

**EFFECT OF ECOTOURISM ENTERPRISES ON THE SOCIO-
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITIES LIVING
ADJACENT TO WILDLIFE PROTECTED AREAS IN KENYA: A
CASE STUDY OF GOLD-ECORATED LODGES**

BY

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MANAGEMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF TOURISM MANAGEMENT, MOI
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NOVEMBER, 2013

DECLARATION

Declaration by Candidate

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University. No part of this thesis may be reproduced without the prior written permission of the author and/ or Moi University.

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DEDICATION

All that I am, or hope to be, I owe to my Mum Joyce and late Dad Momanyi.

ABSTRACT

That socio-economic development is the most important challenge facing the human race cannot be overstated. As a result, many avenues have been pursued to attain it; key among them being ecotourism. While some scholars emphasize the potential of ecotourism in promoting the well being of local people, existing statistics reveal that a majority (70%) of people living adjacent to wildlife protected areas continue to suffer from the absence of fundamental opportunities to lead decent and satisfying lives. Furthermore, the incidence of poverty in Kenya is comparatively greater where tourist activities are highest such as Maasai Mara, Amboseli, Taita Taveta, Laikipia and Kwale. This has led to the question: under what conditions and what processes of interaction do communities, protected areas and tourism operations mutually benefit each other? The purpose of this study was to investigate the effect of ecotourism enterprises on the socio-economic development of communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas. The study was conducted in Basecamp Masai Mara and Elephant Pepper Camp in Maasai Mara National Reserve, and Campi ya Kanzi in Amboseli National Park, Kenya. Specifically, the study investigated the effect of ecotourism enterprises on social and economic development of communities living adjacent to the three gold ecorated lodges; constraints hindering local community participation in ecotourism enterprises; and local community support and aspiration for ecotourism development. The study adopted the survey and case study research designs. Both secondary and primary sources of data were utilized. The target population included members of communities living adjacent to the three eco-lodges, who were sampled through convenience sampling to get a sample size of 384 respondents for semi-structured questionnaires. Purposive sampling was used to recruit key informants such as area chiefs, managers of the eco-lodges, members of cultural *manyattas* and chairmen of group ranches for interviews and focus group discussions. Data was analyzed quantitatively using means, median, standard deviation and Mann-Whitney *U* test and qualitatively using thematic analysis. Findings indicate that ecotourism enterprises in the two study areas have been instrumental in the provision of education and health services. In spite of this, these enterprises were ineffective in facilitating local community access to basic needs especially through access to credit ($\bar{X}=2.73$, $\sigma=1.442$, $p=0.001$) and grazing pastures ($\bar{X}=2.75$, $\sigma=1.513$, $p=0.000$). Findings further revealed that most of the revenue (70%) generated from the eco-tourism enterprises benefits only a few members of the community thus creating conflicts among community members. In this regard, the findings established that host community's support for ecotourism development was dependent on the contribution of ecotourism enterprises to community cohesion and pride ($\bar{X}=4.01$, $\sigma=1.123$, $p=0.027$). This calls for an ecotourism policy that will not only facilitate local community's access to basic needs through establishing fair and lasting economic partnerships with investors, but also ensure community cohesion and pride, enhanced socio-economic welfare and development.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANP	Amboseli National Park
GoK	Government of Kenya
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service
MMNR	Maasai Mara National Reserve
WTO	World Tourism Organization

DEFINITION OF OPERATIONAL TERMS

Aspirations: Although the notion of aspirations ranges from dreams and fantasies to concrete ambitions and goals, it connotes the achievement of something high or great including an individual's ability to identify and set goals for the future, while being inspired to work toward those goals (Quaglia and Cobb, 1996).

Ecotourism: Is responsible travel to natural areas which conserves the environment and improves the welfare of the local people.

Ecotourism Enterprises: Are facilities that have achieved outstanding, superior and replicable levels of excellence in responsible resource use, environmental conservation and socio-economic investment (Munyoro, 2011).

Local Community: Refers to a group of people either living in one place or originating from the same geographic area who identify themselves as belonging to the same group (Wishitemi, 2008). This term is used interchangeably with local people in this study.

Socio-economic development: Is development concerned with a wide variety of aspects relating to the quality of life. It includes references to healthcare, food, nutrition,

safe drinking water, sanitation, shelter, levels of education, human rights, dignity, security and participation in political processes. Socio-economic development is determined by not only income but also freedoms and opportunities that fulfill one's potential. Such opportunities include access to education, healthcare and democracy.

Wildlife Protected Areas: Are areas clearly defined in terms of geographical space, recognized, dedicated and managed, through legal or other effective means, to achieve the long-term conservation of nature with associated ecosystem services and cultural values (IUCN, 2010).

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the study. It covers the background to the study, statement of the problem, study objectives, research questions, significance and scope of the study, study assumptions, limitations and delimitations.

1.1 Background to the Study

The tourism industry is one of Kenya's leading foreign exchange earners, contributing about 18% of total foreign exchange earnings and about 10% of gross domestic product (Manyara and Jones, 2007). Therefore, the industry is of critical importance to Kenya's economy. Despite this, Kenya's prevailing model of tourism development is anachronistic, colonial and narrowly based on safari and coastal products (Manyara and Jones, 2007). This has been a major obstacle to socio-economic development and poverty reduction. In line with this, legislation (particularly that supporting national parks to protect wildlife resources) disadvantages local communities. Local communities are hardly involved in tourism development and the control of tourism resources is vested in the hands of a few western investors who are mainly profit-driven. This is in contrast with Local Agenda 21 and the principles of sustainable tourism development that emphasize the involvement of local communities and the control of tourism resources by local communities (Manyara and Jones, 2007).

The poverty scenario in Kenya has worsened over time with 3.5 million people estimated to live in poverty in 1973, increasing to 11.5 million in 1994, 12.5 million in 1997 and 14.4 million in 2007 when the last Welfare Monitoring Survey was conducted (Kieti, 2007). Key poverty indicators in Kenya are landlessness or lack of rights to land ownership, lack of formal education, limited access to or lack of health facilities particularly in urban areas where there are unaffordable health services and lack of access to clean water and sanitation. Currently it is estimated that over 50% of Kenyans live in poverty. Furthermore, the incidence of poverty in Kenya is comparatively greater where the tourist activity is highest (Manyara and Jones, 2007).

Incidences of poverty in areas of high tourism activities such as Maasai Mara, Taita Taveta, Laikipia and Kwale is between 50 and 60 percent, with Kwale recording over 70 percent incidence of poverty (Manyara and Jones, 2007). Owing to its importance in the Kenyan economy, the tourism industry is viewed as a tool that can promote socio-economic development and consequently alleviate poverty. It is hoped that ecotourism enterprises can play a significant role (Scheyvens, 1999). The higher the involvement of local communities in ecotourism through various community initiatives, the higher the benefits that would accrue to them.

Ecotourism is viewed as a tool for socio-economic development and poverty reduction, since it provides opportunities for selling additional goods and services; creates opportunities for local economic diversification of poor and marginal areas either with

minimal or without other development opportunities; is based on cultural, wildlife and landscape assets that belong to the poor; offers better labour-intensive and small scale opportunities than any sector except agriculture; promotes gender equality by employing a relatively high proportion of women; reduces leakage from and maximizes linkage to local economies (Manyara and Jones, 2007).

Globally, ecotourism has been hailed as a panacea to development. It is endorsed as a way to fund conservation and scientific research, protect fragile and pristine ecosystems, benefit rural communities, promote development in poor countries, enhance ecological and cultural sensitivity, instill environmental awareness and a social conscience in the travel industry, satisfy and educate the discriminating tourist and build world peace (Honey, 1999). More importantly, ecotourism is heralded as a strategy that balances conservation and development. Ecotourism provides an opportunity for development of rural communities, as they participate in the conservation of fragile and threatened areas and endangered species. Consequently, ecotourism has, over the years, been viewed as a viable economic option of stimulating socio-economic development, through empowering local communities to manage their natural resources. This is supported by the fact that ecotourism is regarded as a responsible form of travel to natural areas which in turn conserves the environment and improves the welfare of the local people (Sindiga, 1999; Okech and Urmilla, 2009). In addition, ecotourism advocates for the utilization of natural resources for tourism in accordance with local aspirations and local knowledge.

Despite this, there are few examples to demonstrate that the development of ecotourism destinations have developed as expected (Sindiga, 1999; Okech and Urmilla, 2009).

Ecotourism emphasizes small-scale, locally-owned infrastructure, use of local materials and indigenous operations of enterprises (Okech and Urmilla, 2009). Thus, supporters of ecotourism hold the belief that this form of tourism leads to realizing both conservation and development objectives. Importantly, ecotourism advocates for the well-being of individuals and communities in a people-centered and conservation based development. As such local communities must be involved in creative ways both in conservation and in direct tourism activities (Wishitemi, 2008; Okech and Urmilla, 2009). In spite of the justification that many ecotourism and community-based tourism initiatives generate benefits for local communities, there is little or no data pointing to the outcomes of these initiatives (Butler and Hinch, 2007).

Although ecotourism is formulated to encourage indigenous tourism enterprises, it is not clear what this means in reality. Foreign investment in ecotourism is still a lucrative business, and this calls to question the idea of local community participation in ecotourism. Such participation should in particular include the ownership and control of tourism enterprises as a measure of enhancing local retention of foreign exchange earnings, the expansion of employment and the actual enjoyment of the ecotourism sites. Only this way can ecotourism have a positive effect on the socio-economic development

of communities, particularly those living adjacent to wildlife protected areas (Sindiga, 1999; Manyara and Jones, 2007).

A major criticism of ecotourism development is that local people tend to be excluded from the planning and implementation of projects (Okech and Urmilla, 2009). For instance, the creation of protected areas has generally been justified on conservation and environmental grounds and for tourism, but this has often disadvantaged indigenous people who have lost access to natural resources, which have been a significant part of their livelihood (Butler and Hinch, 2007). As a result, Africa's wildlife areas are characteristically inhabited or surrounded by poverty stricken communities. This is the case in Kenya where traditional lands held communally by pastoral nomadic people were alienated to give way to the park system and traditional livelihood systems were destabilized leading to severe resource degradation. Consequently, 85% of Kenya's 14.4 million under extreme poverty live in rural and marginalized areas (Kieti, 2007) and this has resulted in increased human-wildlife conflicts and poaching; all of which threaten Kenya's ecotourism.

Grass-root involvement of local communities in tourism in Kenya is minimal and mainly confined to the supply of goods and services, sale of handicrafts and traditional dance entertainment (Wishitemi, 2008). But even in these activities, the local people must contend with competition from entrepreneurs from other parts of the country who are better prepared to do business and have access to credit. As a result, majority of the local

entrepreneurs are often locked out of such business thus accelerating high levels of discontent and poverty.

In general, local community dissatisfaction with tourism has evoked different responses among different communities in Kenya. While some communities are watching tourism developing all around them without engaging in it, as is with the case of the Swahili people at the coast; others have organized themselves to obtain greater benefits from tourism, as the case of the Maasai. The later is evidenced by the development of community-based tourism enterprises such as Il Ngwesi and Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary which to a large extent have transformed the lives of local communities as well as the areas where they are located.

Community participation is expected to generate revenue thereby improving the standard of living of local people; create employment opportunities; and make local people true partners in tourism enterprise development and management. Despite the great expectations from community-based tourism enterprises, they have been characteristically dominated by elite groups who monopolize the benefits from tourism (Sindiga, 1999; Wishitemi, 2008).

One of the setbacks of community participation is the assumption that communities are homogeneous groups. Moreover, local communities comprise groups with different and potentially conflicting interests, that is, not all groups want the same things (Manyara and

Jones, 2007). In fact, every community is made up of diverse elements on the basis of defined criteria such as income, education, religious affiliation, gender and resource ownership. This diversity in community composition can lead to problems of equity in access to resources and the sharing of benefits (Sindiga, 1999; Wishitemi, 2008).

In response to the foregoing issues, tourism scholars have advocated in an unequivocal tone the adoption of ecotourism as a sustainable model of the business of tourism. In this regard, the relevance of ecotourism is ultimately linked to its role in ameliorating the problems associated with lack of development. While some scholars emphasize the potential for ecotourism to promote the well-being of both local people and their environments (Scheyvens 2002; Okech and Urmilla, 2009); there are many people living adjacent to wildlife protected areas who continue to suffer from the absence of fundamental opportunities to lead decent and satisfying lives. The continued high incidence of premature mortality, ill-health, undernourishment, hunger, illiteracy, poverty, insecurity and other forms of deprivation are evidenced in different regions adjacent to wildlife protected areas, regions which are a haven to many of the ecotourism enterprises. Thus, the critical question remains whether ecotourism can provide rural populations with a means to alleviate their relative poverty and high dependence on the natural resources.

The above scenario points to the need to ensure that community based tourism enterprises have majority participation and that the distribution of benefits is equitable both across socio-economic groups and gender categories. Ecotourism should provide jobs to the local people and a market for local products. Importantly, economic

empowerment of local communities must address the ownership, control and management of ecotourism enterprises. It is against this backdrop this study investigated the effect of ecotourism enterprises on the socio-economic development of communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas, with emphasis being laid on their quality of life. The study was premised on the fact that should the socio-economic benefits not accrue to local people; the very basis of ecotourism will be put in jeopardy. In fact, the local people in the neighborhood of protected-areas need to see meaningful improvement in their standards of living and economic fortunes if they are to continue participating in biodiversity conservation. However, relatively little quantitative analysis of ecotourism's success in achieving socio-economic development objectives has been reported in Kenya.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The sustainability of nature-based tourism in Africa over the long term depends on the support of local communities especially those living adjacent to wildlife protected areas (Kieti, 2007; Wishitemi, 2008; Okech and Urmilla, 2009). Sustainable development presumes the well-being of individuals and communities in a people-centered and conservation-based development. This idea is based on the fact that local people have the greatest repertoire of knowledge on their ecology and are able to manage the resource system in a sustainable manner. As such, local communities must be involved in creative ways both in conservation and in direct tourism activities (Wishitemi, 2008).

Community participation in resource management for tourism has the potential of increasing incomes and employment, and developing skills and institutions thereby empowering local people. To be meaningful, such participation should go beyond minimal supply of goods and services, sale of handicrafts and traditional dance entertainment (Kieti, 2007; Wishitemi, 2008). Community involvement in wildlife conservation for tourism has been realized with measurable success, for example, under the Communal Area Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe. CAMPFIRE guidelines provide that 50 per cent of the net revenues from wildlife utilization be invested in local projects in the areas in which wildlife is found. As a result, some of the enterprises initiated have developed land use plans, provided access to primary education for children, created local employment and provided resources to cushion households against drought (Sindiga, 1999).

Ecotourism has the potential to enhance socio-economic development and equitable distribution of resources, which can in turn significantly contribute to development and alleviation of poverty. Consequently, the relevance of ecotourism is linked to its role in ameliorating the problems associated with lack of development. While some scholars emphasize the potential for ecotourism in promoting the well being of both local people and their environments (Scheyvens 2002; Okech and Urmilla, 2009), there are many people living adjacent to wildlife protected areas who continue to suffer from the absence of fundamental opportunities which can enable them lead decent and satisfying lives.

Continued high incidences of premature mortality, ill-health, undernourishment, hunger, illiteracy, poverty, insecurity and other forms of deprivation are evidenced in regions adjacent to wildlife protected areas although most of these regions are a haven to many of the successful ecotourism enterprises. This view is supported by Sindiga's assertion that Africa's wildlife protected areas are characteristically inhabited by poverty-stricken communities to whom esoteric reasons for biodiversity conservation such as providing recreational, educational and research opportunities may not be meaningful (Sindiga, 1999). For example, although Narok County Council generates 90 per cent of its revenue from the Maasai Mara National Reserve, only a small proportion of the earnings reach the people living adjacent to the Reserve (Sindiga, 1999; Okech and Urmilla, 2009). These benefits are not adequate to offset the negative impacts of tourism and wildlife in their areas. In fact, many communities in Maasailand simply have no economic incentives to conserve biodiversity (Okech and Urmilla, 2009).

Host community members are constantly seeking for healthy places in which to live, implying availability of food, access to adequate and clean water, healthcare, rewarding work with equitable pay, education and recreation, respect for cultural traditions and availability of opportunities to make decisions about the future (Wearing and Neil, 2009). Only when rural communities share in the control and management of wildlife and derive economic benefits from sustainable use and management of wildlife are conflicts and competition for resources which threaten parks minimized. This implies that without addressing issues of access to socio-economic benefits from conservation for

communities living adjacent to protected areas, wildlife and other resources cannot be managed in a sustainable manner (Sindiga, 1999; Kieti, 2007; Okech and Urmilla, 2009). As much as ecotourism has been hailed as a key advocate for responsible travel which aims at improving the welfare of the local people, there is inadequate statistical data to support this assertion (Butler and Hinch, 2007). This leads us to ask the question: under what conditions and what processes of interaction do communities, protected areas and ecotourism enterprises mutually benefit each other? The purpose of this study was to investigate the effect of ecotourism enterprises on the socio-economic development of communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas, laying emphasis on Amboseli National Park and Maasai Mara National Reserve.

1.3 Research Objectives

1.3.1 General objective

The main objective of this study was to use gold eco-rated lodges to investigate the effect of ecotourism enterprises on the socio-economic development of communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

Specifically, the research was guided by the following specific objectives.

1. To investigate the effect of ecotourism enterprises on the economic development of communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas.
2. To determine the effect of ecotourism enterprises on the social development of communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas.

3. To establish constraints hindering the participation of local community in ecotourism enterprises.
4. To investigate the level of local community's support and aspirations for the development of ecotourism enterprises in the study regions.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What is the effect of ecotourism enterprises on the economic development of communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas?
2. What is the effect of ecotourism enterprises on the social development of communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas?
3. What are the constraints hindering the participation of local community in ecotourism enterprises?
4. What is the level of local community support and aspirations for the development of ecotourism enterprises in areas adjacent to wildlife protected areas?

1.5 Significance of the Study

By addressing the existing research gaps and deficiencies in the field of ecotourism enterprises and their effect on socio-economic development of communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas, the study findings offer an insight on mechanisms through which mass deprivation, evidenced in continued high incidences of premature mortality, ill-health, undernourishment, hunger, illiteracy, poverty and insecurity, maybe reduced. In particular, the study proposes an ecotourism policy that will not only facilitate

local community's access to basic needs through establishing fair and lasting economic partnerships with investors but also ensure community cohesion and pride.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study was conducted in areas adjacent to Basecamp Masai Mara, Elephant Pepper Camp in Maasai Mara National Reserve and Campi ya Kanzi in Amboseli National Park. These study sites were selected through purposive sampling since they were the only gold eco-rated ecotourism enterprises in Kenya (Munyoro, 2011). Moreover, the target population of this study was the communities living adjacent to the two renowned wildlife protected areas namely; Amboseli National Park and Maasai Mara National Reserve. In addition, the study was confined to investigating the effect of ecotourism enterprises on the socio-economic development of the targeted communities.

1.7 Study Assumptions, Limitations and Delimitations

1.7.1 Study Assumptions

The following assumptions were upheld in the course of the study. First, the study sites were representative of the eco-lodges found in Kenya. Second, the sample selected from the local communities living adjacent to the three sites (ecolodges) was representative of the entire population from which it was drawn. Third, the responses given were a true representation of the views and aspirations of the respondents about the role and importance of the selected eco-lodges in promoting socio-economic development.

1.7.2 Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

This study faced a number of limitations. First, due to limited financial resources, it was not possible to cover a wider area. Instead, the study focused on limited parts of Basecamp Masai Mara, Elephant Pepper Camp and Campi ya Kanzi. It is possible that if the study was conducted on a wider area, the magnitude of the results might be different. Besides, it can be argued that, the sample size of three study sites may not allow for much generalization to the larger study's target population. To counter this limitation the study adopted a case study research approach which is heralded as contributing to theory and not to population (Kieti, 2007). In addition, if the survey was extended to include both government and non-governmental organizations' officials, there may be a different magnitude of the results on the effect of eco-tourism enterprises on socio-economic development of the target population.

Second, a large number of the respondents were illiterate and lacked confidence to express their views. As such, in cases of interviewing illiterate respondents, the researcher relied entirely on the interpretations provided by the research assistants.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents literature reviewed on various aspects of the study guided by the objectives. The chapter covers the following major topics: the concept of ecotourism and its evolution; role and significance of ecotourism; an overview of communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas; ecotourism and socio-economic development; community-based ecotourism; ecotourism and community empowerment; theoretical and conceptual frameworks.

2.1 The Concept of Ecotourism and its Evolution

The explosive growth of the post-war tourism industry is a well-documented and discussed phenomenon. According to the WTO, international stay-over arrivals have increased from approximately 25 million in 1950 to an estimated 940 million in 2010. This increase in arrivals has been accompanied by an increase in associated revenues, increasing from about \$ 2.1 billion to \$ 919 billion (Weaver, 1998; Risi, 2011). Only a few events, including the recession of the early 1980s and the 1991 Gulf war, have interrupted this pattern of robust post-second world war growth, which has been associated with a variety of conducive developments within the major market and destination regions during the period.

