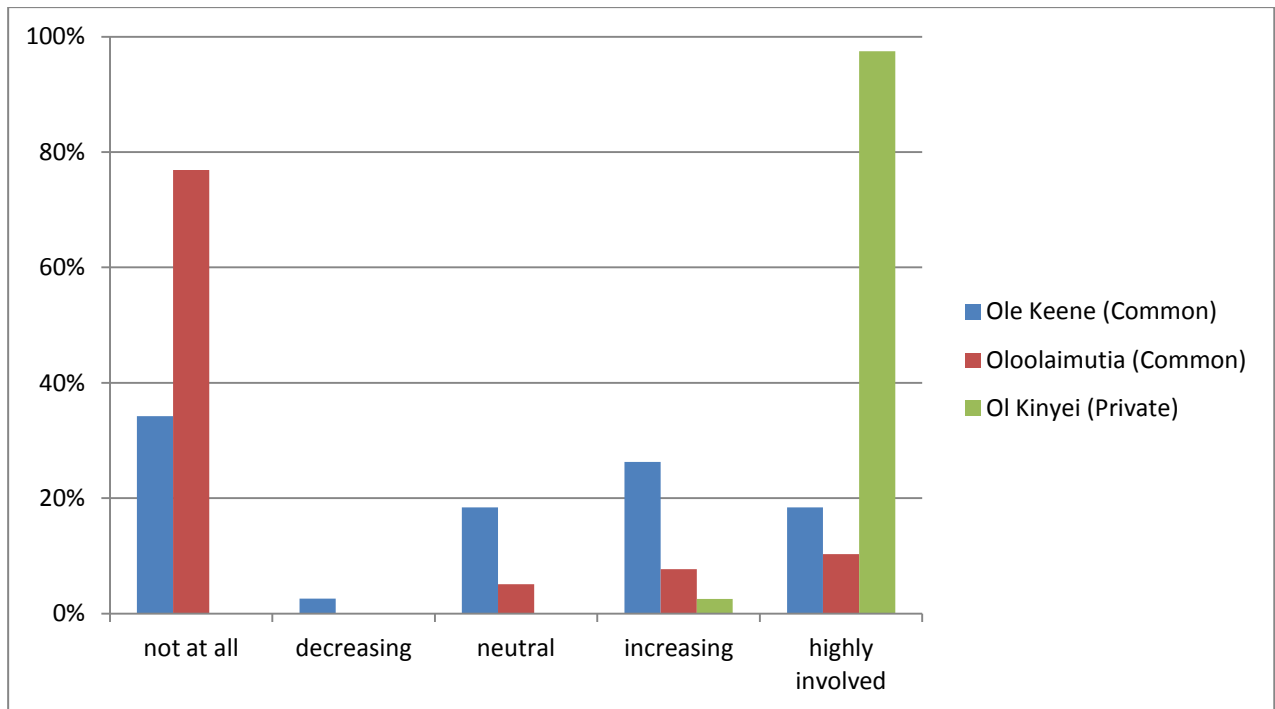
**Figure 6.9: Level of Involvement in the Local Decision-Making Process**

Although private landowners report feeling involved and integrated throughout the local decision-making process, their level of confidence in their ability to deal with international tourists paints a much different picture. When asked directly about this paradox, the opinions of the community were summarized by Subject #102 during a participatory event held in *Ol Kinyei*,

> Because we live a far distance from the Park [sic], we have not had very much involvement with tourists in the past. And as not many of us speak foreign languages, it is often difficult to communicate clearly with the tourists. Also, many of the tourists conduct themselves with strange behaviours so it is difficult to know how to understand them. But we think the more time we spend with them the more we will begin to understand them (Subject #102).

These opinions are clearly illustrated in Figure 6.10 where, across the three sites, 55% (n=64) reported that they were "not at all confident" dealing with tourists, while only 16% (n=18) reported feeling "highly confident" in their abilities. Yet despite low levels of self-confidence,

most of the respondents reported that the more time they spent alongside tourists, the more comfortable they felt. Some examples of these host-tourist interactions include cultural homestead visits, bartering for handicrafts and beadwork, 'safari walks' with Maasai naturalists, and reforestation initiatives where the Maasai and the tourists plant seedlings alongside one another. As the *Ole Keene* households have traditionally had the most interaction with tourists due to their close proximity to the National Reserve, it follows that they also reported the greatest levels of confidence in their ability to deal with tourists.
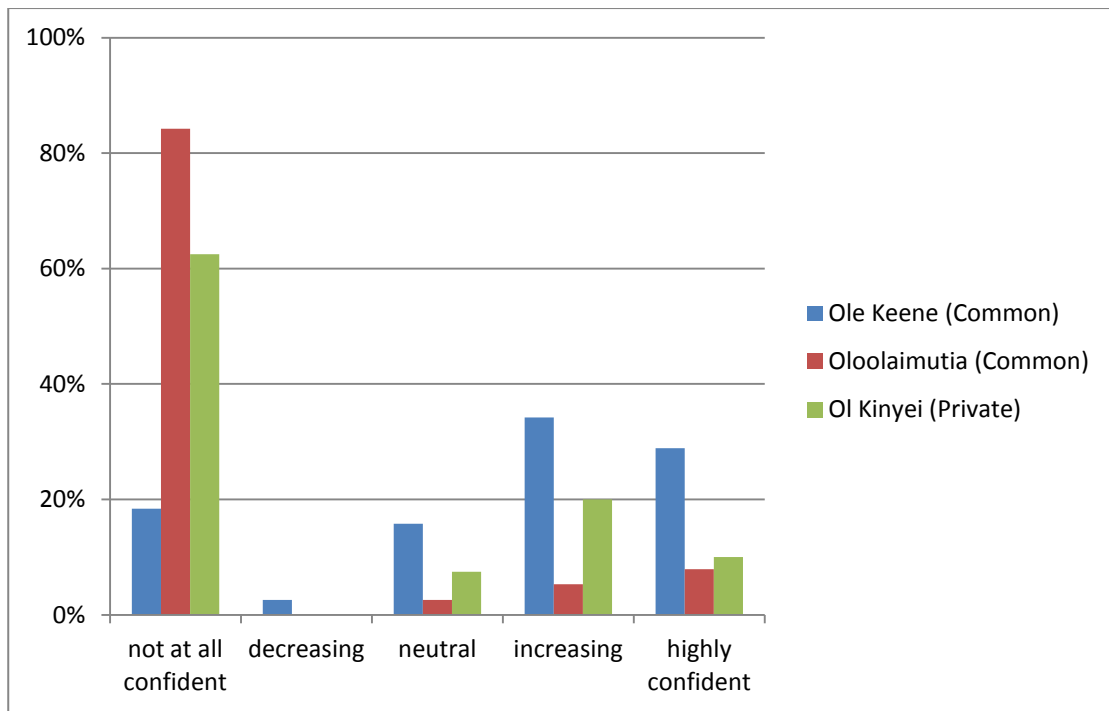


**Figure 6.10: Confidence in Ability to Deal with International Tourists**

As depicted in the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF), human capital plays a pivotal role in alleviating poverty through the implementation of various livelihood strategies. But because development is a long-term process, and individuals (and their environments) are constantly

changing, it is important to note how human capital changes over time. Drawing on the evidence provided in Figure 6.10, it is interesting to note how the Maasai perceive their levels of confidence to have changed over time. This phenomenon is further illustrated in Figure 6.11 as only 33% (n=37) of those responding reported that their ability to deal with tourists has increased over the past decade, showing that enhancements in human capital have not been as pronounced for some members of the community as they have for others. Although the results indicate that ecotourism-related initiatives play an important role in enhancing human capital, the significance of social capital must also be considered, as these two components of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) are essential to empowering indigenous entitlements and capabilities (Scheyvens 1999; Rowlands 1997; Friedman 1992).
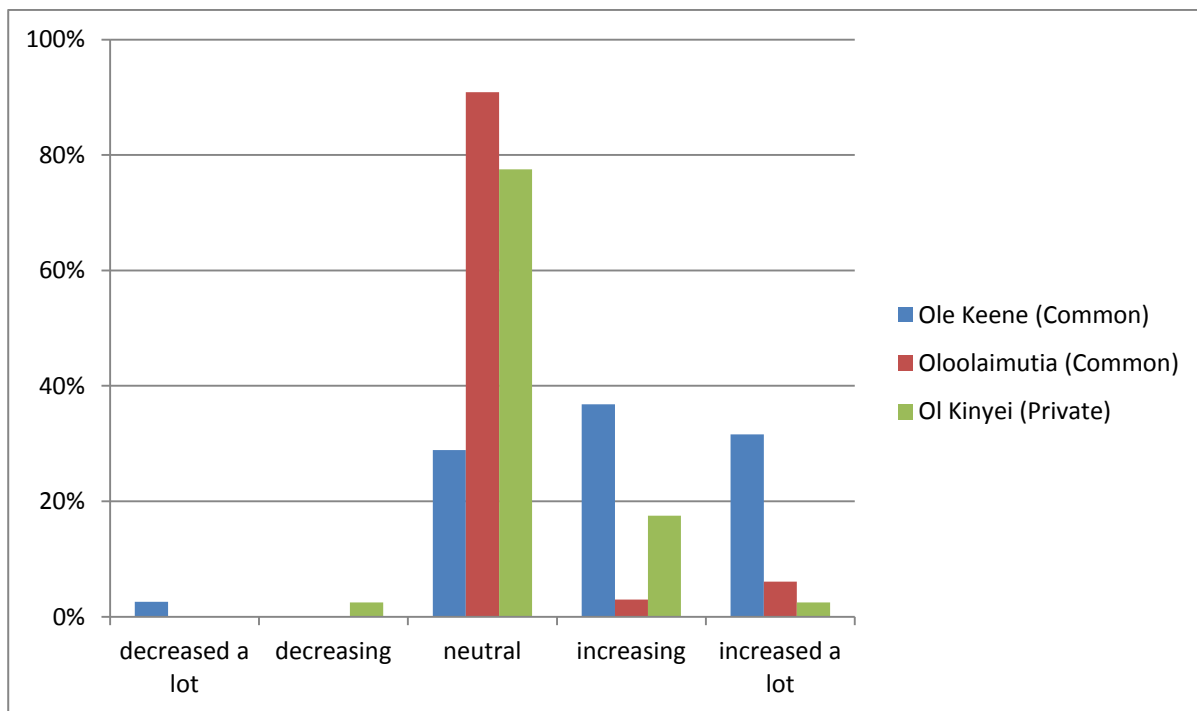


**Figure 6.11: Change in the Host's Ability to Deal with Tourists**

**6.9 Social Capital: Transitions within the Community**

In the context of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF), the term 'social capital' is taken to mean, "the social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives" (DFID 1999; 9). These resources are developed through membership in informal groups that have established a set of commonly accepted rules and norms and are built on relationships of trust and reciprocity. Because levels of social capital are difficult to quantify from household surveys alone, the facilitation of the participatory events encouraged qualitative responses. In addition to the rich data collected during these occasions, these discussions also provided a means of analysing social capital by observing how well the meetings were advertised, organized, and attended. Subsequently, the researcher was afforded the opportunity to examine whether the level of social organization within the respective communities appeared to be promoting or sabotaging local livelihoods, rather than simply attempting to measure exact levels of social capital. When asked questions pertaining to social capital within their communities, residents of all three sites perceived their level of organization to be increasing. As evidenced in Figure 6.12, these results were evident in all three communities with no significant differences between them.

Interestingly, the private landowners of *Ol Kinyei* reported the highest levels of social capital, with 68% (n=27) reporting that their community was "highly organized". This sentiment was further endorsed by Subject # 108 when he articulated,

> Since we acquired land [via privatisation], our community members have started communicating with one another about the best way to use that land. Many of us do not yet know how we will use the land, but we are interested in getting input from others as we make decisions (Subject #108).
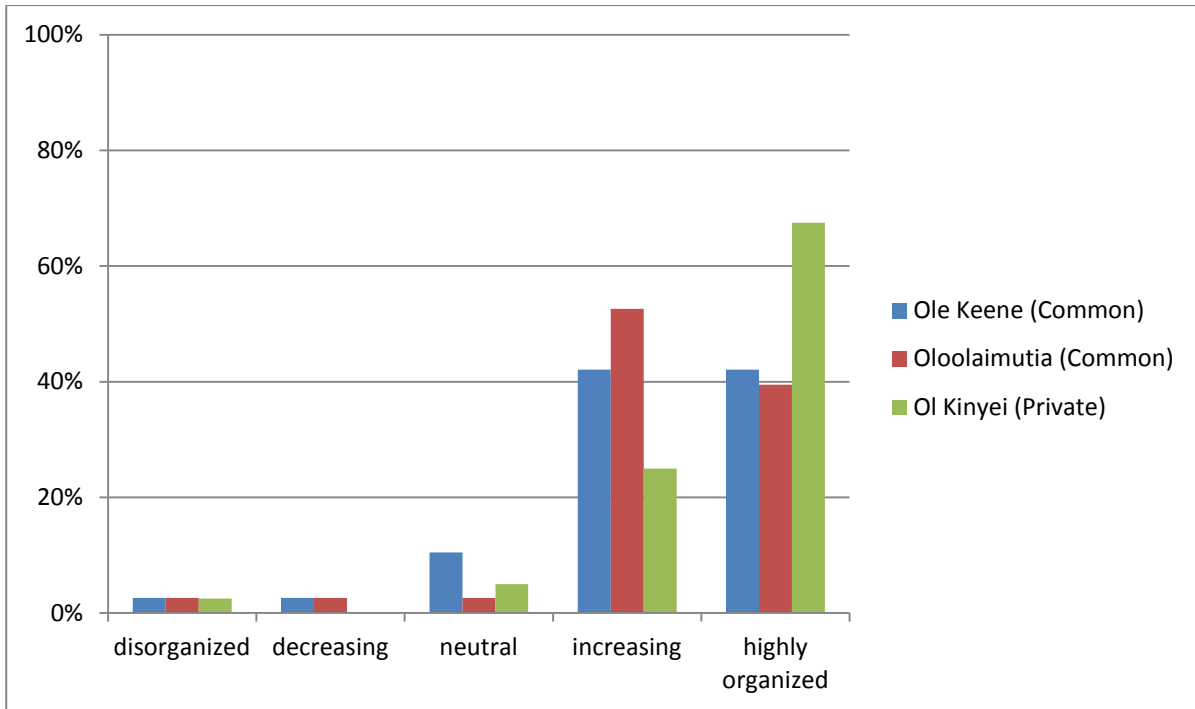
**Figure 6.12:  Level of Organization within the Surveyed Community**

When the quantitative data was triangulated with the qualitative responses generated in the participatory events, it soon became clear that the recent phenomenon associated with the new landowners linking their land parcels together to form community-owned wildlife conservancies has resulted in a significant increase in social capital within their communities.   However, because the privatisation of land has only occurred recently, and these social networks are relatively new, it will be important to follow this trend in the future.

In addition to influencing the level of organization in a community, social capital also impacts the proportion of the community involved in the decision-making process.  As Maasai society has traditionally been organized along patriarchal lines, the Western constructs of democracy and equality do not always translate well within this context.  For example, even though women have

recently started taking a more active leadership role within Maasai society, the village elder positions in all three communities are currently held by men. This gender inequality is evident in all facets of Maasai society, as only the men are eligible to receive land title deeds through the privatisation process.

As illustrated in Figure 6.13, when the heads of household were asked about the proportion of their respective communities involved in solving problems, 89% (n=107) reported that at least half were involved. Interestingly, the residents of *Oloolaimutia* reported the greatest proportion of the local population involved in the process, with women making up the majority. This is presumably a direct result of the women's empowerment project funded by the government of Kenya's Arid Lands Program (ALP) referred to in Section 5.5.1.
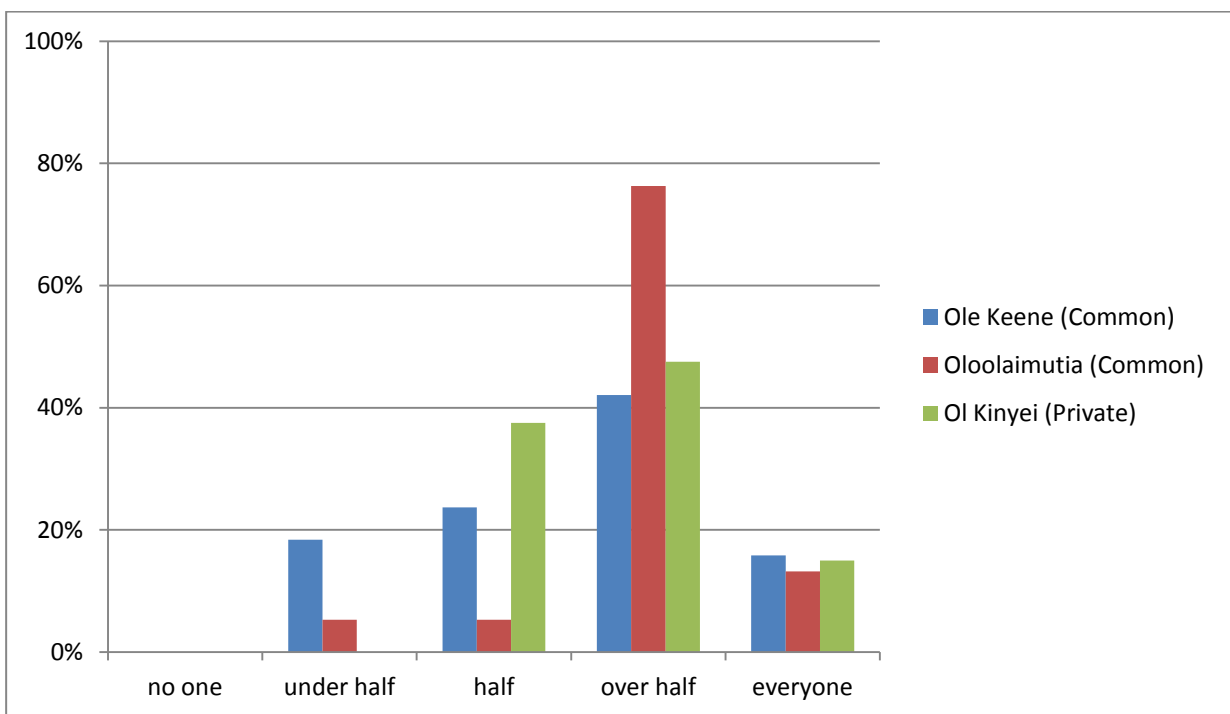


**Figure 6.13: Proportion of the Community Involved in Problem Solving**

From the results outlined above, it is clear that financial, physical, cultural, human, and social capitals associated with Maasai livelihoods are constantly transforming over time. Similarly, recent changes in land tenure – coupled with an ever increasing demand for wildlife tourism by international ecotourists – suggest that these trends will continue well into the future. For this reason, it is important to examine the manner in which land privatisation is influencing Maasai attitudes toward this increased demand for ecotourism.

## 6.10 Natural Capital: Maasai Attitudes towards Ecotourism

Natural capital is the term used for the natural resources from which livelihoods are derived (DFID 1999). As a result, there is considerable variation in the tangible and intangible resources included within the realm of natural capital (e.g. atmosphere, biodiversity, trees, land, and water). Within the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF), there is a strong relationship between natural capital and the *vulnerability context* since indigenous livelihoods are often devastated by natural processes such as fire, floods, and drought (DFID 1999). Because most Maasai earn the majority of their income from resource-based activities, this section attempts to understand the importance of internal structures and processes (e.g. land subdivision and privatisation) in determining the manner in which natural capital is consumed, and the added value that it creates.

As evidenced in the previous sections, whenever change occurs there is wide variation in how the affected population adapts to that change. The results demonstrate a wide continuum of responses to this change, ranging from continued pastoralism on semi-arid rangelands to crop cultivation on the margins. The spectrum of responses refutes the common perception that the Maasai are unchanging traditionalists and conversely, illustrates their adaptability to new and

more varied methods of income-generation.  As with most societies, there is a vast disparity in wealth throughout Maasailand where cattle, sheep and goats are often used as the local currency. Those households owning large herds are able to pay the required school fees for their children and provide them with greater opportunities, whereas the cattle-poor households are often forced to diversify their livelihoods out of necessity.

Yet, perhaps more important than the rationale behind livelihood diversification is the attitude the local hosts are displaying in response to the changes.  The concept of attitude has been defined in a variety of ways, but this research builds on Fazio's definition which states, "attitudes are evaluations or feeling states about an attitude object" (Fazio 1995).  These can include issues pertaining to social justice, natural resource management, other individuals, wildlife, and physical objects (Fazio 1995).  As it is important that surveys pertaining to attitudes include the use of scales for reducing measurement error (Heberlein 1981), Likert[81] scale surveys were used to provide valid and reliable measurements of Maasai attitudes and beliefs.

Just as information from attitudinal surveys has proven useful for comparing attitudes in different regions, it is also an effective means of incorporating local attitudes and values into management and policy decisions (Hackel 1990).  However, the manner in which this information is solicited from the respondent is vitally important to the validity and reliability of the data.  Through incorporating a variety of participatory research methods undertaken by researchers from the host culture, it is believed that an accurate picture of Maasai attitudes towards local ecotourism initiatives was attained and the corresponding results are recorded.

---

[81] For a detailed overview of the Likert Scale, refer to Section 4.7.2.

Despite a plethora of literature lamenting the fact that wildlife numbers are decreasing within and around the Maasai Mara National Reserve (Ogutu & Owen-Smith 2006; Ogutu 2000), Figure 6.14 illustrates that 84% (n=101) of the households surveyed reported greater concentrations of wildlife (i.e. natural capital) in their region now than there were 10 years earlier. This response was a common theme throughout the region, and is highlighted here;

> Compared to before, there are more animals [i.e. wildlife] roaming through our communities. I believe this is so, because there are many more people now and there is less room for the animals to go without disturbing us. Some of the animals are okay, but when the elephants come through at night time they can really cause lots of problems for us (Subject # 21).

As expected, the residents of *Ol Kinyei* who had moved off their land and leased it to a safari company were unanimous (100%) in their response that the wildlife residing in their region was more plentiful than it had been prior to the subdivision process. Not only did this perceived increase include the herbivore population grazing the open plains, but it also included a perceived increase in carnivores and larger game due to the absence of local residents and their livestock.