These developments may be summarized as follows: First, economic change, more particularly, the rising discretionary incomes between 1940 and the mid-1970s. Secondly, demographic change, which is evidenced in the growing populations, increased urbanization, smaller family size and increased life expectancy. Thirdly, technological change, manifested through development of air and road transportation technology. Fourthly, social change which is manifested in the increased discretionary time, importance of the 'work in order to play' ethos in the 'post-industrial' or 'leisure' age. Lastly, geopolitical stability, which has resulted in the avoidance of wars and depressions in latter half of the 20th century compared to the 1930s. The first four factors apply mainly to the 'traditional' tourist markets of North America, Western Europe, Japan, Australia and New Zealand in accounting for most of the growth in global tourism to date (Weaver, 1998). However, other Asian countries, such as Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan, are now displaying similar characteristics and are therefore emerging as significant contributors to the outbound tourist population. Recently, there has been a palpable awareness of the rapid change being experienced within the tourism sector. Terms such as sustainable tourism, alternative tourism and ecotourism are now the objects of intense scrutiny, debate and controversy (Weaver, 1998).

Ecotourism is the fastest growing sector, with an estimated growth rate of 10-15% (Scheyvens, 1999). This can be attributed to the demands of increasingly affluent consumers for 'remote', 'natural' and 'exotic' environments which has created an upsurge in ecotourism ventures, particularly in developing countries. Concurrently, within western

countries wilderness areas and lands occupied by indigenous peoples have been opened up to the tourism industry (Scheyvens, 1999). Ecotourism consists of traveling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective 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- Lascuráin, 1996). Of concern, is the fact that this definition fails to acknowledge the importance of ecotourism in improving the quality of life of host communities.

True ecotourism must contribute directly to the maintenance and enhancement of parks and protected areas, the well-being of resident communities and environmental education. In this regard, ecotourism is increasingly being advocated for as an environmentally benign means of stimulating development and, at the same time, preserving natural areas and their wild inhabitants in peripheral locations. As such, it is viewed as a potential contributor to sustainable development (Jafari, 2000). Moreover, for ecotourism to be sustainable it should embrace the following basic elements. First, the natural environment is the primary attraction with the cultural environment playing a secondary role; secondly, sustainable use of the ecological and cultural environments; and third, focus on the education and interpretation of the resource and provision of benefits to host communities (Sindiga, 1999). The aforementioned observations are consistent with Ecotourism Society's definition which asserts that ecotourism is responsible travel to natural areas which conserves the environment and improves the welfare of the local

people. Key issues in this definition are responsible travel, natural areas, conservation and welfare of the local people.

Ecotourism is aimed at empowering local communities to manage their natural resources in ways which contribute to rural development. Rural people will have greater incentives to conserve the biological resources in their environment if the beneficial effects from tourism filter down to the individual families and households. This way, tourism could contribute immeasurably to African rural development where the majority of the population of the continent reside (Sindiga, 1999).

2.2 Definition of Ecotourism

According to Ceballos-Lascuráin (1987) ecotourism involves travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective 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. As such ecotourism should contribute directly to the maintenance and enhancement of protected areas, the wellbeing of resident communities and environmental education.

Ecotourism is viewed as an environmentally benign means of stimulating development, preserving natural areas and their wild inhabitants. In this regard, it is a potential contributor to sustainable development (Jafari, 2000). Ecotourism Association of Australia (1992) defines ecotourism as ecologically sustainable tourism that fosters

environmental and cultural understanding, appreciation and conservation. Tickell (1994) adds to the definition of ecotourism by asserting that ecotourism is travel to enjoy the world's amazing diversity of natural life and human culture without causing damage to either. Besides, ecotourism can be defined as nature-based tourism that involves education and interpretation of the natural environment and is managed to be ecologically sustainable. This definition recognizes that the 'natural environment' includes cultural components and that 'ecologically sustainable' involves an appropriate return to the local community and long term conservation of the resource (Allcock *et al.*, 1994).

From the foregoing definitions, it can be argued that ecotourism is responsible travel to natural areas which conserves the environment and improves the welfare of the local people. Although any number of principles of ecotourism can be devised, an analysis of definitions indicates that three dimensions can represent the main essence of the concept. Ecotourism is nature based, environmentally educated and sustainably managed. The last dimension is taken to encompass both the natural and cultural environments involved in supplying the ecotourism experience. Ecotourism is effective in promoting the conservation of endangered species and habitats in developing countries. In this regard, ecotourism encourages local guardianship of biological resources by creating economic incentives for impoverished communities.

Ecotourism is considered a model form of sustainable tourism development based on eight basic principles. First, it should not degrade the resource and should be developed

in an environmentally-sound manner. Second, it should provide first-hand participatory and enlightened experiences. Third, it should involve education among all parties including local communities, government, non-governmental organizations, industry and tourists before, during and after the trip. Fourth, it should encourage all party recognition of the intrinsic values of the resource. Fifth, ecotourism involves acceptance of the resource on its own terms and in recognition of its limits, which involve supply- oriented management. Sixth, it should promote understanding and involve partnership between many players such as governments, non-government organizations, industry, scientists and local communities. Seventh, ecotourism should promote moral and ethical responsibilities and behaviours towards the natural and cultural environment by all players. Eighth, it should provide long-term benefits to the resource, to the local community and to the industry.

The foregoing benefits may be conservation, scientific, social, cultural or economic (Kieti, 2007). As such, ecotourism is widely recognized as a more benign alternative to mass tourism due to its emphasis on nature-based attractions, learning opportunities and management practices that adhere to the principles of ecological, socio-cultural and economic sustainability.

There are five fundamental functions of ecotourism, namely; protection of natural areas, education, generation of money, quality tourism and local community participation. One further principle of ecotourism, not referred to in most definitions, but worthy of the

status of at least a 'secondary principle', involves the small-scale, personalized and hence alternative nature of many classical ecotourism experiences.

The origin of 'ecotourism' is linked with Hetzer (1965), who identified four principles of responsible tourism. These are; minimizing environmental impacts, respecting host cultures, maximizing the benefits to local people and maximizing tourist satisfaction. The first of these is held to be the most distinguishing characteristic of 'ecological tourism ("EcoTourism")' (Blamey, 2001). Other early references to ecotourism are found in Miller's (1978) work on national park planning for eco - development in Latin America and documentation produced by Environment Canada in relation to a set of road-based 'ecotours' they developed from the mid-1970s through to the early 1980s. Each tour focused on a different ecological zone found along the corridor of the Trans-Canada highway, with an information pack available to aid interpretation (Blamey, 2001).

Ecotourism developed 'within the womb' of the environmental movement in the 1970s and 1980s (Honey, 1999). Growing environmental concern coupled with an emerging dissatisfaction with mass tourism led to increased demand for nature-based experiences of an alternative nature. At the same time, less developed countries began to realize that nature-based tourism offers a means of earning foreign exchange and provides a less destructive use of resources than alternatives such as logging and agriculture (Honey, 1999). By the mid-1980s, a number of countries had identified ecotourism as a means of achieving both conservation and development goals.

The first formal definition of ecotourism is generally credited to Ceballos-Lascuráin (1987), who defined it as: travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective 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. While definitions such as that of Ceballos-Lascuráin (1987) and Boo (1990) tended to emphasize the nature-based experience sought by the tourist, more recent definitions have tended to highlight various principles associated with the concept of sustainable development.

Ecotourism integrates conservation and development goals. Being, the fastest growing sector of the tourism industry worldwide, ecotourism has received considerable recognition for more than a decade. This is partly due to the highly debated assumption that ecotourism has potential to provide ecological, socio-economic and cultural benefits at both local and national levels.

2.3 Ecotourism Development in Kenya

With a territory of 582, 646 km² and a habitat consisting of mostly arid and semi-arid savannahs, Kenya is considered as the 'old man' of nature tourism (Weaver, 1998). As a result, Kenya is well known for safari tourism based mainly on non-consumptive viewing. As such, much of the early research on the use of wildlife for non-consumptive tourism purposes occurred within Kenya, thereby helping to establish an economic rationale for ecotourism as a feasible option in comparison with other competing land

uses such as hunting and subsistence agriculture. In the 1970s, for instance, it was calculated that each male lion in Amboseli National Park would generate US \$ 515 000 in foreign exchange receipts over its 6-7 year life span as a maned adult, as compared with US \$ 8500 for trophy production which is, the amount spent on a 21-day hunt and about US \$ 1000 for the commercial sale of a lion skin. In other words, one maned lion, as a viewed resource, was estimated to generate the equivalent of 30,000 zebu cattle or 6400 steer, in terms of monetary contribution to the national economy (Weaver, 1998).

The development of ecotourism in Kenya was undoubtedly stimulated by the government's total prohibition on hunting in 1977, which eliminated a locally significant revenue-generating option and subsequently forced Kenyans to concentrate on the non-consumptive wildlife sector. The subsequent ease with which this transition evidently occurred can be attributed in part to the adaptability of the existing hunting facilities such as lodges and game parks to non-consumptive use (Weaver, 1998).

Ecotourism in Kenya is mostly associated with wildlife protected areas. The significance of wildlife and protected areas in Kenya was recognized by the post-independence government as documented in Sessional paper No. 10 of 1965 which states that the importance of wildlife to Kenya's future prosperity must be appreciated by everyone and national parks and reserves must be protected and conserved (GoK, 1965). The importance of wildlife protected areas to Kenya's ecotourism industry is revealed not only in the visitation numbers, but also in the fact that most lodges are located within, or

adjacent to, a relatively small number of publicly controlled parks and that infrastructure to accommodate significant ecotourism activities beyond these few entities is virtually non-existent.

Maasai Mara National Reserve (MMNR) accounts for 12% of the lodges, 16% of bed capacity, 67% of camp-sites and 74% of camping capacity in Kenya (Weaver, 1998). The reality of most ecosystems, for instance savannahs, is the dependency of migrating wildlife upon large tracts of land beyond the borders of formal protected areas. It is estimated, for instance, that 65-80% of Kenya's wild animals may be found outside the protected area network at any time (Weaver, 1998). It therefore follows that the integrity of wildlife resources depends upon the cooperation and goodwill of local people, whose legitimate right to occupy and use these buffer zones, however, must also be taken into account. Unfortunately, Kenya's protected-area system, and its ability to accommodate a legitimate ecotourism product, has been hampered by a history of alienation from local communities, a sentiment that has occasionally given way to outright hostility. Such animosity has been due to the colonial legacy as outlined in preceding section, which included non-existent consultation with local communities, large-scale land expropriations and the banning of traditional hunting in 1964, so that white hunters could attain a monopoly over the elimination of game animals threatening the expansion of the commercial cattle and plantation economy (Weaver, 1998).

Technically, it was illegal for peasant farmers to eliminate animals threatening local communities and economies or to use game as a source of protein. As a result, subsistence hunters were branded 'poachers', and entire communities, such as the Walianguru of southern Kenya were imprisoned (Weaver, 1998). Consequently, rural communities surrounding protected natural areas have little or no influence on decision making or the institutions of wildlife conservation and tourism management (Akama, 1996).

2.4 Eco-Rating Scheme

The eco-rating scheme is a sustainable tourism certification program that aims at promoting responsible tourism in East Africa. Launched in 2002 by Ecotourism Society Kenya in cooperation with tourism stakeholders, the program focuses on tourist accommodation facilities and awards qualifying applicants with bronze, silver or gold accreditation based on their performance. Eco-rating refers to a systematic approach for verifying a tourism organization's environmental, economic and socio-cultural performance when evaluated against an agreed set of criteria. The evaluation is meant to determine how responsible the operations of the facility are. The programme began in Kenya but has expanded to cover applicants from other countries within the East African Community. The overall objective of the scheme is to promote highest levels of environmental, economic and social practices within the tourism industry for sustainable growth of the sector (Munyoro, 2011).

The certification criterion covers environmental and socio-economic issues. Emphasis is laid on sustainable use of resources, protection of the environment and support of local economies through linkages and building of capacity of local communities and employees. The types of accommodation that qualify for rating include: hotels, lodges, camps, bush homes, home-stays and bandas (Munyoro, 2011). There are three categories of certification: bronze, silver and gold. Bronze eco-rating is the entry level and demonstrates a facility's awareness and commitment to environmental conservation, responsible resource use and socio-economic investment. Silver eco-rating demonstrates a move towards excellence. It is awarded to facilities that have shown innovation in responsible resource use, environmental conservation and socio-economic investment. Gold eco-rating is an indicator that a facility has achieved outstanding, superior and replicable levels of excellence in responsible resource use, environmental conservation and socio-economic investment (Munyoro, 2011).

2.5 Role and Significance of Ecotourism

Ecotourism has potential to deliver benefits to communities remote from centres of commerce, benefits that do not involve widespread social and environmental destruction. Too often in the past the only opportunities for many communities residing away from urban centers, particularly in the developing world, were provided by extractive industries among them mining, logging, fishing, livestock production and slash and burn agriculture, all of which had and continued to have detrimental impacts on local communities and often leave an unacceptable legacy of long-term environmental damage.

Ecotourism is often advocated for as a way of solving some of the problems that have arisen in developing nations through inappropriate economic growth (Wearing and Neil, 2009). Tourism is a diverse and decentralized industry, which affects other sectors of local economies. It is a 24-hour a day and 7-day a week industry labor-intensive, creating employment opportunities across all sectors and skill levels. However, conventional tourism brings with it many of the problems found in the exploitation of developing nations in the past. Ecotourism is often driven, owned and controlled by developed nations with a high return to these nations.

Conventional tour packages in many cases, for example, utilize local people through the use of their resources and labor at a minimum (or often zero) cost to the operator. Employment is often seasonal and lowly paid in contrast to the profits accruing to investors and operators. Such practices are defended on the pretext that if these operators did not initiate tourism then there would be no money injected into the community at all. Despite this, tourism can no longer be justified on its supposedly low impact-high return (Wearing and Neil, 2009).

Local communities are significantly vulnerable to the deleterious impacts of tourism development, particularly indigenous cultures as they directly experience the socio-cultural impacts of tourism. Neglect of conservation and quality of life issues threatens the very basis of local communities and a viable and sustainable tourism industry. As social and environmental benefits are essentially interdependent, social benefits accruing

to host communities as a result of ecotourism may have the result of increasing overall standards of living due to the localized economic stimulus provided for in increased visitation to the site. Similarly, environmental benefits accrue as host communities are persuaded to protect natural environments in order to sustain economically viable tourism (Wearing and Neil, 2009).

One of the main principles of ecotourism is its ability to maximize the benefits of tourism, not only in terms of income generation to a region but also in the preservation of social infrastructure and biosphere conservation. Specifically, these benefits include; increased demand for accommodation houses, and food and beverage outlets and therefore improved viability for new and established hotels, motels, guest houses and farm stays; increased revenue to local retail businesses and other services (for example, medical, banking, car hire, cottage industries, souvenir shops and tourist attractions); increased market for local products (for example, locally grown produce, artifacts and value-added goods), thereby sustaining traditional customs and practices; employment of local labor and expertise (for example, ecotour guides); source of funding for the protection and enhancement of natural attractions and volunteers for field work associated with wildlife research and archaeological studies and heightened community awareness of the value of indigenous culture and the natural environment.

As these benefits suggest ecotourism is about attracting visitors for the 'right' reasons and not simply promoting tourism for the sake of the 'tourist dollar' at the expense of a

community's natural and cultural attributes. Nevertheless, local communities are not immune from ecotourism impacts. The conflictual issues expressed by representatives of host communities to tourism development generally fall into a number of interrelated categories. These include: lack of opportunities for involvement in decision-making relating to ecotourism; inadequate responses from governments when administrative or legislative mechanisms have been established to involve them in such decision-making; the lack of financial, social and vocational benefits flowing to these communities from projects that commercially exploit what they regard as their resources; the need to establish better tools for evaluating socio-cultural impacts and ensuring this is completed over the more emphasized environmental impacts on the natural environments which are usually of more interest to the outside investors and conservation groups; impacts on community cohesion and structure; and the rapidity of tourism development that in many cases, significantly accelerates social change.

The foregoing concerns embrace a wide range of issues relating to the management of natural resources adjacent to local communities. The central issue is the inadequate levels of participation of these communities in the management of what they regard as their traditional domains (Wearing and Neil, 2009). In many cases tourists view indigenous cultures and local communities as 'products' of the tourism experience that exist to be 'consumed', along with all the other elements of their trip. As tourists are often paying to watch and photograph indigenous people the tourist feel that it is their 'right' to treat them accordingly- as providing a service, and as a product that they are purchasing as a

component of their travel cost. Significantly, however, many local cultures may actively 'construct' what appears to be an 'authentic' cultural display but which in reality is a staged event specifically for tourists' consumption. This phenomenon is known as 'staged authenticity'. These cultural performances often become detached from their actual cultural meaning and begin to be performed purely for the viewing public. Too often cultural attractions become overtly commercialized in nature, satisfying the visitors' needs but losing all meaning and significance for the indigenous communities (Wearing and Neil, 2009).

Similarly, indigenous communities often have little or no say over whether they want tourism and whether they derive real benefits from their 'performance'. Sustaining the well-being and the cultural traditions of the local community where ecotourism takes place becomes fundamental to the definitions of ecotourism. While one could argue that community participation is fundamental to the definition of ecotourism, full and effective participation of local communities in the planning and management of ecotourism is rarely a feature of ecotourism ventures. Consequently, this has led to the marginalization of local communities.

By developing an appreciation of local communities and their customs and traditions, a process of mutual respect and understanding between societies can be greatly enhanced and the achievement of successful interaction between hosts and guests will only benefit and sustain the well-being of local communities. An ecotourism venture may also in some

instances bring villagers together to work collaboratively on planning and delivering products and services to visitors. Local communities can benefit from ecotourism economically if they play a greater participatory role in the tourism process. The greater the control over tourism in their region, the more culturally sustainable they will become (Wearing and Neil, 2009).

Ecotourism has been hailed as a panacea to development since it takes into consideration environmental conservation, socio-cultural harmony and economic sustainability. Ecotourism is seen as a catalyst for encouraging ecologically sustainable development. In this regard, sustainable development is a form of managed economic growth that occurs within the context of sound environmental stewardship; implying that development's present needs must not jeopardize the ability of future generations to meet their needs (Sindiga, 1999). Economic sustainability is guided by the precept of maximizing foreign exchange earnings, income and employment of the tourism destination's residents.

Ecotourism has potential of supporting economic development of destination regions. For example, ecotourist's expenditure is injected directly into hotels, shops, restaurants and recreational facilities. Indirect benefits from tourist expenditure may be in the form of local tax revenues, improvements in the infrastructure of destination areas and extensions of community services. Demands by tourists for specific items, such as souvenirs, stimulate local entrepreneurial activity, providing additional local employment and income (Mathieson and Wall, 1982).

Ecotourism development will generally, give rise to different benefits and costs in different areas. Areas adjacent to wildlife protected areas usually have low levels of income, uneven distribution of income and wealth, high levels of unemployment, a heavy dependence on pastoralism and other subsistence activities for income and high levels of foreign ownership of tourism ventures. The relevance of ecotourism to transform rural life, in these areas, is that income from international travel can bring the foreign exchange and revenue essential for major investment. In addition to the ability of ecotourism to generate foreign exchange, it can also relieve the shortage of foreign earnings, while alleviating problems of unemployment.

Ecotourism also has the potential of contributing to the process of economic development through supplementing national balance of payments, creating employment, intersectoral linkages, infrastructural investments and multiplier effects of tourist expenditures. One of the first tasks of economic development is to find gainful employment for all people (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Areas adjacent to wildlife protected areas are usually characterized by high unemployment and the ability of tourism to use labor intensively is an important virtue of the industry. When compared with many other industries, tourism requires employees with relatively low levels of job specialization. Thus, it may be possible to absorb a large proportion of the work-force from traditional sectors of the economy with a minimum of training.

One of the appeals of ecotourism as a vehicle for economic development lies in the rapid rate of growth in numbers of tourists emanating from developed nations and in the expectation that increased affluence in these nations will be reflected in faster rates of tourist generation (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). However, tourism's economic development process has been challenged. Leakages of foreign exchange earnings are a major obstacle to the positive contribution of tourism to development. Leakage is the process whereby part of the foreign exchange earnings generated by tourism, rather than being retained by the tourist-receiving countries, is either retained by the tourist generating countries or remitted back to them. It takes the form of profit, income and royalty remittances.

2.6 An overview of Communities Living Adjacent to Wildlife Protected Areas

During the establishment of wildlife protected areas, people were forcefully removed from their ancestral land and resettled outside their borders. The former were declared protected thus denying indigenous people the right to live on their ancestral land inside the designated areas and this has made such rural communities poorer than they originally were (Wishitemi, 2008). It is estimated that there may be 14 to 24 million 'environmental refugees' as a result of exclusionary conservation in Africa alone (Adams and Hutton, 2007). In 2004, for example, 500 people were removed from the Nechisar National Park in southern Ethiopia and resettled outside its borders by the government of Ethiopia (Adams and Hutton, 2007). Bushmen were also evicted from the Central

Kalahari Game Reserve by the Botswana government (Adams and Hutton, 2007). In Kenya, most national parks and reserves were carved out of lands previously used by the Maasai and other pastoral communities immediately after the Second World War.

Currently, there are debates among academicians, researchers and human rights activists about the place of people on land set aside for conservation of nature. The debate revolves around the questions: For whom are such areas set aside? by whose authority? and at what cost? These issues are central to the growing public and policy debate about the social impacts of conservation. The debate is much broader than just the question of displacement of people from parks. It embraces the whole relation between biodiversity conservation and human welfare. Considering that, community displacement from protected areas has a direct impact on livelihoods. Forced resettlement exposes displaced people and those in receiving communities to a wide range of risks that enhance impoverishment. These include landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, economic marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, loss of access to common property and services, and social dislocation (Adams and Hutton, 2007).

The first national parks were established in the United States of America (USA) in the late nineteenth century and widely copied internationally in subsequent decades. The number of protected areas expanded rapidly following World War II, especially in regions such as Africa, which underwent a 'conservation boom' at that time (Adams and Hutton, 2007). Through years of refinement, six categories of protected areas are recognized

globally ranging from the highly exclusionary category 1 and 2 (which include the classic National Parks) and a variety of other kinds of protected areas that are more accommodative of human activities, such as protected landscapes and reserves which are intended to maintain the flow of products and services for human society. By 2005, over 100,000 protected areas covered more than 2 million km² or 12 per cent of the earth's land surface (Adams and Hutton, 2007).

According to Wishitemi (2008) protected areas are now covering an area of about 13.25 million km² of global land surface. In Kenya land under protected areas currently accounts for 8% or 7, 194, 000 ha consisting of 10 million acres of over 65 national parks, reserves and private sanctuaries (Wishitemi, 2008). The social impact of protected areas began to be widely recognized in the 1970s. The idea that parks should be socially and economically inclusive slowly began to become part of mainstream conservation thinking. Despite this, the specific issue of the displacement of people from protected areas was recognized by the 1970s (Adams and Hutton, 2007).

In 1975, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) General Assembly passed the Kinshasa Resolution on the protection of traditional ways of life, calling on governments not to displace people from protected areas and to take specific account of the needs of indigenous communities (Adams and Hutton, 2007). By the 1980s, the whole conservation paradigm had changed to feature social inclusion rather than exclusion. This was based on the fact that, conservation can best be achieved by giving

rural people a direct economic interest in the survival of species. Besides, consensus in the wake of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) suggests that implementation of sustainable development should be based on local-level solutions derived from community initiatives. Statements of intent on global environmental problems issued following the 1992 Earth Summit (including Agenda 21), and the Desertification Convention, strongly advocate, as solutions, a combination of government decentralization, devolution to local communities of responsibility for natural resources held as commons and community participation (Wishitemi, 2008). Such approaches argue for co-management initiatives including appropriate sharing of responsibilities for natural resource management between national and local governments, civic organizations and local communities (Leach *et al.*, 1999).

In spite of the recommendation that indigenous people's rights and needs should be integrated in the conservation planning agenda, conservation benefits have been unequally shared. Moreover, a large proportion of the income from tourism taking place in protected areas never reaches the indigenous people. As long as their standard of living remains low, no amount of argument or persuasion is likely to stop poaching entirely while the incentive of securing cash for animal trophies is high (Mathieson and Wall, 1982).

It is important to note that the African national parks and wild-lands yield a greater return in their natural form than if they were used for cultivation or grazing. In economic terms,

the marginal loss of food from declaring Serengeti out of bounds to agriculture is more than compensated for by the gain in utility in having the animals conserved (Mathieson and Wall, 1982) and tourism has been largely responsible for this. On the other hand, African natives require food for survival and are forced to seek areas on the margins of national parks for cultivation and grazing since benefits of tourism never reach these people and their attitudes towards conservation are swamped by their attempts to survive (Mathieson and Wall, 1982).

A major task which must be faced by the East African tourism industry is the justification of national parks as a means of meeting the needs of the local community, as well as tourists and nature lovers. A major challenge is therefore to provide land, food and work for a growing population while conserving the wildlife heritage. There are no easy answers. Policies of outright protection of parks have served well enough to date but, given the pressures on the land and wildlife of Africa, such policies may not be in accord with the legitimate needs of the people of the region. Any strategy which threatens the existence of the parks is not acceptable, but if the lives of local residents are in jeopardy because of inadequate supply of land and food, then policies of strict protection seem equally deplorable (Mathieson and Wall, 1982).

Managing the interface between tourism development, the conservation of wildlife as a tourism resource and the needs of local inhabitants residing in or near wildlife tourism areas have been the subjects of three decades of debate. Sustainability of wildlife

resources is the core goal of conservation practice and this depends upon the roles of and support from hosts. Hosts interact with the wildlife tourist and the wildlife resource and the nature of this interaction will have implications for the long-term viability of wildlife tourism (Wall and Mathieson, 2006). The perceptions and attitudes of the hosts towards wildlife tourism and the wildlife resource itself are central to this discussion. These attitudes vary as host interactions with the wildlife tourists and wildlife also vary. However, they cover a wide continuum ranging from care, concern and conservation to open hostility.

Most authors among them Sindiga (1995), Akama (1996) and Wishitemi (2008) have questioned the viability of this three-way interface and have drawn pessimistic conclusions concerning host communities: displacement or relocation from their home environment and subsequent reductions in standard of living, competition and conflict over land use with wildlife, lack of access to natural resources and conflict over the distribution of tourist revenues (Mvula, 2001).

Without addressing the foregoing challenges, as well as issues pertaining to socio-economic benefits accruing from conservation for communities living adjacent to parks and reserves, wildlife and other natural resources could in the long run not be managed in a sustainable manner. Further, should the economic benefits not reach the local people, the very basis of ecotourism will be put in jeopardy (Sindiga, 1999). To avert this, local people in the neighborhoods of protected areas need to see meaningful improvement in

their standards of living and economic fortunes if they are to continue participating in biodiversity conservation (Sindiga, 1999).

2.7 Ecotourism and Socio- Economic Development

Socio-economic development is concerned with a variety of aspects relating to the quality of life. It includes references to healthcare, food, nutrition, safe drinking water, sanitation, shelter, education levels of the population, the welfare of the poorer segments of the population and the proportion of gross national product that is attributable to agriculture (Jafari, 2000). The main thrust of the argument is that socio-economic development should result in a more educated population with less income inequalities, where other industries besides agriculture are responsible for generating income and employment opportunities, and that there must be some indigenous self-sustained technological change. The term development within the context of conservation and local communities always includes some reference to self-growth (Jafari, 2000).

While Nafziger (1984) and Mudida (2009) define economic development as an increase in per capita income associated with an improvement in the indicators of the quality of life such as adult literacy, infant mortality, life expectancy and ratio of the population per doctor, socio-economic development addresses not only material deprivation but also life-chances such as human rights, dignity, security and participation in political processes (Holden, 2008). In this regard, socio-economic development offers the freedom to work to earn an income, access education, healthcare and democratic participation.

According to Holden (2008) socio-economic development affords the ability to access sufficient resources to meet socially recognized needs and to participate in wider society. The ability to participate in wider society may take the form of an ability to join in activities and to enjoy the living standards that are customary in the societies to which people belong (Holden, 2008). Consequently, people feel that they are included in the mainstream of society and have access to opportunities to fulfill their own potential. Thus socio-economic development is not just being in an advantaged and secure economic condition, but also enjoying non- material aspects, such as respect, dignity, honor, self-esteem, pride, having power and enhanced citizenship. It determines the kind of life that a person is able to lead and the choices and opportunities open to them.

Basic human needs- such as avoiding a premature death, avoiding sickness that is preventable, having adequate nourishment, and having shelter and clothing- are key indicators of socio-economic development alongside income level. More complex achievements would include taking part in community activities, leading a happy and stimulating life, and respect for oneself and for others (Holden, 2008). Closely linked to having opportunities to improve one's life are capabilities, which denote what a person 'can' do or be, and includes the range of choices open to them (Sen, 1999). Sen further notes that the concept of freedom includes political, educational and personal freedoms (Sen, 1999). These are determinatory for an individual's access to resources from which they may realize their capabilities. Without these freedoms they may face a form of social exclusion. In the case of tourism, social exclusion might be experienced as an inability to

have any participation in its economic benefits. For example, hawkers of handicrafts in developing countries may find that they are denied access to tourists, as a consequence of the tourists' movements being controlled by the established tourism industry, for example, from a hotel enclave or cruise ship to a visitor attraction. Also, local people may find that because of tourism development, they are excluded from access to natural resources that are necessary for their livelihoods (Holden, 2008).

Various attempts have been made to measure socio-economic development. Key among them is the categorization provided by the United Nations Human Development Index (Mudida, 2009). Built into the Human Development Index are indicators that reflect three basic dimensions of human development. These are a long and healthy life (measured by life expectancy); being educated (measured by adult literacy and enrolment at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels) and a decent standard of living (measured by purchasing power parity) (Holden, 2008). According to this index countries can only claim to be developed when basic needs such as widespread access to education, health, food and employment are fulfilled.

Therefore, socio-economic development is about more than purely being able to meet one's most basic needs for subsistence and survival. It also encompasses acquisition of freedoms and capabilities to function in life and realize one's potential. Subsequently, whilst income may be an indicator of socio-economic development, so are people's freedoms and opportunities to fulfill their potential. Such opportunities would include

access to education, healthcare and democracy. In this regard, economists have hailed the 'Basic Human Needs' approach as an appropriate development paradigm designed to help the poor meet basic needs. Consequently, the need for national governments to help communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas to meet their basic needs cannot be overemphasized.

There are divergent opinions on the potential of ecotourism as a panacea for promoting socio-economic development particularly around wildlife protected areas. For instance, while some scholars emphasize the potential for ecotourism to promote the well-being of both local people and their environments (Hvenegaard, 1994), others such as (Ziffer, 1989; Boo, 1990; Cater and Lowman, 1994) caution us from uncritically accepting ecotourism as a common good. As Cater (1993) notes, there is real danger in viewing ecotourism as the universal panacea, and the ecotourist as some magic breed, mitigating all tourism's ills. Romantic notions about the virtues of ecotourism do still seem to guide much of the interest in this sector, with many governmental agencies and tourism academics being caught up in the 'sexy', supposedly 'new' forms of tourism such as ecotourism and cultural tourism. As a consequence, there is some mistaken belief that these forms of tourism are somehow ethically superior (Hall and Butler, 1995).

Thomlinson and Getz (1996) argue that, in practice, the term ecotourism is often used merely as a marketing tool, since this form of tourism is sometimes ethically inferior. When business is the main driving force behind ecotourism it is not surprising that the ventures which emerge may serve to alienate, rather than benefit, local communities. In

the South Pacific, for instance, the concept of ecotourism has been promoted within a particularly narrow band of conservation and business thought which has often failed to appreciate the role of social and political values within sustainable tourism development (Rudkin and Hall, 1996). Apparently, therefore, there is a need for an approach to ecotourism which starts from the needs, concerns and welfare of local host communities (Scheyvens, 1999). Towards this end, this study proposes an approach to ecotourism that will not only benefit local communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas both socially and economically, but also help to conserve the environment.

2.8 Community-Based Ecotourism and its role in Promoting Socio-economic Development

Community based ecotourism has received significant attention as a more ethical form of ecotourism aimed at improving the welfare of host communities. Community based ecotourism (CBE) refers to tourism that advocates for the needs, concerns and welfare of host communities and also recognizes the need to promote both the quality of life of people and conservation of resources (Scheyvens, 1999). This form of ecotourism aims at meeting the needs of the host community in terms of improved living standards both in the short and long term.

Community based ecotourism recognizes, supports and promotes community ownership of tourism. Secondly, it promotes community pride, improves quality of life, ensures environmental sustainability, preserves the unique character and culture of the local area,

fosters cross-cultural learning, respects cultural differences and human dignity and distributes benefits fairly among community members. In this regard, community based ecotourism ventures are environmentally sensitive initiatives which aim at ensuring that members of local communities have a high degree of control over the activities taking place in their areas and a significant proportion of the benefits accrue to them (Scheyvens, 1999). This is in contrast to ecotourism ventures which are controlled wholly by outside operators, and is also distinct from contexts in which most of the economic benefits of tourism accrue to the government. For example, while the slogan for East Africa 'wildlife pays so wildlife stays' is apt, to date it has mainly 'paid' to governments, foreign tourism companies and local entrepreneurs, rather than returning benefits to local communities (Scheyvens, 1999).

A community-based approach to ecotourism recognizes the need to promote both the quality of life of the people and conservation of resources. It is now recognized in parts of Africa, for example, that local people should be compensated for the loss of access to resources they suffer when wildlife parks are created. For example, the Narok County Council which has jurisdiction over the Maasai Mara National Reserve puts money into a trust fund which is used to fund schools, cattle dips and health services which benefit the entire community (Sindiga, 1995). Though, there is paucity of research investigating the effect of those interventions on the quality of life of the adjacent communities.

Scheyvens (1999) asserts that in New Zealand, the Maori communities are using ecotourism as a means of sustainably utilizing physical resources at their disposal in a way which has provided employment options. *Ngai Tahu*, for example, are training local people to deliver information to compliment tourist activities such as a highly successful whale watch venture. The aim is to ensure that *Ngai Tahu* people are well trained so that ecotourism can be both socially and economically sustainable, revive respect for traditions and enhance local livelihoods by providing an income for many previously unemployed people (Scheyvens, 1999). In contrast, it has been noted that some ecotourism operators such as the most enlightened South African ones, involve local communities primarily for public relations value with little commitment to supporting the rights of indigenous people to benefit from their traditional land and wildlife (Scheyvens, 1999).

Responsible community-based ecotourism considers not only social and environmental goals but also economic goals, where in the later the aspect of how ecotourism can meet the needs of the host community in terms of improved living standards both in the short and long term is considered (Scheyvens, 1999).

This perspective differs somewhat from those approaching ecotourism predominantly from an environmental perspective. Buckley (1994) for example, devised a framework which proposes that ecotourism is based on nature tourism which is sustainably managed, includes environmental education and supports conservation. While Buckley's framework

helps in understanding that ecotourism is much more than just a product, what is proposed fails to consider whether the quality of life of local communities will be enhanced by ecotourism activities. On the other hand, Lindberg *et al.* (1996) take an economic perspective when they examine ecotourism case studies from Belize. While they consider the extent to which ecotourism generates economic benefits to local communities, they do not account for how the greater amount of money entering communities might be distributed (Scheyvens, 1999). Despite this, the role of ecotourism in promoting community welfare and socio-economic development in general cannot be overemphasized.

2.9 Ecotourism and Community Empowerment

The approach taken in promoting ecotourism is critical to its success in terms of promoting the well-being of both local people and their environments (Scheyvens, 1999). In order for local people to maximize benefits from ecotourism and have control over its development in their regions, Akama (1996) has suggested that alternative ecotourism initiatives which aim at empowering local people are needed. In this regard, Akama has remarked that:

.....the local communities need to be empowered to decide what forms of tourism facilities and wildlife conservation programmes 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).

Scheyvens (1999) devised an empowerment framework to provide a mechanism with which the effectiveness of ecotourism initiatives, in terms of their impacts on local

communities can be determined. She synthesized four determinants of empowerment which bring impacts of ecotourism initiatives to local communities. These include: economic empowerment that ensures long-term economic returns; psychological empowerment that enhances confidence, sense of pride and self-esteem of communities; social empowerment that promotes community cohesiveness, camaraderie and community development; and political empowerment which strengthens local political structure and local participation in making voices of different groups heard.

This framework lays emphasis on the importance of local communities having some control over and sharing in the benefits of ecotourism initiatives in their area. The rationale behind it; is that ecotourism should promote conservation and development at the local level through increased community status and self-esteem, lasting economic benefits, community development and decision-making. On the other hand, empowerment framework has been viewed by some scholars such as Neth (2008) as lacking significant insights into how ecotourism could work to change or improve the system of community livelihoods. In spite of that, it remains an effective measurement tool since it allows for the consideration of locally perceived benefits over measurable outcomes.

2.9.1 Economic Empowerment

When considering whether or not a community has been economically empowered by an ecotourism venture, it is necessary to consider opportunities which have arisen in terms

of both formal and informal sector employment and business opportunities. While some economic gains are usually experienced by a community, problems may develop if these are periodic and cannot provide a regular and reliable income. Concerns may arise over inequity in the spread of economic benefits. It is problematic to assume that a 'community' consists of a homogeneous and/or egalitarian group with shared goals since power brokers in any society will have considerable influence over who shares in the benefits of tourism projects (Scheyvens, 1999).

Past studies among them Liu (1994), Mansperger (1995) and Akama (1996) have suggested that local elites, particularly men, often co-opt and come to dominate community-based development efforts, thereby monopolizing the economic benefits of tourism. Hence in determining the success and sustainability of an ecotourism venture, the distribution of economic benefits from ecotourism is just as important as the actual amount of benefits a community may receive. Economic empowerment or disempowerment can also refer to the local community's access to productive resources in an area targeted for ecotourism (Scheyvens, 1999). For example, the establishment of protected areas typically reduces access to hunting and agricultural lands. In addition, protection of wildlife species such as elephants may result in destruction of crops and injuries to livestock and people.

A good case study where ecotourism has been a tool in promoting community empowerment is cited by Scheyvens (1999) who asserts that in New Zealand the Maori

communities are using ecotourism as a means of sustainably utilizing physical resources at their disposal in a way which has provided employment options. *Ngai Tahu* are training local people to disseminate information to compliment tourist activities such as a highly successful whale watch venture. The aim is to ensure that *Ngai Tahu* people are well trained so that ecotourism can be both socially and economically sustainable thus reviving respect for traditions and enhancing local livelihoods by providing an income for many previously unemployed people (Scheyvens, 1999).

In Kenya, one of the generally regarded successful cases of ecotourism, as well as community involvement and empowerment in wildlife conservation is the Mwaluganje Community Elephant Sanctuary. This is a community- owned and managed 6000 acre elephant sanctuary adjacent to Shimba Hills National Reserve. The sanctuary was started when United States Agency for International Development (USAID), through its Conservation of Bio Diverse Resource Areas (COBRA) program, funded Kenya Wildlife Service to help the local farming community establish the sanctuary on their land. The region had for a long time served as a dispersal corridor for elephants on their migration between Shimba Hills National Reserve and the Mwaluganje forest (Wishitemi, 2008). This sanctuary has provided jobs to the local community as guards and game scouts. Besides, revenues from the sanctuary have enabled the community to build classrooms, improve road network and enjoy a steady water supply.

In addition, Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary, in conjunction with the Born Free Foundation, has developed an education bursary scheme to pay school fees for needy students. In 2000, the Mwaluganje community was able to allocate part of its revenue to sponsor 45 primary school pupils, a great achievement in education in the area. Thus the community conservation scheme has improved school enrolment and enhanced pupils' performance in the area that once had the lowest levels of literacy in Kwale District. A 2002 economic analysis indicates that the shareholders' earnings were twice as much per acre from running the sanctuary than they could from farming corn (Wishitemi, 2008). As a result, the project has led to not only an increased community tolerance and appreciation of wildlife hence minimizing human-wildlife conflict in the area but also socio-economic well-being of the local community.

Other successful ecotourism initiatives have been reported elsewhere. For instance, Kephher-Gona (2008) assessed hotels and lodges in South Africa and subsequently documented the following three cases. First, a 300 bed hotel in Cape Town had invented ways of economically empowering its adjacent local people. Among its many outstanding programmes, is a laundry initiative that not only addresses the need to have trade linkages with local communities, but also economically empowers women. The hotel supported a women group from its neighborhood to set up a laundry facility by providing the equipment and training.

The enterprise has evolved over time, to not only cater for the hotel's laundry needs but also provide laundry services to the residents of the township and other restaurants in the area. Secondly, a 15 bed backpack hotel in the outskirts of Cape Town through support of its clients had built and supported a child care centre in a nearby township to provide care to toddlers, thus enabling their mothers to work. Finally, another lodge had a unique approach of empowering the youth in its neighboring township through an adult training programme giving life skills to youth with no academic qualifications.

On the other hand, Lindberg *et al.* (1996) while studying ecotourism initiatives in Belize found that of those households which reported direct damage to fish, livestock or crops by protected area wildlife, less than one-third received direct economic benefits from ecotourism. Importantly, equitable distribution of benefits is of concern not only to the local people but also to conservationists given that local people will only continue to support conservation of protected areas if benefits from these areas promote not only their development but also their areas (Sindiga, 1999).

2.9.2 Political Empowerment

If a community is to be politically empowered by ecotourism, their voices and concerns should guide the development of any ecotourism project from the feasibility stage through to its implementation. As such, local communities should provide a structure for not only determining the most appropriate scale of economic activity but also for more effective planning, implementation and monitoring of eco-tourism initiatives (Wishitemi,

2008). In this regard, diverse interest groups within a community, including women and youth, should have representation on community and broader decision-making bodies. In concurrency, Akama (1996) argues that for local communities to be able to exert some control over ecotourism activities; power needs to be decentralized from the national to the community level. This devolution could include involving grassroots organizations, local church groups and indigenous institutions in decision-making processes and on representative bodies such as national parks' boards or regional tourism associations (Scheyvens, 1999).

Il Ngwesi Group Ranch in Northern Kenya presents an example of an ecotourism enterprise that has politically empowered its community, whereby eco-tourism development to a greater extent is being initiated and driven by community members. As a result, there is substantial involvement of the local community in identifying the resources to be maintained and enhanced, and developing strategies for ecotourism development and management (Kieti, 2007). In this regard, the success of Il Ngwesi group ranch suggests the need for a community-led ecotourism development model. Thus it can be argued that the manner in which ecotourism development is approached is critical to its success in terms of promoting the well-being of local people, either individually or communally.