Ecotourism initiatives within the National Reserve and the Greater Mara ecosystem are expected to expand in the future, and it is important to examine the impact this development will have on indigenous livelihood strategies. Arguably, one of the most effective methods of determining this impact is through examining local attitudes towards ecotourism and the international visitors who participate.
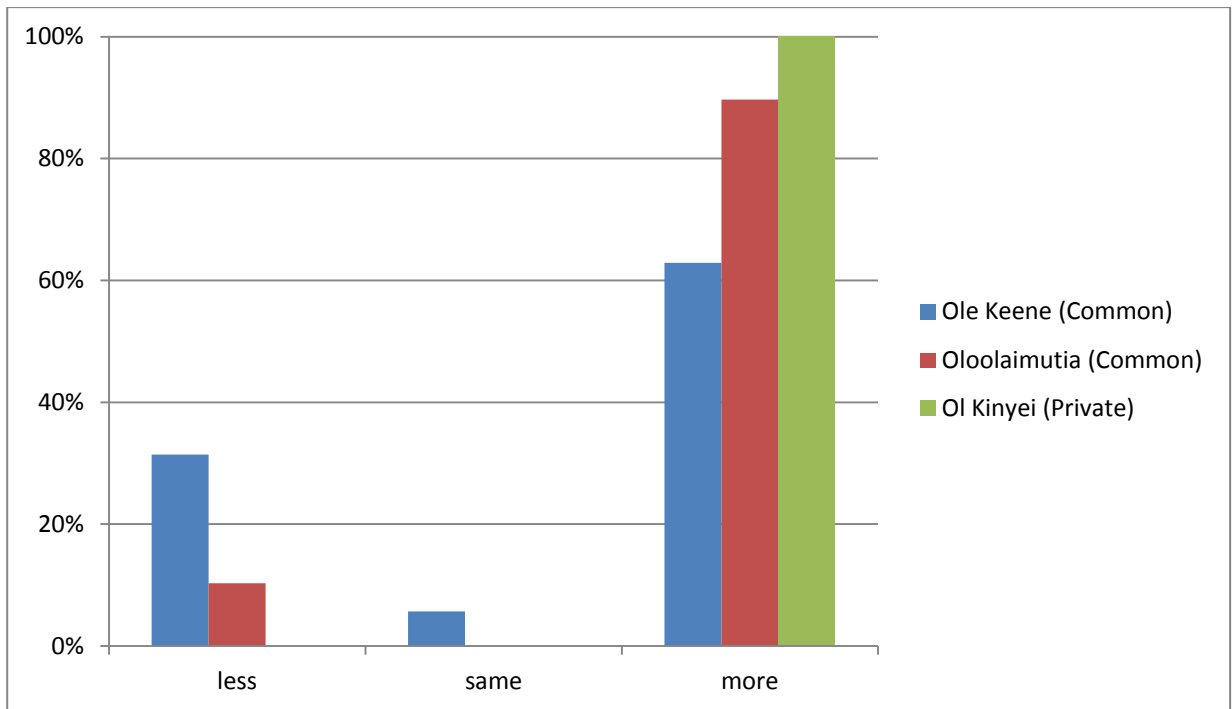
**Figure 6.14: Perceptions of Change in Local Wildlife Populations over the Past Decade**

As illustrated in Figure 6.15, local attitudes towards ecotourists visiting their region are generally optimistic and welcoming across the three sites. In fact, 25% (n=30) of the heads of household responded that they have a "positive" attitude towards visitors, while 64% (n=76) reported feeling "highly positive". Without a doubt, international visitors are viewed as a key component in the local development process and their presence appears to be highly desired.
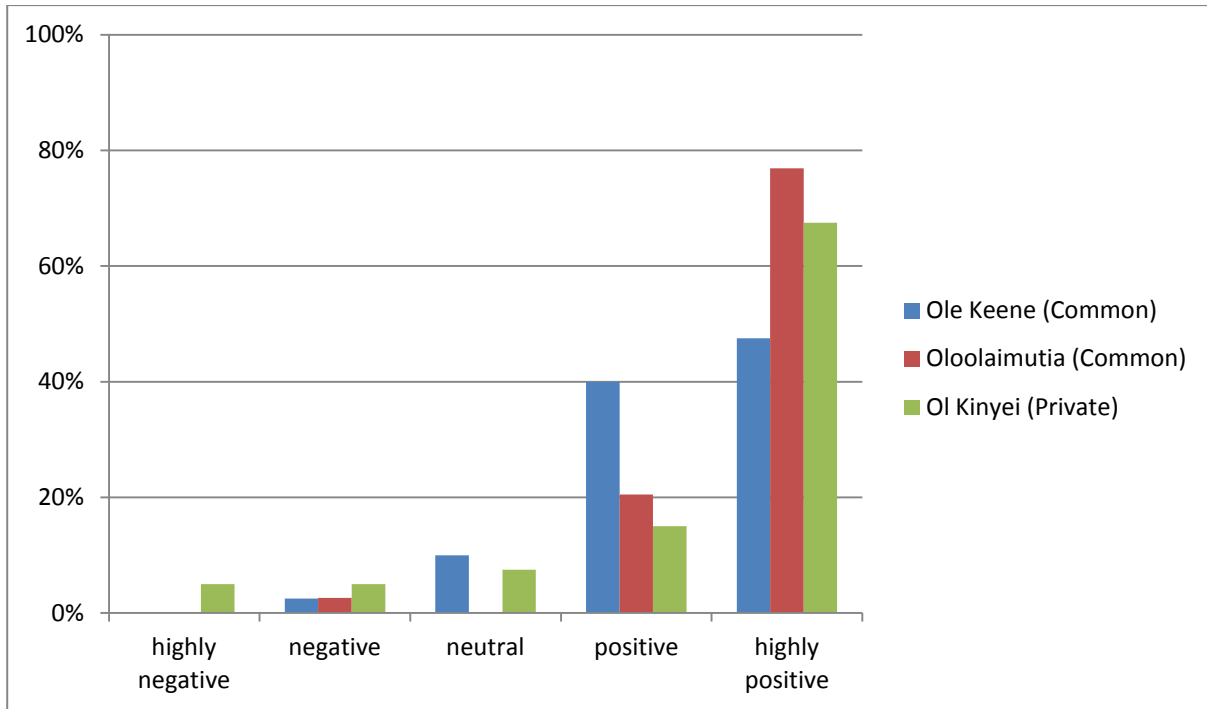
**Figure 6.15:  Local Attitudes Towards Ecotourists Visiting Their Region**[82]

Greater evidence of the positive attitude towards international ecotourists is demonstrated in Figure 6.16 where 71% (n=85) of those surveyed desire even greater numbers of ecotourists in the future, with only 23% (n=27) desiring fewer.  This positive attitude towards ecotourists is the most pronounced in *Ol Kinyei* where the landowners leasing their land to the safari company receive an equitable (and transparent) financial return throughout the year.  Thus, it is not surprising that an overwhelming 95% (n=38) of the surveyed households in *Ol Kinyei* reported a desire to see even greater numbers of ecotourists visiting their region in the future.

---

[82] Note:  No chi-square tests were conducted for Figure 6.15 due to low frequencies (n<5) for the responses 'highly negative' and 'negative'.
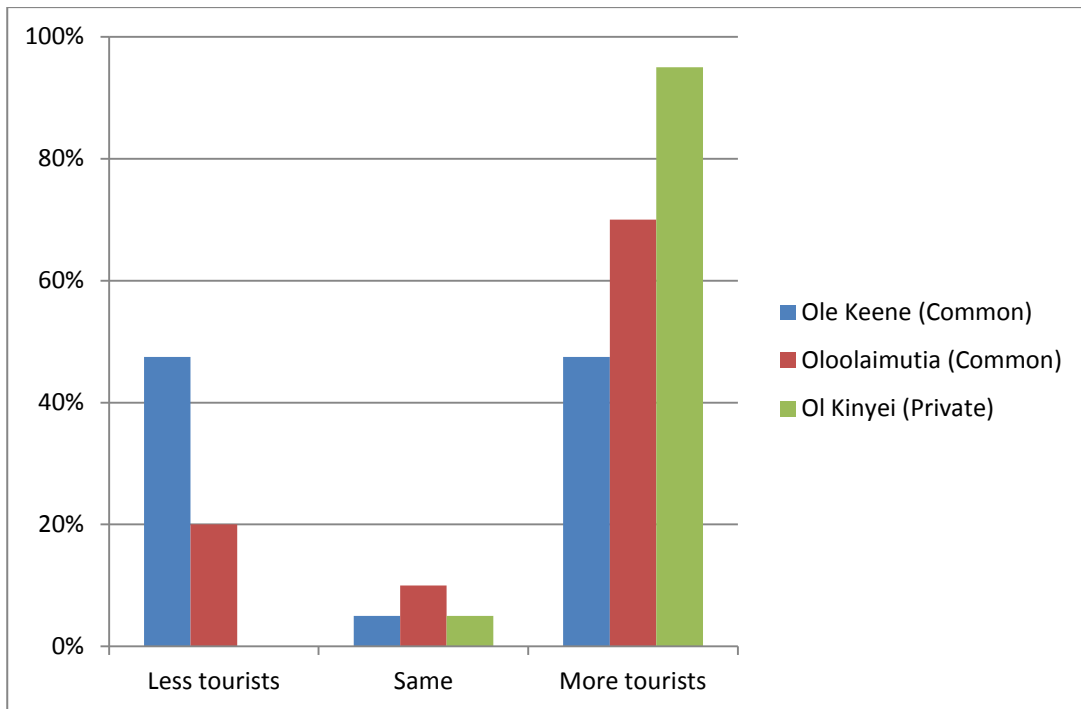
**Figure 6.16: Desire for Less/More Tourist Arrivals in the Region**

In many regions throughout the world, tourists are often viewed in a negative light by the host population for the harmful impacts and consequences they introduce. However, this negative attitude does not seem to be as prevalent among the Maasai for a number of reasons. First, ecotourism in the Maasai Mara is still rather small-scale with most of the eco-camps located outside the Reserve only accommodating between 12 and 20 visitors per night. Second, due to the nature of ecotourism initiatives in Kenya, almost all safari camps and lodges have instituted socially responsible projects for their guests to get involved with. For example, a portion of tourism profits is often designated towards the construction of Maasai schools, health clinics and boreholes. Third, by providing opportunities for the visitor to get involved with various service projects, (i.e. teaching at local schools, planting tree seedlings, helping out at orphanages) tourists are seen in a positive light. However, perhaps the main reason for this general optimism stems

from the simple fact that there is almost no interaction between hosts and visitors after dark since visitors are required to remain within the confines of their camps after sunset. This curfew is partially due to the risk associated with roaming wildlife at night, as well as the fact that the National Reserve closes at sundown. Since many of the social ills (e.g. prostitution, gambling, and alcoholism) traditionally associated with tourism typically occur after dark, the Maasai have not been tainted by many of the same outside influences.

For the aforementioned reasons, perhaps it is not surprising that the vast majority of the Maasai surveyed view ecotourism as having a positive impact on the natural environment; a result that runs contrary to much of the literature in this area. As illustrated in Figure 6.17, of the 119 households which responded, 32% (n=38) and 48% (n=57) perceived tourism to have a "positive" and "highly positive" impact on the natural environment, respectively. Through a post-hoc test of multiple comparisons, a significant difference (0.001) was noted between *Ole Keene* (common property) and *Ol Kinyei* (private property). Thus, the individuals with the most positive attitude towards tourism's impact on the natural environment were the private landowners of *Ol Kinyei.*
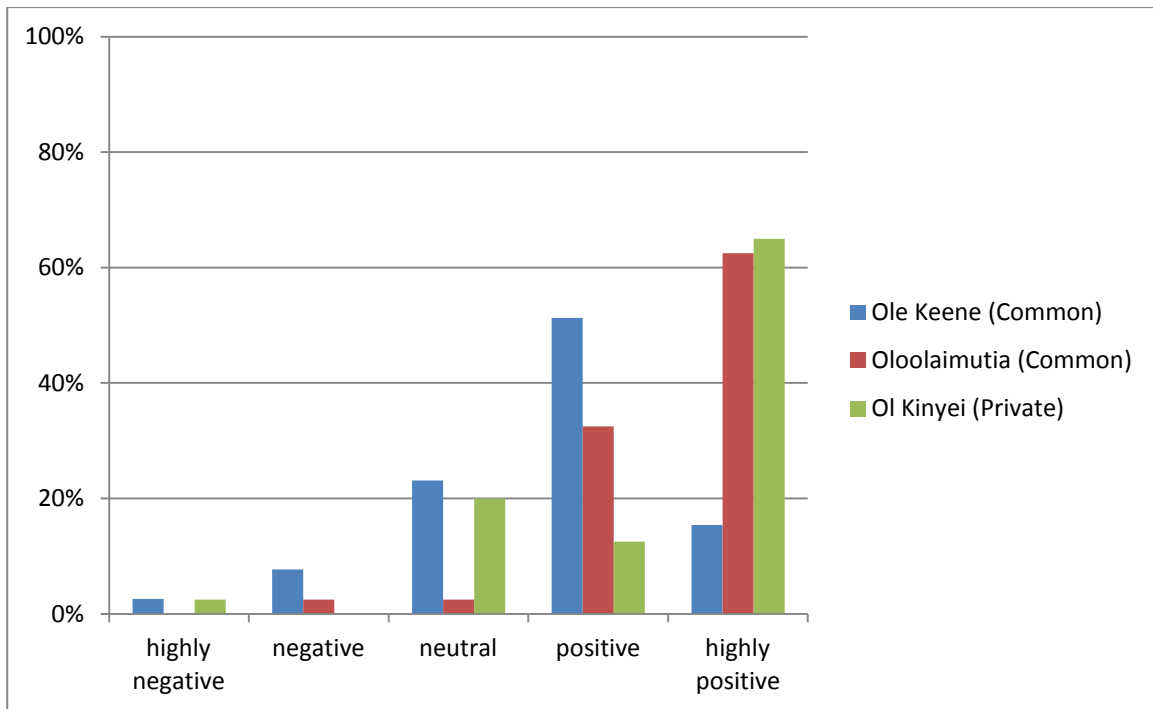
**Figure 6.17: Local Attitudes Towards Tourism's Impact on the Natural Environment**

This result is not overly surprising, considering the fact that before *Ol Kinyei* was subdivided and privatised in 2005, the land had been severely overgrazed by large herds of cattle, and the minimal fodder available meant the region's wildlife population was nearly decimated. Only after the Maasai land owners agreed to graze their livestock elsewhere (as per the lease agreement) did the land start to recover, resulting in a marked increase in wildlife (refer to Figure 6.14). Despite the positive impact the leasing arrangement has had on the natural capital of *Ol Kinyei*, the juxtaposition between witnessing the improved health of their land and the fact that they are not able to use it for grazing is summed up in the comments of Subject #118,

> Before I received my land title, this land was very sick. In fact, some even said it was dead. Now that we have moved our cattle away from the land it is slowly growing healthier. Many wild animals are returning and the land is alive once again. But according to the agreement we signed with [the safari company] we are not permitted to graze our cattle on the land and now we must move our cows all the way

to Trans Mara in search of pasture. Sometimes I wonder, what is the use of having such good land if I am not even able to use it for my own livestock? (Subject #118).

Truly, the positive and negative consequences associated with changing land tenure regimes, new ecotourism initiatives, and livelihood diversification will continue to unfold in the years to come. These consequences will be even further enhanced as the Maasai wrestle with the dilemma between earning income through leasing their land, and not being able to use it to graze their cattle. For a semi-nomadic community that has had free range access to large swaths of land for generations, this quandary will be difficult to reconcile and will be discussed further in the next chapter.

## 6.11  Chapter Summary

The sixth chapter provided a platform for analysing the information gathered from the household surveys and participatory events. Building on this platform, the socio-demographic characteristics of the research participants were described and plotted in chart form. Since preliminary tests revealed that the researcher was dealing with interval/ratio data that was normally distributed, various parametric tests were conducted in order to gain a greater understanding of the meaning embedded within the data. After setting the stage for the analysis, the results from the literature, household surveys, and various participatory events were grouped together and organized into seven sub-sections; socio-demographic characteristics, sustainable livelihood strategies, the distribution of benefits from ecotourism, infrastructure quality, Maasai perceptions of change, stakeholder participation, empowerment and equity, transitions within the community, and Maasai attitudes towards ecotourism.

These subsections were then aligned with the various 'livelihood assets' associated with the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework in order to provide structure for the analysis. When the results were deconstructed into financial, physical, cultural, human, social, and natural 'capitals', the relationships between the different variables were more easily compared and contrasted. For example, although livestock farming is still the main source of income for the Maasai, an ever-increasing population coupled with decreasing rangeland means that ecotourism will play a larger role in Maasai livelihoods in the coming years. Similarly, the Maasai are finding themselves forced to choose between supplementing their income by cultivating their land, or leaving their land fallow in order to maintain traditional wildlife migration routes.

When Maasai human and social capital were analysed, it became evident that the private landowners were more involved in the local decision-making process, more organized as a community, and more confident in their ability to deal with international tourists. Their attitudes towards tourists visiting their region were also the most positive, since they had the most to gain with an increase in arrivals. Finally, the results showed that across all three communities, the Maasai have a positive attitude towards tourism's impact on the natural environment, specifically because ecotourism has protected the flora and fauna from the degradation that has occurred in other non-tourist regions of Maasailand. Now that the data have been analysed and charted, it is time to turn our attention to the discussion and interpretation of these results within the context of Maasai livelihoods.

# Chapter 7

# General Discussion and Interpretation

*"Ore hoo neado esidai orgos nepi onyek mmedol entaisere"*

*"Even the ostrich, with its long neck and sharp eyes, cannot see what will happen in the future"* – **Maasai proverb**

**7.1 General Discussion**

Six months of field research (October 2009 – March 2010) provided valuable raw data for a cross-site comparative analysis focusing on Maasai livelihoods within the context of changing land tenure regimes. Using the household as the main decision-making unit, a variety of participatory research methods were employed to collect rich, qualitative data from an indigenous perspective across three sites bordering the Greater Maasai Mara in southwestern Kenya. To complement these qualitative responses, a number of quantitative and statistical tests were implemented to better understand the data collected via the household surveys. This mixed methods approach was triangulated with a range of supporting data gathered on historical, cultural, and social aspects of Maasai society. The results from these quantitative and qualitative approaches have been outlined and illustrated in detail in Chapter 6. The purpose of this seventh chapter, therefore, is to further discuss and interpret these results through the lens of the primary livelihood assets (i.e. financial, physical, cultural, human, social, natural) outlined in the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF). Through this discussion, a new interpretation of the manner in which Maasai lifestyles are being transformed will be proposed.

In response to the four main research questions put forth in Section 4.5, this chapter will discuss and interpret the manner in which land privatisation is influencing Maasai livelihoods with specific regard to the role that ecotourism initiatives play in the equitable distribution of benefits. For it is only once the relationship between stakeholder participation, empowerment, and the equitable distribution of benefits has been explored, that the motivation behind the recent push towards land privatisation (and subsequently, the establishment of community-owned wildlife conservancies) can be understood. The various research methods employed will then be critiqued constructively with the aim of further advancing culturally-appropriate, participatory research methods for ecotourism-specific livelihoods research.

## 7.2  The Impact of Land Privatisation on Maasai Livelihoods

When pastoral livelihoods are viewed contextually, the decision to subdivide large tracts of common land is somewhat perplexing. Subdivision impedes mobility, a crucial component for grazing cattle and maintaining the semi-nomadic Maasai lifestyle. Thus, this section addresses the impact of land privatisation on Maasai livelihoods by drawing on previous livelihood analyses and theoretical constructs. The information collected via the household surveys and participatory events was integrated into a series of tables focusing on the positive and negative impacts of land privatization on Maasai livelihoods and 'assets'. As evidenced in Table 7.1, when the results gathered from the two different land ownership regimes (common and private) are juxtaposed, the full scope of the positive and negative impacts – as reported by the Maasai participants – comes into view.

164

| | Ole Keene & Oloolaimutia (Common property) | | Ol Kinyei (Private Property) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Positives | Negatives | Positives | Negatives |
| **Financial Capital** | Income generated by those finding employment in the safari lodges has increased slightly over the past decade. | Lack of legal land tenure means that households do not have the ability to diversify livelihoods through leasing, cultivating, or selling of land. | Income from leasing land to ecotourism initiatives has increased significantly.<br><br>Increased cultivation creates new income streams, diversifies livelihoods, and decreases income disparities. | With private ownership comes the ability to sell their land. This short term gain eventually leads to landlessness and intense poverty. |
| **Physical Capital** | No positives reported. | Government schools continue to be underfunded and understaffed.<br><br>Roads and bridges are very poorly maintained. | Access roads are graded and better maintained.<br><br>Households have more money (and incentive to invest in their own land) to construct water wells and cattle dips. | Once land is privatised, the government takes even less responsibility for investing and maintain physical infrastructure. |
| **Cultural Capital** | Semi-nomadic pastoral lifestyle that has predominated for generations can continue. | Semi-nomadic lifestyle leads to high levels of poverty, and low levels of education and health care. | Increased tourism to more distant and remote Maasai community (via community – owned wildlife conservancies) encourages maintenance of some traditional customs and ceremonies. | With sedentarization comes a loss of mobility, and livestock can no longer be grazed on wide open rangelands. In turn, new livelihood strategies must be adopted. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Human Capital** | Larger safari lodges provide training and employment options within the tourism sector for a small portion of the host population as guides, cooks, cleaners, and guards. | Poor quality schools and a rapidly increasing population have led to increased youth unemployment among the Maasai.<br><br>Poor literacy and numeracy skills make obtaining tourism-related employment difficult. | Private land owners feel significantly more involved in the decision-making process concerning their newly acquired land.<br><br>Landowners report a greater confidence in their dealings with tourists and tour operators. | Young men have more employment options in the private conservancy camps that lease their land, and therefore less incentive to attend school. |
| **Social Capital** | Traditional Maasai lifestyle (semi-nomadic pastoralism) continues. | Increasing population leads to increasing rates of poverty within Maasai households. | Household sedentarization has led to greater organization within the community. | Traditional Maasai lifestyle has been replaced by leasing out land and crop cultivation. |
| **Natural Capital** | Common land ownership has discouraged the construction of lodges, camps and tourist amenities.<br><br>Presence of tourists has assisted with reducing wildlife poaching.<br><br>Lack of cultivation and fencing on common land has maintained open access for wildlife migration patterns. | Households on common land are more involved with cutting down trees for fuelwood and charcoal production.<br><br>Increasing herd sizes are having a negative environmental impact due to over-grazing. | Significant increase in wildlife on land that has been leased to ecotourism operators.<br><br>Reduced numbers of tourists (1 tent per 700 acres) on leased land conservancies has reduced the impact on the natural environment.<br><br>Fuelwood consumption is reduced with private ownership of resources. | Increasingly, private land is fenced to keep wildlife away from crops, and these fences block traditional wildlife migratory patterns.<br><br>When land within the region is sold, it is often purchased by large scale farmers who eventually convert the wildlife rangelands into large wheat farms. |

**Table 7.1: Comparative Summary of the Role that Land Tenure Plays on Maasai Livelihoods**

7.2.1 **Financial Capital:**

The term financial capital represents the economic resources that individuals use to achieve their livelihood objectives (DFID 1999). In addition to encompassing the creation of wealth, the term also represents the access to cash resources (or equivalent) required to adopt different livelihood strategies. In the Kenyan context, since most Maasai have had very little (if any) access to financial institutions due to their remote location and semi-nomadic existence, cash reserves have rarely been deemed as important as livestock. It follows then, that Maasai evaluations of financial capital often include mixed reactions and qualifying statements.

For example, despite the fact that the private landowners of *Ol Kinyei* report earning significantly more income from leasing their land to safari operators (refer to Figure 6.4), they qualify this statement by reporting that they are losing a part of their culture by no longer being able to graze their cattle on their land;

> Private land is good for many things, like getting loans from a bank and for encouraging proper land management. But it is also changing our culture, as before, all we knew was grazing cows. Now we see Maasai doing many alternatives with their land since they can no longer graze their cattle on their land [that has been leased] (Subject #103).

Although the vast majority of landowners are pleased to diversify their incomes through cultivating crops on portions of their land, they also lament the fact that cultivation requires their attention throughout the year, limiting their freedom to roam with their cattle to distant regions. This tension between trying to advance economically while maintaining their traditional lifestyle is frequently referred to in the survey results. As will be seen later, the challenges associated

with this issue escalate even further when the process of land privatisation reaches the more remote regions of Maasailand.

When discussing and interpreting the results associated with financial capital, it is important to consider seasonal variation and the under-reporting of income. For example, due to the long rainy season from April - June, very few tourists visit the Reserve on account of the long green grass that hides the wildlife and the often impassable, muddy roads. Just a few months later, August and September see the famous wildebeest migration, and thousands of tourists visit the Reserve each day to photograph them. Income generated from tourist visits and handicraft sales varies greatly throughout the year, and it is difficult to obtain accurate answers regarding monthly income. When this seasonal variation is coupled with the fact that all income is in the form of cash, with very little (if any) written documentation pertaining to income and expenditures, the researcher readily acknowledges that the reported income is not always an accurate reflection of the truth[83]. However, such discrepancies were considerably reduced in the data collected from those residing in *Ol Kinyei,* since there are accurate written records of lease payments from the tour operator to the land holders.