The Ololosokwan community in Tanzania provides another case where a local community is involved in the planning, implementation and monitoring of eco-tourism

development. This community passed by-laws which provide a range of statutory controls on natural resource use in the village and a land-use plan designating the bulk of village lands to integrated pastoralism and wildlife-based tourism. Local government and land tenure legislation provided the initial legal basis and framework for developing tourism activities at the village level in the community. The community pays its own game scouts for policing resource manipulation and use in the village and this has improved the community's stewardship over their resources (Wishitemi, 2008).

2.9.3 Psychological Empowerment

Scheyvens (1999) argues that a local community which is optimistic about the future, has faith in the abilities of its residents, is relatively self-reliant and demonstrates pride in traditions and culture can be said to be psychologically powerful. In many small-scale, unindustrialized societies, preservation of tradition is extremely important in terms of maintaining a group's sense of self-esteem and well being (Mansperger, 1995). Ecotourism which is sensitive to cultural norms and builds respect for local traditions can, therefore, be empowering to local people. On the other hand, ecotourism which interferes with customs by, for example, interfering with the integral relationship between a group of people and their land, may have devastating effects. Mansperger (*ibid*) describes how groups of Yagua Indians of the Peruvian and Colombian Amazon have been relocated by tour operators into regions more accessible to tourists. The Yagua have consequently become dependent on money raised from cultural performances, and their obligations to the tour operators implies that they have insufficient time to raise crops,

hunt and fish, and no land on which to engage in slash-and-burn agriculture. In spite of the economic benefits associated with ecotourism, the Yagua have been plagued by various forms of ill-health, apathy and depression (Mansperger, 1995). These feelings, along with disillusionment and confusion, often indicate psychological disempowerment of a community.

2.9.4 Social Empowerment

Social empowerment refers to a situation in which a community's sense of cohesion and integrity has been confirmed or strengthened by an activity such as ecotourism. Strong community groups, including youth groups, church groups and women's groups, may be signs of an empowered community. Social empowerment is perhaps most clearly a result of ecotourism when profits from the tourism activity are used to fund social development projects (Scheyvens, 1999). For instance, Il Ngwesi Group Ranch presents a best example of an ecotourism initiative that has greatly enhanced social empowerment of its members, whereby, earnings from ecotourism have been utilized in funding social development projects such as schools, health clinics, cattle dips, bursaries, water supply and purchase of land (Kieti, 2007).

On the other hand, social disempowerment may occur if tourist activities result in crime, begging, perceptions of crowding, displacement from traditional lands, loss of authenticity or prostitution (Mansperger, 1995). Ecotourism is not, by nature, immune

from these problems. Inequities in distribution of the benefits of ecotourism can also lead to social disempowerment through feelings of ill-will and jealousy which they may foster. For example, one village chief in Yap, Federated States of Micronesia, kept all the entrance fees to his village for himself which led to some community members feeling that ‘money is making people stingy and therefore harming community spirit’ (Sofield and Birtles, 1996:90). In a proposed ecotourism development in Lauvi Lagoon, Solomon Islands, a local ‘big man’ tried to initiate ecotourism development with minimal consultation with others in the community, thus resulting in considerable dissension (Rudkin and Hall, 1996). To assume that communities will share unproblematically in the production and benefits of the ecotourism product; may be excessively romantic (Taylor, 1995). Clearly in all communities there are inequalities which may be exacerbated by the introduction of a somewhat lucrative industry to which all will not have access.

2.10 Theoretical Framework

It is worth noting that for ecotourism enterprises to have a positive effect on socio-economic development of communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas there is need to focus on priority needs. Abraham Maslow in 1943 developed the idea of a ‘hierarchy of needs’, represented as a pyramid that must be met in a specific order for humans to develop (Figure 2.1). At the bottom of the pyramid are the most basic human needs such as food, shelter and security, without which the realization of any of the other needs is not possible and at the very top is self-actualization (Simons *et al.*, 1987).

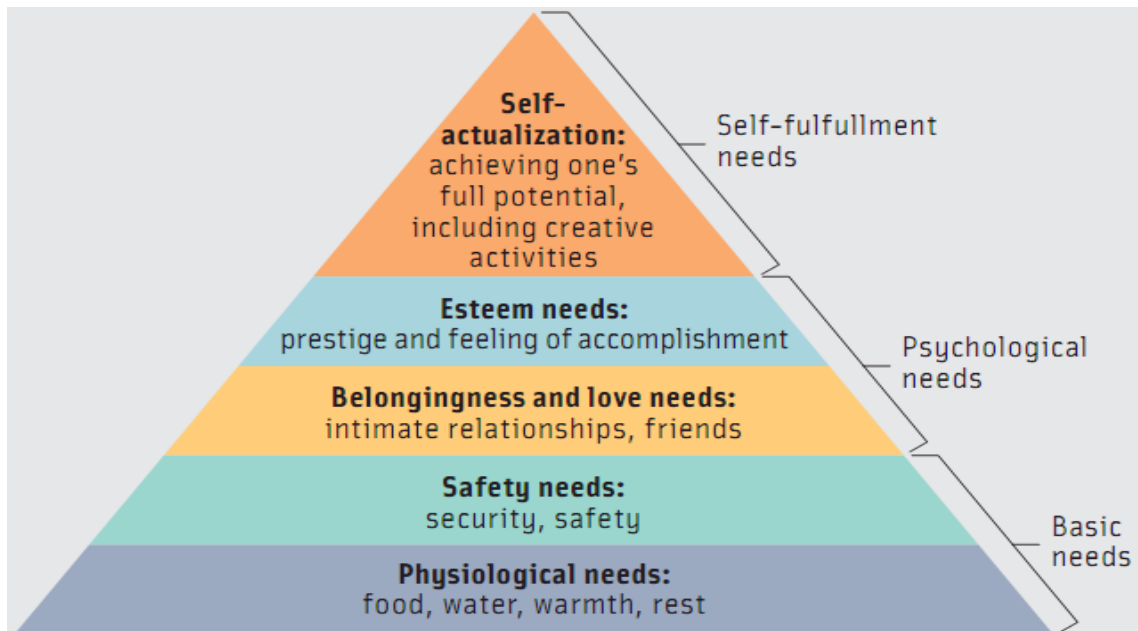


Figure 2.1: Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Pyramid

Source: Poston (2009)

The needs identified by Maslow include:

- Physiological needs such as air, water, food and health.
- Safety needs which include security; stability; dependency; protection; freedom from fear, anxiety and chaos; need for structure, order and law.
- Needs for belonging such as love, affection, sense of belonging and sense of community.
- Needs for esteem including confidence, independence and freedom, status, fame and dominance, recognition, attention, importance, dignity and appreciation;
- Needs for self- actualization which is need to become what one is capable of becoming (Simons *et al.*, 1987).

Maslow argued that once physiological needs are met, individuals then are able to address the need for safety and security, including freedom from danger and absence of threat. Once safety has been assured, love and belonging which are found within families, friendships, membership in associations, and within the community, then become a priority (Maslow, 1954). When the first three classes of needs are satisfied, the needs for esteem can become dominant. These involve needs for both self-esteem and for the esteem a person gets from others. Satisfaction of the self-esteem need leads to feelings of self-confidence, worth, strength, capability and adequacy of being useful and necessary in the world. When all of the foregoing needs are satisfied, then and only then are the needs for self-actualization needs are satisfied by opportunities to develop talents to the full and to achieve personal goals (Tyson and York, 1996).

In this regard, impressive economic indices do not equate with meaningful development if unaccompanied by healthy social 'quality of life' indicators as identified in Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Among the more obvious quantifiable examples are: adequate levels of nutrition and caloric intake; high quality housing, with a low ratio of residents per room or household space; widespread availability of potable water; high life expectancy; low infant mortality rates and high levels of functional adult literacy (Weaver, 1998). Besides, equal-gender-opportunity environment and a high participation rate of female in the labor force are important measures of socio-economic development.

Therefore, ecotourism enterprises can only have a positive effect on socio-economic development of communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas through embracing Maslow's hierarchy of needs. If Maslow's hierarchy of needs is to be embraced ecotourism enterprises' socio-economic development agenda must start by first satisfying the basic human survival needs (physiological and safety needs) such as food, shelter, water, health, education, transport, household goods, as well as participation, cultural identity and a sense of purpose in life and work. It is only after these are satisfied that further efforts can be directed to higher levels of aspiration such as self actualization.

2.11 Conceptual Framework

As indicated in the foregoing sections, ecotourism's key concern is to maximize the positive social and economic effects of tourism in terms of foreign exchange earnings, income and employment opportunities within its host community. This type of tourism creates opportunities at the host community level for local people wishing to participate more fully in the tourism industry. Under the concept of sustainable tourism, the core principle of ecotourism is the integration of economic and social benefits, natural and cultural resource conservation and grassroots democracy. This kind of tourism is brought about by host community participation and subsequent benefiting.

The involvement of the host community in ecotourism enterprises can promote several important national objectives such as faster economic growth, improved welfare and equity, empowerment of the local community and improved resource conservation

(Wishitemi, 2008). It is better for private investors to work with host communities so as to arrive at development plans that satisfy the needs and aspirations of the host community while accomplishing other objectives. Successful ecotourism enterprises are those that hand over responsibilities and benefits to host communities, resulting in actual community empowerment as described in figure 2.2 below.

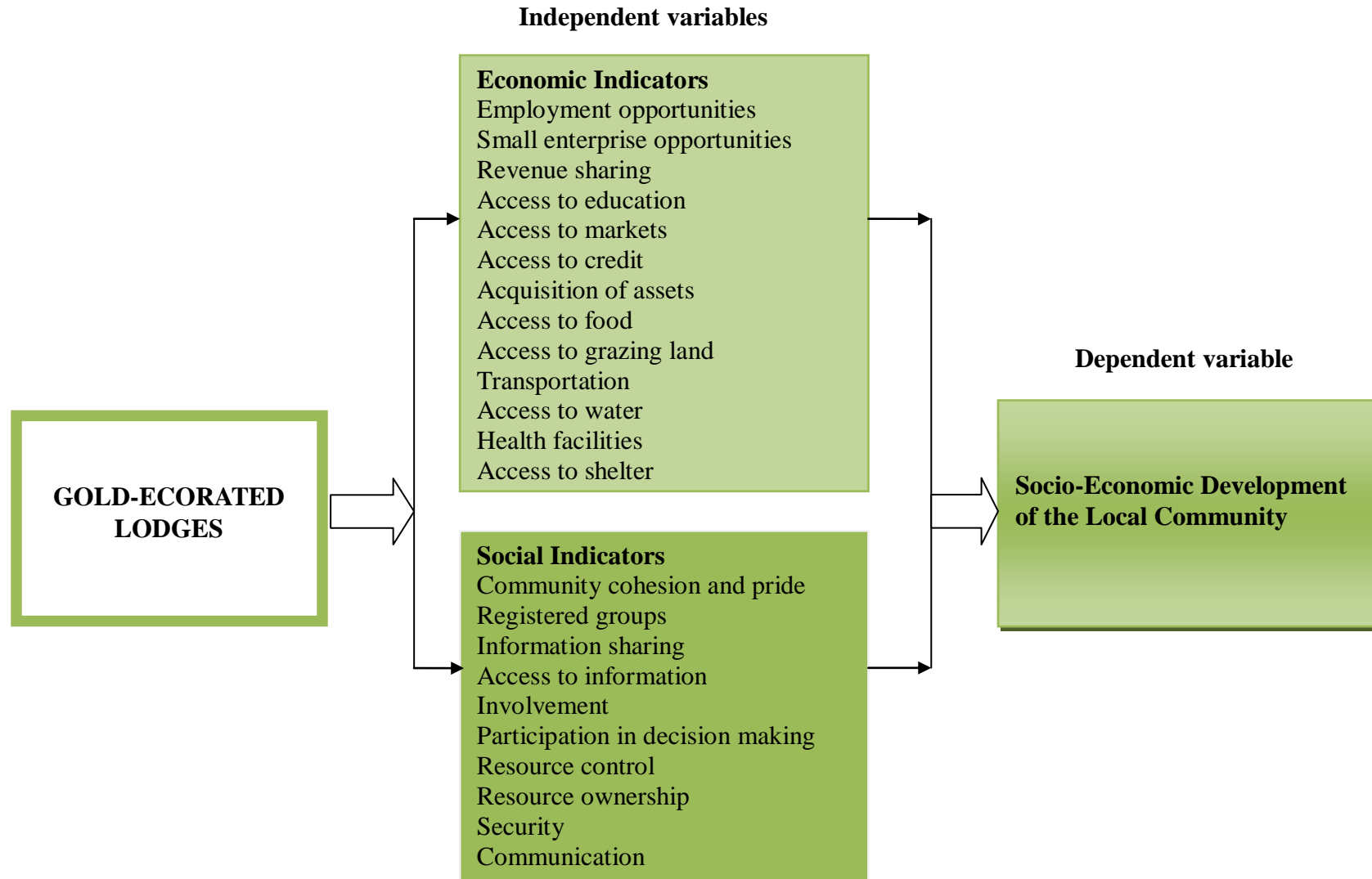


Figure 2.2: Conceptual framework for the study

Source: Researcher, 2012

Ecotourism enterprises have the potential of generating both social and economic effects to host communities. Subsequent sections discuss these effects in details.

Social Effects

The social effects of ecotourism enterprises are measured in terms of their changes on social way of life, social relations and social conflict (Wishitemi, 2008). Such a form of tourism can enhance a host community's social way of life, as could be evidenced in the preservation of social relations, community cohesion and pride, lifestyles and culture. Economic benefits trickling down to the host community can for example, enhance the social relations between members of a host community through improvement of their prestige. Ecotourism can also bring about social conflict among members of a host community. For instance, there may exist internal conflict, mistrust and jealousy among the participants of ecotourism enterprises due to inequitable distribution of income. Importantly social relationships among members of the host community can be enhanced through equitable participation in decision making, resource control and ownership, effective communication, information sharing and organization of social groups.

Economic Effects

Effective ecotourism enterprises should have several economic advantages such as generation of income, provision of market for local agricultural commodities, stimulation of small and medium enterprises and enhanced revenue sharing. In order to achieve this, involvement of the host community is essential. Local communities would like to benefit

in terms of water supply, capital, assets, grazing pastures, health facilities, better ways of communication, improved transportation network and more educational opportunities from ecotourism enterprises.

Socio- Economic Development

All of the above discussed positive effects combine to empower the local community in many aspects of socio-economic development. Such benefits include literacy and capacity enhancement and significant sustainable control over resources that are rightfully theirs. This will ultimately lead to improved quality of life among communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the research methodology used in the study. It covers the study area, research design, target population, sampling techniques and sample selection, data collection methods and instruments, data analysis and presentation techniques, validity and reliability of research instruments and ethical considerations.

3.1 Study Area

The study was conducted in Basecamp Masai Mara, Elephant Pepper Camp and Campi ya Kanzi ecolodges and their environs. These sites were the only gold eco-rated ecotourism enterprises in Kenya (Munyoro, 2011). The discussion in subsequent sections gives a description of the bio-physical characteristics of Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli National Park. It also incorporates an account of Basecamp Masai Mara, followed by Elephant Pepper Camp and lastly Campi ya Kanzi.

3.1.1 Maasai Mara National Reserve

Maasai Mara National Reserve (MMNR) is situated within the Great Rift Valley in the southern part of Kenya. Maasai Mara derives its name from the indigenous people - the Maasai community, and the Mara River that cuts through the Reserve. The Reserve is located at 1 30'S and 35 0 'E in the Narok County. Measuring approximately 1,510 kilometres square in size (Cumming *et al.*, 1990), this unfenced savannah grassland

reserve is approximately 200 km southwest of Nairobi. The Reserve forms the northern portion of the Serengeti/Mara ecosystem (Dublin, 1991). It is bounded on the north-east by the Loita Plains, on the east by the Laleta Hills, on the west by the Siria Escarpment, and on the south by the northern Serengeti National Park. For animals, landscape and sheer beauty, Maasai Mara National Reserve is the most spectacular of all Kenyan protected areas (Wishitemi, 2008). It is considered the jewel in Kenya's wildlife crown (Wishitemi, 2008) in which is found the annual spectacle of wildebeest migration.

Maasai Mara National Reserve experiences a damp climate and more moderate temperatures than most of Kenya. With the hot and dry climate, daytime temperatures run at 30°C maximum and night temperatures can drop to around 15°C. Most rain falls between March and May and during the short rainy season from November and December. Between July and October the weather is dry. Hot temperatures peak between December and January while June and July are the coolest months at the reserve. There is an annual mean gradient in rainfall across the reserve from 900 mm in the east around the Ngama Hills to 1,500 mm in the west along the Siria Escarpment (Masai Mara Ecological Monitoring Records, 2011).

The landscape is characterized by scenic rolling grassland plains and rounded hills. Altitude varies from 1,450 m ASL along the lower reaches of the Mara River where it crosses the Kenya-Tanzania international boundary, to 1,950 m on top of the Siria Escarpment and Ngama Hills to the west and east respectively. The Mara and Talek rivers

grace the rolling plains of the reserve. Myriad seasonal rivers appear during the rainy season but dry out once the rains are gone. The reserve also has poorly drained “black cotton” soil.

The reserve’s vegetation is dominated by riverine forests, savannah, thickets and woodlands. The reserve's vegetation is mainly yellow fever tree, open savannah (grassland) with clusters of acacia trees along the southeastern area of the park. Besides, it is characterized by vast undulating areas of *Themeda triandra* grasslands that are the major vegetation community of the reserve. The grasslands are intersected by the Mara, Talek and Sand Rivers and their numerous tributaries. The riverine forests and thickets provide shelter and security for rhinos. But it is the higher ground and hills with their shallow, porous, sandy soils, their greater cover of Croton and Euclea thickets, with the possibly greater abundance of herbs, legumes, shrubs and other favored food plants that constitute the preferred habitat for the majority of rhinos.

According to Wishitemi (2008) MMNR accounts for 25% of Kenya’s wildlife. It is home to elephants, black rhinos, lions, leopards, cheetahs, crocodiles, hippos, buffalos, 400 different birds’ species, plains zebras, hartebeests, wildebeests and other herbivores. The reserve witnesses an annual migration of wildebeests, zebras and Thomson’s gazelles from the adjoining Serengeti National Park. The main tourism activities undertaken in the reserve are; safari and cultural tours, camping, bird watching, balloon safaris, bush dinners and horseback safaris. In addition, MMNR accounts for 12% of the lodges, 16% of bed capacity, 67% of camp-sites and 74% of camping capacity in Kenya.

3.1.1.1 Basecamp Masai Mara

Basecamp Masai Mara is a gold eco-rated lodge established in 1998. It is situated 2 km East of Talek gate along River Talek, on a private land adjacent to Maasai Mara National Reserve. The ecolodge has won international recognition in sustainable tourism, including the 2005 First Choice Responsible Tourism Award for Best Practice in Protected Areas. The camp has 16 tents (consisting of 32 beds) with each costing between US \$ 210- US \$ 230 per night. The lodge has applied various sustainable tourism measures. These include: first, it uses a tree-top wildlife viewing post thus, reducing the need for game drives. Secondly, the camp has made extensive use of local materials for example, deadwood for construction. Third, the lodge has supported the planting of an estimated 25,000 trees since the year 2000, as part of restoring vegetation along the river near the eco-lodge. Fourth, the lodge uses a solar cooker at its kitchen, as a demonstration to the local community on energy-efficient technologies. Fifth, it uses solar energy, ISO-certified solar water heaters and energy saving bulbs (Munyoro, 2011).

3.1.1.2 Elephant Pepper Camp

Elephant Pepper Camp is a gold eco-rated semi permanent tented camp established in 1998. It is situated within Maasai Mara North Conservancy. The camp has eight large canvas tents with each costing between US\$ 648-US\$ 785 per night. Besides, the Camp has used a number of sustainable tourism measures such as, in collaboration with Maasai Mara North Conservancy, the camp has established a set of guiding ethics. Second, the camp's personnel reports any injured wildlife to Kenya Wildlife Service. Third, it

promotes goodwill and a better working understanding between the tourism operators in MMNR and the local community. Fourth, the lodge returns all the non recyclable glass waste to central glass industries for recycling. Finally, the camp uses solar energy in its operations (Munyoro, 2011).

3.1.2 Amboseli National Park

Amboseli National Park (ANP) is 250 km from Nairobi, on the border with Tanzania. It is located in Kajiado County, North West of Mt. Kilimanjaro, on the border with Tanzania with an altitude of 1150 meters above sea level. It was established as a reserve in 1968 and gazetted as a National Park in 1974. The Park covers 390.26 kilometers square and forms part of the much larger 3,000 kilometers square Amboseli ecosystem. The park takes its name from the Maasai language for “Land of Dust”, derived from the volcanic ash that erupted from Kilimanjaro a millennium ago. The local people around ANP are mainly Maasai, although people from other parts of the country have settled there.

The Park lies in ecological zone VI on agro-climatic zone map and is generally arid to semi- arid savanna environment. The climate is mainly hot and dry. Amboseli is in the rain shadow of Mt. Kilimanjaro. The maximum average temperature of the warmest month is 33°C during the day, while that of the coldest is 27-28°C. An annual rainfall of 300 mm per annum is distributed in two seasons: April/May and November/ December while the rest of the year remains dry. Recurrent droughts and potential evaporation of 2200 mm per annum typifies the region.

Amboseli National Park has beautiful topography comprising of basement plains, saline plains with fresh water swamps and the volcanic slopes of the Kilimanjaro. It lies at the foot of Mt. Kilimanjaro in a place of rugged beauty. The park is entirely comprised of volcanic soil. The park also protects two of the five main swamps and a dried-up Pleistocene lake basin. Within this basin is a temporary lake, Lake Amboseli that floods during years of heavy rainfall. The area is characterized by spatial and temporal variation in the hydrology. Surface water is only found in the few permanent rivers. Streams and the existing water resources are predominantly as a result of the influence of Mt. Kilimanjaro water which flows under gravity and emerge from underground in form of springs. These springs together with rainfall, feeds the rivers, streams and swamps in the area.

The park is comprised of the lush acacia tree forest, open plains, acacia woodland, rocky thorn bush, savannah scrub, grasslands, woodland, swamps and marshland. Swamps are dominated by *Papyrus* and *Cyperus Immenses*, the dominant plant species are *Sporobolus*, in the grassland, *Acacia* in woodland, and *Suaeda Monica* in the bush land. The vegetation in this region reflects mainly semi-arid environment. The Park is renowned for its large herds of free-ranging African elephants. There are approximately over 900 elephants in Amboseli, as well as huge herds of wildebeests and many other animals including giraffes, lions, leopards, cheetahs, monkeys, zebras, buffaloes, reptiles, birds, hippos, wildebeests, impalas, hyenas, antelopes among others. The primary tourist activities in the park include game viewing, camping, mountain viewing, bird watching,

photography and cultural visits to nearby cultural villages. Tourist facilities in the reserve include lodges, campsites, access routes and airstrips.

3.1.2.1 Campi ya Kanzi

Campi ya Kanzi is a gold-ecorated permanent tented camp established in 1998. It is situated in southern Kenya, 25 miles from Mt. Kilimanjaro, in a Maasai group ranch in Kajiado County. This camp has won sustainable tourism awards, including the Skal Ecotourism Award in 2005 and Tourism for Tomorrow Award in 2006. The camp has six luxury tented cottages and two suites, which cost between US\$ 800 -US\$ 1390 per night. Campi ya Kanzi has utilized a number of sustainable tourism measures. First, the camp funds various environmental support initiatives. Second, the camp uses charcoal briquettes for all cooking. Third, it has minimized usage of the generator, with excess power being stored in batteries to be discharged later. Fourth, it harvests rainwater for usage in the camp. Fifth, it uses a three-chamber composting system to manage kitchen wastes. Moreover, it uses micro-organisms in septic tanks to break down wastes. Seventh, the camp has a charcoal fridge for storing vegetables (Munyoro, 2011).

3.2 Research Design

This study adopted both the survey and case study research designs. The survey research design helped in giving an account of the state of ecotourism enterprises while the case study research design utilized gold eco-rated lodges (Basecamp Masai Mara, Elephant Pepper Camp and Campi ya Kanzi) to undertake a detailed investigation of the effect of

ecotourism enterprises on socio-economic development of communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas with specific reference to Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli National Park.

3.3 Target Population

The target population for this study was communities living adjacent to Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli National Park. There were approximately 200,000 people living adjacent to MMNR and 300,000 adjacent to ANP (GoK, 2009). Hence, the overall target population for the two study areas was 500, 000 people (GoK, 2009).

3.4 Sampling Techniques, Procedures and Sample Size

3.4.1 Sampling Techniques and Procedures

Two sampling techniques were used namely purposive and convenience. Purposive sampling was used to select the three eco-lodges namely Basecamp Masai Mara, Elephant Pepper Camp and Campi ya Kanzi. These eco-lodges were selected because they were the only gold eco-rated ecotourism enterprises in Kenya by 2011 (Munyoro, 2011). Gold-ecorated lodges are deemed to have attained outstanding, superior and replicable levels of excellence in responsible resource use, environmental conservation and socio-economic investment (Munyoro, 2011).

Purposive sampling was also used to recruit key informants from the target population for the interviews and focus group discussions. The key informants targeted were those

people who had the knowledge on ecotourism development in the study sites and were willing to give a detailed account of the effect of the ecotourism enterprises on the socio-economic development of the local community. Key informants included community leaders (area chiefs), managers of the eco-lodges, members of the cultural *manyattas* and leaders of the group ranches (chairmen).

On the other hand, convenience sampling was used to recruit respondents who were issued with questionnaires. The target respondents were those people living adjacent to Basecamp Masai Mara, Elephant Pepper Camp and Campi ya Kanzi eco-lodges. As Kieti (2007) has documented, in convenience sampling respondents are selected due to their convenient accessibility to the researcher. Whilst random sampling is frequently considered the 'best' method of choosing participants for a survey, it was difficult to utilize this in this research since the life-style of the communities under study is nomadic and developing a sampling frame was not possible.

3.4.2 Sample Size

To determine the sample size of the respondents to whom the questionnaire was administered, the social science research method advanced by Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) was used. The formula for this method is given as:

$$n = \frac{z^2 pq}{d^2}$$

Where:

n= the desired sample size (if the target population is greater than 10,000)

z = the standard normal deviate at the required confidence level

p = the proportion in the target population estimated to have characteristics being measured

q = $1-p$

d = the level of statistical significance set.

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) further stated that if there is no estimate available of the proportion in the target population assumed to have the characteristics of interest, as was the case in the current study, 50% will be used. In this case, the proportion of the study's target population with the required characteristics was 0.50, the z -statistic was 1.96, and the desired accuracy was at the 0.05 level, thus giving a sample size of 384 as calculated below:

$$n = \frac{(1.96)^2 (.50)(.50)}{(.05)^2} = 384$$

3.5 Data Collection

Both secondary and primary sources of data were utilized. Secondary data was gathered from journals and books while primary data was gathered with the aid of semi-structured questionnaires, structured interview guides and focus group discussion guides (see Appendices I, II and III). All these research instruments were adapted from Kieti (2007) and then modified to suit this study.

Structured interviews were conducted with the key informants who included community leaders (area chiefs), managers of the eco-lodges, members of the cultural manyattas and leaders of the group ranches (chairmen) at the cultural manyattas and eco-lodges. English and Kiswahili languages were used. With the help of research assistants it was possible to use the native language (the *Maa* language) during interviews, particularly, with those respondents who were not conversant with Kiswahili. A total of 15 interviews representing 5 interviews in each eco-lodge (Basecamp Masai Mara, Elephant Pepper Camp and Campi ya Kanzi) were conducted. There were 9 male and 6 female interviewees of whom 7 were adults and 8 were youth. Further, 3 were area chiefs, 6 were managers of eco-lodges, 3 were members of cultural *manyattas* and 3 were chairmen of group ranches.

The interviews lasted between one and one and half hours. While conducting interviews the researcher maintained a friendly approach, whereby, the researcher used friendly greetings and often made an attempt to familiarize himself with cultural pattern and daily routine of the interviewees. In addition, efforts were made to establish proper rapport with the interviewees. More importantly, the interviewer listened with understanding, respect and curiosity during the interview sessions.

The research participants were labeled as follows:

- i. In Basecamp Masai Mara, individual respondents were labeled as BP1-1, BP1-2,.....whereas the managers were labeled as BP M1, BP M2,
- ii. In Elephant Pepper Camp, individual respondents were labeled as PP1-1, PP1-

2,....and the managers were labeled as PP M1, PPM2,...

- iii. In Campi ya Kanzi, individual respondents were labeled as CK1-1, CK1-2,....while the managers were labeled as CK M1, CK M2,....

All the interview and focus group discussions were audio- recorded and supplemented with note taking to cater for items which could not be audio-recorded. Photographs were also taken to convey important contextual features of the naturalistic observation.

The researcher administered 384 questionnaires which had both open and close-ended questions to local community members aged over 18 years. The questionnaires were administered to the members of the local community at the eco-lodges, community meetings (*barazas*), cultural *manyattas*, shopping centres and residential sites.

On the other hand, three focus group discussions were held, one in Basecamp Masai Mara and comprised of five participants, another one in Campi ya Kanzi, which comprised of eight participants and finally, the last one in Elephant Pepper Camp, which comprised of six participants. This is consistent with Kitzinger's recommendation for focus group size of between four and twelve people (Kitzinger, 1995). All the focus group discussions were conducted at cultural manyattas. Importantly, the focus groups were heterogeneous comprising of women, men and youth. Focus group discussions lasted between one to one and half hours.

The focus discussion groups were labeled as follows:

- i. In Basecamp Masai Mara, the focus discussion group was labeled as FGD BP.
- ii. In Elephant Pepper Camp, it was labeled as FGD PP.
- iii. In Campi ya Kanzi, it was labeled as FGD CK.

Generally, the participants in the interviews and focus group discussions were required to meet the following requirements aimed at ensuring that they were sufficiently familiar with what goes on in their community: First, participants should have lived in or adjacent to Basecamp Masai Mara, Elephant Pepper Camp or Campi ya Kanzi for at least five years. Second, participants were to be conversant with the actual daily community life of their community; and third, participants were to be actively involved in the local community's affairs, particularly, through organized groups such as women and youth groups.

3.6 Data Analysis and Presentation Techniques

Both qualitative and quantitative data analysis techniques were used to analyse collected data. Details of these are given in subsequent sections.

3.6.1 Qualitative Data Analysis

Since the data collected from the interviews was in form of open-ended verbal descriptions summarized in field notes, transcriptions of audio recording and photographs, data analysis involved organizing, categorizing and identifying of key

themes emerging from collected data. Interview questions and responses were examined and a set of categories developed. The categories were then examined for similarities and differences. Unique patterns within and between the data categories for each single theme were identified. The results were presented in form of verbatim quotations, charts and plates.

3.6.2 Quantitative Data Analysis

Quantitative data analysis was used to determine the differences between respondents' willingness to support eco-tourism development and the effect of ecotourism enterprises on socio-economic development. Data was analyzed using Mann-Whitney *U* test.

Given that the data collected in this study, through questionnaires was predominantly categorical or ordinal in nature, the assumptions of parametric testing were not upheld since parametric testing requires data to be measured in interval/ratio scale. Mann-Whitney *U* test was deemed appropriate to test differences between respondents' willingness to support eco-tourism development and the effect of ecotourism enterprises on socio-economic development. Results are presented using figures, frequencies, tables and percentages.

3.7 Validity and Reliability of Research Instruments

In order to enhance the reliability of the research instruments (questionnaire, interview schedule and discussion guide) a pilot study was undertaken. The piloted instruments

were edited and refined using results of the pilot study. The corrected instruments were then polished and used for data collection during the actual study. Besides, a combination of data collection techniques, which included interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions, not only exhausted all the aspects under study but also provided an opportunity to assess the validity of information gathered by examining data relating to the same theme from different techniques used that is, data triangulation.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Various ethical issues were observed in the course of the research. First, the researcher adhered to individual privacy, voluntary participation and other requisite human rights and principles. Second, information collected was treated with confidentiality and used for the purpose of the research only. Third, the researcher provided all participants in the study with clear information on the nature and the purpose of the research project before embarking on data collection. Fourth, the researcher obtained research permit and clearance from relevant authorities. Lastly, the researcher upheld gender equity issues during the selection of the study sample by ensuring that there was equal gender representation.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents study results based on responses from the questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions. The presentation of the results is guided by the study objectives. Specifically, the results focus on the effect of ecotourism enterprises on the social and economic development of communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas; the constraints hindering the participation of local communities in ecotourism enterprises and local community's support and aspiration for ecotourism enterprises' development in the study regions.

A total of 318 (usable) out of 384 questionnaires were obtained representing an overall response rate of 82.8%. The usable questionnaires were coded and used for data analysis. In the subsequent sections, a description of the sample is offered, followed by a detailed analysis of the effect of eco-tourism enterprises on social and economic development.

4.1 Demographic Characteristics of Local Community Respondents

The sample showed a generally uneven division between male and female respondents. Male respondents accounted for 67.9 % of the sample and female respondents accounted for 32.1% of the sample. 62.6% of the sample were married, 31.8% of respondents were

single, 3.5% were divorced or separated while 2.2% did not specify. Most of the respondents (64.8%) were aged between 21-40 years, 25.2% were aged between 41-60 years while 5.0% represented those aged above 60 years. 26.1% of respondents had acquired college education, followed by 23.3% who had secondary education, while 21.4% were not literate. The rest of the responses are shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Characteristics of local community respondents

Variable	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Age		
Below 20 Years	16	5.0
21-40 Years	206	64.8
41-60 Years	80	25.2
Above 60 Years	16	5.0
Gender		
Male	216	67.9
Female	102	32.1
Marital Status		
Married	199	62.6
Single	101	31.8
Divorced	11	3.5
Any other	7	2.2
Education		
None	68	21.4
Primary	71	22.3
Secondary	74	23.3
College	83	26.1
University	20	6.3
Adult literacy	2	0.6
Occupation		
Unemployed	71	22.3
Self-employed	48	15.1
Salaried/formal	118	37.1
Farmer	70	22
Any other	11	3.5

Source: Researcher (2012)

4.2 Effect of Ecotourism Enterprises on the Economic Development of Communities Living Adjacent to Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli National Park

Results in this section focus on employment, supplying of goods and services, small enterprise opportunities, infrastructure (education, health facilities and water supply), compensation and philanthropic support. Findings showed that most of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that ecotourism enterprises had contributed significantly towards access to education (91.5%), expansion of employment opportunities (86.5%), access to health facilities (82.7%), over and above, access to income (80.8%) and increase in small enterprise opportunities (78.9%). However, the respondents disagreed that ecotourism enterprises had contributed to access to credit (50%) and grazing pastures (50%) (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Respondents' Level of Agreement with the contribution of Eco-tourism Enterprises to Socio-Economic Development

Information Sought			Level of Agreement			Median
	Disagree (%)	Strongly Disagree (%)	Neither (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	
Access to education	1.9	2.8	3.8	35.2	56.3	5
Access to health facilities	2.5	7.5	7.2	39.6	43.1	4
Enhanced security	10.4	12.6	11.9	35.8	29.2	4
Adequate and decent shelter	12.6	16	16.7	34.6	20.1	4
Access to tap water	6.9	11	7.2	35.2	39.6	4
Better transportation	8.2	19.2	12.3	34.9	25.5	4
Enhanced communication	8.5	17	16.7	37.1	20.8	4
Access to market	10.1	12.6	12.3	34.6	30.5	4
Increase in small enterprise opportunities	4.7	7.2	9.1	49.1	29.9	4
Access to credit	27.7	22.3	14.8	19.8	15.4	2.5
Increase in resource ownership	10.1	20.4	16.4	32.7	20.4	4
Increase in resource control	5.7	14.2	22	38.1	20.1	4
Enhanced involvement and participation in decision-making	7.5	10.4	20.1	36.5	25.5	4
Access to information	4.4	12.9	21.4	43.7	17.6	4
Enhanced information sharing	8.5	16.4	18.6	40.9	15.7	4
Increase in registered groups	10.4	9.7	21.4	36.2	22.3	4
Increase in community cohesion and pride	4.7	7.9	10.7	35.5	41.2	4
Expansion of employment opportunities	3.2	2.8	7.3	28.1	58.7	5
Enhanced revenue sharing	6.9	15.7	22.3	32.1	23	4
Acquisition of assets	12.9	13.5	22	30.2	21.4	4
Access to grazing pastures	30.5	19.5	12.9	18.6	18.6	2.5
Adequate food supply	13.5	13.2	15.4	30.8	27	4
Access to income	2.8	3.8	12.6	42.8	38.1	4

Source: Researcher (2012)

4.2.1 Employment

Study findings revealed pertinent information on the extent and nature of employment in the eco-lodges. Employment positions covered a broad range and included tour guides, game rangers, housekeepers, security guards, gardeners, laundry attendants, carpenters, bartenders, chefs, drivers, accountants, receptionists and managers. Majority of employees (95%) were employed on a full time basis, with the exception of carpenters who worked on a contractual basis. According to the interviewees, all of the employees were from adjacent communities, although through personal observations, it became evident that some workers like chefs, accountants and managers were not originally from the neighboring communities.

When eco-lodge managers were asked to explain how their organizations had benefited their adjacent communities, they were quick to identify provision of employment opportunities. For instance, Basecamp Masai Mara had a total of 43 employees of which the majority (95%) was members of its adjacent community. Further, managers gave the following examples:

Of the 43 employees in Basecamp, 40 are from the adjacent community.

(BP M1)

Out of the total of 65 employees, Campi ya Kanzi has employed 39 workers from the adjacent Maasai community.

(CK M2)

Surprisingly, during the study, it was established that majority of the residents who were working in the eco-tourism enterprises occupied unskilled and low paying job positions such as security guards, guides, waiters, janitors, porters, gardeners, game scouts and rangers. In addition, a common sentiment expressed by some community members was that the eco-lodges' owners were underpaying their employees, even though, some of them were of the opinion that the low salaries of those employed in the eco-tourism industry were attractive when compared to the unemployed who had no income whatsoever.

4.2.2 Supply of Goods and Services

All interviewees were of the opinion that majority of goods could be supplied from within the study regions (Maasai land), with the exception of luxury items. Besides, findings revealed that the goods that were supplied locally from within the study regions included building materials, such as poles and grass; and energy fuels such as charcoal and wood while goods imported by eco-lodges from outside the study regions included food and beverage such as specialty beers; building materials, such as cement, floor and ceiling tiles, plastic; electrical and kitchen appliances and recreational equipment.

When asked if managers were buying goods locally within Maasai land, respondents voiced a number of obstacles. First, goods produced in Maasai land, particularly food, were rarely of the quality required by the eco-lodges. Second, goods could not be consistently provided in the quantities required and on a regular basis, especially during

various off-season periods specific to the particular products. Third, purchasing all food in one place was more convenient, which could be done in Nairobi, rather than purchasing them from a variety of sources within the study regions. One manager made it known that he would purchase locally if the goods were brought directly to the eco-lodge, in the quantities required and on a regular basis. He further added that local communities mostly failed to provide what is demanded by the eco-lodges and did not offer more than limited amounts of milk, eggs and meat.

Despite the foregoing constraints, the results revealed that *nyama choma* (roasted meat) was included on the eco-lodges' menu thus creating a market for locally-reared goats. In addition, some respondents recommended that ecolodges should adjust their menus in such a way that they include other ingredients that could be found locally within the study regions.

Managers indicated that a majority of food and amenities were supplied from outside their adjacent community, as the local people do not grow any food in the area. This can be attributed to the fact that the Maasai people not only lead a nomadic lifestyle and are pastoralist by nature but also, the area they occupy is semi-arid and receives minimal rainfall that cannot support agricultural activities. The managers also indicated that they do not allow local people to sell their beadwork or custom made jewellery to clients as they do not like "*hawking on the premises*" (CK M1).

When the local community were asked how the establishment of the eco-lodges had affected them, a majority of the respondents indicated that apart from those directly employed in the eco-lodges, most of the community members had not been affected in any positive way by the eco-lodges. In fact, it became apparent during the study that the eco-lodge managers occupy a very powerful position insofar as allowing local poor people access the tourist market. All eco-lodge managers within the study regions were limiting access to a number of vendors by denying them entry to their premises for the purpose of selling goods to tourists.

Although the *cultural manyattas* were strategically located along the tourist path, eco-lodges provided most goods and services required by tourists, including accommodation, food and beverage, day tours, souvenirs and entertainment; leaving little need for the tourists to venture beyond eco-lodges' premises. In fact, during the study it was discovered that shops located in the eco-lodges' premises usually purchased goods from the souvenir producers in the adjacent communities in lower prices and then later on sold them to the tourists for a higher profit.

4.2.3 Small Enterprise Opportunities

In the course of the research it was established that curio business had greatly benefitted the local communities. Besides, production of curio had evolved from merely being for private purposes to commercial- for tourists' interests. In this regard, curio sales were increasing dramatically. In fact, the study findings revealed that curio was one of the very

few direct economic links between the communities and tourism and, as an informal economic activity, was providing a direct and immediate income to many local people. Consequently, community members attributed a high economic potential to it. In addition, the study revealed that a number of community groups had been established to provide goods (souvenirs) and services (entertainment) either directly to tourists or to eco-lodges.

When eco-lodge managers were asked to comment on other forms of benefits that accrued to the local people from their businesses, they stated availability of business opportunities especially the production of handicrafts. In fact, some emphasized on the support they gave to the local community on enterprise development whereby the community's handicrafts were sold abroad by the eco-lodges (especially Basecamp Masai Mara) on behalf of the local people.

One of the managers expressed the following view regarding the effects of Basecamp Maasai Brand, one of the projects initiated by the eco-lodges:

Basecamp Maasai Brand (BMB) was initiated in 2003 with the aim of maintaining and enhancing handicraft skills, knowledge and designs of the Maasai's bead and leather work while empowering disadvantaged women groups in the Talek region of the Maasai Mara. Basecamp's fair trade agreement ensures that the crafts person receives 75% of what BMB sells the item for. Typically their earnings are used for improved housing, healthcare, children's schooling and clothing

(BP M1)

Further, another respondent noted that:

Basecamp Maasai Brand is now 9 years old. Over the years, Basecamp Maasai Brand has grown steadily in both sales and women benefiting from the project. In 2011 our gross sales was US\$ 53,300 a marked increase of US\$ 2,650 in 2010. Our export orders contributed 50% of this income. Socially, Basecamp Maasai Brand has had great impact on the lives of women and the community as a whole. For example, Basecamp Maasai Brand has changed the life of a 50 year old woman named Kasuku Kursai. Kasuku Kursai has been a Basecamp Maasai Brand member since inception. Unlike most women who rely on their husbands to provide, Kasuku Kursai is milking a cow bought using money she earned from Basecamp Maasai Brand.