### 7.2.2 Physical Capital:

Due to the remote location of the three study sites, the roads connecting the three communities are extremely weak and, in many cases, non-existent. Similarly, as there are no financial

---

[83] As very few Maasai pay any income tax, there is a general reluctance to part with information relating to income in case that information would make its way to the Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA).

institutions or hospitals in the entire region[84], there were few improvements in physical capital to be assessed.  As tourists drive over 100 km on what is referred to locally as 'the worst road in the world' from the town of Narok to the Reserve boundary, they quickly notice that the Maasai residing along the route have no access to electricity[85], running water, or sewage/sanitation systems.  This pervasive lack of physical capital has obvious ramifications on the education, health and agricultural sectors, and has contributed to high levels of abject poverty throughout Maasailand;

> Sometimes we feel as though the government has forgotten us.  We have no running water, no electricity, and the schools are not enough.  We are becoming poorer and poorer all the time, and yet it seems they do not even care about us.  We are getting tired (Subject # 88).

In response to the government's failure to provide much-needed physical capital, the private sector has started to attempt to make up for the shortfall.  As mentioned previously, due to the severe lack of government-funded schools within the region, local entrepreneurs have filled this void by starting private schools that generate revenue from tuition and fees in order to help off-set the costs of school infrastructure and teacher salaries.  Similarly, access roads within the private wildlife conservancies are graded and maintained by the tour operators, and are usually in much better condition than the main (public) road to the Reserve.  These disparities in physical capital can also be evidenced at the household level, where newly privatized land has better infrastructure than the adjacent tracts of common land, since the landholders now have an incentive to invest in their property by constructing water wells, fences, latrines, and cattle dips.

---

[84] The nearest hospital and banks are in Narok, approximately 100 kilometers away.

[85] Some villages in the region have worked together to purchase a petrol generator or solar system to provide electricity at important times.  However, as these systems (and the fuel) are quite expensive by local standards, they are deemed to be a luxury and are accessible by less than 1% of the region's population.

7.2.3 **Cultural Capital:**

As mentioned previously, cultural capital involves a set of attitudes, practices, and beliefs that are fundamental to the functioning of society (Throsby 1999). Because culture infuses every element of the indigenous context, its role is pivotal and necessitates inclusion in all research pertaining to indigenous populations. By doing so, it becomes possible to better understand the embedded and intrinsic meaning that local residents ascribe to different indicators and outcomes. The impact on culture becomes especially evident when viewed in relation to financial capital. Although financial capital is often perceived to be paramount by many living in the West, participatory research has found that indigenous populations often tend to value other non-economic benefits as being equally important (Stonza & Gordillo 2008; Ashley 2005, 2000; Chambers & Conway 1992).

Among other things, these non-economic benefits could include improved security, gaining tourism-related skills, interacting with people of other cultures, and greater participation in the decision-making process. However, despite the value placed on these advantages, many of the indigenous land holders expressed disappointment that these benefits were being realized at the expense of their cultural traditions. For example, a loss of cultural heritage occurs when Maasai elders are no longer involved in decision-making processes and, as a result, these previously revered men lose their perceived value within the social fabric of their communities. Not surprisingly then, the greatest hesitations about land privatisation related to cultural capital.

Due to the intense pride for their heritage that Maasai characteristically possess, they have maintained much of their traditional language, dress, customs and lifestyle despite enormous

pressure from the government to sedentarize and assimilate (Homewood *et al*. 2009; Lamprey & Reid 2004; Galaty 1993). Still, traditional Maasai culture is slowly eroding due to changing patterns of land use and tenure, and many have expressed concern about their future;

> I do not know what the future holds for my children or my grandchildren. Life is changing quickly, and no one can know what will come next. Our way of life is slowly changing, and many young men do not even respect their elders anymore. I am wondering how this will end (Subject #23).

Those interviewed during the various participatory events reported that they were troubled by ever-increasing levels of poverty within their community and yet, were quick to point out that they were not interested in compromising their traditional lifestyle just to, "have a few extra shillings in their pocket" (Subject# 11). As a result, many of the residents report being constantly conflicted between changing their traditional lifestyle to fit better with modern society, and maintaining the traditions that reap tourism-related income.

7.2.4 **Human Capital:**

When the concept of human capital was viewed through the 'lens' of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF), the associated results displayed some interesting findings. As evidenced in Figure 6.9, an overwhelming 98% (n=39) of those holding private land title in *Ol Kinyei* felt empowered to make decisions concerning local land use, while only 14% (n=11) of those living on common property regimes in the other two communities reported the same sense of authority. The value of the freedom to make decisions was a common theme cited by the new landowners;

> Through rightful ownership of land I am able to make decisions without interference. If I choose, I can plant trees or dig boreholes on my land, and build as I want. There is no one to stop me. For these reasons I prefer privatisation (Subject # 110).

Of all three communities surveyed, the residents of *Ol Kinyei* have traditionally been the farthest removed geographically from the National Reserve, and have historically had the least contact with tourists and 'outsiders'. As a result, local levels of self-confidence in dealing with international visitors were very low. With the advent of privatised land and the formation of their community-owned wildlife conservancy, their contact with tourists has increased dramatically over the past five years and this has impacted their clan in a number of ways. For example, with increased exposure to tourists and tour operators, landowners report a corollary increase in their confidence to relate to them. Similarly, with greater levels of ownership, those responding to the survey report greater levels of participation and integration within the process, ultimately enhancing local levels of empowerment.

However, with increased tourism to *Ol Kinyei*, there has also been a marked increase in new employment opportunities, (e.g. cooks, cleaners, guards, guides) and the study's results provide evidence that many young men are now choosing to earn regular and reliable income over completing their education. For a region characterized by low levels of education and literacy rates, this is not welcome news. Thus, there are clearly some positive and negative impacts to Maasai human capital resulting from the privatisation of land and the adoption of ecotourism as a livelihood strategy. Both of these factors are also closely related to local social capital.

### 7.2.5 **Social Capital:**

One of the primary obstacles to conserving the natural environment in the Lesser Developed Countries is the inability of local institutions to implement effective conservation practices. It is only when an institution's rules are understood by all, and their governance structure is such that

the regulations can be enforced, that strong local networks can be formed. These networks are based on trust, reciprocity, commonality, and norms that Pretty and Ward (2001) call "social capital".

Many Maasai households reported an internal conflict between being pleased that their communities were more highly organized and coordinated once they sedentarized and settled in one place, but they lamented the fact that their traditional semi-nomadic pastoral lifestyle has been replaced by cultivating crops and leasing out portions of their land to 'outsiders'. This social dilemma was underscored in a participatory event conducted in *Ol Kinyei* when one of the participants shared;

> Now that we own our own land we are becoming richer, but it comes at a cost (Subject # 105).

These assertions of conflicted desires pervade much of their dialogue, making it clear that most Maasai are finding themselves pressured to choose between maintaining the traditional ways that have formed their social structures for generations, and 'developing' in a manner that maintains their relevance to the rest of the world.

An example of this quandary arose when the respondents were asked whether the increased livelihood security and community organization made them happier than they were when living on a common property regime. Interestingly, only 23% (n=9) of the participants responded that they were happier now than they were prior to the subdivision, and many repeated a well-known Maasai saying that roughly translates means: "More money does not bring more happiness". As the embedded meaning associated with 'wealth' differs greatly between Maasai society and much

of the West, this divergence is a prime example of the need for indigenous perspective and participation in tourism-related research.

7.2.6 **Natural Capital:**

Government support for the enclosure of the Maasai commons was based on the presumption that individuals consume natural resources more efficiently when they are owned privately. To determine the outcomes associated with this logic, this study examined the impact of that decision on the natural environment. When surveyed, 100% (n=120) of the respondents claimed that people are less likely to cut down trees on their own land than they are from a common resource. Since most Maasai still require a natural fuel source to cook their food and boil their water, individuals (mainly women and young girls) are now walking further distances to collect their fuelwood from land that still remains under a common (or open access) property regime. As a result, deforestation[86] rates on the remaining parcels of non-privatised land have increased significantly over the past decade.

Under common land ownership, Maasai households were able to graze large herds of livestock on the open rangeland wherever there was sufficient fodder. As many of these herds became extremely large (sometimes numbering over one thousand), the unsustainable levels of over-grazing led to severe land degradation and devolution of the natural environment. Once large tracts of common land were subdivided into smaller parcels of private land ranging from 100-150

---

[86] Due to increased demand for cheap fuel sources from Kenya's rapidly expanding urban centres, there is a corresponding demand for charcoal produced from the Acacia forests located on common and open access land outside the national reserves.

acres, many households realized they needed to reduce their herd size[87] due to the restricted access to grazing lands. When asked how they supplemented their income to compensate for this reduction in livestock, 43% (n=52) of the surveyed households reported that they now cultivate more land than they did a decade ago, and will continue to do so if the economics warrant it (refer to Figure 6.8). When these households were questioned further about the rationale behind this relatively recent decision to cultivate, the general consensus was that their land title deed provided them with the incentive to invest in fencing their land to protect it from wildlife, as well as the security of knowing that the vegetables produced on their land would not be stolen under the auspices of common ownership. In addition to the changes that are occurring with small-scale agriculture, the privatisation of land means that the owner has the ability (and legal title) to sell his land, and large-scale wheat farmers are placing high demand on the relatively inexpensive rangelands to the north of the Reserve to expand their businesses.

Yet, despite the financial incentives associated with small-scale agriculture, the respondents expressed their concern that the fences being erected to protect their vegetables would in turn block wildlife migratory patterns, ultimately leading to negative consequences for tourism revenues in the future. In the regions where land had been privatized, herd sizes had been reduced, and fences had not yet been erected, the respondents reported a significant increase in resident wildlife and biodiversity. These comments were especially prevalent in the households located near the *Ol Kinyei* wildlife conservancy and will be expanded upon in more detail in Section 7.6.

---

[87] When the subjects were asked their opinion on the optimal herd size for their tract of land, the general consensus was that three acres of land were needed for each head of cattle. Thus, for a 100 acre ranch, 33 cattle would be the maximum number that could be grazed effectively.

## 7.3  The Transformation of Property Rights in Kenya

The transformation of property rights in the Greater Maasai Mara has created a new set of challenges for the Maasai community, namely the conflict between the individuals wanting to 'develop' and those wanting to maintain their semi-nomadic pastoral existence.  Interestingly, the results reveal no significant correlation between the respondents' age and their desire to maintain tradition, but they do provide evidence that the more education an individual has completed, the more likely they are to be in favour of land subdivision and privatization.

When the fieldwork was undertaken for this study, the residents of *Ol Kinyei* Group Ranch had already completed the land subdivision and privatisation process, whereas the residents of *Ol Keene* were just commencing the course of action, and the residents of *Oloolaimutia* were still weighing the positive and negative outcomes likely to be associated with it.  Due to these variations along the continuum, it was extremely interesting to hear the wide range of opinions expressed in the participatory events conducted in each of the three study sites.  For example, 82% of all those participating in the discussions were in favour of land privatisation due to the level of security it ensured.  The dearth of security was highlighted by the fact that the Group Ranch system had not effectively protected Maasai land from outside encroachment.  Even though the Group Ranches were intended to be wholly owned by Maasai, loopholes in the Group Representative Act (1968) allowed many non-Maasai and unscrupulous senior civil servants to be listed on the official Group Ranch registers.

Despite this positive response in favour of the privatisation process, 39% of the surveyed households responded that common property regimes were still the preferred tenure system for

grazing their cattle as access to greener pastures in distant regions provided 'insurance' during periods of drought (refer to Table 7.2). Because land subdivision and fragmentation inhibit the very mobility that is crucial to survival for livestock living under variable conditions, many of the respondents expressed concern that the subdivision of their common property regimes would have negative effects on their traditional way of life. Similarly, a substantial number of the respondents worried that land privatisation would have detrimental effects on the land available for grazing livestock (92%), on traditional Maasai culture (62%), and in the conservation of wildlife (45%). When pressed further, the participants also expressed concern that reductions in the land available for grazing their livestock would make it increasingly difficult to maintain their traditional culture and sustain livelihoods.

| | Percentage |
|---|---|
| **Respondents[88] in favour of subdivision[89]** | |
| Cultivation of land | 85 % |
| Security of ownership | 82 % |
| **People opposed to land subdivision** | |
| Reduced land for grazing | 92 % |
| Disrupts traditional Maasai culture | 62 % |
| Disrupts wildlife conservation | 45 % |
| **Method of land use respondents plan to use after subdivision** | |
| Raise livestock | 83 % |
| Cultivation | 81 % |
| Purchase other's plots of land | 72 % |
| Lease their land | 58 % |
| Ecotourism | 27 % |
| Sell their land | 5 % |

**Table 7.2:  Perceptions of Land Subdivision and Speculated Land Use**

---

[88] It is important to note that not all 120 households answered each and every question. Since some participants occasionally responded that they did not know an answer, the calculations were based on the number of participants actually answering each specific question.

[89] For each of the three sections in Table 7.2, multiple responses were possible.

When asked about how they would use their land after subdivision, 83% of the participants indicated that they wanted to continue raising livestock, 58% reported interest in leasing a portion of their land for the purpose of conservation initiatives, 27% of the respondents hoped to become more involved with ecotourism, while only 5% were interested in selling their land[90]. Although the majority of the respondents recognized that the encroachment of cultivated farms – and their associated fences – is a significant threat to wildlife within the region, 81% of surveyed households reported interest in adopting cultivation as an additional livelihood strategy in the coming decade. From these results, it is clear that as the size of arable land available to each household decreases with each generation, the conflict between cattle and crops will continue to escalate; leading to severe ramifications for the wildlife that rely on roaming large tracts of uninterrupted grasslands. Extrapolating further, with any significant decreases in wildlife, it can be anticipated that the number of tourists desiring to visit the region will decrease accordingly, resulting in a loss of tourism-related income.

Clearly, when the numerous liabilities of land subdivision are weighed against the few benefits, the overwhelming support for privatisation is somewhat puzzling to the outsider. And yet, unlike the donor-sponsored and government-driven initiatives that delineated Maasai Group Ranches in the past, the recent drive for privatisation has emerged – and continues to emerge – from the Maasai themselves. This seemingly irrational motivation to subdivide leads to some interesting questions that require Maasai input and perspective. It also presents a number of implications for the future.

---

[90] Although only 5% of the respondents articulated that they would be interested in selling their land, when the researcher joked that he might like to buy their land for an exorbitant amount, many of the participants laughed and implied that they would like to reconsider their answer!

**7.4 Implications for the Future**

In recent years, tourism researchers have highlighted the need to place more emphasis on understanding the lived realities of tourism on indigenous populations. Yet, despite this general acceptance, little research has been conducted on how alternative forms of tourism actually fit within indigenous livelihood strategies. Similarly, even less research has been conducted on the impact of these initiatives from the host's perspective. Informed by development theory, we know that without a greater attempt to understand local knowledge and perspectives, the planning and implementation of future tourism development initiatives run the risk of alienating and excluding the host population even further. In keeping with this theme, this research study contributed to the current knowledge base pertaining to the role of ecotourism on Maasai livelihoods by analysing the issues as they define them.

In an attempt to bridge the gap between academic and traditional knowledge, this research study set out to communicate – from an indigenous perspective – the relationship between Kenya's Maasai and the land they have inhabited for generations. By taking this approach, a number of interesting perspectives on Kenyan land policy and Maasai livelihoods have been garnered. As a result, the researcher believes that the implications of these results and related policy recommendations will not only be of interest to tour operators, lodge managers, development professionals, local government officials, and the Maasai themselves, but will also lead to more effective tourism development policies in the future, since they have been influenced by members of the affected communities. Thus, these findings have the potential to inform tourism and development policy throughout Maasailand such that local residents and tour operators can capitalize on ecotourism's potential as a tool for livelihood sustainability and development in a

179

culturally-appropriate manner. Moving from policy to practice, this discourse will first be examined within the context of Kenyan land policy, followed by the various implications for Maasai livelihoods.

### 7.4.1 **Implications for Kenyan Land Policy**

Land is a crucial resource with economic, cultural, and symbolic implications. For indigenous communities, access to that land is closely related to survival (Mwangi 2007). Thus, the importance of land property rights – and corresponding land policy – to Kenya's indigenous communities cannot be overemphasized. As outlined in Section 2.4, since protecting the environment while growing the economy was the mandate put forth in the Brundtland Report (WCED 1987), the first and foremost goal of Kenyan land policy ought to be to reconcile the protection of natural resources with the economic well-being of local communities.

As established in Section 2.2, because property in much of Kenya is comprised of 'a bundle of rights' held by different people at different times, the concept of full ownership over all the land, all the time, does not necessarily fit within the local context (Ostrom 2001). Pastoral communities have a long-established tradition of arranging reciprocity agreements with their neighbours in which rangelands can be used by various individuals as needed, and it is important that Kenya's land policies reflect this local understanding of land. This can be accomplished by providing pastoralists with the opportunity to continue negotiating mutually beneficial 'use rights' with their neighbours, thereby allowing them access to large tracts of land when required (e.g., periods of drought, local conflict).

Since many Kenyans live in close proximity to wildlife[91], it is imperative that the government develops policies that facilitate the equitable distribution of wildlife benefits to those living in the affected communities.  As many of Kenya's land policies date back to the pre-Independence era, new policies based on an improved understanding of pastoralism and semi-arid environments are required.  For example, by decreasing human-wildlife conflict in these regions, it would also provide financial incentives for local residents to sustain and conserve the country's natural resource base.  To achieve this goal, it is recommended that policies encouraging involvement in wildlife-based initiatives (e.g. ecotourism, guiding, anti-poaching units) are formulated.  More specifically, these policies ought to promote the development of community-run wildlife associations for collectively managing wildlife-based tourism and services.  In turn, the responsibility for managing these wildlife associations could be transferred to members of the local community, thereby enhancing human and social capital.

As history shows that indigenous populations are often tempted to sell their newly acquired land for a quick profit, some researchers and anthropologists have expressed concern that this unfortunate phenomenon could also occur within Maasailand.  Fortunately, to date, the researcher found that this has rarely occurred within this context, and that only 5% of the respondents reported any intentions of selling their land.  However, as the demand for photographic safaris continues to grow, and wealthy South African tour operators continue to expand their operations throughout the continent, there is reason to believe that many Maasai could eventually be bought off their land.  In order to mitigate this concern, it is recommended that policies be enacted to enforce Maasai land sales to other registered Maasai.  As such a policy would result in reduced

---

[91] Over 70% of Kenya's wildlife live outside the national parks and reserves (Kristjanson *et. al* 2002).

land values, it would not only reduce the pressure to sell the land, but would also ensure that Maasailand continues to be owned by the Maasai, preventing them from ending up as an example of yet another indigenous population dispossessed from their land.

In addition to the importance of enacting policies that balance environmental sustainability with basic human needs, Kenyan land policy needs to address the challenges associated with insecure land tenure. As this issue surfaced time and time again during the participatory events, it quickly became evident that insecure land tenure plays a major role in the decision to subdivide and privatise. Throughout Kenya's history, threats of 'land grabbing' by government "big men", immigrant settlers, and the local elite have made the Maasai extremely cautious, providing the impetus toward privatisation and the acquisition of secure land titles. This is understandable, given that historical records indicate approximately 2,000 km$^2$ of Maasai land were 'grabbed' for the settlement of European immigrants in the late 1800's (Tignor 1976), with an additional 25,792 km$^2$ of Maasai land gazetted for the creation of wildlife conservation areas between 1946 and 1961 (Kituyi 1990). As a result, this legacy of insecurity was foremost in the minds of most of the respondents, and weak governance structures within the Lands Office will continue to encourage indigenous communities to view individual title as protection from sanctioned and unsanctioned appropriations of their traditional lands. Thus, land privatisation is in essence, a defense mechanism for securing an individual's right to property without fear that it will be misappropriated by unauthorized claimants (Mwangi 2007).

7.4.2 **Implications for Maasai Livelihoods**

The pastoral Maasai are faced with more stress on their traditional lifestyle than ever before. Rapid population growth, decreasing rangelands, and the constant threat of drought, contribute to a rather bleak outlook for those set on maintaining their semi-nomadic existence. Thus, for the Maasai to continue co-existing with wildlife as they have for generations, a number of modifications to development policy must occur. But instead of these policies being formed in a top-down approach as has often been the norm, it is vitally important that the Maasai be directly involved in the formation of the policies that affect their livelihoods. Once this participatory approach to policy formation is adopted, the resident Maasai will have an improved grasp of the implications of these policies and will be more likely to honour them.

During the various participatory events, two common themes came to light with regards to the impact of land policy on Maasai livelihoods. First, regardless of which property rights regime is adopted, it is imperative that the resident Maasai have rights to pasture and water guaranteed by law. This is a crucial factor, in that the absence of physical capital throughout much of Maasailand means that having access to sufficient rangeland and potable water are key components of livelihood sustainability. However, in order to ensure this occurs, policies for strengthening the local institutions that govern these laws must be enhanced, as current institutions are often too weak to enforce the current laws adequately.

The second theme that emerged was that many Maasai felt they were being pitted against wildlife conservation by the local authorities; an unfortunately common theme throughout sub-Saharan Africa. Since it has been well documented that pastoral livelihoods can peacefully coexist with

wildlife (Western & Wright 1994), the expulsion of the Maasai (and their cattle) from game parks and national reserves will not solve the problem of unsustainable range use. In fact, the human displacement that occurs with this form of 'fortress conservation' often leads to even greater challenges later, as the evicted population is then forced to compete with other residents on smaller tracts of land. As a result, new policies related to Kenya's wildlife ought to be informed by those living closest to them, such that both human and wildlife populations can continue their coexistence.

## 7.5  Contributions of the Thesis

To better understand the manner in which the Maasai understand the concepts of development, property, livelihoods, ecotourism, and sustainability, one needs to examine the contextual meaning embedded within each of them. To do this, the research questions guiding this study were formed to facilitate a greater understanding of how – from a 'people-centred' perspective – ecotourism initiatives contribute to Maasai livelihoods, and the role that land ownership plays in the accrued benefits. In doing so, several theoretical implications arose that extended beyond the current boundaries of livelihoods, development, and tourism discourse. Linking these bodies of theory with the empirical evidence derived from the research, the following sections illustrate the theoretical, conceptual, and methodological contributions of this research.

### 7.5.1  Theoretical Contributions: Linking Ecotourism and Development Theory

Traditionally, research pertaining to the impact of tourism on indigenous communities has been conducted from the top down, with methods similar to those used in non-indigenous communities. However, since it is beginning to be acknowledged that indigenous communities

may view their world very differently than those from outside their community, one of the objectives of this research was to document an indigenous perspective on the links between ecotourism and development by shifting the scale of analysis to a people-centred, household level. This led to some unique findings that might not have been recorded with a traditional top-down approach. Similarly, through employing a variety of participatory research methods it was possible to document an indigenous perspective on the relationship between changing property regimes and the benefits accrued from ecotourism initiatives.

To gain a greater understanding of the lived realities of the Maasai, a significant amount of time was dedicated to constructing an understanding of the theoretical context and ethnographic setting (refer to Chapter 2 and 3). Key areas of emphasis included the role of land tenure, power, equity, and participation in the distribution of benefits. These concepts were then positioned within the context of place, following Bebbington's (2000) suggestion that,

> … if we look at histories of places, rather than of discourses, and trace actual processes of livelihood and landscape transformation and the institutional interventions that have accompanied them, it becomes easier to identify elements of feasible development alternatives (Bebbington 2000; 496).

Thus, in order to trace actual processes of livelihood transformation as they relate to ecotourism, observations were made in relation to development theory via the 'lens' of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework. The linkage between the two is important since tourism research has rarely penetrated development discourse, despite its increasingly important role as an economic strategy for many Lesser Developed Countries (Telfer & Sharpley 2008). Although many tourism researchers recognize the importance of tourism as a development strategy, only a few have referenced the underlying constructs of development theory in their work. Thus, through

collecting empirical data related to financial, physical, cultural, social, human, and natural capital, and framing it within an adapted Conceptual Framework, the link between ecotourism and development theory has been enhanced and strengthened.