(BP M2)

Overall, one manager (BP M1) summed up the contribution of Basecamp Maasai Brand as:

Among our noted outstanding and innovative practices is creation of the “The Maasai Brand”, an initiative that promotes traditional handicrafts made by women’s groups in Talek area. Basecamp trains the women to make high quality traditional Maasai handicrafts and markets these products to its guests and selected outlets locally and internationally.

In addition, eco-lodge managers stated that they frequently invited local community groups to sing and perform traditional dances within the eco-lodges.

4.2.4 Education

During interviews, one of eco-tourism’s contributions to socio-economic development identified by managers was support for educational opportunities among their adjacent local communities. Managers affirmed the positive contribution of ecotourism to the provision of bursaries and construction of schools. According to some of the managers:

Campi ya Kanzi has constructed 4 classrooms and employed five teachers at a local primary school within its adjacent community

(CK M2)

At Basecamp Masai Mara; a portion of the revenue is allocated to an education fund that mainly supports the girl-child education in the Talek area of Narok County. So far, more than 40 students have benefited from the fund

(BP M1)

Also, Basecamp Masai Mara runs Koiyaki Guiding School which is aimed at equipping local Maasai with requisite skills in tourism-related enterprises and conservation (Plate 4.1). As a result, since its inception in 2005, 125 students have been trained as professional safari guides.

(BP M1)



Plate 4.1: A Classroom at Koiyaki Guiding School, Maasai Mara

Source: Researcher (2012)

4.2.5 Health Facilities

From the interviews, it was established that the eco-lodges run health-care clinics in the areas of their operation (Plate 4.2). Besides, they organize seminars aimed at creating awareness among surrounding communities on health issues such as HIV/AIDS and family planning. According to one of the managers:

Basecamp Masai Mara has been at the fore-front in promoting health-care services among its adjacent community through infrastructural support and access to medication. Currently, we are involved in the running of Talek Community Health Clinic. In addition, plans are underway to construct other healthcare facilities such as Ole Sere and Nkoilale clinics.

(BP M2)

The following excerpt from one of the managers exemplifies some of the positive effects of the Talek Community Health Clinic (plate 4.2):

.....Construction of Talek Community Health Clinic has helped reduce the distance the local community had to walk to access healthcare. In this regard, it has addressed the challenges of late diagnosis associated with long distances covered to reach clinics and reduced mortality from curable illnesses like malaria. Apart from attending to normal health demands of the village, this clinic is a centre for voluntary testing and counseling for HIV/AIDS.

(BP M1)



Plate 4.2: Basecamp's Community Health Centre at Talek, Maasai Mara

Source: Researcher (2012)

4.2.6 Water Supply

Study findings revealed that the eco-lodges had also initiated water projects within their adjacent communities. These water projects not only provided clean water thus curbing water-borne illnesses, but also had relieved women of the burden of walking for long distances and hours to fetch water. Besides, these projects had helped adjacent community access water for their livestock with a lot of easy.

The following assertion from one of the managers underscores the above:

Basecamp has made considerable progress in terms of water supply to the local residents. Part of its initiatives include... drilling of a borehole in the Ole Sere village in Naboisho, Masai Mara (Plate 4.3). The Ole Sere water borehole now supports not only more than 2000 inhabitants of the village but also the nearby Ole Sere Primary School. The lodge has also developed rainwater harvesting at Talek Clinic through provision of water tanks for the

storage of rainwater. Consequently, the clinic is now self-sufficient in water. In addition, plans are at an advanced stage for the drilling of a borehole in Nkoilale village in Naboisho Conservancy, construction of a water tank in Talek, and the construction of Mpui water project in Talek.

(BP M2)



Plate 4.3: Ole Sere Community Water Project in Naboisho Conservancy, Maasai Mara

Source: Researcher (2012)

4.2.7 Compensation

Study findings also revealed that the eco-lodges were operating wildlife-damage compensation schemes that compensated livestock herders for losses incurred due to wildlife predation. These programmes were aimed at increasing local community's tolerance to wild animals while minimizing the financial losses people incurred whenever for example, carnivores preyed on their livestock. These predator compensation funds were primarily financed by conservation surcharges levied on tourists. Findings established that Campi ya Kanzi helped establish a wildlife trust for local land owners

named Maasai Wildlife Conservation Trust (MWCT). This trust served as the official oversight and management representative of the community in enforcing compliance and managing the revenues from conservation surcharges.

The following excerpt from one of the managers demonstrates the perceived positive impact of the predation compensation program pioneered by one of the eco-lodges:

Campi ya Kanzi on the other hand, helped to establish a wildlife trust for local land owners - the Maasai Wildlife Conservation Trust (MWCT). Located in a 2,500-acre conservancy in Kuku Group Ranch in the Chyulu Hills, this 8-tent permanent tented camp supports the trust by donating a percentage of bed-night fees and from private donations by guests and overseas foundations. The camp also collects a conservation fee from every guest to the camp and forwards the same to the trust. MWCT supports a predator compensation program that pays members of Kuku Group Ranch who lose their livestock to predators. It employs 200 members of the local community, contributing to direct household incomes. It also supports education and healthcare initiatives in the area.

(CK M2)

Another manager commented:

MWCT is pioneering a model where tourism surcharges are used to fund Wildlife Pays, a programme that compensates livestock herders for losses to wildlife predation in exchange for full protection of predators. Maasai livestock owners are paid quarterly for value of losses in exchange for full protection of predators throughout the group ranch.

(CK M1)

4.2.8 Philanthropic Support

In the course of the study, it was established that volunteers had made positive contributions to the local community's socio-economic development. For example, one teacher was grateful for the new teaching methods that had been shared in his school (BP 1-1). Moreover, findings disclosed that volunteers had frequently acted as advocates and

facilitators for donations of educational materials from abroad. In this regard, school children were able to practice and improve their English language conversation skills. Results also established that on some occasions, there were volunteers who had exhibited culturally inappropriate behaviours.

Yet as explained by one of the key informants, local community sometimes overlooked cultural taboos if the volunteer remained in the area for a sufficient period of time and the volunteer's positive contributions outweighed such transgressions. Besides the foregoing, the results revealed that one of the eco-lodge owners had on two occasions, supervised ongoing donations from abroad. In one extraordinary case, an eco-lodge owner was asked to oversee the transfer of more than 10,000 British Pounds to the construction of a local school (BP M1).

In addition to their donation of services, volunteers often gave material donations or advocated for donations from abroad towards the projects in which they were involved. For instance, one volunteer solicited donations for 20 mathematic books, while another had acquired 70 language textbooks. In another case, one volunteer donated a computer to a local school. Likewise, the study findings revealed that tourists had made significant contributions to the local community's socio-economic wellbeing through their donations of start-up capital, school supplies, clothing and recreational equipment. A number of interviewees spoke of tourists who had visited the study regions and upon their return to their home countries initiated charities from which the funds were donated to community

projects (CK 1-2, BP 1-2 and BP 1-1). Further, it was discovered that those tourists who wished to sponsor school fees for the local students, their funds were transferred to the school bank accounts using international money transfer services.

4.2.9 Communal and Individual Benefits

A majority of the respondents (82%) were particularly supportive of communal benefits (Figure 4.1) such as, provision of bursaries, construction of schools, health facilities, boreholes and water troughs (Table 4.3). In addition, most of the respondents lamented of insignificant individual benefits such as their ability to supply farm products to the eco-lodges, selling of handicrafts and employment opportunities accruing from eco-tourism enterprises. While, a large number of the respondents admitted the potential of ecotourism in creating employment opportunities, they asserted that a majority of the residents who were working in the eco-tourism enterprises occupied low paying job positions such as security guards, guides, waiters, janitors, porters, gardeners, scouts and rangers.

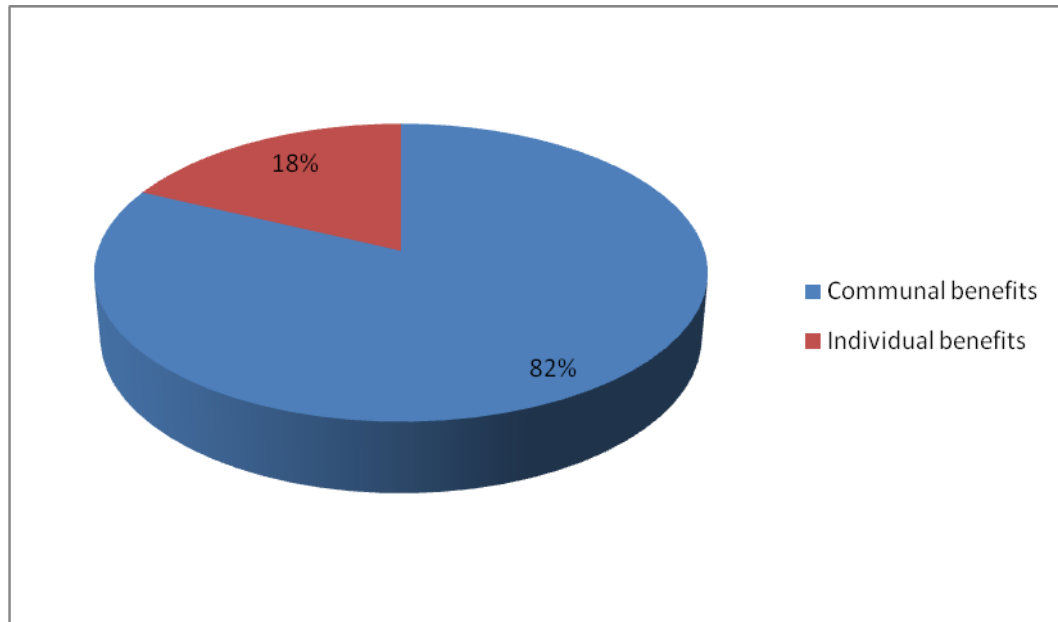


Figure 4.1: Types of Eco-Tourism Benefits Accruing to Local Communities

Source: Researcher (2012)

One of the respondents argued:

The kind of jobs our people are given are just an abuse....imagine they are just waiters, guides, security guards, gardeners and scouts while outsiders are the managers..... What a shame!

(PP 1-1)

Table 4.3: Benefits Accruing to the Local People from Ecotourism

Communal benefits	Provision of bursaries Construction of schools Construction of health facilities Road maintenance Construction of boreholes Enhancement of security Enhanced communication Construction of water troughs for cattle
Individual benefits	Selling of handicrafts Supply of farm products to eco-lodges Employment

Source: Researcher (2012)

4.3 Effect of Ecotourism Enterprises on the Social Development of Communities Living Adjacent to Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli National Park

In this section data analysis focuses on local community involvement in the decision-making process, and local community ownership of and participation in eco-tourism enterprises.

4.3.1 Local Community Involvement in the Decision-Making Processes

The study found that only a minority of respondents (18%) were involved in the decision-making and management of the ecotourism enterprises. As was observed, host

communities were mainly involved as participants in meetings aimed at creating awareness of ecotourism and conservation issues. This is consistent with some of the sentiments amongst the Maasai Mara and Amboseli people, such as “*as the host community, we are only called upon when there are crises to be addressed such as poaching, insecurity and killing of wild animals.*”

When asked to comment on their (local community) involvement in the decision-making process, a majority of the respondents (82%) asserted that they did not have a say in the running of the eco-tourism enterprises within the group ranches. Besides they noted that local community members who owned larger portions of land within group ranches tended to dominate others in terms of decision-making. In fact, the study findings revealed that local people were in most cases involved in decision-making through their leaders; who were generally the largest shareholders (in terms of land ownership) of the group ranches.

Bearing in mind that the eco-lodges were privately-owned none of the respondents was involved in their running especially through decision-making. One of the respondents affirmed:

I am not involved in eco-tourism activities...the reason is...eco-tourism businesses in our area are dominated by private organizations...thus hindering ordinary local people from decision making and subsequent benefits.

(BP 1-3)

Also, the respondents argued that all decisions were made by the owners of the eco-lodges in consultation with the conservancies' steering committees made up of the chairman, treasurer and secretary. In a follow up interview the respondents indicated that community leaders made all decisions with the eco-lodge investors as regarded eco-tourism enterprises in their conservancies and the community members were merely informed of those decisions.

Elsewhere, the study findings established that community involvement was through the different heads of clans within the community. The bigger a particular clan was, the more powerful it was and a candidate from such a clan had better chances of being elected to the steering committee. These communities had continued to select their leaders based on traditional principles; consequently it was the same people from the same nucleus of families who got elected. A majority of the respondents (82%) indicated that they were not pleased with the running of eco-tourism enterprises as they felt only a few people were actually benefiting.

Gender discrimination is yet another important issue that emerged during the interviews. The study results revealed that women were totally excluded from discussions regarding the development of the eco-tourism enterprises. One respondent asserted that: *women cannot be leaders in our community as we often regard women and children as being in the same category* (PP 1-1). They (men) claimed that women are not allowed to take up employment at the eco-lodges as they should be at their homes taking care of the

children. This attitude of male community members towards women is an important one because it reveals the extent to which female community participation is restricted in these communities. Nonetheless, all the interviewed women expressed their desire of being part of the decision-making process and subsequently benefit from eco-tourism enterprises.

During the study, most of the respondents mentioned that local leaders had failed to represent the views of the local community and instead pursued their own interests. As such they felt alienated from the decision-making process. This situation had resulted in mistrust between the committee and community members since there was no accountability in the management of the eco-tourism activities. As such it can be argued that, since communities are the custodians of eco-tourism facilities, their exclusion is an unfortunate omission that may breed a lot of problems later.

4.3.2 Participation of Local Communities in Eco-tourism Enterprises

The research findings also revealed that most of the respondents (35%) were involved in entertaining visitors through singing and dancing, making and selling souvenirs to visitors, guiding visitors during their visit and as employees in the eco-lodges (Figure 4.2). In fact, there was significant consistency in the respondents' remarks relating to their roles in ecotourism:

We benefit from ecotourism through dancing, singing, guiding and selling artifacts to visitors.

(BP1-3)

When tourists visit...they usually purchase our handicrafts.

(PP 1-1)

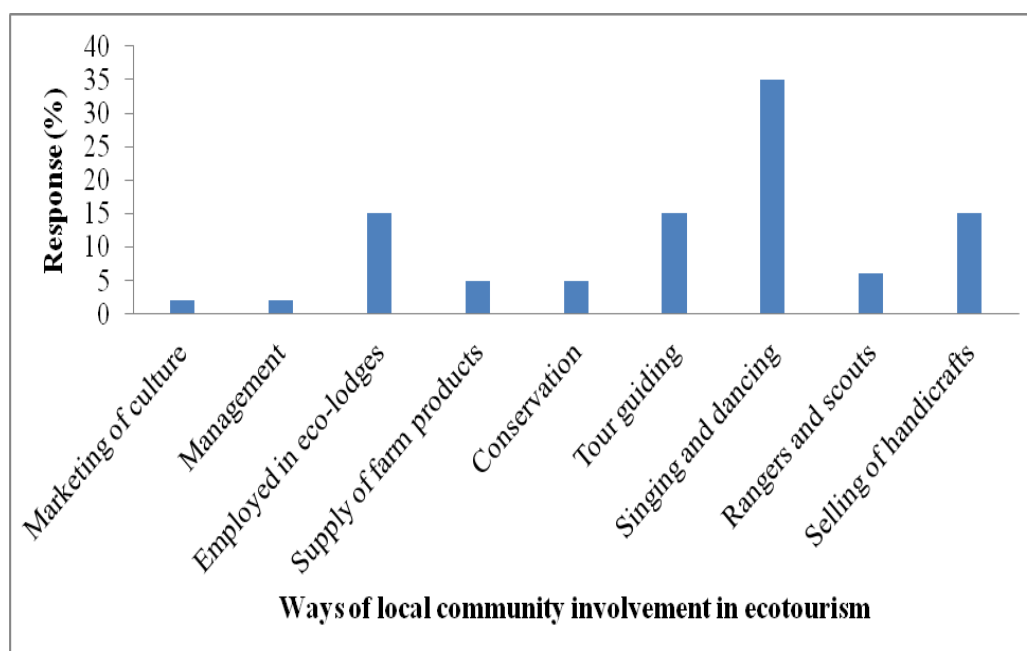


Figure 4.2: Local Community's Involvement in Ecotourism Activities

Source: Researcher (2012)

Through personal observations, it became apparent that ecotourism roles played within the *cultural manyattas* differed depending on gender and age. For example, warriors sang and performed dances to tourists. Women not only exhibited and sold souvenirs, but also welcomed visitors to the cultural manyattas with songs and dancing. Elderly men were involved in both the production and supply of knives, clubs and spears to the *manyattas* for sale.

When respondents from the local community were asked how much they earned per month from eco-tourism activities in which they were involved, they were not able to

estimate income derived from these activities due to lack of records. Available figures however, indicated that most respondents earned low income. Further, 55% of the respondents earned less than Ksh. 4999 per month, an equivalent of less than 62 dollars per month or less than US\$2 dollars a day, which was mainly used to cater for the entire family needs (Figure 4.3). These figures do not reflect the real picture, as most members could not easily distinguish income from eco-tourism and that from other sources. It is also, important to note that 32% of the respondents who earned nothing from eco-tourism were not involved in any eco-tourism activities.

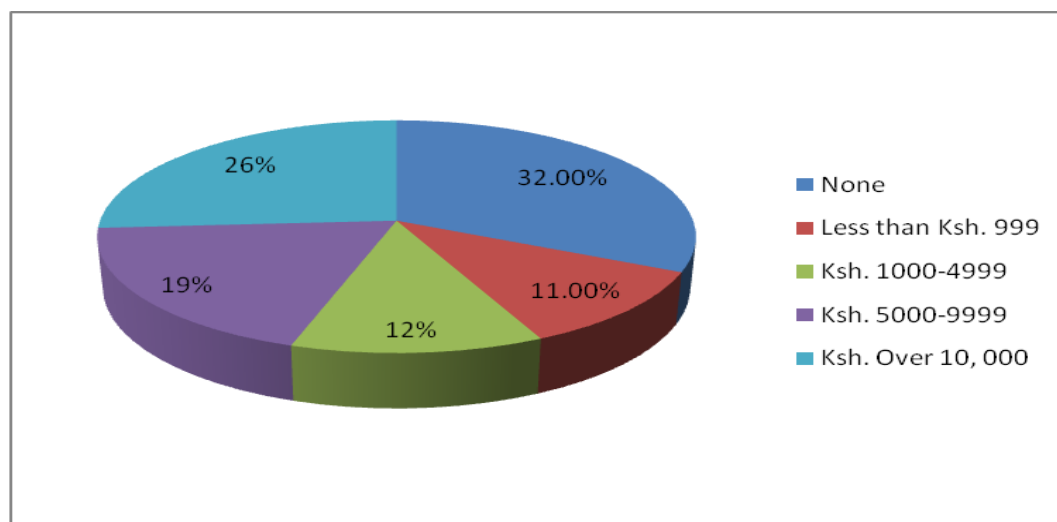


Figure 4.3: Income earned from Eco-tourism Activities

Source: Researcher (2012)

4.3.3 Local Community Ownership of Ecotourism Enterprises

The study revealed that local community ownership of ecotourism enterprises was non-existent within the study regions. The following comment from one manager is typical:

“the idea of local community ownership sounds good on paper but in the real sense, a community such as this cannot be owners of such an eco-tourism development as they cannot run it.

(PP M1)

In addition, the findings disclosed that local community ownership was hindered by lack of economic opportunities, confidence, capital and empowerment amongst the local community. In fact, a majority of the respondents asserted that the community lacked the technical know-how to successfully operate any eco-tourism enterprise:

A lodge needs an outsider who leases and develops the eco-tourist facility. We as a community are not able to run such a venture profitably as we are faced with capital limitations. In addition, many of us have not been to school and thus lack the skills.

(BP1-3)

4.4 Constraints to the Participation of Local Communities in Ecotourism Enterprises

The majority of respondents felt that their full participation in eco-tourism development was hindered by; lack of adequate grassroots support (82.4%); poor leadership at grassroots level (82.4%); lack of skills (80%); lack of good planning (76%); lack of adequate governmental support (74.8%) and inequality in sharing tourism benefits (74.5%) (Figure 4.4). In fact, when the local community were asked how they shared the benefits accruing from ecotourism, a majority of the respondents (82%) indicated that local community members who owned larger portions of land within group ranches tended to dominate others in terms of employment opportunities, access to bursary and supply of farm produce to the eco-lodges.