For example, by linking the two concepts closely, it can be deduced that for ecotourism initiatives to have any chance of contributing to sustainable development, they must be planned and managed using a sustainable approach.  In locations (i.e. *Ol Kinyei*) where the linkage is occurring and initiatives are being implemented in conjunction – and not in competition – with local development programs, new forms of development are starting to take shape.  In turn, the empirical evidence for this phenomenon confirms the theoretical value of enhancing the linkage between ecotourism and development theory, and demonstrates the importance of framing discourse on the former within the latter.  Moving along the continuum from theory to praxis, the next section presents the contributions of the research that were formed by demonstrating applicability of the conceptual framework.

7.5.2 **Conceptual Contributions:  Demonstrating Applicability**

Conceptual frameworks serve as an outline for an approach to an idea or thought, and can be considered a type of intermediate theory that attempts to connect to all aspects of the research.  In order to demonstrate applicability of the sustainable livelihoods approach to this research study, the following section presents a modified conceptual framework that focuses specifically on the impact that land privatisation has had on indigenous livelihoods.  Building on the *Conceptual Model of the Relationship between the Key Research Components* (Figure 1.1), and the *Sustainable Livelihoods Framework* (Figure 2.3), an amalgamated adaptation of the two is

submitted below in Figure 7.1. Grounded in the models and concepts of current livelihoods research (Bebbington 1999; Carney 1999; DFID 1999; Scoones 1998; Chambers & Conway 1992; Sen 1980), the framework summarizes the results outlined in Table 7.1.

**Cultural and Historical Capital**

| Natural Capital | Privatisation | Livelihood Strategies | | Human Capital Decision-making Participation | Empowerment through transformed lives | Sustainable Livelihoods |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

**Natural Capital**

Land
Livestock
Wildlife
Water
Trees
Rangeland

**Privatisation**

**Subdivision**

**Livelihood Strategies**

Ecotourism
Cultivation
Leasing
Handicrafts
Beekeeping
Employment
Animal Husbandry

**Non-economic Benefits**

**Economic Benefits**

**Human Capital**
Decision-making
Participation

**Social Capital**
Organization

**Political Capital**
Power

**Financial Capital**
Income

**Physical Capital**
Schools

**Empowerment through transformed lives**

**Sustainable Livelihoods**

Equitable Distribution of Benefits

Resilience

Development

Adaptability

Reduced Vulnerability

Strengthened Institutions

**Cultural and Historical Capital**

**Figure 7.1: Conceptual Framework of the Impact of Land Privatisation on Indigenous Livelihoods**

Working within the structure of the SLF, the adapted framework conceptualizes the cultural (refer to Sections 6.7 and 7.2.3) and historical capital (refer to Section 2.5.2) that infuse every element of the indigenous context. For example, even though Maasailand is blessed with natural capital (i.e. land, livestock, and wildlife), when the land is subdivided and privatised it creates

opportunities for a variety of new livelihood strategies (i.e. ecotourism, cultivation, leasing) that were implausible under the previous property regime.  From these various strategies comes a new set of benefits (economic and non-economic) to the new landowners that manifest themselves in a variety of different capacities.  Here, the accrued benefits are divided into different capitals (i.e. human, social, political[92], financial, physical) that transform lives and enhance local empowerment.  This newfound ability to participate in the decisions that affect their lives eventually leads to more sustainable livelihoods, which in turn can build new and improved livelihood strategies for an even greater share of the benefits.

By adapting the conceptual framework to include cultural and historical capital, it serves as a 'lens' for viewing and identifying the culturally embedded meaning associated with the recent privatisation of Maasai property.  Thus, the resulting framework is a conceptual tool which aids in the understanding of the various dynamics and relationships involved in the construction of sustainable, indigenous livelihoods.  It is presented as a non-figurative tool for tourism researchers to use, study, develop, and debate.  Like all conceptual frameworks, it does not attempt to provide an exact representation of reality, but provides a useful and logical method of organizing the inquiry.

The structural similarities between the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework and this adapted model clearly demonstrate the effectiveness and usefulness of the SLF as a tool for analysing local livelihoods.  However, by adapting the framework to include cultural, political, and historical capital, it is possible to gain an improved understanding of the role that culture plays in

---

[92] The adapted conceptual framework put forth in Figure 7.1 includes the concept of political capital, one of the factors that was critiqued as a limitation of the SLF since it is not specifically included (refer to Section 2.5.2)

the host's actions and decisions. This modification is an important one since culture is intricately linked to vulnerability and resilience, both of which play a pivotal role in indigenous livelihoods. Thus, it is clear that the theoretical and conceptual contributions of this research have coalesced to provide an improved understanding of indigenous livelihoods, but they must be viewed within the context of the culturally-appropriate research methodologies that were implemented to incorporate the cultural underpinnings.

### 7.5.3 **Methodological Contributions: Documenting an Indigenous Perspective**

Even though the vast majority of Kenya's international tourists visit Maasailand, many ethnographic accounts of the Maasai ignore tourism's role in their lives. Perhaps this omission stems from the romance often associated with indigenous Maasai communities 'untouched' by the outside world. Nonetheless, it is vitally important that research be conducted in light of all the challenges influencing their reality. Although increased community participation in the decisions and policies that affect them has often been promoted by scholars, conservationists, and development practitioners, the Maasai have been grossly underrepresented in the decision-making and policy formation stages of the initiatives that affect them (Western 2009; Chambers 1995; Western & Wright 1994).

This sentiment is echoed by Stone and Wall (2004) when they write, "relatively few assessments of ecotourism's impacts at the local level have been performed" (2004; 13). And unfortunately, even fewer of these studies have evolved from – or incorporated adequately – the experiences and perceptions of the host population. In fact, most focus solely on ecotourism and do not adequately engage with other components of livelihood systems. Thus, in an attempt to rectify

this exclusion, previously unheard voices often absent in ecotourism analyses were encouraged to provide their input in a manner that was meaningful and appropriate to them. As decolonizing research involving the marginalized ought to be sensitive to differences in gender, class, status, and clan, the adaptation of a variety of participatory research methods embedded within a sustainable livelihoods approach proved to be an innovative and culturally-appropriate way of documenting indigenous perspectives on the influence that changing property rights and ecotourism initiatives have on their pastoral livelihoods.

Although participatory research methods have often been criticized for having certain technical limitations (Cooke & Kothari 2001), the researcher ensured that the techniques used in this comparative analysis were sequenced, replicable, and promoted an accurate recording of the responses. Combining participatory techniques together with the household survey proved to be an effective means of engaging members of the community in all aspects of the research, and this mixed methods approach resulted in a greater understanding of the multiple realities present within indigenous communities. Similarly, the participatory events outlined in Section 4.7 were designed to empower the Maasai participants to define perceived benefits and consequences. This local involvement helped to deconstruct the cross-cultural discourses and asymmetrical power relationships that so often pervade tourism research within this context. As a result, an exciting by-product of this research was the encouragement and empowerment of traditionally marginalized groups to take an active role in researching the various components that affect their lives. More specifically, by empowering a local resident[93] to participate in all aspects of the

---

[93] For a detailed overview of the research assistant, refer to Section 4.3

research, his enhanced understanding of land privatisation will serve his community well as his involvement in decision-making continues to grow in the coming years.

Through adopting a culturally-appropriate, participatory approach, some fascinating results were reported by the Maasai community members. Of utmost interest to the researcher were the comments related to their culturally-embedded interpretations of 'benefits'. Although the literature is replete with calls for distributing the benefits from ecotourism to members of the host community, significantly less has been written on how those benefits should be indicated, defined, or measured. In studies where they have been defined, they have tended to take on a Western bias, focusing primarily on the economic advantages of the ascribed benefit (e.g. employment opportunities, revenue generation). The limitations of emphasizing economic benefits became apparent during the participatory events, when many of the women stated that receiving more money often led to negative consequences for the community, such as increased levels of prostitution, alcoholism, and gambling;

> Today, many young men are adopting Western ways and wasting their lives. They are using their small money earned from the tourists to buy alcohol and go with prostitutes. Some are even getting HIV/AIDS and this is causing cultural erosion and diseases (Subject #46).

Maasai women and children rarely earn income apart from extremely modest amounts selling their handicrafts and beadwork. Yet, it was interesting to note how they often referred to their desire for other, non-economic benefits. For example, during the participatory event held in *Oloolaimutia*, one of the women remarked,

> We like to be involved in decisions about our community. And if we own land, we will be able to make good choices for our children because we know the issues faced by our community (Subject # 42).

191

Being able to participate in the process is a non-economic benefit often mentioned throughout development literature but rarely measured. Scheyvens (1999) characterizes these benefits as community empowerment, while Pretty and Ward (2001) consider them to be components of social capital. Either way, the evidence shows that participation in ecotourism-related initiatives promotes the stewardship of natural capital, ultimately leading to a more equitable sharing of accrued benefits. Thus, the main benefit of local involvement might be that it enhances leadership and participatory skills, thereby leading to more broadly defined social skills. In other words, although formal employment, income, and other economic benefits generally lead to stronger local economies, participation in the decision-making process enhances local capacity and empowers the hosts. This perspective became more evident during the various participatory events when enhancements to human, physical and social capital were frequently mentioned as desirable benefits. These improvements included community water projects, medical clinics, instruction in the English language, academic scholarships, better security, rural electrification schemes, increased tourism-related skills, safer/smoother roads, and more interaction with people of other cultures. In addition, a number of participants mentioned that their community was benefiting from significantly less conflict, since there were fewer local land disputes now that everyone knew the official boundaries of their property.

Without a doubt, the economic benefits derived from ecotourism initiatives play a central role in Maasai livelihoods. However, the role that non-economic benefits play is also extremely important to indigenous communities and must be given further consideration. Through making a concentrated effort to document an indigenous perspective on the way 'benefits' were interpreted, it was possible to gain a greater understanding of the embedded meaning associated

with the issue as well as a rare glimpse into the worldview of the Maasai. Finding local solutions to local problems is a trait common throughout indigenous discourse, but within the Kenyan context, perhaps there is no better practical example of this conceptualization than the way some Maasai are forming community-owned wildlife conservancies in response to changing land tenure regimes.

### 7.6  From Theory to Praxis:  Community-Owned Wildlife Conservancies

A number of Maasai communities are starting to experiment with the concept of 'community-owned wildlife conservancies' as a means of achieving a sustainable form of tourism that provides real economic and environmental benefits for their community.  Linking local knowledge, land, and social capital, the Maasai have created a unique concept consisting of three key objectives.  The first objective is to increase the biodiversity of the Mara ecosystem by reducing human impact, preventing over-grazing, and providing an environment conducive to conserving the wild animals, birds, and plants.  The second goal of this initiative is to provide members of the Maasai community with genuine and meaningful benefits (as they define them) accrued from the leasing of a portion of their land to a socially responsible tour operator.  The final aim is to enhance local ecotourism by promoting small-scale, low-impact travel to pristine locations, thereby generating funds for conservation initiatives and local economic development.

Under this relatively recent initiative, once the communal Group Ranch land has been subdivided into thousands of smaller parcels of land[94] (refer to Figure 5.4), the Maasai landowners band together and link portions of their recently acquired land, setting them aside exclusively for

---

[94] Most plots range in size from 100-150 acres per household.

ecotourism. To reduce the pressure on the land and provide uninterrupted space for wildlife to roam, the local residents move their homesteads, families, and livestock onto plots of community land nearby. The newly formed conservancy – usually 10,000 acres or more – is then leased out to a socially responsible tour operator wanting to set up mobile safari camps within the protected land. In turn, the tour operator provides a consistent monthly lease payment to each landowner directly proportionate to the size of his leased property. Direct payment eliminates the leakages that often occur via a centralized committee system. As illustrated in Figure 7.2, the landowners residing in the Group Ranches to the north of the Reserve have recently formed the *Ol Kinyei* (16,000 acres), *Motorogi* (11,000 acres), *Naibosho* (55,000 acres), and *Olare Orok* (22,000 acres) Conservancies (Grieves-Cook 2011). For some of these landowners, the guaranteed monthly lease payments comprise over 80% of their household's total income and are significantly greater than what could be earned from cultivating that same piece of land.
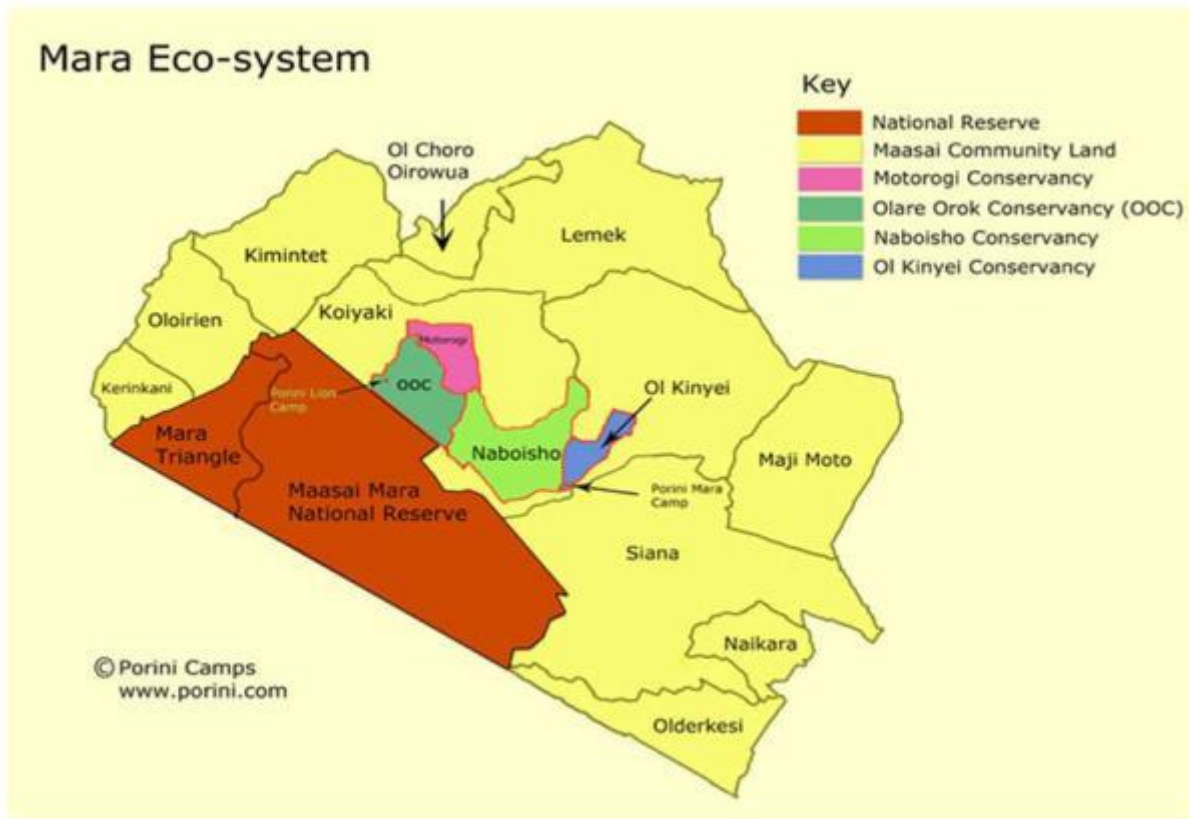
**Figure 7.2: Map of Community-owned Conservancies in the Greater Maasai Mara (Grieves-Cook 2011)**

The fact that the income generated from leasing land is greater than what could be earned through cultivation is vitally important, since the results from this study demonstrate that the construction of fences to protect crops would have detrimental ramifications on migrating wildlife. By linking their traditional knowledge of the local environment with the modern demands of the tourism sector,[95] the Maasai are implementing indigenous solutions to recent changes in land tenure. In turn, these solutions are supplementing household incomes, reducing human impact on the environment, and conserving local wildlife. Furthermore, by allowing a maximum of one tent

---

[95] Over-development within the Maasai Mara National Reserve and boundaries near the main gates has resulted in high density tourism. In the early 1960's, there was only 1 lodge and 100 beds. Today, there are well over 160 camps and lodges with a total capacity of 7,000 beds.

(refer to Figure 7.3) for every 700 acres of conservancy, and no more than twelve tents per safari camp, the ecosystem is preserved. Similarly, since tourist vehicles from other camps are not permitted to enter the newly-formed conservancy, the number of vehicles concentrated around the 'Big Five'[96] animals is greatly reduced, resulting in considerably less stress and trauma suffered by the resident wildlife.



**Figure 7.3: One of the seven tents at Mara Porini Camp in the *Ol Kinyei* Conservancy**

Despite the positive outcomes associated with this new ecotourism initiative, there is an important downside stemming from the fact that the Maasai landowners are not permitted to

---

[96] The Big 5 was the term coined by hunters for the five most desirable animals: the lion, leopard, buffalo, rhino and elephant.

reside or graze their livestock inside the conservancy. The evidence shows that the respondents have started to adapt to this challenge by implementing 'rotational grazing' and 'partnering plans' with other Maasai on their plots of land outside the conservancy, but the consequences to their traditional lifestyle are evident. This shift in cultural and social capital is of great concern to the Maasai and was a major source of debate during the participatory events. As outlined earlier, this tension between wanting to 'develop' while also trying to maintain their traditional lifestyle is one that will continue to be an issue.

**7.7 Chapter Summary**

The seventh chapter provided a general discussion and interpretation of the results outlined in the previous chapter. Through this discussion of the positive and negative consequences that occur as a result of the privatisation of land, a new interpretation of the manner in which Maasai lifestyles are being transformed was documented. Through interpreting the results through the 'lens' of a newly conceptualized framework (Figure 7.1), the recent trend in changing property regimes is viewed within the cultural and historical context and begins to take on new meaning. For it is only once the relationship between stakeholder participation, empowerment, and the equitable distribution of benefits had been explored that the motivation behind the privatisation of common land can be better understood.

By fusing previous livelihood analyses and theoretical constructs with the information collected via the household surveys and participatory events, a summary of the results for each of the associated 'livelihood assets' was displayed in table form (Table 7.1). More specifically, when the results from the two different land ownership regimes (i.e. common and private) were

presented beside one another, the full scope of the positive and negative impacts – as reported by the Maasai participants – came into view.  Through this indigenous perspective, the way in which 'benefits' were interpreted took on a new meaning, and provided a rare glimpse into the worldview of the Maasai.  And with this new perspective, a number of directives for Kenyan land policy and Maasai livelihoods were put forth that would incorporate Maasai culture and the changing environment.

The chapter concludes by outlining the various theoretical, conceptual, and methodological contributions of the thesis.  Through tracing actual processes of livelihood transformation as they relate to ecotourism, observations were made in relation to development theory.  The *theoretical* relationship between the two is important since tourism research has rarely penetrated development discourse despite its increasingly important role as an economic strategy for the marginalized.  When the *conceptual framework* put forth in Figure 1.1 was fused with the SLF, a new framework was derived (Figure 7.1).  This conceptual framework outlining the impact of land privatisation on indigenous livelihoods not only acts as a summary of the field work and research results, but also mitigates the weaknesses and limitations of the SLF.  Since very few ecotourism-related studies have been conducted at the local level, with even fewer incorporating the experiences and perceptions of indigenous populations, a culturally-appropriate, participatory research *methodology* was employed in an attempt to document previously unheard voices in a manner that was meaningful and appropriate to them.

Finding local solutions to local problems is a trait common throughout indigenous discourse, and the chapter concluded with an overview of a practical example of an indigenous solution to recent

land tenure changes – the community-owned wildlife conservancy. Through linking local knowledge, land, and social capital, the Maasai have created a unique concept that increases the biodiversity of the Mara ecosystem, provides members of the Maasai community with genuine and meaningful benefits (as they define them), and promotes ecotourism within their region. This conservancy approach is an excellent example of the innovative solutions that can be developed when indigenous populations are involved and integrated throughout the decision-making process.

With this in mind, the eighth – and final – chapter will provide a summary of the various conclusions that can be drawn from the results of this research study. The original research goals and objectives will be revisited, and the responses to each of the original research questions will be summarized. After a final summary of the entire research study, some opportunities for further research will be submitted, followed by the author's closing comments.

# Chapter 8
# Conclusions and Opportunities

*"For in truth, the problems of East Africa are the problems of the world"*
**– Winston Churchill 1907**

## 8.1 Meeting the Objectives

Close scrutiny of the results discussed in chapters six and seven reveal that the research maintained the goals set forth in the original objectives; (1) by analysing how Maasai livelihoods are constructed within three Maasai communities and documenting previously unheard voices; (2) by using and adapting the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) as a 'lens' for assessing the influence of different land tenure regimes on the various 'capitals; (3) by examining the extent to which ecotourism contributes to indigenous livelihoods, as well as the degree to which indigenous populations view and use ecotourism as a livelihood strategy; and (4) by exploring whether Maasai livelihoods based on ecotourism are sustainable, equitable, and adaptive.

These objectives were met by using culturally-appropriate, participatory research methods to collect raw field data from 120 households in three indigenous communities (i.e. *Ole Keene, Oloolaimutia, Ol Kinyei*) located on the periphery of the Maasai Mara National Reserve in southwestern Kenya. Through the lens of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (refer to Figure 2.3), this research study drew on ethnographic, social, economic, and historical data with the purpose of documenting the relationship between land tenure, ecotourism initiatives, and Maasai livelihoods. This was accomplished by integrating a range of quantitative and qualitative

approaches within a standardized framework to advance understanding of the embedded meaning (and significance) of these concepts from an indigenous worldview.

By analysing the range of livelihood strategies found within three Maasai communities and documenting previously unheard voices, knowledge of the manner in which pastoral livelihoods are constructed was greatly enhanced. Similarly, the participatory events held in each of the study sites provided an indigenous perspective on the way different land tenure regimes influence the distribution of benefits from ecotourism initiatives. In turn, the household surveys provided convincing empirical data that ecotourism can effectively complement existing Maasai livelihood strategies. Through incorporating these culturally-appropriate, participatory research methods for ecotourism-specific livelihoods research, the findings contributed to the advancement of academic scholarship by strengthening the body of literature pertaining to property rights, ecotourism, and sustainable livelihoods. Similarly, by shifting the scale of analysis to a people-centred, household level, it was possible to document an indigenous perspective on the complex inter-relationships between property, ecotourism, and livelihoods, resulting in some interesting and noteworthy responses to the original research questions.

## 8.2  Advancing the Knowledge Base:  Coming Full Circle

By integrating the various 'capitals' and 'assets' holistically, this doctoral research study used the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework as a 'lens' through which the distribution of benefits from local ecotourism initiatives was examined within the context of different land tenure regimes. With the goal of advancing the current state of knowledge, the detailed responses to the four research questions formulated in Section 4.5, are included here.

8.2.1 **Responding to Question 1:**

**How do ecotourism initiatives contribute to the sustainable livelihoods of the pastoral Maasai living in Kenya's Greater Maasai Mara?**

As illustrated in Figure 6.1, Figure 6.2, and Figure 6.3, the Maasai living in the three research sites are a largely pastoralist population with 100% of the households surveyed owning livestock. Not surprisingly then, livestock farming ranks as the most important source of income across all three locations.  Yet, despite the economic importance of livestock, seven of the eleven livelihood strategies most commonly cited by the participants were intricately related to the tourism sector. Thus, ecotourism initiatives play the second most important role for Maasai livelihoods within the region due to the level of income generated.  These revenues are primarily generated from selling handicrafts and beads to tourists, leasing land to tour operators, welcoming visitors into their cultural homes, (in)formal employment within the tourism sector, and selling honey and agricultural produce to the nearby eco-camps and safari lodges.

As large tracts of Maasailand continue to be fragmented and privatized, and the amount of common land available for grazing livestock continues to diminish, there is general understanding by the Maasai that ecotourism initiatives will need to contribute a larger and more important role in sustaining livelihoods in the future.  Similarly, as the inequitable distribution of income has characterized Maasai society since Independence in 1963 – with the local elite almost always obtaining a disproportionate share of the benefits – the manner in which financial capital is distributed across the population was a theme that kept resurfacing in the group discussions. By comparing the financial stability of individuals living on private property regimes with those residing on common property regimes, it was possible to determine the role that property rights

202

play in the distribution of benefits from ecotourism, and the extent to which these disparities will increase or decrease in the future.

8.2.2 **Responding to Question 2:**

**What impact does land ownership have on the benefits received from ecotourism initiatives?**

The adoption of culturally-appropriate, participatory research methods drew out some fascinating comments from those who have often been relegated to the peripheries of tourism research. Interestingly, these comments most often dealt with the manner in which the Maasai perceived and interpreted the 'benefits' from ecotourism. Through gaining a greater understanding of culturally-embedded interpretations associated with the concept of benefits, this research moved away from the traditional Western bias focusing primarily on economic benefits by documenting a local perspective on the desire for non-economic benefits as well. This theme was especially prevalent in Maasai culture. Since very few Maasai living near the Reserve have ever had access to financial institutions, cash reserves have rarely been deemed as important as livestock. Thus, it is understandable that Maasai evaluations of financial capital often included mixed reactions and qualifying statements relating to shifting cultural practices.

Consequently, the participatory events pertaining to local interpretation of – and desire for – benefits provided some lively discussions, with a wide range of responses from the men, women and youth[97] involved. However, after much debate and dialogue, the desired benefits mentioned most often included community water projects, medical clinics, instruction in the English

---

[97] Adolescents as young as 16 years old were involved in the participatory discussions and events.

language, academic scholarships, better security, rural electrification schemes, increased tourism-related skills, safer/smoother roads, and more interaction with people of other cultures. In addition, the fact that the land subdivision process had significantly decreased local land disputes (now that everyone knew the official boundaries of their property), was often mentioned as a desired benefit. Through listening to voices that do not often make it into academic journals, it can be concluded that one of the main benefits of the land privatisation process is that it has led to increased local integration and participation throughout the decision-making processes, thereby enhancing local empowerment and transforming lives. Thus, even though economic benefits tend to lead to more robust economies, those participating in the discussions deemed the enhanced capacity and human capital that they acquired through owning land and participating in the decision-making process as equally valuable.

Complementing these enhancements to human capital are the economic-related benefits associated with financial capital. Although the residents of *Ole Keene* and *Oloolaimutia* previously generated – on average – more income than the residents of *Ol Kinyei* due to their close proximity to the Reserve gates, the land privatisation process has minimized any differences. In fact, through linking their recently acquired land titles together and leasing them out collectively to a socially responsible tour operator, the landowners of *Ol Kinyei* are not only earning more income than their counterparts living on common land, but are also reaping the benefits of a more equitable distribution of income across all households within their community. Therefore, it can be concluded that the reduction in income disparity and poverty within their community further illustrates the important role that land ownership has on the benefits received from ecotourism as a livelihood strategy.

8.2.3 **Responding to Question 3:**

**What is the relationship between stakeholder participation, empowerment, attitudes, and the equitable distribution of benefits?**

The degree to which ecotourism initiatives impact indigenous communities is closely related to the level and type of control that the host population has over the development of such initiatives. Thus, more attention ought to be given to those who make the decisions, how they make those decisions, how they are implemented, and the extent to which the host population participates in the process. From this research, it is evident that this information is vitally important since enhanced 'human capital' enables individuals to pursue various livelihood strategies in search of a more sustainable livelihood. Like many semi-nomadic communities, the Maasai have often been excluded from the decision-making processes that affect their lives. Thus, it is not surprising that 54% (n=43) of those residing on common property regimes responded that they were "not at all" involved. However, the results were significantly different for the Maasai owning land, as an overwhelming 98% (n=39) of those interviewed reported that they felt "highly involved" throughout the process. From this empirical evidence, it can be concluded that the private ownership of land promotes greater individual participation in the process.

Whenever tourism becomes more predominant in a region, there is a wide variation in responses displayed by the local population. By examining the hosts' attitudes toward ecotourism and the increasing numbers of visitors to their community, a number of conclusions can be drawn. For example, from the responses to a variety of attitudinal surveys it was apparent that the private landowners appreciated the fact that wildlife residing in their region was more plentiful now than it had been prior to the subdivision process. Similarly, 64% (n=76) of the respondents reported

that they felt "highly positive" towards ecotourists visiting their region – further evidence that the Maasai equate tourism with local development. This positive sentiment towards international visitors was further demonstrated when 71% (n=85) of those surveyed reported their desire for more ecotourism in the future. Interestingly, this positive attitude towards ecotourists was the most pronounced (95%; n=38) in *Ol Kinyei* where the landowners have entered a lease agreement with a safari company and receive the most equitable share of the associated benefits.

Although tourists are often viewed in a negative light by the host population in many parts of the world (Carrier & Macleod 2005; Wheeller 2003; Stem *et al.* 2003; Mowforth & Munt 2003), the researcher did not find this negative attitude to be nearly as prevalent among the Maasai living along the periphery of the National Reserve. Through discussing this topic at length with the local residents, it was determined that the rationale for this difference stems from the fact that ecotourism in the Maasai Mara is still rather small-scale with almost all eco-camps being involved in socially responsible development projects (e.g. the construction of local schools, tree-planting projects, supplying local orphanages). In turn, these development projects spread benefits to the host population and are greatly appreciated.

Yet, perhaps the main reason for this positive host-visitor relationship is the fact that visitors are required to remain within the confines of their camps after sunset, resulting in extremely little interaction between hosts and visitors after dark. Many of the social ills traditionally associated with tourism (e.g. prostitution, gambling, and alcoholism) typically occur after dark, and it appears the Maasai have not been adversely affected by these external influences. Clearly, the research shows that land ownership, stakeholder participation, levels of empowerment, and local

attitudes all play an important role in the way benefits are perceived and received. Thus, enhanced human capital through increased self-esteem and self-confidence lead to a more equitable share of the associated benefits, and serve as an effective tool for sustaining livelihoods while reducing vulnerability.

8.2.4 **Responding to Question 4:**

**How does increased land privatisation influence indigenous livelihood strategies?**

Population growth and diminishing rangeland have led to an unprecedented level of stress on the traditional Maasai lifestyle. Similarly, changing property regimes have drastically reduced mobility, resulting in the Maasai needing to further diversify their livelihood strategies to cope. This recent transformation has been made even more complex by juxtaposing those wanting to 'develop' with those wanting to maintain their traditional semi-nomadic pastoral existence. Yet despite these challenges, 82% of those participating in the group discussions expressed that they were in favour of land privatisation due to the level of security it ensured against outside encroachment.

A prime example of the manner in which Maasai landowners have adapted their livelihood strategies to cope with recent changes in property regimes can be found in the newly forming community-owned wildlife conservancies. Through linking together their indigenous knowledge, land, and social capital, the Maasai are creating a unique strategy for increasing biodiversity, accruing a more equitable share of the benefits (as they define them), and generating funds for local conservation and development initiatives. Connecting their parcels of land and leasing

them to a socially responsible tour operator provides the Maasai landowners with a consistent monthly lease payment greater than what could be earned through cultivating the land. Since these payments are paid directly to the landowner and not via a central committee, leakages are eliminated and a more equitable share of the benefits trickles down to the community members. These guaranteed monthly lease payments make up over 80% of the household's total income in some communities, and it is clear that this strategy for diversifying and complementing their current livelihoods strengthens resilience and the ability to adapt to change.

Despite the positive outcomes associated with this new ecotourism initiative, there is an unfortunate effect on Maasai social capital when landowners enter a lease agreement and are no longer permitted to reside or graze their livestock inside the conservancy. Although the private land owners have set up 'rotational grazing' strategies with other Maasai on land outside the conservancy, the threats to their traditional way of life are constant. Because these conservancies are a relatively new phenomenon, it is too soon to determine the long-term consequences for Maasai society, but there is no doubt they will impact Maasai social and cultural capital, calling for greater consideration in future research and policy.

## 8.3 Opportunities for Further Research

The overview provided in the previous section demonstrates that the research goals, objectives, and questions have been adequately addressed. However, as is often the case, answers lead to a new set of questions. Recognizing that Maasai society and culture are continually in a state of flux, a number of opportunities for further research pertaining to these questions are outlined below. Specifically, these opportunities include the following four topics: conflict over land use,

the formation of new land policies, the consequences of leasing private land, and creating innovative indicators for measuring non-economic benefits.

(1) Over the past decade there has been a plethora of research conducted on land-related conflict. This literature has highlighted the complexity of the issues as well as the wide-ranging involvement of diverse social actors. However, as these conflicts mainly stem from competing visions of land use, newly created policy, and the quest for economic development, the need for further investigation on larger spatial and temporal scales is required. Doing so will not only provide a greater understanding of the theoretical relationship between private land ownership and conflict resolution, but will also offer a broader understanding of the root causes of conflicts.

(2) Pessimistic forecasts that the privatisation of land would result in the Maasai quickly selling their land to the highest bidder have not materialized as predicted. In fact, the results show that 95% of the landowners who were interviewed had no desire whatsoever to sell their land. This surprising feedback indicates that the outcomes of the land privatisation process cannot simply be based on *a priori* theory, but require further investigation at the ground level. By conducting research aimed at understanding the cultural norms, attitudes, and values of Maasai landowners, policymakers might be able to uncover the information required to design land policies that avoid further dispossession of indigenous populations while making it possible for them to take advantage of the benefits provided by secure tenure.

(3) As outlined in Section 7.6, the Maasai landowners residing in *Ol Kinyei* have adopted ecotourism as a livelihood strategy by forming community-owned wildlife conservancies. This is

proving to be an effective strategy for reducing human impact on the environment, generating consistent income, and providing funds for conservation. However, once the Maasai link their land parcels together and lease them to a tour operator, they are required to move off their land. Currently, most landholders comply with their agreement by moving to common property regimes outside the conservancy where they can graze their livestock. But once all the common land has been subdivided and privatised this will no longer be an option and, thus, there is a need for further exploration on how Maasai will adapt and cope to this challenge.

(4) Tourism and development scholars are constantly calling for a more equitable distribution of the benefits from ecotourism to members of the host community. However, significantly less attention has been given to how those benefits should actually be defined or measured. In situations where they are identified, they are usually defined by the researcher and tend to take on a Western bias through focusing on the economic advantages (e.g. employment opportunities, revenue generation) of the ascribed benefit (Leserogol 2005; Thompson *et al*. 2002; Norton-Griffiths 1996). However, the results from this study demonstrate that indigenous communities interpret the concept of benefits very differently, and more research into the formation of innovative ways to measure these non-economic benefits (as defined by the host community) is recommended.

**8.4 Summary of Findings**

For indigenous populations living adjacent to protected areas, ecotourism initiatives are often put forth as a coping strategy for reducing poverty, empowering the community, and conserving the natural environment (Tao & Wall 2009; Stronza & Gordillo 2008; Honey 2008; Stone & Wall 2004; Barkin 2003; Epler-Wood 2002; Scheyvens 1999; TIES 1990). Yet despite the optimism often associated with the concept, indigenous populations have traditionally borne the burden of these initiatives without receiving an equitable share of the accrued benefits (Stem *et al*. 2003; Western & Wright 1994). In response to these diverging schools of thought, the focus of this research was to gain a greater understanding of the linkage between different land tenure regimes and their influence on the distribution of benefits from ecotourism initiatives.

Building upon the existing body of knowledge, this research contributed to the current discourse in a number of important ways. First, by actively engaging a number of theoretical frameworks, the significance of land subdivision and privatisation was viewed beyond the local context, with the results being used to inform development initiatives and policies in broader settings. Second, through the collection of empirical evidence linked to the relationship between land ownership, ecotourism, and indigenous livelihoods, an advanced theoretical understanding of the associated concepts was formed. Third, by documenting an indigenous perspective on the various meanings embedded within their cultural reality, the researcher gained a greater understanding of the rationale behind the Maasai's acceptance of the land privatisation process – this being the securing of property from 'land grabbers' coupled with the opportunity to further diversify their livelihood strategies. As a result, this research demonstrates the importance of investigating the

dynamics of change in real time, such that the participants' lived experiences can be accessed to inform an advanced understanding of the associated transformations.

In addition to advancing our understanding of the dynamic interactions between changes in land tenure, ecotourism, and sustainable livelihoods, this research has advanced culturally-appropriate livelihoods research by employing the concepts of a sustainable livelihoods approach and shifting the scale of analysis to a people-centred, household-level perspective. In turn, the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) proved to be a useful tool for conducting cross-site comparisons of the capitals and assets influencing alternative livelihood strategies. However, because the SLF does not specifically incorporate local culture and local knowledge, a modified framework for conceptualizing the impact of land privatisation on indigenous livelihoods was developed to better encompass the cultural and historical capital that infuse every element of the indigenous context. By doing so, the adapted conceptual framework served as a 'lens' for viewing and identifying the culturally embedded meaning associated with the recent privatisation of Maasai property.

By encouraging the Maasai participants to write themselves into the research and analyse their own environments, this study was one of the first[98] to apply participatory research methodologies to tourism-related research in Kenya's Greater Maasai Mara. The implementation of a number of participatory research techniques and field surveys among 120 Maasai households in three different communities enabled local residents to participate in all aspects of the research, facilitating fresh perspectives from voices not often documented in tourism research. Through

---

[98] To date, the author has not found any other examples.

incorporating these culturally-appropriate research methods, the evidence clearly suggests that recent changes in land tenure are transforming Maasai society and livelihoods. However, the outcomes of these transformations fit neither the optimistic outlook of property rights theorists nor the pessimistic predictions of those preferring communal ownership in pastoral rangelands.

In summary, through combining culturally appropriate research methods with a sustainable livelihoods approach, the researcher found that the privatization of land has led to some significant transformations which include: significant increases in income generated from the adoption of ecotourism initiatives, an increased desire to cultivate land, an enhanced capacity for participating in the decision-making process, and greater diversification in local livelihood strategies. However, the empirical evidence also demonstrated that the privatisation of land has led to the increased sedentarisation of these semi-nomadic people, resulting in modifications to their pastoral culture, reductions in herd sizes, and the occasional obstruction of wildlife migratory patterns due to the construction of permanent fences. Yet, the fact that the Maasai 'living on the edge' of Kenya's Greater Maasai Mara cope and adapt to the ever-changing environmental and economic conditions that compose their narratives suggests that their livelihoods are resilient and sustainable.

## 8.5 Final Comments

In closing, I believe it's important to revisit the study's participants since this research is really a compilation of their stories, cultural attributes, vulnerabilities, and livelihoods. I was merely another *muzungu*[99] passing through their communities and lives. Their willingness to share their

---

[99] Muzungu is the Kiswahili word that roughly translates to 'foreigner'.

stories (during the many hours I spent under a crooked acacia tree with my research assistant, Jacob) formed the backbone of this research, eventually enabling new insights into the obstacles and challenges they face. And now, regardless of your reason for reading this dissertation, you too have traveled through the lived experiences of one hundred and twenty Maasai households 'living on the edge' of Kenya's Maasai Mara.

Throughout this study, I have done my very best to accurately document Maasai narratives and lived experiences associated with the people-centered aspects of ecotourism's potential to contribute to livelihood sustainability. Similarly, I have opted to listen to local voices as a means of following the various trails leading to landscape and livelihood transformation. By doing so, I have departed from constantly trying to determine what the Maasai need and, instead, have learned to see the incredibly rich lives they already live. I am extremely thankful that they welcomed me into their lives, and it is my sincere desire that my words have added to theirs, more than they have taken away. There is no doubt that the Maasai have a challenging path set out before them, and it is my hope that the information written here will help make the navigation of that path a little easier.

In conclusion, I would like to address the pessimism that has been prevalent among so many who have written on the "future of the Maasai". Dating back to well over 100 years ago, Hinde (1901) lamented the "last of the Maasai," while others had written them off completely and referred to them as a "doomed race" (Huxley 1948). Clearly, the authors of those unnerving sentiments underestimated the ability and resilience of the Maasai to cope with – and adapt to – change. Similarly, they failed to account for the fact that the Maasai have incorporated

indigenous solutions to foreign problems for centuries, and recent changes in land tenure are but one more obstacle in their narrative. The challenges that lie ahead are real and should not be understated, but after living alongside these beautiful people and gaining some insight into how they adapt to 'living on the edge', I remain extremely optimistic that we have not yet seen "the last of the Maasai."

*"The poor are not the problem – they are the solution"*   **– Chambers 1995**



**Figure 8.1:  Maasai Warriors Keeping Watch Over Kenya's Great Rift Valley**

# Appendix A:

# Definition of Important Terms

**Attitude –** Evaluations or feeling states about an attitude object These can include issues pertaining to social justice, natural resource management, other individuals, wildlife, and physical objects (Fazio 1995).

**Cadastral survey –** A survey that determines the ownership, boundaries, and location of a parcel of land (Bruce 1998; 5)

**Common property –** An area on which all landholders of a locality have a right to activities such as grazing stock or gathering wood (Bruce 1998; 3).

**Common property resource –** A resource managed under a common property regime (Bruce 1998; 5).

**Cultural capital** – involves a set of attitudes, practices, and beliefs that are fundamental to the functioning of society (Throsby 1999).

**Culture broking –** The act of bridging, linking, or mediating between groups or persons of differing cultural backgrounds for the purpose of reducing conflict and/or producing change (Jezewski & Sotnik 2001).

**Development –** A continuous and positive change in the economic, social, political and cultural dimensions of the human condition, guided by the principle of freedom of choice and limited by the environment's capacity to sustain such change (Telfer & Sharpley 2008; 6).

**Ecotourism –** Travel to fragile, pristine, and usually protected areas that strives to be low impact and (often) small scale. It helps educate the traveler, provides funds for conservation, directly benefits the economic development and political empowerment of local communities, and fosters respect for different cultures and for human rights (Honey 2008; 33).

**Financial capital** – Represents the financial resources that individuals use to achieve their livelihood objectives. In addition to encompassing the creation of wealth, the term also represents the access to cash resources (or equivalent) that people need to adopt different livelihood strategies (DFID 1999).

**Freehold** – Full private ownership, that is, free of any obligations to the state other than payment of taxes and observance of land use controls imposed in the public interest (Bruce 1998; 6).

**Group Ranch** – Land that has been legally demarcated and allocated to a defined social group (e.g. tribe, clan, section, family). It consists of a body of members to whom legal land title has been jointly awarded, and an elected management committee which is responsible for coordinating and implementing development projects on the ranch (Mwangi 2007).

**Human capital** – refers to the combined skills, knowledge, and ability that enable individuals to pursue various livelihood strategies (DFID 1999).

**Land** – Refers to the soil and everything above and below it. It includes any estate or interest in the land plus all permanent fixtures and buildings together with all paths, passages, ways, waters, watercourses, liberties, privileges, easements, plantations and gardens thereon or thereunder (DNLP 2006).

**Land tenure** – The institutional arrangement that specifies and regulates the relationship between people and the land on the one hand, and the relationship among actors, both as individuals or groups, with respect to the rights to own, use, control, and transfer land, on the other (FAO 2005; 19).

**Livelihood** – Livelihoods are made up of the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable if it can cope with, and recover from, stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation, and contribute net benefits to other local and global level livelihoods in the short and long term (Chambers & Conway 1992; 6).

**Livelihood capitals** – These are tangible and intangible resources and other assets that people can draw upon to make a living. Capitals include natural, financial, human, social, cultural, political, informational and physical resources.

**Livelihood diversification -** This is the process of constructing a diverse portfolio of activities and support capabilities in the struggle for survival and in order to improve the standards of living.

**Livelihood strategies** – the overarching term used to denote the range and combination of activities and choices that people make/undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals (including productive activities, investment strategies, reproductive choices, etc.) (DFID 1999).

**Livelihood vulnerability** – This refers to inability to cope and/or withstand shocks (one-time events such as flood, death and drought) and stresses (continuous events such as chronic illness, declining yields and declining labour capabilities).

**Mass tourism** – A form of tourism in which large numbers of tourists (the 'masses') travel to similar places at similar times and do similar activities. It is often viewed as a point of reference, a contrasting pole for other forms of tourism such as special-interest or alternative tourism (Moscardo *et al.* 2001).

**Natural capital** – The term used for the natural resources from which livelihoods are derived (DFID 1999).

**Physical capital** – The incorporation of basic infrastructure (i.e. changes to the physical environment) and commodities that assist local residents with meeting their basic human needs by increasing their productivity (DFID 1999).

**Poverty** – This refers to the lack of basic human needs, such as clean water, nutrition, health care, education, and shelter, because of the inability to afford them. It is associated with different forms of isolation, vulnerability, destitution and powerlessness. Relative poverty is the condition of having fewer resources or less income relative to others.

**Property** – A benefit stream that is only as secure as the duty of all others to respect the conditions that protect that stream (Bromley, 1992; 10).

**Social capital** – The social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives (DFID 1999; 9).

**Tenure** – Derived from the Latin expression for 'holding' or 'possessing' and generally refers to the legal terms and conditions on which something is held; or in other words, to the legal rights and obligations of the holder (Bruce 1998). In this context, tenure includes not only the rights to gift or grant, buy and sell, lease or mortgage land, but also the rights to use the land subject to certain restrictions or obligations.

**Usufructuary rights** – Individual or household rights of use which exist under communal tenure systems (Bruce 1998; 8).

**Vulnerability context** – The context through which people's external environments are framed, and are affected by critical trends – as well as by shocks and seasonality – over which they have limited or no control (DFID 1999).

# Appendix B:  Research Ethics

## University of Waterloo – Office of Research Ethics

**Date:  July 27, 2009**
**Re:     Agreement to Assist with the Research**
**Attn:  The Elders Committee of the Siana Group Ranch, Narok South District**

My name is Ryan Snider, and I am a PhD student in the Department of Geography at the University of Waterloo in Ontario, Canada.  I am supervised by Professor Geoff Wall and would like to invite you to assist with an important research project.

As you are well aware, the local population (*wananchi*) residing in the Greater Maasai Mara have not always benefited from local tourism equitably.  In fact, many of your constituents have actually found themselves living in worse poverty over the past decade, despite the increase in international visitors.  As the Government of Kenya continues to enact policies that encourage the process of land subdivision and privatisation throughout your region, I believe this research is especially important for communities, such as yours, living on common property resources adjacent to a National Reserve.

As a result, I am interested in studying the role of ecotourism as a sustainable livelihood strategy, and will examine the relationship between land ownership and the distribution of benefits for the model of ecotourism currently being employed in your region.  Consequently, the nature of this research will consist of two parts:

(A)  A **Household Survey (HS)** that I would like to conduct at the houses (*ilmareita)* of the consenting participants between the hours of 9am and 4pm on weekdays within the months of November and December 2009.  Each survey will take approximately 30 minutes and will involve questions such as:
- Have you noticed an increase/decrease in wildlife within your region since you obtained the private title deed to your land?
- Since you have obtained your own land title, which changes have occurred in your life?
- How would you describe your attitude to further ecotourism developments in your region?
- How many people in your household receive income from tourism?
- How much money do you receive annually from park fees?

(B)  A **Participatory Impact Assessment (PIA)** that will encourage local community members to define their own impact indicators and to relate *if* and *to what extent* ecotourism actually benefits them.  This participatory assessment involves a number of appraisal methods such as:

- Transect walks:  Researchers walking through the community with local residents and asking questions about the various things they are seeing.
- Community mapping:  Community members draw maps of their local area to highlights water points, roads, schools, etc.
- Venn diagrams:  Local residents 'map' the organizational structure within a community, both in terms of the internal social relationships as well as the external institutions.