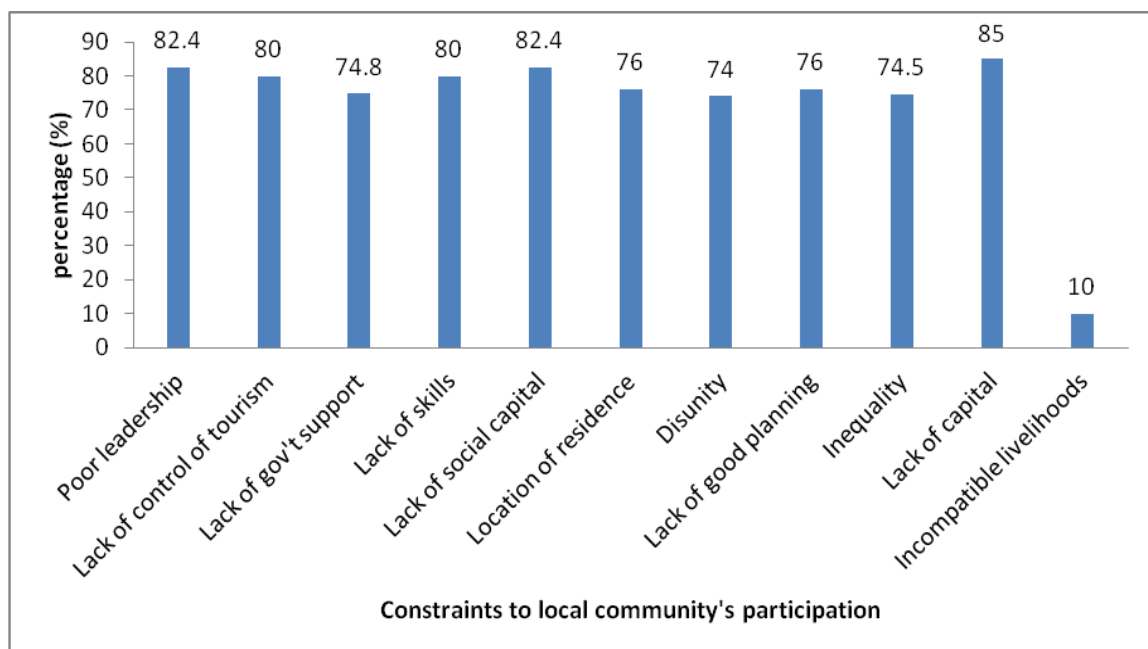


Figure 4.4: Constraints to Local communities' Participation in Ecotourism Enterprises

Source: Researcher (2012)

4.5 Community Support for Eco-tourism Development

Most of the respondents (94%) (Figure 4.5) expressed their willingness to support eco-tourism development as exemplified by the following comments from some of the respondents.

The only help we get here is through tourism. Tourism is a blessing to our community.

(BP 1-1)

Tourism is our only savior. Tourism helps us to get food, clothes, cows and goats. Tourism is everything to us economically.

(CK 1-2)

Another 6% of the respondents stated that they would like to do away with eco-tourism enterprises and have their land back as they have not benefited from them in any way. In expressing his resentment, one of the elders from the community pointed out:

“This project does not benefit us in any way and it would be a good idea for us as a community to find an alternative source of livelihood.”

(PP 1-1)

Another one added:

“Maasai people here are not well educated. As a result, we have had to rely on cattle and wildlife for our sustenance all our lives. Now, times are tough and we have to diversify by looking for alternative sources of income. We have been told that eco-tourism is a good idea, but as a community we have not seen any benefits thus far.”

(BP 1-3)

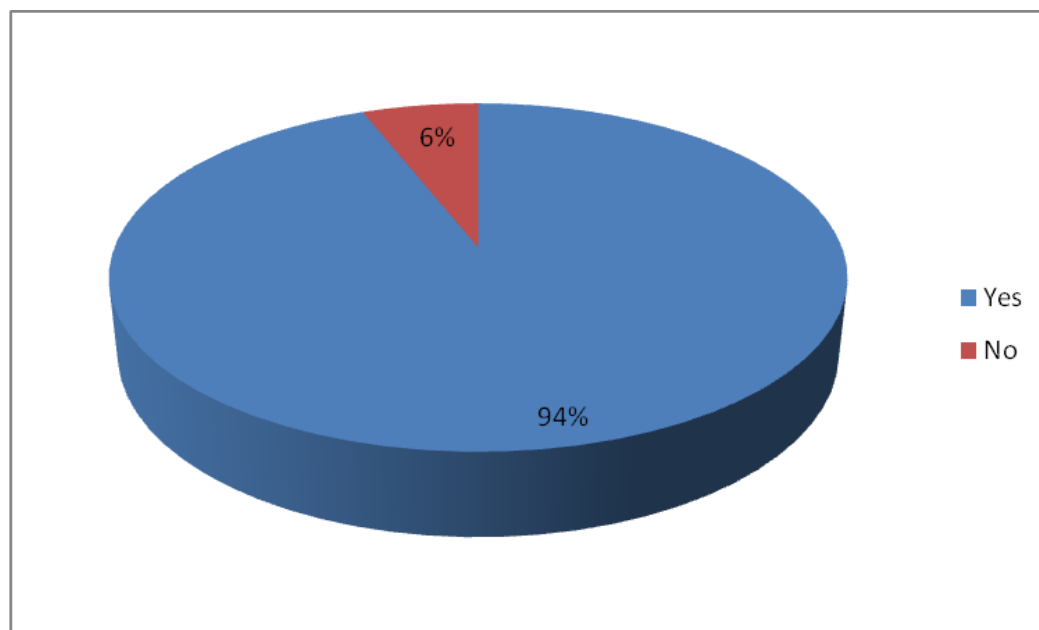


Figure 4.5: Opinion on Support for Ecotourism Development

Source: Researcher (2012)

Besides, interview results revealed that a majority of the respondents (60%) was contented with the positive contribution of the eco-lodges to; education, employment, health facilities and water supply but pointed out that the establishment of the eco-lodges had resulted in the loss of ownership of their land through the creation of conservancies. Some respondents (15%) pointed out that the community as a whole had lost out on land and pasture grounds for their livestock. Other respondents (15%) emphasized that the establishment of the conservancies, where the eco-lodges were situated, had been an inconvenience to them; as they are a nomadic people and relied on the land especially during the drought season. Finally, 10% of the respondents pointed out that the area where the eco-lodges were located had seasonal rivers passing through and that the areas had better pastures compared with the rest of the land.

A further scrutiny on the variance of the responses as pertained to the differences between respondents' willingness to support eco-tourism development and ecotourism's contribution to socio-economic development revealed that there was a statistically significant ($P < 0.05$) difference between respondents' willingness to support ecotourism development and their perceived effect of eco-tourism on increased community cohesion and pride ($U(1) = 2154$, $P = 0.027$) with a mean score of 162.27. This implies that there is a difference between the willingness of a community to support ecotourism development and the effect of ecotourism on increased community cohesion and pride. This can be attributed to the interview results that revealed that community cohesion among local community members was declining due to not only mistrust between the group ranches'

officials and local community members because of lack of accountability and transparency in the management of ecotourism activities but also the domination of a few community officials in employment opportunities, bursaries and business tenders in the ecolodges at the expense of the entire community. As such, further support for ecotourism enterprises in the study regions depends on the development of ecotourism initiatives that will address community cohesion and pride.

However, the study findings established that there was no statistically significant ($P>0.05$) differences on the responses between respondents' willingness to support ecotourism development and perceived effect of ecotourism on education, health facilities, enhanced security, shelter, tap water, better transportation, enhanced communication, access to market, increased small and medium enterprises, access to credit, increased resource ownership and control, involvement in decision-making, access to information, enhanced information sharing, increase in registered groups, expansion of employment opportunities, enhanced revenue sharing, acquisition of assets, access to grazing pastures, adequate food supply and access to income. This implies that the community was willing to support ecotourism regards of its effect on access to basic needs or not. The rest of the responses are analyzed in Table 4.4 below.

4.6 Local Communities' Aspiration for Eco-tourism Development

During the study, it became apparent that the respondents had a wide range of aspirations for ecotourism development, including: involvement, control and equality, government

support, increased water supply, more individual benefits, compensation, community cohesion, enhancement of skills, enhancement of security, more health services, better roads and increased access to markets and marketing.

Table 4.4: Differences between Respondents' Willingness to Support Eco-tourism Development and the Effect of Ecotourism Enterprises on Socio-Economic Development

Variable	Mann-Whitney <i>U</i> Test value	<i>p</i> value	Degrees of freedom (df)
Access to education	2638.5	0.331	1
Access to health facilities	2335	0.080	1
Enhanced security	2534.5	0.244	1
Adequate and decent shelter	2247	0.057	1
Access to tap water	2789	0.611	1
Better transportation	2957	0.952	1
Enhanced communication	2829	0.694	1
Access to market	2978.5	0.997	1
Increased SME opportunities	2817.5	0.659	1
Access to credit	2498	0.215	1
Increase in resource ownership	2505	0.219	1
Increase in resource control	2690	0.448	1
Involvement in decision-making	2463.5	0.177	1
Access to information	2437.5	0.151	1
Enhanced information sharing	2289	0.070	1
Increase in registered groups	2639.5	0.375	1
Increase in community cohesion	2154	0.027	1
Expansion of employment	2889	0.817	1
Enhanced revenue sharing	2440	0.162	1
Acquisition of assets	2413.5	0.144	1
Access to grazing pastures	2605.5	0.334	1
Adequate food supply	2658	0.405	1
Access to income	2359	0.093	1

Source: Researcher (2012)

4.6.1 Increased Community Involvement, Control and Equality

Most of the respondents (90%) stressed the need for more control and equality in ecotourism development and management. The following assertions from some of the respondents underscore the above:

Benefits from eco-tourism should be distributed equally to all community members....in fact there should be equality in sharing of revenue.

(CK1-3)

We desire to share equitably the manyatta entry fees....In fact; we want equal opportunities in running of the cultural bomas.

(FGD CK 1-6)

I wish we could share the revenue on a 50 to 50 basis with the tour drivers.

(CK 1-1)

We want to be charging the visitors who visit the manyatta... we would want to take control of the business.

(PP 1-2)

In addition, the advantage of increased community control and equality was emphasized by a participant in the following way:

If there is equitable distribution of revenue, everyone would be comfortable. We would persevere and continue to live in harmony with wild animals as in the past.

(BP 1-3)

4.6.2 Government Support

A large number of respondents (87%) expressed their need for strong government support especially in establishing and implementing eco-tourism policy to guide and protect local community. Besides, the government should act not only as a “watch-dog” to ensure a fair deal between the investors and the local community but also ensure that the interests

of the investors do not impinge on the social and economic well-being of the local community. They stated that:

We need government support to complement support from eco-tourism. This way poverty will diminish from our midst.

(FGD PP 1-1)

The government should regulate tourist activities in the cultural bomas.

(PP 1-3)

4.6.3 Enhancement of Water Supply

Most of the respondents (85%) recommended that water supply should be increased. They argued that this would not only minimize the amount of time and energy spent in fetching water and the distance covered in search of water but would also enable them to sustain their livestock during the dry season. They further asserted that some of the frequently reported cases of inter-community conflicts were instigated by water shortages.

Besides, the respondents emphasized that increased water supply will create opportunities that could help them meet their basic needs and improve their quality of life as indicated below.

We depend on water for our animals...If we get enough water...our livestock will increase and thus improve our lives.

(FGD PP 1-10)

4.6.4 Enhanced Individual Benefits

In spite of the local community's optimism with eco-tourism development, as it has provided some job opportunities for some of the members; the community members

advocated for linkages such as business opportunities and more employment opportunities with the eco-lodges so that they can be able to benefit directly. Besides, the study established that even though the local community does not practice farming, they can participate by way of supplying dairy products to the eco-lodges and selling of handicrafts to the visitors who visit the eco-lodges.

Similarly, a large number of the respondents (85%), stressed that they would like to acquire more individual benefits from ecotourism through compensation. This was supported by views that if someone's animals are killed by wild animals, it is this particular person who remains poor not the entire community. This is best illustrated by the following comment from one of the respondents:

Lions are government property while cows and goats are mine. The lion benefits from me...by eating my cows. But as an individual I do not benefit from the lions or tourism associated with them.

(PP 1-1)

Even though some of the respondents (70%) advocated for full compensation “*if a leopard kills your goat...be paid*” (PP 1-1), others were quite realistic about compensation for death and damages caused by wild animals “*if my cow is killed by a lion, I should be compensated with even half of its market value...am not demanding for the whole amount because I sometimes benefit in one way or another from these wild animals.*”

(BP 1-2)

4.6.5 Compensation for Wildlife Damage

Most of the respondents (82%) were interested in compensation for death and damages caused by wild animals especially leopards, lions and elephants. A number of the respondents held the view that:

The leopards, lions and elephants benefit the government and eco-lodges since they attract visitors...but they are a great threat to us.

(FGD BP1-1)

Others viewed the government as:

The main recipient of tourism revenue and therefore it should pay for the death, damages and loss of property caused by wild animals

(BP1-2)

Besides, majority of the respondents (80%) expressed substantial resentment against the existing government compensation policy, particularly for human death caused by wild animals. Compensation for damages and death caused by wild animals was considered by a majority of the respondents as blatant insult. One of the respondents lamented:

Ksh. 30,000 compensation Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) pays to families of victims killed by wild animals is rather demeaning.

(BP 1-2)

Another respondent posed:

If someone is killed by a wild animal, the government pays only Ksh. 200,000.... is this not an insult? Why can't KWS get a better way of compensating us?

(PP 1-2)

4.6.6 Promotion of Community Cohesion

The study findings indicated that conflict may be looming as a result of unequal distribution of power and uneven distribution of benefits. This point was made very clear in the analysis of the community's perception of revenues generated from the eco-lodges.

Most of the respondents (80%) expressed much desire for community cohesion and unity.

One of the respondents asserted:

I wish we had a committee in charge of cultural bomas in this region; which will bring us together and unite us, so that we can complement each other and not view each other as enemies and competitors.

(FGD BP1-1)

4.6.7 Enhancement of Skills to facilitate Participation in Eco-tourism

A majority of the respondents (85%) recommended that community members needed training so as to improve their involvement and participation in eco-tourism businesses.

The following comment from one respondent underscores this:

We need to be taken for exposure tours and seminars to renowned community based eco-tourism enterprises... we would benefit if we are taught the best ways to conduct our businesses.

(PP1-3)

4.6.8 Better Roads

A large number of respondents (90%) expressed their need for strong government support especially in improving transport network. In fact, the study revealed that transportation network is notoriously weak in the studied communities. The areas are remote and public and private transport is rarely available. To reach public transport, long distances are to

be covered on foot. In addition, respondents stated that improved transportation to the remote community will definitely lead to the emergence of small shops and higher prices for livestock.

4.6.9 Other Desires for Eco-tourism Development

Other desires for eco-tourism development, which were occasionally stated include: enhanced security, more health services, increased access to markets and marketing.

4.6.10 Anticipated Local Community's Roles in Eco-tourism Development

Most of the respondents (30%) reported making and selling of artifacts and entertaining visitors as their preferred roles in eco-tourism development (Figure 4.6), despite the low returns associated with such forms of occupations.

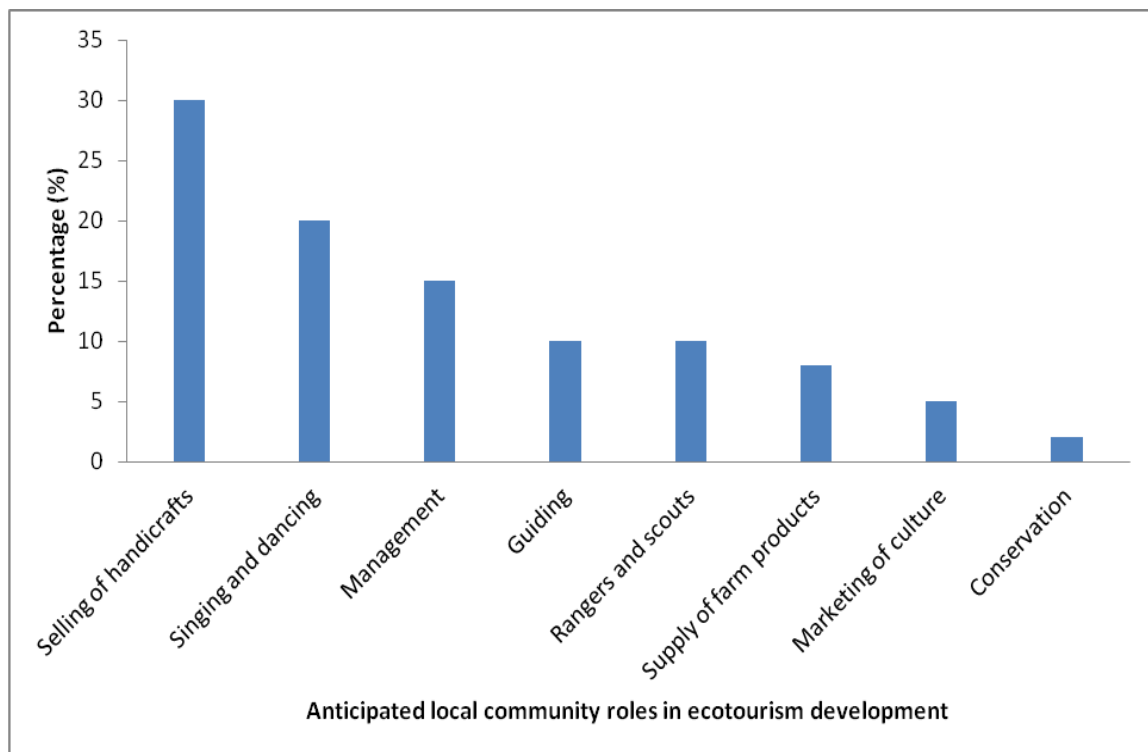


Figure 4.6: Anticipated Local Community's Roles in Eco-tourism Development

Source: Researcher (2012)

4.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided an insight into the effect of ecotourism enterprises on the socio-economic development of communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas. Results have revealed that local communities were particularly cognizant of the positive communal benefits such as construction of schools, health facilities, boreholes and water troughs which certainly, underscore community development activities initiated by ecotourism enterprises. Moreover, since a significant number of community members were pastoralists, the eco-lodges had focused on improving the quality of livestock especially

through introduction of better animal breeds. On the contrary, majority of respondents indicated that they had received minimal individual benefits in terms of employment, provision of bursaries and small business opportunities.

Besides, the chapter explored in depth the concepts of local community involvement in the decision-making process, participation of the local community in the eco-tourism enterprises, local community ownership, community support for eco-tourism development, local community's aspirations for eco-tourism development and their anticipated roles in eco-tourism development. In a nutshell, eco-tourism development was found not to contribute substantially to local community's involvement in decision-making, access to credit, access to grazing pastures, equitable revenue sharing and resource ownership. Nevertheless, regardless of the effect of eco-tourism enterprises on socio-economic development of the local community, most of the respondents were willing to support eco-tourism development. This support for eco-tourism development reflects the community's desire for additional economic activity.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Discussion

In recent times, ecotourism has been supported by conservation and development scholars as a strategy with potential of contributing to socio-economic development; thus alleviating the plight of the poor. However, relatively little qualitative and quantitative analysis of ecotourism enterprises' success in achieving socio-economic development objectives has been reported in Kenya. In addition, as much as ecotourism has been hailed as a key advocate for responsible travel which aims at improving the welfare of the local people; there is inadequate statistical data to support the assertion. This leads us to ask the question: under what conditions and what processes of interaction do communities, protected areas and tourism operations mutually benefit each other?

In response, by utilizing both qualitative and quantitative methods, a fairly comprehensive understanding of the effect of ecotourism enterprises on the socio-economic development of communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas particularly Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli National Park has been achieved. This chapter provides a review of the results presented in chapter four in an attempt to provide an understanding of what has been learnt on the effect of ecotourism enterprises on the socio-economic development of communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas using the case studies of Maasai Mara National Reserve and

Amboseli National Park. Specifically, it addresses the effect of eco-tourism enterprises on economic development. This is followed by a discussion on the effect of eco-tourism enterprises on social development. Finally, the chapter discusses local community's support and aspirations for eco-tourism development.

5.1 Effect of Ecotourism Enterprises on the Economic Development of Communities Living Adjacent to Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli National Park

At its face value, the development of eco-tourism in Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli National Park may appear to be successful and to a certain extent, the eco-tourism industry can be said to contribute to economic development at the local level. In fact, local residents who were interviewed indicated that eco-tourism enterprises had brought benefits to the local community in terms of job creation and business opportunities. However, a critical evaluation of eco-tourism development in the two selected study areas and its effect on local community's economic development presents a less optimistic scenario since local people are faced with insurmountable barriers to seizing economic opportunities created by eco-tourism development. The next sections of this chapter discuss the issues involved.

5.1.1 Creation of Employment Opportunities

According to Sindiga (1994) tourism means different things to different people. To governments which create policies and provide enabling environments for conducting the

business, tourism means employment for its citizens. For the Kenyan government, tourism means the maximization and sustenance of high foreign exchange earnings, tax revenues and creation of employment (Gok, 1994). The latter is particularly important not just in terms of the number of jobs which are generated but also because of its implications on the socio-economic development of the country and the well-being of its people.

Scheyvens (1999) argues that when considering whether or not a community has been economically empowered by an ecotourism venture, it is necessary to consider opportunities which have arisen in terms of both formal and informal sector employment and business opportunities. These benefits are expected to increase support for conservation among local residents. The creation of eco-tourism- related jobs for local residents is a commonly cited ecotourism objective. This objective stems not only from the principle of equity, but also from the principle that tourism jobs reflect a concrete benefit of conservation (Lindberg *et al.*, 1996).