With your permission, I would like to include your Group Ranch as one of three sites (*Ole Keene, Oloolaimutia, and Ol Kinyei*) to be involved in my study.   As my goal is to conduct household interviews and participatory impact assessments with 40 heads of households (men and women) from within your constituency, I would like to invite you to support this initiative through granting my permission, communicating the nature of this research to the local residents, and assisting with their recruitment.

At a mutually convenient date in November 2009, I am requesting that you agree to organizing a community meeting in *Ole Keene* that all community members are invited to attend.  At this meeting, my request is that you introduce me to your community, explain the nature of my research, and clearly explain (in Kiswahili and Maa) to the members of your constituency that their participation in my study is voluntary and there are no known or anticipated risks to participation in this study.  Similarly, it is important that you inform the local residents that they may decline to answer any of the interview questions that they wish, and that they may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences by advising a member of the research team or one of yourselves.

With the participant's consent, the interview responses will be recorded on paper, and analysed later.  All information that the participants provide will be considered completely confidential, and their names will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study.  However, with their permission, anonymous quotations may possibly be used.  The data collected from the participants in your constituency will be kept for a period of 3 years in my supervisor's office/lab at the University of Waterloo.

At the end of the community meeting, and after you have explained all the information thoroughly, those who wish to participate in the research will fill in a consent form.  As I am aware that most of the community members do not read or write in English, Kiswahili, or Maa, it is important that you read the consent form to them clearly, and then, if they wish, can provide an 'ink thumbprint' (similar to local election balloting) in the appropriate box to designate their consent to participation.

If you have any questions regarding the nature of this study, or would like additional information to assist the members of your constituency in reaching a decision about participation, please

contact me at mobile number: 0716-666-542. As well, we can discuss these issues in person when I am next in *Ole Keene*.

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics (ORE) at the University of Waterloo. However, the final decision about participation is that of the participant. If you have any comments or concerns, you are always free to contact Dr. Susan Sykes of the ORE at:  ssykes@uwaterloo.ca

Thank you in advance for your interest in this project.

Asante sana,




Ryan Snider, PhD (candidate)
University of Waterloo
Department of Geography
Email:  rtsnider@uwaterloo.ca
Tel:     0716-666-542

**Date:  July 27, 2009**
**Re:     Information Letter and Request for Participant Consent**
**Attn:  Study Participants residing within the Siana Group Ranch, Narok South District**

I would like to thank you for attending the community meeting tonight, as hosted by your local elders.  As the elders outlined, those of you (*wananchi*) residing in the Greater Maasai Mara have not always benefited from tourism equitably.  In fact, many of you have actually found yourself living in worse poverty over the past decade, despite the increase in international visitors.  As the Government of Kenya continues to enact policies that encourage the process of land subdivision and privatisation throughout your region, I believe this research is especially important for communities such as yours living on common property resources adjacent to a National Reserve.

As a result, I am interested in studying the role of ecotourism as a sustainable livelihood strategy, and will examine the relationship between land ownership and the distribution of benefits for the model of ecotourism currently being employed in your region.

As a result, I would like to invite you to participate in this study consisting of two parts:

(A)  A **Household Survey (HS)** that I would like to conduct at your house (*olmarei*) between the hours of 9am and 4pm on weekdays within the months of November and December 2009.  Each survey will involve 85 questions, will take approximately 30 minutes, and will involve questions such as:

- Have you noticed an increase/decrease in wildlife within your region since you obtained the private title deed to your land?
- Since you have obtained your own land title, which changes have occurred in your life?
- How would you describe your attitude to further ecotourism developments in your region?
- How many people in your household receive income from tourism?
- How much money do you receive annually from park fees?

(B)  A **Participatory Impact Assessment (PIA)** that will encourage you to define your own impact indicators and to relate *if* and *to what extent* ecotourism actually benefits you.  This participatory assessment involves a number of appraisal methods such as:

- Transect walks:  Researchers walking through the community with you and asking questions about the various things they are seeing.
- Community mapping:  Drawing maps of your local area to highlight water points, roads, schools, etc.
- Venn diagrams:  'Mapping' the organizational structure within your community, both in terms of the internal social relationships as well as the external institutions.

It is important to note that not everyone who wants to participate will actually be a part of the study.  Of all the local community members who wish to participate and sign the consent form,

only 40 households will be selected (randomly) for the actual study.  Thus, there is a chance that someone who signs the consent form might not be one of the 40 households selected.

As your local elders have already explained, you are free to decline to answer any of the interview questions that you wish.  As well, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences by advising a member of the research team or one of your local elders.  With your permission, the interview responses will be recorded on paper, and analysed later.  All information that you provide will be considered completely confidential.  Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study, however, with your permission, anonymous quotations may possibly be used.

Data collected during this study will be retained for 3 years in a locked office in my supervisor's lab, and only researchers associated with this project will have access to it.  I would like to confirm that there are no known or anticipated risks to the participants in this study.
If you have any questions regarding the nature of this study, or would like additional information to assist you in making your decision, please contact me at mobile number: 0716-666-542.  As well, I am also available for discussing any of these issues in person.

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics (ORE) at the University of Waterloo.  However, the final decision about participation is yours. If you have any comments or concerns, you are also free to contact Dr. Susan Sykes of the ORE at:  ssykes@uwaterloo.ca.

Through studying different ecotourism models in three different communities (*Ole Keene, Oloolaimutia, and Ol Kinyei*), this research will be able to determine which management model provides the greatest benefits to local Maasai communities, and will assist your community with making plans for future ecotourism developments.

In conclusion, I would again like to invite you to participate in this research and remind you that:
- Your participation is entirely voluntary.
- You may choose not to answer certain questions and may stop the interview at any time.
- Your answers will be recorded on paper.
- Your responses will remain confidential and at no time will your identity be revealed.

Thank you in advance for your interest in this project.

Ryan Snider, PhD (candidate)
University of Waterloo
Department of Geography
Email:  rtsnider@uwaterloo.ca
Tel:     0716-666-542

**CONSENT FORM - ENGLISH**
**(for local participants)**

I have had the information concerning the research study by Ryan Snider of the Department of Geography (University of Waterloo) explained to me clearly by the local elders of my community. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, received satisfactory answers to my questions, as well as any additional details that I wanted. I am aware that my interview will be recorded on paper to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from my interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that my direct quotations will be anonymous. I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by simply advising the researcher.

As this project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo, I have been informed that if I have any comments or concerns resulting from my participation in this study, I may contact the elders of my community, who will in turn contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics at: ssykes@uwaterloo.ca

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.
☐YES   ☐NO

I agree to have my interview recorded on paper.
☐YES   ☐NO

I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.
☐YES  ☐NO

Participant Name: _____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____  (signature or 'ink thumbprint')

Participant's Location:  _____  (for follow-up)

Elder's Name: _____ (Please print)

Elder's Signature: _____ (written signature)

Date: _____

## EMPALAI ENYORRAKINOTO
*Translation (Maa) of consent letter for participants*

Aitayioloki enkipirta ena kisuma enjurrorre naasita Ryan Snider le Waterloo University – department of Geography, anaa enatolimutuo irpayiani lena murwa. Anoto sii erishata naikilikwanishore enkipirta enakisuma nanoto iwaleta anaa enayieu o mbaa pooki te dede.

Kayiolo ajo keigeri enajo too mpala pee etumi aitadedeyie iwaleta ainei. Kayiolo sii ajo keidimayu pee eigeri iwaleta ainei tembuku ena kisuma anaa tekulie pala enkisuma naanyaanyukie ena. Kake etii eyiolounoto nchere ore imbaa nalimu, netiu ake anaa inekulikae tung'anak pooki.

Aatolikioki nchere kaidim atung'uai ena kisuma terishata nayieu, ayiolo ajo mmetai aitoki naitalaki. Ore enayieunoyu naa pee aliki oltung'ani laagira aikilikwanishore ajo etaa kalo.

Ore anaa enaing'urayioki neitisipi ena siai te nkopis e Research Ethics te University e Waterloo, aitoyioloki nchere tenaata eutaroto anaa enkikilikwanata naipirrta nanu tialo ena kisuma neidimayu pee airorie ilpayiani le murwa pee etum ninche airorie director le nkopis e research ethics - ssykes@uwaterloo.ca

Ore te yiolounoto oo mbaa pooki, atonyorrayie te nkewan ai pee aitayu iutarot ainei tena kisuma

☐EE ☐A!A!

Atonyorrayie pee eigeri enkikilikwanare ai too mpala

☐EE ☐A!A!

Atonyorrayie pee easishoreki irorei lena kikilikwanare tenkigerore oo mbukui e nkisuma enjurrorre anaa kulie pala ake.

☐EE ☐A!A!

Enkarna oloikilikwanishoreki: _____

Ormishire loloikilikwanishoreki: _____ (orkimojino)

Olmarei o Koiyaki: _____

Enkarna Olpayian Kitok: _____

Ormishire lolpayian kitok: _____

Intarikini: _____

**Re: Participant Feedback Letter** (*Translated into Maa and read to the participants after they completed both the household surveys and the participatory activities*)

Dear _____,

I would like to thank you for your participation in this study. As a reminder, the purpose of this study is to identify the role of ecotourism as a sustainable livelihood strategy for Maasai living within your region. This will be accomplished through examining the relationship between land ownership and the distribution of benefits for different models of ecotourism currently being employed. The data collected during interviews will contribute to a better understanding of the appropriate direction of future development for ecotourism models in the Greater Maasai Mara.

Please remember that any data pertaining to you as an individual participant will be kept confidential. Once all the data are collected and analyzed for this project, I plan on sharing this information with the research community through seminars, conferences, presentations, and journal articles. In addition to providing this information to your community elders, I will also host a community information session at a later date in order to explain the results of my research and to highlight the advantages and disadvantages of the various ecotourism models that are being employed throughout Maasailand. It is my hope that these results will assist you in capturing a greater share of the benefits from ecotourism within your region. The study is expected to be completed by early 2011.

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics (ORE) at the University of Waterloo. But if you ever have any comments or concerns, you can ask your elders to email Dr. Susan Sykes of the ORE at: ssykes@uwaterloo.ca

Thank you kindly for your participation in this project.

Asante sana,

Ryan Snider, PhD (candidate)
University of Waterloo
Department of Geography
Email: rtsnider@uwaterloo.ca
Tel: 0716-666-542

# Appendix C:  Ecotourism and Sustainable Livelihoods:  Household Survey

Good morning/afternoon, (Sopa)

My name is **Ryan Snider/Jacob Sairowua** and we first met a few days ago at the community meeting.  At the community meeting you mentioned that you would be interested in participating in this research on ecotourism, land ownership, and sustainable livelihoods. Thus, you have been randomly selected as one of the 40 households from your region to be involved with this study.

As you might remember from the meeting, the purpose of this research is to examine the role of ecotourism as a sustainable livelihood strategy through exploring the relationship between land ownership and the distribution of benefits from ecotourism.  The survey includes 79 questions and will take approximately 60 minutes of your time.

Through studying different land tenure regimes in Ole Keene, Oloolaimutia, and Ol Kinyei, this research will be able to determine which livelihood strategies provide the greatest benefits to local Maasai communities, and will assist your community with making plans for future ecotourism developments.

Thus, I would again like to invite you to participate in this research and remind you that:
- Your participation is entirely voluntary.
- You may choose not to answer certain questions and may stop the interview at any time you wish.
- Your answers will be recorded on paper.
- Your responses will remain confidential and at no time will your identity be revealed.

Before we begin, do you have any questions or comments of me?  May I begin with the first question?

## (A)  INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS:  [note: rating questions will be asked via a 5-point Likert scale)

1. Identification Code:         _____

2. Date/Time:         _____

3. Interview conducted by: _____

4. Gender:                  Male = 1;    Female = 2

5. Group Ranch: _____

6. Village: _____

7. Sub-location: _____

8. Clan: _____

9. How old are you? _____

10. What is your age group? _____

11. How many people are residing in your household? _____

12. Adults? _____

13. Children? _____

14. What level of education have you completed? _____

15. How many years have you lived in this specific location? _____

16. Do you own the land you are currently residing on? _____

17. Do you actually have the land title deed for this land? _____

**(B) LAND TENURE QUESTIONS: (Note: If the respondent does not have a land title, go to section C; question #28)**

18. How many acres of land do you have a land title for? _____

19. How long have you had this land title? _____

20. Since you have obtained your own land title, which changes have occurred in your life? _____

_____

21. What activities do you use your land for?_____

22. Do you have a water-point (bore-hold, river, etc) on your land? _____

23. Do you have a serious intention about trying to sell some of your land? _____

24. Are you currently trying to purchase more land? _____

25. Do you think you will cultivate more/same/less of your land in the future?     more     same     less

26. Why? _____

27. In your opinion, do you think you can earn a greater income from your land through **cultivation**, or **grazing**, or **leasing for ecotourism**?

_____

## (C)  ECOTOURISM QUESTIONS:

28. Is tourism important for your livelihood? _____

29. What are the good aspects of tourism? _____

30. What are the bad aspects of tourism? _____

31. What are the main reasons you believe tourists come to your region? _____

32. Do you hope to see more/same / less tourists coming to your region in the future?     more     same     less

33. Describe your attitude to further ecotourism developments in your region?   highly positive   positive   neutral   negative   highly negative

## (D)  LIVELIHOOD PRACTICES:

34. From the list provided, which livelihood activities are your household currently involved with?

      1. Livestock farming and grazing              _____

      2. Crop farming and cultivation               _____

3.  Craft and bead-making for sale                                          _____

4.  Receiving portion of Park Gate fees                                _____

5.  Cultural tourism to your manyatta (house)                    _____

6.  Receiving lease payments from a camp                         _____

7.  Government assistance                                                   _____

8.  Beekeeping                                                                    _____

9.  Formal employment (taxes are paid) in tourism sector    _____

10. Formal employment (taxes are paid) in non-tourism sector    _____

11. Informal employment (no taxes paid)     (which?)    _ _____

12. Other livelihood activity?                                             _____

**(E) FINANCIAL CAPITAL:**

35. Of the previously mentioned livelihood activities, please list and rank the activities in the order of the amount of income that is generated to your household.   [note:  enter the code number from above in order of ranking (e.g. 9, 6, 1 etc.)]

        _____

        _____

        _____

        _____

36. How many Cattle do you own?         _____

37. How many Sheep?                              _____

38. How many Goats?                              _____

230

39.  How many Donkeys?                    _____

40.  How many people in your household receive income from tourism-related activities? _____

41.  How many of these wage earners (from tourism) are male ? _____

42.  How many of these wage earners (from tourism) are female? _____

43.  Approximately how much money does your household receive annually from a tourist camp/lodge lease payments? _____

44.  Approximately how much money does your household receive annually from tourists visiting your manyatta or house? _____

45.  Approximately how much money does your household receive annually from Park Gate fees? _____

46.  Approximately how much money does your household receive annually from selling curios and crafts? _____

47.  When you receive income, what do you usually spend it on? (List and Rank)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

48.  How has your household income from tourism changed in the last 5-10 years?

increased a lot     increased a little     neutral     decreased a little     decreased a lot


49.  Do you believe tourism revenues are used wisely by local authorities?

 always          sometimes          neutral          very rarely          never

**(F) NATURAL CAPITAL (Note: If the respondent has lived in the region less than ten years, please skip to question #54)**

50. In your opinion, are there more/less wildlife in your region than there were ten years ago?     more     same     less

51. In your opinion, does your region receive more/less rain than it did ten years ago?     more     same     less

52. In your opinion, are there more/less cattle grazing on your land than ten years ago?     more     same     less

53. Does your household do more/less land cultivation than you did ten years ago?   more     same     less

54. What impact does tourism have on the natural environment?     very positive     positive     neutral     negative     very negative

55. Which type of land do you prefer for grazing cattle?     private land =1     common land = 2

56. Why? _____

57. Which type of land has more wildlife?     private land     common land

58. For people who own land, are they more/same/less likely to cut down trees?     more likely     no difference     less likely


**(G) PHYSICAL CAPITAL**

59. Are you aware of any institutions that are able to assist you with lending you money? _____

60. What is the biggest limitation (or challenge) that is keeping you from getting more involved in the tourism sector? _____

61. In relation to all of Kenya, how good is the quality of education at your children's school? very good     good     neutral     poor     very poor

62. In relation to all of Kenya, how good is the quality of the roads in your region?     very good     good     neutral     poor     very poor

## (H) HUMAN CAPITAL

63. How many people in your household have tourism-related skills? _____

64. In order for you to earn more income from tourism, what added skills do you need? _____

65. How involved are you in the decision-making for tourism activities on your land?

very involved    somewhat involved    neutral    decreasing    not at all

66. What needs to occur for you to participate more in decision-making? _____

67. How satisfied are you with your level of involvement in local ecotourism?  very satisfied   somewhat satisfied  neutral  decreasing   not at all

68. How confident are you in your abilities to deal with tourists?           very confident  somewhat confident  neutral  decreasing  not at all

69. How have your abilities to deal with tourists changed in the past 5-10 years?

increased a lot    increased a little    neutral    decreased little    decreased a lot

## (I) SOCIAL CAPITAL:

70. How well do you think your community is organised?         very organized    somewhat organized    neutral    decreasing    not at all

71. How many times per year does your community host *Harambee's ?* _____

72. What proportion of your community works together to solve problems?    everyone    more than half    less than half    no one

## (J) BENEFITS:

73. List (and rank) the different benefits you hope to attain from tourism in your region.

_____         _____         _____

74. How do you define a good life? _____

75. Do you have a good life? _____

76. Of course you <u>WANT</u> your children to have a better life than you, but do you <u>BELIEVE</u> they will have a better/worse life than you?

      better     same     worse

**(K)  STRESSES AND SHOCKS:**

77. List (and rank) the different stresses/shocks/challenges that adversely (negatively) affect your household livelihood security.

    _____   _____

    _____   _____

    _____   _____

78. If tourists were to stop coming to your region, what would your plan be to cope with the change?

_____

_____

79. How are you coping with the current drought in your region?

_____

_____

*Thank you kindly for your time and cooperation.  (Ashe Oleng!)*

# Participatory Research Event: Group Discussion

**Community:** _____

1.  Which livelihood activities are your households currently involved with?  (on a large sheet of paper)
    1.  Livestock farming and grazing          _____
    2.  Crop farming and cultivation           _____
    3.  Craft and bead-making for sale         _____
    4.  Receiving portion of Park Gate fees    _____
    5.  Cultural tourism to your manyatta (house)   _____
    6.  Receiving lease payments from a camp   _____
    7.  Government assistance                  _____
    8.  Beekeeping                             _____
    9.  Formal employment (taxes are paid) in tourism sector   _____
    10. Formal employment (taxes are paid) in non-tourism sector _____
    11. Informal employment (no taxes paid)    (which?) _____
    12. Other livelihood activity?  _____

2.  Of the previously mentioned activities, please list and rank the activities in the order of the amount of income that is generated to your household.

    _____ [note:  enter the code number from above in order of ranking (e.g. 9, 6, 1 etc.)]

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

3. Since you have obtained your own land title, which changes have occurred in your life?

_____
_____

4. What activities do you use your land for?

_____
_____


5. Do you have a serious intention about trying to sell some of your land?

_____
_____

6. What stories have you heard of other Maasai selling their land?

_____
_____

7. Do you think Maasai in your community will cultivate more/same/less of your land in the future?     more     same     less
Why?

_____
_____
_____
_____


8. In your opinion, do you think you can earn a greater income from your land through **cultivation**, or **grazing**, or **leasing for ecotourism**?

_____
_____

9. List (and rank) the different benefits you hope to attain from tourism in your region.  (on a large piece of paper)

     _____        _____

     _____        _____

     _____        _____

     _____        _____


10. List the various items it takes to have a 'good life' for a Maasai.
_____
_____


11. What do you think life for the Maasai will be like in the future?  How will life be different for Maasai than it is today?
_____
_____


12. What changes have occurred since you received your private land title? (or became a member of a community camp)
_____
_____


13. Which of these changes are attributable to change in land tenure? (or being a member of a community camp)
_____
_____


14. What difference have these recent changes made to people's livelihoods?
_____
_____

# Appendix E:

# Participatory Tools And Techniques Used To Gather Information

(after Freudenberger 1999; Chambers 1994)

| Method | Summary |
|---|---|
| **Group Discussion** | Facilitated by an outside researcher, these discussions are done in the form of a 'focus group' whereby a small group (less than 6) meets to discuss a particular topic, such as human-wildlife conflict. The group is relatively homogenous (e.g. local wildlife guides) whereby everyone feels comfortable participating. |
| **Transect Walks** | Involve the research team taking a walk through the local community with 'guides' from the village. As they proceed, they ask questions related to the things they are seeing, as well as others issues from the list they have prepared. |
| **Matrix Scoring** | Matrices are amongst the most sophisticated and analytic tools used as they permit the exploration of issues from multiple angles and tend to push people's thinking beyond the most superficial levels. |
| **Seasonal Calendars** | Diagrams that focus on seasonal issues and how things change throughout the year. Calendars have a particular importance in tourism research as revenues generated are often seasonal, and these calendars assist the research team by avoiding a seasonal bias when determining how the reality changes during different seasons. |
| **Wealth Ranking** | Ranking techniques in which the community itself ranks households in terms of their relative wealth. It provides a way to gather reliable information that is often sensitive and difficult to attain. |
| **Participatory Mapping** | An exercise that uses spatial analysis to gather information about a range of issues and concerns. In conventional mapping, the trained outside researcher draws a map of the village or territory. In participatory mapping, community members are asked to do this and often draw interesting components not seen by the outsider. |
| **Semi-structured Interviewing** | The researcher asks questions and to uses his/her best judgment in probing beyond the superficial responses to get at the key information. |
| **Venn Diagram** | Offers another way to 'map' a community as it focuses primarily on social relationships rather than physical ones. It illustrates the organizational structure of a community, both in terms of its internal relationships and those with the larger community beyond its borders. |
| **Historical Profile** | Utilizes a semi-structured interview to obtain historical information that is organized into a systematic chronology of events. Typically, these interviews are conducted with more elderly people, particularly those who are known and respected for their historical knowledge. |

# Bibliography

Adams, W.M., and Hutton, J. (2006). People, Parks and Poverty: Political Ecology and Biodiversity Conservation. *Conservation and Society*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 147-183.

Africa Research Bulletin. (2007). Economic, Financial and Technical Series. Tourism: Kenya. Vol. 44, No. 8, pp. 17540A-17541B. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Agrawal, A. (2003). Sustainable governance of common pool resources: context, methods, and politics. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 32, pp. 243–262.

Agrawal, A. and Gibson, C.C. (1999). Enchantment and disenchantment: the role of community in natural resource conservation. *World Development*, Vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 629-649.

Akama, J. (1996). Western environmental values and nature-based tourism in Kenya. *Tourism Management*, Vol. 17, No. 8, pp. 567-574.

Alston, L.J. (1996). *The Determinants and Impact of Property Rights: Land Titles on the Brazilian Frontier.* Working Paper 5405, NBER. Cambridge, Mass: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Anderson, D. and Grove, R. (1987). The Scramble for Eden: Past, present and future in African conservation. In D. Anderson and R. Grove (Eds.) *Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 1-12.

Archabald, K. and Naughton-Treves, L. (2001). Tourism sharing around national parks in western Uganda: Early efforts to identify and reward local communities. *Environmental Conservation,* Vol. 28, pp. 135–149.

Arnstein, S. (1969). A Ladder of Citizen Participation. *Journal of the American Planning Association*. Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 216–224.

Ashley, C. (2005). Facilitating pro-poor tourism with the private sector: Lessons learned from 'Pro-Poor Tourism Pilots in Southern Africa'. ODI Working Paper: London, UK.

Ashley, C. (2002). *Methodology for pro-poor tourism case studies*. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Ashley, C. (2000). The impacts of tourism on rural livelihoods: Namibia's experience. Working Paper 128, Overseas Development Institute (ODI), London, England.

Ashley, C. (1998). Tourism, Communities and National Policy: Namibia's Experience. *Development Policy Review*, Vol. 16, pp. 323-352.

Ashley, C. and Jones, B.J. (2001). Joint Ventures Between Communities and Tourism Investors: Experience in Southern Africa. *International Journal of Tourism Research,* Vol. 3, No. 5, pp. 407-423

Ashley, C., Roe, D., and Goodwin, H. (2001). *Pro-poor tourism strategies: Making tourism work for the poor.* London: Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership.

Ashley, C., Boyd, C., and Goodwin, H. (2000). *Pro-poor tourism: Putting poverty at the heart of the tourism agenda.* No. 51. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Ashley, C. and Hussein, K. (1999). Developing methodologies for livelihood impact assessment: Experience of the African Wildlife Foundation in East Africa. London: Overseas Development Institute (ODI).

Ashley, C. and Carney, D. (1999). Sustainable Livelihoods: Lessons from Early Experience. Briefing Paper. London: Department for International Development.

Ault, D.E. and Rutman, G.L. (1993). Land Scarcity, Property Rights and Resource Allocation in Agriculture: Eastern and Southern Africa. *South African Journal of Economics*, Vol. 61, No. 1, pp. 32-44.

Babbie, E. (2001). *The Practice of Social Research*. 9th Edition. New York: Wadsworth.

Barkin, D. (2003). Alleviating poverty through ecotourism: Promises and reality in the Monarch Butterfly Reserve of Mexico. *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, Vol. 5, No. 3. pp 371-382.

Barnard, P. (1998). Biological diversity in Namibia: a clash of sea and land, fog and dust. *Biodiversity and Conservation*, Vol. 7, pp. 415-417.

Barrow, E. and Murphree, M. (2002). Community Conservation from Concept to Practice: A Practical Framework. *Community Conservation Research in Africa: Principles and Comparative Practice; Working Paper No. 8.* Manchester: IDPM.

Barrows, R. and Roth, M. (1990). Land Tenure and Investment in African Agriculture: Theory and practice. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 265-297.

Baumann, P. and Sinha, S. (2001). Sustainable livelihoods and political capital. *Natural Resource Perspectives,* Vol. 68. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Beaton, R. (2009). Personal Communication. June 17, 2009.

Bebbington, A. (2000). Re-encountering Development: Livelihood Transitions and Place Transformations in the Andes. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 90, No. 3, pp. 495-520.

Bebbington, A. (1999). Capitals and capabilities: A framework for analysing peasant viability, rural livelihoods and poverty. *World Development*, Vol. 27, No. 12, pp. 2021-2044.

Behnke, R., Scoones, I., Kerven, C. (Eds.). (1993). *Range Ecology at Disequilibrium: New Models of Natural Variability and Pastoral Adaptation in African Savannas.* London: Overseas Development Institute.

Belsky, J.M. (1999). Misrepresenting Communities: The Politics of Community-Based Rural Ecotourism in Gales Point Manatee, Belize. *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 64, No. 4, pp. 641-666.

Bennett, O., Rowe, D. and Ashley, C. (1999). *Sustainable tourism and poverty elimination study.* London: DFID.

Berkes, F., Feeny, D., McCay, B., and Acheson, J. M. (1989). The Benefits of the Commons. *Nature,* Vol. 340, pp. 91-93.

Blackstock, K. (2005). A critical look at community based tourism. *Community Development Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 1, pp. 39-49.

Blue Rhino Maps (2010). Nairobi, Kenya.

Boliari, N. (2008). *Two Essays on the Land Tenure Institutions of Bulgaria: Evolution, Land Fragmentation and Land Productivity.* Unpublished PhD Thesis. The School of Public Policy and Administration. Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario.

Boo, E. (1990). *Ecotourism: The Potentials and Pitfalls*. (Vols. 1 & 2). Washington, D.C. World Wildlife Fund.

Boone, R.B., Burnsilver, S.B., Thornton, P.K., Worden, J.S. and Galvin, K.A. (2005). Quantifying Declines in Livestock Due to Land Subdivision. *Rangeland Ecology*, Vol. 58, pp. 523-532

Brandon, K.K. and Wells, M., with Hannah, L. (1992). *People and Parks: Linking protected area management with local communities.* The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Washington, D.C.

Bray, D., M. Cornejo, S. Cohan, and C. Beitl. (2005). Community-based Ecotourism: A Conservation and Development Strategy in Search of an Analytic Framework. Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA.

Briedenhann, J. and Wickens, E. (2002). *Combining qualitative and quantitative research methods in evaluation related rural tourism development research*; paper presented at the Conference on Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in Development Research. 1-2 July 2002, Swansea University, Swansea.

Brockington, D., Igoe, J. and Schmidt, S.K. (2006). Conservation, Human Rights, and Poverty Reduction. *Conservation Biology*, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 250-252.

Brockington, D. (2001). Women's Income and the Livelihood Strategies of Dispossessed Pastoralists near Mkomazi Game Reserve, Tanzania. *Human Ecology*, Vol. 29, No. 3, pp. 307-338.

Brody, S.D. (2003). Mandating Citizen Participation in Plan Making: Six strategic planning choices. *Journal of American Planning Association*, Vol. 69, No. 3, pp. 245-264.

Bromley, D.W. (1992). The Commons, Common Property, and Environmental Policy. *Environmental and Resource Economics*, Vol. 2, pp. 1-17.

Bromley, D.W. (1989). Property Relations and Economic Development: The Other Land Reform. *World Development*, Vol 17, pp. 867-77.

Bromley, D.W. and Cernea, M.M. (1989). *The Management of Common Property Natural Resources: Some Conceptual and Operational Fallacies*. Washington, D.C., World Bank Discussion Paper 57.

Brown, G.W. (1993). Maasai Diet. *Lancet*, Vol. 341, No. 8841, pp. 377

Bruce, J.W. (1998). *Review of Tenure Terminology*. Land Tenure Center. Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Bruce, J.W., and Migot-Adholla, S. (Eds.) (1994). *Searching for land tenure security in Africa*. Kendall-Hunt: The World Bank.

Bunting, B, Sherpa, M, and Wright, M. (1991). Annapurna Conservation Area: Nepal's new approach to protected area management. In, *Resident peoples and National Parks: Social Dilemmas and Strategies in International Conservation*, (Eds.). P. West and S. Brechin, pp. 160-172. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Butler, R. (2004). Alternative tourism: The thin end of the wedge. In Stephen Williams (Ed.) *Tourism: Critical Concepts in the Social Sciences*, pp. 310-325. London: Routledge.

Butler, R. (1999). Sustainable tourism: A state-of-the-art review. *Tourism Geographies*. Vol.1, No. 1, pp. 7-25.

Butler, R. (1993). Tourism – An evolutionary perspective. In Nelson, J.G. *et al.* (Eds.) *Tourism and Sustainable Development: Monitoring, Planning, Managing*. pp 27-43. Waterloo, Ontario: University of Waterloo; Department of Geography.

Cahn, M. (2002). Sustainable livelihood approach: Concept and Practice. Retrieved from http://www.devnet.org.nz/conf2002/papers/Cahn_Miranda.pdf on July 27, 2010.

Carney, D. (1999). *Approaches to Sustainable Livelihoods for the Rural Poor*. Overseas Development Institute, ODI Poverty Briefing No. 2, ODI, London.

Carrier, J.G., and Macleod, D.V.L. (2005). Bursting the Bubble: The Socio-Cultural Context of Ecotourism. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 315-334.

Cater, E. (1994). Ecotourism in the Third World – Problems and prospects for sustainability. In E. Cater and G. Lowman (Eds.). *Ecotourism, A Sustainable Option?* Pp. 69-86. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

Catley, A. (1999). *Monitoring and Impact Assessment of Community-based Animal Health Projects in Southern Sudan: Towards participatory approaches and methods*. A report for Veterinarians without borders Belgium, and Veterinarians without borders Switzerland. Vetwork UK, Musselburgh.

Catley, A., Burns,J., Abebe, D., and Suji, O. (2008). *Participatory Impact Assessment: A Guide for Practitioners.* Feinstein International Centre: Tufts University. Medford, Massachusetts.

Ceballos-Lascurain, H. (1988). The future of Ecotourism. *Mexico Journal*. Vol. 13.

Central Bureau of Statistics Kenya (2006). Tourism Statistics.

Cernea, M. M. (1985). *Putting people first : Sociological variables in rural development*. New York: Published for the World Bank: Oxford University Press.

Chambers, R. (1995). Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last. *Environment and Urbanization,* Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 173-204.

Chambers, R. (1994). The Origins and Practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal. *World Development*, Vol. 22, No. 7, pp. 953-969.

Chambers, R. and Conway, G. (1992). *Sustainable rural livelihoods: Practical concepts for the 21st century.* IDS Discussion Paper 296. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

Chambers, R. (1988). Sustainable rural livelihoods: A key strategy for people, environment and development. In C. Conroy and M. Litvinoff (Eds.), *The Greening of Aid.* pp.1-17. London: Earthscan Publications/IIED.

Chambers, R. (1986). *Sustainable livelihood thinking – An approach to poverty*. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

Charnley, S. (2005). From Nature Tourism to Ecotourism? The Case of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Tanzania. *Human Organization*, Vol. 64, No.1, pp. 75-88.

Cheung, S.N.S. (1970). The Structure of a Contract and the Theory of a Non-Exclusive Resource. *Journal of Law and Economics*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 45-70.

Child, B. (2000). Making wildlife pay: converting wildlife's comparative advantage into real incentives for having wildlife in African savannas, case studies from Zimbabwe and Zambia. In: *Wildlife Conservation by Sustainable Use*, ed. H.H.T. Prins, J.G. Grootenhuis & T.T. Dolan, pp. 335–387. Boston, USA: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Chopra, K., Kandekedi, G.K., and Murty, M.N. (1990). *Participatory Development and Common Property Resources*. New Delhi: Sage.

Chung, K. (2000) Qualitative data collection techniques, in M. Grosh and P. Glewwe, (Eds.). *Designing Household Survey Questionnaires for Developing Countries. Lessons from 15 Years of the Living StandardsMeasurement Studies*. World Bank, Washington, DC.

Ciparisse, G. (2003). *Multilingual Thesaurus on Land Tenure*. Rome: FAO.

Ciriacy-Wantrup, S.V. and Bishop, R.C. (1975). Common Property as a Concept in Natural Resource Policy. *Natural Resources Journal*, Vol. 15, pp. 713-27.

Clancy, M. (1999). Tourism and development: evidence from Mexico. *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 1-20.

Coast, E. (2002). Maasai socio-economic conditions: cross-border comparison. *Human Ecology*, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 79-105.

Coast, E. (2001). *Demography of the Maasai*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Department of Anthropology. University College London.

Conroy, C. and Litvinoff, M. (Eds.), (1988). *The Greening of Aid*. London: Earthscan Publications/IIED.

Cooke, B. and Kothari, U. (2001) Participation: the New Tyranny? Zed Books, London.

Cowen, M. and Shenton, R. (1996). *Doctrines of Development*. London: Routledge.

Cramb, R.A., Purcell, T., and Ho, T.C.S. (2004). Participatory assessment of rural livelihoods in the Central Highlands of Vietnam. *Agricultural Systems,* Vol. 81, pp. 255-272.

Cramb, R.A. and Purcell, T. (2001). *How to monitor and evaluate impacts of participatory research projects: A case study of the forages for smallholders projects*. CIAT Working Document No. 185. International Centre for Tropical Agriculture, Cali.

Crick, M. (1989). Representation of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings, and Servility. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 18, pp. 307-344.

Cross, C.R. (1991). Informal Tenures Against the State: Landholding Systems in African Rural Areas, in M. de Klerk (Ed.), *A Harvest of Discontent: The Land Question in South Africa. Cape Town: Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa*, pp. 63-89.

Dahl, G. and Hjort, A. (1976). Having Herds: Pastoral Herd Growth and Household Economy. *Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology*, Number 2. University of Stockholm.

Dale, P. and McLaughlin, J. (1999). *Land Administration*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Daly, H. (1995). Sustainable Development. *Nature Conservancy: Sustainable Worlds*. January-February. pp. 11-15.

Department for International Development (DFID). (1999). Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets.

Demsetz, H. (1967). Toward a Theory of Property Rights. *American Economic Review*. Vol. 57, pp. 347-359.

Desai, V. and Potter, R. (2002). *The Companion to Development Studies*. London, Arnold.

De Sherbinin, A., VanWey, L., McSweeney, K., Aggarwal, R., Barbieri, A., Henry, S., Hunter, L., Twine, W, and Walker, R. (2007). Rural Household Demographics, Livelihoods and the Environment. *Global Environmental Change*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 38-53.

De Vaus, D.A. (2001). *Research Design in Social Science*. Sage Publications: London, UK.

Douglas-Hamilton, I. (1988). *Identification Study for the Conservation and Sustainable Use of the Natural Resources in the Kenyan Portion of the Mara-Serengeti Ecosystem*. Report to the European Development Fund of the European Economic Community. Nairobi, Kenya.

Durbin, J., Jones, B.T.B., and Murphree, M. (1997). *Namibian Community-based Natural Resource Management Programme.* (WWF NA 0004: Namibia). Project Evaluation. Gland: World Wide Fund for Nature.

Eagles, P.F.J. (2008). Governance models for parks, recreation and tourism. In K.S. Hanna, D.A.Clark, and D.S. Slocombe (Eds.), *Transforming parks: Protected area policy and management in a changing world.* pp. 39–61. London: Routledge.

Eagles, P.F.J., Ballantine, J.L., and Fennel, D.A. (1992). *Marketing to the Ecotourist: Case Studies from Kenya and Costa Rica*. Mimeo, Dept. of Recreation and Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo, Ontario.

Ellis, F. (2000). *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Ellis, F. (1998). Household strategies and rural livelihood diversification. *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1, pp. 1-38.

Epler-Wood, M. (2002). *Ecotourism: Principles, practices & policies for sustainability*. Kenya: United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP).

Escobar, A. (1997). The making and unmaking of the Third World through development. In M. Rahnema and V. Bawtree (Eds.). *The Post Development Reader*, pp. 85-93. London: Zed Books.

Falk, I. and Kilpatrick, S. (2000). What is Social Capital? A Study of Interaction in a Rural Community. *Sociologia Ruralis*, Vol. 40, pp. 87-110.

FAO. (2005). Access to Rural Land and land administration after violent conflicts. *FAO Land Tenure Studies*, Vol. 8, pp. 19. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Rome, Italy

Fazio, R. H. (1995). Attitudes as object-evaluation associations: Determinants, consequences, and correlates of attitude accessibility. In R. Petty and J. Krosnick (Eds.), *Attitude strength: Antecedents and consequences* (pp. 247-282). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum Press.

Feder, G. and Feeny, D. (1991). Land Tenure and Property Rights: Theory and Implications for Development Policy. *World Bank Economic Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 135-153.

Feeny, D.H. (1988). The Demand for and Supply of Institutional Arrangements, in Ostrom, V., Feeny, D, and Picht. H. (Eds.). *Rethinking Institutional Analysis and Development: Issues, Alternatives and Choices.* San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies Press, pp. 159-209.

Firmin-Sellers, K., & Sellers, P. (1999). Expected failures and unexpected successes of land titling in Africa. *World Development*, Vol. 27, No. 7, pp. 1115–1128.

Forni, N. (2000). Common Property Regimes: Origins and Implications of the Theoretical Debate. *Land Reform*, Vol. 2.

Francis, E. (2000). *Making a living: Changing livelihoods in rural Africa*. Routledge

Fratkin, E. and Mearns, R. (2003). Sustainability and Pastoral Livelihoods: Lessons from East Africa and Mongolia. *Human Organization*, Vol. 62, No. 2.

Fratkin, E. (1991). *Surviving Drought and Development: Ariaal Pastoralists of Northern Kenya*, Boulder, Colorado, USA: Westview Press.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Herder and Herder, New York.

Freudenberger, K. (1999). Rapid Rural Response Appraisal & Participatory Rural Appraisal (RRA/PRA). CRS publication.

Friedman, J. (1992). *Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development*. Cambridge: Blackwell.

Galaty, J.G. (1999). The rhetoric of rights: Construing Maasai land claims. *The Arid Lands and Resource Management Network in Eastern Africa*. ALARM Working Paper No. 7. Centre for Basic Research: Kampala, Uganda. pp. 1-13.

Galaty, J.G. (1993). The Eye That Wants A Person, Where Can It Not See?: Inclusion, Exclusion, and Boundary Shifters in Maasai Identity. In, Spear, T. and Waller, R. (Eds.). *Being Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa*. Ohio University Press, Athens, Ohio. Pp. 174-194.

Gamewatchers Safaris Limited. http://www.porini.com/porinisafaricamps.com/responsible-tourism.htm. Retrieved June 22, 2009.

Gibson, C.C. & Marks, S.A. (1995) Transforming rural hunters into conservationists: an assessment of community-based wildlife management programs in Africa. *World Development, Vol.* 23, pp. 941–957.

Gillingham, S. and Lee, P.C. (1999). The impact of wildlife-related benefits on the conservation attitudes of local people around the Selous Game Reserve, Tanzania. *Environmental Conservation,* Vol. 26, pp. 218–228.

Goodwin, H. and Roe, D. (2001). Tourism, Livelihoods and Protected Areas: Opportunities for Fair-trade Tourism in and Around National Parks. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, Vol. 3, pp. 377-391.

Goulet, D. (1992). Participation in development: new avenues. *World Development*, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 165-178.

Grandin, B. (1986). Land Tenure, Subdivision, and Residential Change on a Maasai Group Ranch. Development anthropology network. *Bulletin of the Institute for Development Anthropology*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 9-13.

Grandin, B. (1991). The Maasai: Socio-historical context and group ranches. In, Bekure, S., de Leeuw, P, Grandin, B., and Neate, P. (Eds.). *Maasai Herding: An Analysis of the Livestock Production System of Maasai Pastoralists in Eastern Kajiado District, Kenya*. ILCA Systems Study No. 4. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, pp. 57-70.

Grandin, B, de Leeuw, P, and ole Pasha, I.  (1991).  The Study Area:  Socio-spatial organization and land use.  In, Bekure, S., de Leeuw, P, Grandin, B., and Neate, P. (Eds.).  *Maasai Herding:  An Analysis of the Livestock Production System of Maasai Pastoralists in Eastern Kajiado District, Kenya*.  ILCA Systems Study No. 4.  Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, pp. 57-70.

Grieves-Cook, J.  (2008).  Personal communication via email December 2008.

Grieves-Cook, J.  (2011).  Personal communication via email September 2011.

Hackel, J.  (1990).  Conservation attitudes in Southern Africa:  A comparison between KwaZulu and Swaziland.  *Human Ecology*, Vol. 18, No. 2, pp. 203-209.

Hardin, G.  (1968). The tragedy of the commons.  *Science,* Vol. 162, pp. 1243–1248.

Hardy, A., Beeton, R., and Pearson, L.  (2002).  Sustainable Tourism:  An Overview of the Concept and its Position in Relation to Conceptualisations of Tourism.  *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*.  Vol. 10, pp. 475-496.

Harvey, D.  (1969).  *Explanation in Geography*.  London:  Edward Arnold.

Hay, I.  (2005).  *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography (Second Edition)*.  Oxford University Press: New York, NY.

Heberlein, T.A. (1981).  Environmental Attitudes.  *Journal of Environmental Policy*, Vol. 2, pp. 241-270.

Helleiner, E.  (2006).  Alternatives to neoliberalism?  Towards a more heterogeneous global political economy, in R. Stubbs and G. Underhill (Eds.).  *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order.*  3rd Edition, Don Mills, Ontario:  Oxford University Press, pp. 77-87.

Helmore, K. and Singh, N. (2001). *Sustainable Livelihoods: Building on the wealth of the poor*.  Bloomfield: Kumarian Press

Hinde, S.L.  (1901).  *The Last of the Masai*.  London:  Heinemann.

Hoggett, P.  (1997).  *Contested Communities:  Experiences, Struggles, Policies*.  Bristol:  Policy Press.

Homewood, K.  (2009).  Policy and Practice in Kenya Rangelands:  Impacts on Livelihoods and Wildlife.  In K. Homewood, P. Kristjanson, and P. Trench. (Eds.).  *Staying Maasai?: Livelihoods, Conservation and Development in East African Rangelands.*  pp. 335-359.  Springer Press.

Homewood, K., Kristjanson, P. and Trench, P. (2009). *Staying Maasai?: Livelihoods, Conservation and Development in East African Rangelands.* Springer Press.

Homewood, K. (2008). *Ecology of African Pastoralist Societies*. James Currey, Oxford and Ohio University Press.

Homewood, K, Coast, E. and Thompson, D.M. (2004). In-migrants and exclusion in East African rangelands: access, tenure and conflict. *Africa*. Vol. 74, No. 4, pp. 567-610.

Honey, M. (2008). *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development: Who owns paradise?* Island Press: Washington, D.C. 2nd Edition.

Honey, M. (1999). *Ecotourism and sustainable development : Who owns paradise?*. Island Press: Washington, D.C.

Hughes, L. (2006). *Moving the Maasai: A Colonial Misadventure*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Hulme, D.H. and Murphree, M.W. (2001). Community Conservation as Policy: Promise and Performance, in Hulme, D.H. and Murphree, M.W. (Eds.). *African Wildlife and Livelihoods, the Promise and performance of community conservation.* James Currey, Oxford, UK.

Hunter, Roy and Brown, R. (1991). The Application of Inferential Statistics with Non-Probability Type Samples. *Journal of Applied Recreation Research*. Ontario Research Council on Leisure. Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 234-243.

Huxley, E. (1948). *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*. London: Chatto and Windus.

Islam, M.N, Morse, R., and Soesantro, M.H. (1984) *Rural Energy to Meet Development Needs: Asian Village Approaches*. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, USA.

Jaakson, R. (1997). Exploring the Epistemology of Ecotourism. *Journal of Applied Recreation Research.* Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 33-47.

Jacobson, S. and Robles, R. (1992). Ecotourism, Sustainable development, and Conservation education: Development of a tour guide training program in Tortuguero, Costa Rica. *Environmental Management*, Vol. 16, No. 6, pp. 701-713.

Jafari, J. (1989). An English Language Literature Review. In Bystrzanowski, J. (Ed.) *Tourism as a Factor of Change: A Sociocultural Study*. Vienna: Centre for Research and Documentation in Social Sciences, pp. 17-60.

Jamal, T. and Getz, D. (1999). Community Roundtables for Tourism-related Conflicts: The Dialectics of Consensus and Process Structures. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 7, pp. 290-313.

Jamieson, W., Goodwin, H., and Edmunds, C. (2004). *Contribution of tourism to poverty alleviation pro-poor tourism and the challenge of measuring impacts*. Retrieved November 28, 2008, http://www.haroldgoodwin.info/resources/povertyalleviation.pdf

Jezewski, M.A., and Sotnik, P. (2001). *The rehabilitation service provider as culture broker: Providing culturally competent services to foreign born persons.* Buffalo, NY: Center for International Rehabilitation Research Information and Exchange.

Jones, S. (2005). Community-based ecotourism: The significance of social capital. *Annals of Tourism Research.* Vol. 32, No. 2, pp. 303–324.

Kabiri, N. (2007). *Global Environmental Governance and Community-Based Conservation in Kenya and Tanzania.* Unpublished PhD thesis, University of N. Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Kanbur, R. (2001). Qualitative and quantitative poverty appraisal: the state of play and some questions, In R. Kanbur, (Ed.). *Qualitative and Quantitative Poverty Appraisal: Complementarities, Tensions and the Way Forward*, Cornell University, pp. 17–21.

Kenya Ministry of Tourism (2010). Tourism Statistics: Visitor Arrivals, Park Statistics, 1995-2009. Nairobi, Kenya.

Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2010). Tourism Indicators, 2000-2009. Nairobi, Kenya.

Kenya National Council for Population and Development (KNCPD). (2003). Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), Office of the Vice President and Ministry of Planning and National Development, & Macro International Inc. (MI). Kenya Demographic and Health Survey 1998. April 2003.

Kenya National Tourism Policy (2006). Final Draft. Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife: Nairobi, Kenya.

Khasiani, S.A. (Ed.). (1992). *Groundwork: African Women as Environmental Managers*. English Press Limited, Nairobi, Kenya.

Kiss, A. (Ed.). (1990). *Living with Wildlife: Wildlife resource management with local participation in Africa.* World Bank, Washington, D.C., USA.

Kituyi, M. (1990). *Becoming Kenyans: Socio-Economic Transformation of the Pastoral Maasai.* Nairobi: African Centre for Technology Studies Press.

Knutsson, P. (2006). The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach. A Framework for Knowledge Integration Assessment. *Human Ecology Review*. Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 90-99.

Krantz, L. (2001). The Sustainable Livelihood Approach to Poverty Reduction. Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) Stockholm, Sweden. pp. 1-44.

Krippendorf, J. (1987). *The Holiday Makers: Understanding the Impact of Leisure and Travel*. Oxford: Heinemann.

Kristjanson, P., Radeny, M., Nkedianye, D., Kruska, R., Gichohi, H., Sanford, R. (2002). *Valuing Alternative Land-use Options in the Kitengala Wildlife Dispersal Area of Kenya*. ILRI Impact Assessment Series 10. A Joint ILRI/ACC Report. ILRI, Nairobi, Kenya.

Lamprey, R. and Reid, R. (2004). Expansion of human settlement in Kenya's Maasai Mara: What future for pastoralism and wildlife? *Journal of Biogeography*, Vol. 31, No. 6, pp. 997-1032.

Laurier, E. (2003). Participant Observation. In N.J. Clifford and G. Valentine (Eds.) *Key Methods in Geography*. Sage Publications: London, UK. pp. 133-148.

Leserogol, C.K. (2010). *Contesting the Commons: Privatizing Pastoral Lands in Kenya*. The University of Michigan Press. Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA.

Leserogol, C.K. (2005). Privatising Pastoral Lands: Economic and Normative Outcomes in Kenya. *World Development*, Vol. 33, No. 11, pp. 1959-1978.

Libecap, G. (1989). *Contracting for property rights.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lincoln, Y.S. and Guba, E.G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.

Lindberg, K., Enriquez, J. and Sproule, K. (1996) Ecotourism questioned: Case studies from Belize. *Annals of Tourism Research,* Vol. 23, No. 3, pp. 543–562.

Long, S. A. (2004). Final Technical Report of the Wildlife Integration for Livelihood Diversification Project (WILD). Prepared for the Directorates of Environmental Affairs and Parks and Wildlife Management, the Ministry of Environment and Tourism. Windhoek, Namibia.

Mabogunje, A. (1980). *The Development Process*: A spatial Perspective. London: Hutchinson.

Macbeth, J. (2005). Towards an Ethics Platform for Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 32, No. 4, pp. 962-984.

Maguire, P. (1993). Challenges, Contradictions, and Celebrations: Attempting Participatory Research as a Doctoral Student. In P. Park, M. Brydon-Miller, B. Hall and T. Jackson (Eds.). *Voices of Change: Participatory Research in the United States and Canada*. pp. 157-176. Toronto: OISE Press.

Marshall, C. and Rossman, G.  (1989).  *Designing Qualitative Research*.  Sage Publications, Newbury Park, California, USA.

Marsland, N., Wilson, I. M., Abeyasekera, S. and Kleih, U. (2000).  *A Methodological Framework for Combining Quantitative and Qualitative Survey Methods.*  An Output from collaborative project between Natural Resources Institute and Statistical Services Centre, The University of Reading, Whiteknights, UK.

Mathieson, A. and Wall, G. (1982).  *Tourism: Economic, Physical and Social Impacts*.  London: Longman.

McCracken, G.  (1988).  *The Long Interview*.  Qualitative Research Methods, Vol. 13, Unversity of Guelph.  Sage Publications, Guelph, Ontario, Canada.

Mearns, R. (1997).  Livestock and Environment:  Potential for Complementarity.  *World Animal Review*, Vol. 88, pp. 2-14.

Migot-Adhola, S., Hazell, P., Blarel, B. and Place, F.  (1992).  Indigenous Land Rights Systems in Sub-Saharan Africa:  A Constraint on Productivity?  *World Bank Economic Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 155-175.

Mol, F.  (1996).  *Maasai Language and Culture Dictionary*.  Lemek, Kenya:  Maasai Centre, Lemek.

Monbiot, G.  (1994).  *No Man's Land:  An Investigative Journey through Kenya and Tanzania*.  London: MacMillan.

Mortimore, M.  (2005).  Social Resilience in African Dryland Livelihoods:  Deriving lessons for policy.  In, Gausset, Q., *et al.* (Eds.).  *Beyond Territory and Scarcity:  Exploring Conflicts Over Natural Resource Management*.  Stockholm: Elanders Gotab.

Moscardo, G., Pearce, P.; Green, D.; O'Leary, J.T.  (2001).  Understanding Coastal and Marine Tourism Demand from Three European Markets: Implications for the Future of Ecotourism.  *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp 212–227.

Mowforth, M. and Munt, I.  (2003).  *Tourism and sustainability: Development and new tourism in the Third World*.  Routledge: London, New York.  2nd Edition.

Mowforth, M. and Munt, I.  (1998) *Tourism and sustainability: New Tourism in the Third World.*  Routledge: London, New York.

Murray, C.  (2001).  Livelihoods research: Some conceptual and methodological issues.  Development Studies Association Annual Conference IDPM, University of Manchester, UK, September 2001.

Mwangi, E. (2007). Subdividing the commons: Distributional conflict in the transition from collective to individual property rights in Kenya's Maasailand. *World Development*, Vol. 35, No. 5, pp. 815-834.

Norton-Griffiths, M. (1996). Property rights and the marginal wildebeest: an economic analysis of wildlife conservation options in Kenya. *Biodiversity and Conservation*, Vol. 5, pp. 1557-1577.

Ogutu, Z.A. (2002). The impact of ecotourism on livelihood and natural resource management in Eselenkei, Amboseli Ecosystem, Kenya. *Land Degradation and Development,* Vol. 13, pp. 251–256.

Ogutu, J.O. and Owen-Smith, N. (2006). Oscillations in large mammal populations: Are they related to predation or rainfall? African Journal of Ecology, Vol. 43, No. 4, pp. 332–339.

Ogutu, J. O. (2000). *Herbivore dynamics in the Mara area of Kenya: The effects of land use change, climate, and predators.* Aachen, Germany: Shaker Verlag.

Okoth-Ogendo, H. W. O. (2000). Legislative approaches to customary tenure and tenure reform in East Africa. In C. Toulmin & J. Quan (Eds.). *Evolving land rights, policy and tenure in Africa*. London: DFID/IIED/NRI.

Okoth-Ogendo, H.W.O. (1993). Agrarian Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa. *In Land in African Agrarian Systems.* (Eds.). T.J. Bassett and D.E. Crummey. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Ormondi, L.N. (1992). The Role of Language in Rural Development, in Khasiani, S. (Ed.). *Groundwork: African Women as Environmental Managers*. English Press Limited, Nairobi, Kenya.

Ostrom, E. (2001). Reformulating the Commons: In, *Protecting the Commons: A Framework for Resource Management in the Americas.* (Eds.). J. Burger, E. Ostrom, R.B. Norgaard, D. Policansky, and B.D. Goldstein. Washington, DC: Island Press.

Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the commons: The evolution of institutions for collective action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ottichilo, W.K., de Leeuw, J., Skidmore, A.K., Prins, H.H.T., and Said, M. (2000). *Population trends in large non-migratory wild herbivores and livestock in the Maasai Mara ecosystem, Kenya, between 1977 and 1997.* Wageningen University and Research Centre, the Netherlands.

Palma, G. (1995). Underdevelopment and Marxism: from Marx to the theories of imperialism and dependency, in R. Ayers (Ed.). *Development Studies: An Introduction Through Selected Readings*, Dartford: Greenwich University Press, pp. 161-210.

Parpart, J.L., Rai, S.M. and Staudt, K. (2002) Rethinking em(power)ment, gender and development: An introduction. In Parpart, J.L. Rai, S.M. and Staudt, K. (Eds.) *Rethinking Empowerment: Gender and Development in a Global/Local World.* pp. 3–21. London and New York: Routledge.

Paul, S. (1987). *Community Participation in Development Projects*. World Bank Discussion Paper, No 6, pp. 1-35.

Platteau, J.P. (1996). The Evolutionary Theory of Land Rights as Applied to Sub-Saharan Africa: A Critical Assessment. *Development and Change*, Vol. 27, pp. 29-86.

Platteau, J.P. (1992). *Land Reform and Structural Adjustment in Sub-Saharan Africa: Controversies and Guidelines*. Rome, Italy: The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

Pliny the Elder, (23-79 A.D.). Roman Scholar. *Natural History*, Book 8, Section 17.

Porini Camps (2008). Personal communication via email September 2011.

Pretty, J., and Ward, H. (2001). Social Capital and the Environment. *World Development*, Vol. 29, pp. 209–227.

Rahnema, M. and Bawtree, V. (Eds.). *The Post-Development Reader*, London: Zed Books.

Reid, D.G. (2003). *Tourism, Globalization and Development: Responsible Tourism Planning.* London: Pluto Press.

Reid, D.G. (1999). Defining Ecotourism. In D. Reid (Ed.). *Ecotourism Development in Eastern and Southern Africa.* pp. 29-38. Weaver Press.

Ribot, J. (2006). Choose democracy: environmentalists' socio-political response. *Global Environmental Policy,* Vol. 16, pp. 115-119.

Rice, S. (2003). Sampling in Geography. In N.J. Clifford and G. Valentine (Eds.) *Key Methods in Geography*. Sage Publications: London, UK. pp. 223-248.

Richards, K. (1996). Samples and Cases: generalisations and explanation in geomorphology. In B.L. Rhoads and C.E. Thorn (Eds.). *The Scientific Nature of Geomorphology*. Chichester: Wiley, pp. 171-190.

Richards, M.  (1997).  Common Property Resource Institutions and Forest Management in Latin America.  *Development and Change*, Vol. 28, pp. 95-117.

Robinson, G.  (1998).  *Methods and Techniques in Human Geography*.  New York: Wiley

Rosenfield, P.L.  (1992).  The potential of transdisciplinary research for sustaining and extending linkages between the health and social sciences.  *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol. 35, No. 11, pp. 1343-1357.

Ross, S. and Wall, G.  (1999).  Ecotourism: towards congruence between theory and practice.  *Tourism Management*, Vol. 20, pp. 123-132.

Rostow, W.  (1967).  *The Stages of Economic Growth:  A Non-Communist Manifesto*.  2nd Edition.  Cambridge:  Cambridge University Press.

Rowlands, J. (1997) *Questioning Empowerment: Working with Women in Honduras.* Oxford: Oxfam Publications.

Rutten, M.E.M.  (2004).  *Partnerships in Community based Ecotourism Projects: Experiences from the Maasai Region, Kenya*. Volume 1.  ASC Working Paper 57/2004

Rutten, M.E.M.  (1992).  *Selling wealth to buy poverty : the process of the individualization of landownership among the Maasai pastoralists of Kajiado district, Kenya, 1890-1990*.  Breitenbach: Saarbrücken

Sachedina, H.  (2008).  *Wildlife is Our Oil: Conservation, Livelihoods and NGOs in the Tarangire Ecosystem*.  Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford.

Sachs, J.  (2006).  *The end of poverty: economic possibilities for our time.*  New York: Penguin Books.

Sachs, J. and McArthur, J.W.  (2005).  The Millennium Project: a plan for meeting the Millennium Development Goals.  *The Lancet*, Vol. 365, pp. 347-353.

Salzman, P.C.  (2002).  On Reflexivity.  *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 104, No. 3, pp. 805-813.

Sapir, E.  (1951).  The status of linguistics as a science.  *Language*, Vol. 5, pp. 207-214.

Sauer, Carl.  (1956).  The Education of a Geographer.  *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 46, No. 3. pp. 287 – 299

Scheyvens, R. (1999).  Ecotourism and the empowerment of local communities. *Tourism Management*,  Vol. 20, pp. 245–249.

Schuurman, F. (1996). Introduction: development theory in the 1990's. In F. Schuurman (Ed.). *Beyond the Impasse: New Direction in Development Theory*. London: Zed Books. pp. 1-48.

Scoones, I. (1998). *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A framework for analysis*. Brighton, U.K. Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

Scoones, I. (Ed.) (1994). *Living with uncertainty*. London: Intermediate Technology.

Sen, A. (1980). 'Equality of What?' in S. M. McMurrin (Ed.) *Tanner Lectures on Human Values*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. Reprinted in Sen, A. (1982), pp. 353 – 369.

Seno, S.K. and Shaw, W.W. (2002). Land Tenure Policies, Maasai Traditions, and Wildlife Conservation in Kenya. Society and Natural Resources, Vol. 15, pp. 79-88.

Serneels, S. and Lambin, E.F. (2001). Impact of land use changes on the wildebeest migration in the northern part of the Serengeti-Mara ecosystem. *Journal of Biogeography*, Vol. 28, pp. 391-407.

Serneels, S., Herrero, M., BurnSilver, S., Trench, P., Cochrane, K., Homewood, K., Kristjanson, P., Nelson, F., Radeny, M., Thompson, D.M., and Said, M.Y. (2009). Methods in the Analysis of Maasai Livelihoods. In Homewood, K., Kristjanson, P. and Trench, P. (Eds.). *Staying Maasai?: Livelihoods, Conservation and Development in East African Rangelands*. pp. 43-76. Springer Press.

Serneels, S., Said, M.Y., Lambin, E.F. (2001). Land cover changes around a major East African wildlife reserve: the Mara Ecosystem (Kenya), *International Journal of Remote Sensing*, Vol. 22, No. 17, pp. 3397–3420.

Sharpley, R. (2000). Tourism and sustainable development.: exploring the theoretical divide. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 1-18.

Shen, F., Hughey, K., and Simmons, D. (2008). Connecting the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach and Tourism: A Review of the Literature Toward Integrative Thinking. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management,* Vol. 15, No. 1, 19-31.

Simpson, M. (2007). An integrated approach to assess the impacts of tourism on community development and sustainable livelihoods. *Community Development Journal*, October 2007. pp. 1-23.

Sinclair, A.R.E and Norton-Griffiths, M. (1979). *Serengeti: Dynamics of an ecosystem*. Chicago: University Press.

Sindiga, I. (1995) Wildlife-based tourism in Kenya: Land use conflicts and government compensation policies over protected areas. *Journal of Tourism Studies,* Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 45–55.

Sindiga, I., and Burnett, G. W. (1988). Geography and development in Kenya. *The Professional Geographer,* Vol. 40, pp. 232-237.

Skelton, T. (2001). Cross-cultural research: issues of power, positionality and 'race'. In, Limb, M. and Dwyer, C., (Eds.). *Qualitative methodologies for geographers: issues and debates*, London: Arnold, pp. 87–100.

Smith, V. and Eadington, W. (Eds.). (1992). *Tourism Alternatives: Potentials and Problems in the Development of Tourism*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Sofield, T.H.B. (2003). *Empowerment for Sustainable Tourism Development.* Oxford: Pergamon, Elsevier Science.

Southgate, C.R.J. (2006). Ecotourism in Kenya: The Vulnerability of Communities. *Journal of Ecotourism*, Vol. 5, Nos. 1&2, pp. 80-96.

Spear, T. and Waller, R. (1993). *Being Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa*. Ohio University Press, Athens, Ohio.

Spencer, P. (1988). *The Maasai of Matapato: A Study of Rituals of Rebellion*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana.

Stem, C.J., Lassoie, J.P., Lee, D.R., Deshler, D.D., and Schelhas, J.W. (2003). Community Participation in Ecotourism Benefits. The Link to Conservation and Perspectives. *Society and Natural Resources*, Vol. 16, pp. 387-413.

Stelfox, J.G., Peden, D.G., Epp, H., Hudson, R.J., Mbugua, S.W., Agatsiva, J.L., Amuyunzu, C.L., 1986. Herbivore dynamics in southern Narok, Kenya. *Journal of Wildlife Management*, Vol. 50, pp. 339–347.

Stiles, D. (2007). The Mara at the Crossroads. *Swara Conservation*. July. pp. 52-55.

Stone, M. and Wall, G. (2004). Ecotourism and Community Development: Case Studies from Hainan, China. *Environmental Management*, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 12–24

Stronza, A. and Gordillo, J. (2008). Community Views of Ecotourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 35, No. 2, pp. 448-468.

Stronza, A. (2001). Anthropology of tourism: Forging new ground for ecotourism and other alternatives. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 30, pp. 261-283.

Swift, J. (1991). Local Customary Institutions as the Basis for Natural Resource Management Among Boran Pastoralists in Northern Kenya. *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 22, No. 4, pp. 34-37.

Talbot, L. and Olindo, P. (1990). The Maasai Mara and Amboseli Reserves. In, *Living with Wildlife: Wildlife Resource Management and Local Participation in Africa*. (Ed.) A. Kiss. Pp. 67-74. Technical Paper #130. Washington, World Bank.

Tao, T.C., and Wall, G. (2009). Tourism as a Sustainable Livelihood Strategy. *Tourism Management*, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 90-98.

Taylor, M. (2007). Community Participation in the Real World: Opportunities and Pitfalls in New Governance Spaces. *Urban Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 2, pp. 297-317.

Telfer, D.J. and Sharpley, R. (2008). *Tourism and Development in the Developing World*. Routledge: New York, New York.

Telfer, D.J. (2002). The Evolution of Tourism and Development Theory. In Sharpley, R. and Telfer, D.J. (Eds.). *Tourism and Development: Concepts and Issues*. pp. 35-78. Channel View Publications: North York, Ontario, Canada.

The International Ecotourism Society (TIES). (1990). Retrieved from: www.ecotourism.org

Theophile, K. (1995). The Forest as a Business: Is Ecotourism the Answer? *Journal of Forestry*, Vol. 93, No. 3, pp. 25-27.

Thompson, D.M., Serneels, S., Ole Kaelo, D., and Trench, P.C. (2009). Maasai Mara – Land Privatisation and Wildlife Decline: Can Conservation Pay Its Way? In Homewood, K., Kristjanson, P. and Trench, P. (Eds.). *Staying Maasai?: Livelihoods, Conservation and Development in East African Rangelands*. pp. 77-114. Springer Press.

Thompson, M. and Homewood, K. (2002). Entrepreneurs, elites and exclusion in Maasailand: Trends in wildlife conservation and pastoral development. *Human Ecology, Vol.* 30, No. 1, pp. 107-138.

Thompson M., Serneels S. and Lambin E.F. (2002). Land-use strategies in the Mara Ecosystem Kenya: A spatial analysis linking socio-economic data with landscape variables. In *Remote Sensing and GIS Applications for Linking People, Place and Policy*, (Eds.). S.J. Walsh and K.A. Crews-Meyer. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Tignor, R.T. (1976). *The Colonial Transformation of Kenya: The Kamba, Kikuyu and Maasai from 1900-1939*. Princeton, NJ. Princeton University Press.

Throsby, D. (1999). Cultural capital. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, Vol. 23, pp. 3–12.

Timothy, D.J. (2007) Empowerment and stakeholder participation in tourism destination communities. In Church, A. and Coles, T. (Eds.) *Tourism, Power and Space.* pp. 199–216. Routledge: London.

Todaro, M. (2000). *Economic Development.* 7th edition. Harlow: Addison-Wesley

Toulmin, C., and Quan, J. (2000). *Evolving land rights, policy and tenure in Africa.* London: DFID, IIED, NRI.

Trochim, W. (2000). *The Research Methods Knowledge Base.* 2nd Edition. Atomic Dog Publishing, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Turner, M.D. (1993). Overstocking the Range: A Critical Analysis of the Environmental Science of Sahelian Pastoralism. *Economic Geography*, Vol. 69, No. 4, pp. 402-421.

Van den Brink, R.D., Bromley, D.W., and Cochrane, J.A. (1994). Property Rights and Productivity in Africa: Is There a Connection? *Development Southern Africa*, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 177-181.

Vertefeuille, J. and Benn, J. (2005). *Conserving through Conservancy: managing land and wildlife in Namibia.* Retrieved June 26, 2009, from: http://www.scienceinafrica.co.za/2005/november/namibia.htm

Waithaka, J. (2004). Maasai Mara: An Ecosystem Under Siege: An African Case Study on the Societal Dimension of Rangeland Conservation. *African Journal of Range and Forage Science*, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 79-88.

Wall, G. (2002). Sustainable development: political rhetoric or analytical conflict? *Tourism Recreation Review*, Vol. 27, No. 3, pp. 89-91.

Wall, G. (1997). Sustainable Tourism – Unsustainable Development. In Wahab, S. and Pigram, J (Eds.) *Tourism, Development and Growth: The Challenge of Sustainability.* pp. 33-49. Routledge.

Wall, G. (1996). Ecotourism: change, impacts and opportunities. In Malek-Zadeh, E. (Ed.), *The Ecotourism Equation: Measuring the Impact.* Bulletin Series 99, pp. 206-216. New Haven CT: Yale University.

Waller, R.D. (1999). Pastoral Poverty in Historical Perspective. In Anderson, D. and Broch-Due, V. (Eds.). *The Poor are Not Us.* pp. 20-49. James Currey Publishing.

Watson, C. (2008). *Literature Review of Impact Measurement in the Humanitarian Sector.* Feinstein Int'l Centre, Medford, CT..

Wearing, S and Neil, J. (1999). *Ecotourism: Impacts, Potentials and Possibilities*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Weaver, D. (2001). *Ecotourism*. John Wiley & Sons. Australia.

Weaver, D. (1998). *Ecotourism in the Less Developed World*. New York: CAB International Publishing.

Weaver, D. and Lawton, L. (1999). *Sustainable Tourism: A Critical Analysis*. Research Report #1. Gold Coast, Australia: CRC for Sustainable Tourism.

Welch, R. (1984). The meaning of development: Traditional views and more recent ideas. *New Zealand Journal of Geography*, Vol. 76, pp. 2-4.

Wells, M. (1996). The social role of protected areas in the new South Africa. *Environmental Conservation*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 322-331.

West, P. and Brockington, D. (2006). An Anthropological Perspective on Some Unexpected Consequences of Protected Areas. *Conservation Biology*, Vol. 20, No. 3, pp. 609-616.

Western, D. (2009) The Future of Maasailand: Its People and Wildlife. In K. Homewood, P. Kristjanson, and P. Trench. (Eds.). *Staying Maasai?: Livelihoods, Conservation and Development in East African Rangelands.* pp. v-viii. Springer Press.

Western, D. and Wright, R.M. (1994). The background to community based conservation. In Western, D. and Wright, R.M. (Eds.) *Natural Connections: Perspectives in Community-based Conservation.* pp. 1–12. Washington, DC: Island Press.

Wheeller, D. (2003). Alternative Tourism: A Deceptive Ploy. In Cooper, C. (Ed.). *Classic Reviews in Tourism.* pp. 227-234. Channelview Publications: United Kingdom

Whorf, B. (1956). *Language, Thought and Reality*. Cambridge, Mass. MIT Press.

Wilderness Safaris. http://www.wilderness-safaris.com/conservation/related_projects. Retrieved on June 24, 2009.

World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED). (1987). *Our Common Future*. The Brundtland Commission. Oxford, New York.

Ziffer, K. (1989). *Ecotourism: The Uneasy Alliance*. Working Paper No. 1. Washington, DC: Conservation International

Zoomers, A. (1999). *Linking livelihood strategies to development. Experiences from the Bolivian Andes.* Amsterdam: Tropical Institute / Center for Latin American Research.