Study results showed that eco-tourism contributes to individual benefits in terms of creating employment. Despite this, the eco-lodges surveyed were found to employ a limited number of people, averaging 40 people per eco-lodge. Like previous studies such as Kieti (2007) have documented, this study established that relatively few jobs were created for local residents partly due to lack of training which is necessary for entry into the tourism industry. During the study, it was established that majority of the residents

who were working in the eco-tourism enterprises occupied unskilled and low paying job positions such as security guards, guides, waiters, janitors, porters, gardeners, game scouts and rangers. A typical comment from one of the respondents was: *the kind of jobs our people are given are just an abuse....imagine they are just waiters, guides, security guards, gardeners and scouts. While outsiders are the managers..... What a shame!*

This is consistent with early literature on tourism employment in less developed countries which noted that tourism employment is characterized by low quality, meaning low-skilled, low-wage and long working hours (Farver, 1984; Sindiga, 1994). Sindiga's 1999 argument that the majority of the Kenyans employed in the tourism industry continually "eat the crumbs" off the table of the tourism industry seems to hold true in this regard. The respondents also raised their concerns about employment within the eco-lodges. They claimed that the eco-lodges only employed people from certain clans and only relatives of the steering committee members seemed to get employment. Nepotism seems to be rampant and this can only be a cause of conflict amongst community members who feel that the little benefits that have accrued from ecotourism are not being shared equally. In spite of the eco-lodges employing a limited number of people, a majority of the respondents argued that tourism employment provided them with opportunities to increase their income and standard of living.

5.1.2 Supply of Goods and Services

The supply of goods and services required in ecotourism establishments is undertaken during the construction and operational phases of the establishments. While goods that can be purchased locally include food, handicrafts, laundry services, furniture, transport services and guiding (Kirsten and Rogerson, 2002), the current study focused on the purchase of food, handicrafts and construction materials. Consequently, findings revealed that majority of the food and amenities required by the eco-lodges were bought from outside the adjacent areas and communities. These results concur with findings of previous researchers who stated that tourism accommodation management contributes to high imports and leakages of tourism profits (Britton, 1982; Farver, 1984 and Brohman, 1996).

The extent to which the poor people can benefit through direct sales to tourists largely depends on their access to the tourist market (Bah and Goodwin, 2003). The findings revealed that local community's supply of goods and services to the eco-lodges was not realized in Maasai land due to the influence of such factors as lack of capital, communication skills, coordination and consistency of supply. Similar findings are documented in case studies drawn from Zimbabwe (Grierson and Mead, 1997), Indonesia (Telfer and Wall, 2000) and South Africa (Kirsten and Rogerson, 2002). Findings of the present study showed that inadequate transportation infrastructure exacerbates the problem of getting produced goods to the point of sale. More importantly, the

respondents stressed that limited access to credit was their major hindrance to supplying the eco-lodges with goods in the right quantities and quality. Similar constraints have been noted in South Africa (Kirsten and Rogerson, 2002).

On the other hand, the study findings identified opportunities, information, capacity and capital as basic requirements for successful linkages. Similar results were reported in South Africa by Kirsten and Rogerson (2002). As a matter of fact, eco-lodges can purchase products locally in areas of high agricultural activity and where there is a diversity of offered products.

The findings further revealed that the eco-lodges provided most services required by tourists, including accommodation, food and beverage, day tours, souvenirs and entertainment; leaving little need for the tourists to venture beyond eco-lodges' premises. Moreover, it was established that eco-lodge managers within the study regions were limiting access to a number of vendors by denying them entry to their premises for the purpose of selling goods to tourists. Similar claims were made by Akama and Kieti (2007) when they asserted that local people are rarely involved in the provision of the core and profitable tourism and hospitality services such as transportation, accommodation, catering services and management of tourism facilities.

Similarly, Goodwin (1998) while commenting on third world tourism noted that local people are denied any significant opportunity to participate in the tourism market.

Tourists are not accessible to the local community when they are within their hotels, coaches, safari vehicles or inside sites and attractions such as museums. These are all enclave forms of tourism, where those wishing to sell to tourists are often reduced to hawking at the enclave entry and exit points.

According to Mbaiwa (2005) enclave tourism is a form of internal colonialism where tourism resources in a destination mostly benefit outsiders while the majority of local people derive insignificant or no benefits. Such scenarios are common in Maasai land, where local residents mainly engage in marginal and informal business activities (generating minimal profit) such as entertaining visitors and selling artefacts. The provision of core tourism and hospitality services is controlled and managed by foreign investors. Exclusion of local people from these core business areas significantly aggravates the gap between the 'fewer' rich and the 'majority' poor. This is contrary to the claims by Telfer and Wall (2000) that cumulatively, smaller lodges play a significant role in the local tourism economy.

5.1.3 Improvement of Infrastructure

Infrastructure refers to physical structures such as roads, water supplies, water treatment, sewage treatment, power supplies and public services such as healthcare, education, protective services and fire protection (Prud'homme, 2004). Conroy *et al.* (2006) stress the importance of infrastructure to economic growth and explain how quality roads can facilitate trade by reducing transaction and transport costs. Road infrastructure also plays

a role in developing human capital by allowing the people to access public services in a safe and timely manner.

The study found out that the eco-lodges were actively involved in improving infrastructure within areas of their operation such as support of education opportunities through, construction of schools and provision of bursaries and construction of boreholes, health facilities and cattle dips. Moreover, since a significant number of community members were pastoralists, the eco-lodges had focused on improving the quality of livestock especially through introduction of better animal breeds. This contrasts with De Kadt (1979) claims that there is limited evidence on the effects of tourism on social services such as healthcare and education.

Though it is often said that the poor people can benefit from the transport network brought by tourism development, such was not clearly evident in the study regions. The study revealed that the transportation network was notoriously weak in the studied communities. The areas were remote and public and private transport was rarely available. To access public transport, long distances were covered on foot. An example was illustrated by the Narok-Maasai Mara road that was not only required for tourists to access Maasai Mara National Reserve, but was also needed for expedient access to Narok town by the local community. In spite of tourism development in the Maasai Mara area for years this road was yet to be upgraded. Hence, majority of the respondents (90%) requested for government help in terms of improving transport network. In addition, they

stated that improved transportation to the remote community would definitely lead to the emergence of markets and higher prices for their livestock.

5.1.4 Tourist Philanthropy

Of all the themes that emerged throughout this research, tourist philanthropy has received the least attention in academic literature (Zhao and Ritchie, 2007). Philanthropic contributions of tourists may take the form of volunteerism and donations, all of which can facilitate development. Donations for example, can take different forms ranging from funding education of one child, a mosquito net, an immunization program to constructing a nursery school, among others. The donated money will not make the poor rich, but will pay for a bridge, a road, a school, a teacher's wage, vaccinations or the start up of a business. In this regard, Pogge (2005) remarked that donations augment poor people's capacity to fend for themselves and their access to markets while also stimulating local production.

Findings revealed that volunteers had made positive contributions to the studied communities. One teacher for instance, reported being grateful for the new teaching methods that were shared in his school (BP 1-1). As a result, students were able to practice and improve their English language conversation skills.

These findings suggest that volunteer tourists can contribute to improvement of the quality of life and living standards of local people through the development of human

capacity by sharing ideas and teaching skills. Besides, literacy skills are a valuable contribution in promoting community empowerment which is fundamental in improving the quality of life and living standards of local people. This view is supported by Zhao and Ritchie (2007) who assert that tourist philanthropy can provide free training, support civil society, help secure development funds, support micro business initiatives and promote the democratic participatory process.

In addition, findings revealed that tourists had been donors for local development projects. For instance, results showed that one of the eco-lodge owners had on two occasions supervised use of ongoing donations from abroad. In one extraordinary case, an eco-lodge owner was asked to oversee the transfer of more than 10,000 British Pounds towards the construction of a local school (BP M1). Such donations were found to have made significant contributions to socio-economic development within the study regions. Tourists were noted for their contributions of start-up capital, school supplies, clothing and recreational equipment. A number of interviewees spoke of tourists who had visited the study regions and upon their return to their home countries, initiated charities, from which the funds were donated to community projects (BP 1-1, BP 1-2 and CK 1-2).

In spite of the successes of the donations reported in this study, there is need for further research to investigate the criteria for assessing the effective transactions of donations. Similar findings have been documented in Senegal (De Kadt, 1979), South Africa (Stoddart and Rogerson, 2004) and Tanzania (Charnley, 2005). Based on these findings, it

can be argued that investment in human development aids in the creation of a more productive workforce and can incur less strain on public social services in the long term.

5.1.5 Compensation

Around the world, it has been noted that tourism developers have adopted various compensation programmes in form of cash payments or social services such as provision of health clinics, schools, in an attempt to reduce conflicts between people and protected areas (Larson *et al.*, 1997). As a result, compensation for damages and death caused by wild animals is a popular approach to communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas. This is designed to prevent the affected communities from taking direct action themselves, which would usually involve hunting and killing the problem animals concerned. Study findings indicated that the eco-lodges were operating wildlife-damage compensation schemes that compensate livestock herders for losses incurred due to wildlife predation. These programmes were aimed at increasing local community's tolerance to wild animals while minimizing the financial losses people incurred when for example, carnivores preyed on their livestock. Like other studies, such as Kieti (2007), this study found that communities living adjacent to Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli National Park shoulder much damage to crops, human and livestock depredation so much that wildlife damages have contributed to or reinforced poverty.

Besides, the findings established that the current government compensation scheme is ineffective as far as attitudinal change is concerned. In addition, the results agree with

Wishitemi (2008) assertion that despite the great opportunity out of allowing wildlife on their communally owned lands, the Maasai continue to suffer from wildlife related damage without compensation from the government. Meanwhile, the government collects large amounts of revenue from the parks, which of course are Maasai's traditional land alienated from them without compensation or consultation. This is in line with Okech and Urmilla's assertion that people living in areas of high biodiversity value may have more convincing reasons to over-exploit resources than to conserve them (Okech and Urmilla, 2009). Linked to deficient compensation scheme is escalating human-wildlife conflict and poaching. Therefore, there is need to review the current government compensation scheme if they are to improve the quality of life of communities living adjacent to the selected study areas.

5.1.6 Access to Assets and Basic Needs

Access to assets, especially, livestock and pastures is fundamental to pastoralist communities' livelihoods, such as, communities living adjacent to Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli National Park. In fact, part of this community development is dependent on access to natural resources such as pasture (Okech and Urmilla, 2009). The study revealed that local communities linked ownership of assets to well-being, status and success within the community. They characteristically linked assets to access to basic needs, increase in security, strengthening of family ties and shared community action, increase in one's control and confidence to make decisions and choices and enhancement of intra and inter-generational equity through inheritance and asset sharing.

Besides, the study pointed out that the establishment of the eco-lodges has resulted in the community losing access to part of their land through the creation of conservancies. On the other hand, the eco-lodges were found to be located in areas relied on by the local community during the drought seasons because they had seasonal rivers and better pastures. As a result, the community had lost out on pasture grounds for their livestock. This leads to the argument that the development of eco-tourism initiatives had hindered the local community from accessing pasture for their livestock and even reducing available land for grazing.

The preceding findings are consistent with those of Mclean and Straede (2003) assertion that one major way in which conservation has been detrimental to the poor people is by excluding them from protected areas or limiting their access to resources within protected areas. If local people are deprived of access to resources because of the development of ecotourism and yet do not receive any benefits from ecotourism, it is unlikely that they will have support for conservation of the natural resources upon which ecotourism is based (Okech and Urmilla, 2009). Many authors among them Okello (2005) and Kieti (2007) have criticized the exclusion of pastoralist community members from accessing assets especially livestock, pastures and water terming it as utterly inappropriate.

In addition, one of the disturbing situations revealed by this study was the pervasive invasion by wildlife, which was found to be detrimental to the livelihoods of communities living adjacent to Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli National

Park. These results are concurrent with previous studies, for instance, studies by Wishitemi and Okello (2003) reveal that over 60% of the local communities in Tsavo-Amboseli ecosystem lose their livestock and crops annually as a result of wildlife invasion. In addition, Obunde *et al.* (2005) established that most of local communities in Laikipia and Nyandarua districts face food shortage due to frequent invasion by wildlife. As a result, majority of residents living adjacent to wildlife protected areas suffer from chronic poverty, which forces them to rely on external sources of support, such as relief food in order to cater for their household needs. These findings reveal that eco-tourism development in the study regions has created loss of access to critical assets, thus aggravating underdevelopment.

5.2 Effect of Ecotourism Enterprises on the Social Development of Communities Living Adjacent to Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli National Park

The subsequent sections' discussion focuses on community empowerment, local community involvement in the decision-making process, community ownership and involvement in eco-tourism development, participation of the local community in eco-tourism enterprises, constraints hindering participation of the local community in ecotourism enterprises, enhancing equality and promotion of community cohesion.

5.2.1 Community Empowerment

According to Scheyvens (2009) empowerment refers to the process of coming together and engaging in collective action that can enable people to discover that they have shared interests and aspirations with those living around them and that, together, they can work to enact positive changes in their communities. This definition suggests that the process of empowerment in ecotourism development involves stakeholder collaboration because collaboration is the process whereby all interested and affected stakeholders come together and work collectively to solve planning issues and to identify policies and actions for development.

Sofield (2003) highlighted that stakeholder collaboration in tourism planning is a fundamental step towards empowerment of indigenous communities in community based ecotourism development as the effects of collaborative efforts nurture empowerment. It is commonly suggested that the act of involving those affected by the proposed tourism development is a significant mechanism to address problems in a tourism development process and to identify and attain common goals (Jamal and Getz, 1995, Selin and Chavez, 1995; McGettigan *et al.*, 2006). In addition, the involvement of key stakeholders and interested groups can enhance the capacity of indigenous communities as well as enable these communities to exert greater control over tourism development (Murphy and Murphy, 2008).

If a community is to be empowered by ecotourism, their voices and concerns should guide the development of any ecotourism project from the feasibility stage through to its implementation (Scheyvens, 1999). In this regard, eco-tourism enterprises should aim at strengthening a community's sense of cohesion and integrity in order to promote governance. Besides, diverse interest groups within a community, such as women and youths should have representation on community and broader decision-making bodies (Scheyvens, 1999).

Akama (1996) argues that alternative eco-tourism initiatives which aim at empowering local people are needed, in order for the local people to maximize their benefits, and have some control over eco-tourism occurring in their regions. He further asserts that local community members need to be empowered to decide what forms of tourism facilities and wildlife conservation programmes 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). As such empowerment is a precursor of community involvement in tourism, as it is a means of determining and achieving socio-economic objectives (Scheyvens, 2003).

From a socio-economic development perspective, ecotourism ventures should be considered successful if local communities have some control over them and if they share equitably in the benefits accruing from their ecotourism activities (Scheyvens, 1999). On the contrary, study results showed that a majority of respondents were not involved in

decision making and management of the ecotourism activities. This community's view is in contrast to Fennell's argument that eco-tourism is generally assumed to encompass a high degree of involvement of the local community (Fennell, 1999). The responses further conflicted with the idea that the concept of eco-tourism is different from that of mass tourism in terms of local community involvement. It can be argued that the practicality of the situation in the study regions reflected otherwise as it was evident that the majority of the people felt excluded from the projects and local community involvement was not realized.

In addition, the findings established that the owners of the eco-lodges only dealt with the steering committee leaders who were essentially men, and the sentiments of the other members did not seem to matter. This scenario validates Tosun (1999) assertion that tourism in developing countries has been organized by agreements between transnational companies and local elites without the involvement of local communities. This was evidenced when the majority of the respondents indicated that they were not pleased with the running of eco-tourism enterprises as they felt that only a few people were actually benefiting. This is consistent with Okech and Urmilla (2009) argument that many communities in Maasailand simply have no economic incentives to conserve biodiversity.

Besides, these results give credence to Birt (2011) assertion that without community control, more often than not, ecotourism has contributed to unfair distribution of tourism benefits. This sentiment is echoed by Rutten (2001) that elitism within community

structures is a huge barrier to community participation in eco-tourism enterprises. This situation has resulted in mistrust between the committee and community members, as there is no transparency and accountability. In response the key to successful conservation, in these communities, is making sure that they share the benefits fairly and do not shoulder a disproportionate share of the costs.

Majority of local community respondents reported that the aspirations of the community are disregarded in eco-tourism development as local elites work in partnership with foreign elites in the tourism sector. As a result, most of the benefits accrue to the local elites and foreign-based investors. This is contrary to the argument by Sindiga (1999) that ecotourism advocates for the utilization of natural resources for tourism in accordance with local aspirations and knowledge. According to Manyara and Jones (2007) local communities are hardly involved in tourism development, and the control of tourism resources is vested in the hands of a few Western investors who are mainly profit-driven. This is in contrast with Local Agenda 21 and the principles of sustainable tourism development which emphasize on local community involvement and the control of tourism resources by local communities (Manyara and Jones, 2007).

Consequently, the community felt alienated in the decision making process, as their leaders failed to represent the views of the community but instead pursue their own interests. These results give credence to Akama and Kieti's argument that lack of democratic space and corruption makes it almost impossible for marginalized people to

play any meaningful role in tourism development (Akama and Kieti, 2007). As a solution, ecotourism investors should integrate economic benefits, natural and cultural resources conservation and grassroots democracy in their operations to ensure that most of the benefits belong to the community. Another important issue that developed during the interviews was that of gender discrimination amongst the women in the study regions. The study results revealed that women were totally excluded from the discussions regarding the development of the eco-tourism enterprises.

This is consistent with Southgate's assertion that prescriptions for ecotourism, however often disregard the ways in which resource management scenarios are often characterized by inequitable patterns of access to and control over resources. Moreover, in heterogeneous and politically differentiated social settings achieving equitable broad based 'participation' invariably proves problematic. Such conditions weaken the capacity of local residents to negotiate equitable and sustainable relationships with other actors and agencies in ecotourism developments (Southgate, 2006). As such successful ecotourism initiatives should hand over responsibilities and benefits to local communities, resulting in actual community empowerment (Wishitemi, 2008).

The findings further disclosed that the existent cultural norms within study communities tended to counteract any empowerment initiatives and excluded women from participating actively in matters affecting their lives, individually and communally. Discrimination against women has remained an enormous challenge facing most women

in Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli National Park regions. In a true equity decision-making, women would be encouraged to articulate their desires for eco-tourism development, to plan and take the necessary actions, which was not the case with the Maasai Mara and Amboseli people. In this regard, community involvement in eco-tourism development is often difficult to implement in developing countries (Kieti, 2007). These findings advocate for the need to empower local communities to participate in decision making about, and control over, ecotourism development in their areas.

5.2.2 Community Ownership and Involvement in Eco-tourism Development

While a wide range of variables determine the form which ecotourism development ultimately takes in the context of a communal area, the issue of ownership and degree of community involvement is fundamental. According to Wishitemi (2008) involvement of local people in ecotourism can promote several important national objectives such as faster economic growth in their regions, improved welfare and equity, empowerment of local people, improved resource conservation by the local people and diversification of the country's tourism products. Besides, community involvement in ecotourism development can provide widespread economic and other benefits including empowerment for decision-making to the communities. These economic benefits act as incentives for participants and the means to conserve the natural resources on which income generation depends.

The study revealed that local community ownership was non-existent within the study regions. This is contrary to the recommendation by Wishitemi (2008) that a sizeable percentage of the community that contributes land and services in-kind must have some level of involvement and benefits. Lack of involvement of local communities in ecotourism and wildlife conservation as well as not stimulating in them economic interest in resource conservation will be reason for their continued indifference to poaching and bush meat trade, or concerns for the plight of wildlife migration corridors and dispersal areas (Wishitemi, 2008).

Besides, the results revealed that local community ownership was hindered by lack of economic opportunities, confidence, capital and empowerment amongst the local community. Besides, majority of the respondents asserted that the community lacked the technical know-how to successfully operate any eco-tourism enterprise. This is consistent with Cater (1993) argument that the degree of truly local participation is often limited in ownership and control of the natural attraction. As a remedy, economic partnerships between investors and local communities should be initiated. Partnerships will play an important role in filling financial and technical gaps facing communities (Wishitemi, 2008).

The study also established that the eco-lodges surveyed possessed exclusive rights to manage all eco-tourism activities within the conservancies they are located in. These rights were consolidated in the legal agreements they signed with the neighboring

communities. In view of these responses it is clear that the local community's participation was further hindered by lack of institutional power structures and economic systems. To overcome this, the local community must have access to legally recognized and enforceable rights to land, which will give them both an economic incentive and a legal basis for stewardship (Okech and Urmilla, 2009). In this regard, local communities need technical and legal assistance whenever they are negotiating partnership contracts with ecotourism investors (Wishitemi, 2008). More importantly, partnership agreements should be flexible and avoid exclusive clauses in order to buffer communities against risks and vulnerabilities associated with rigid articles in the agreements (Wishitemi, 2008).

Like previous studies among them Kieti (2007), this research established that most of the respondents preferred to engage in entertaining visitors and making and selling artifacts in spite of the meager income earned from such types of occupation. This is concurrent with Wishitemi (2008) argument that as tourists enter and leave the Maasai's backyard, all the Maasai can do is sell carvings, sing traditional songs and dance for meager benefits. Roe and Khanya (2001) argue that low-paying occupations are much sought after by majority of the poor people because they do not require high academic, vocational or basic skills. This explains the case of the Maasai Mara and Amboseli people. In fact, lack of basic skills and knowledge (as a good number of Maasai Mara and Amboseli people are uneducated or have attained elementary level education) inhibits them from taking up active roles and formal employment in eco-tourism businesses.

Related results about Okavango Delta and Il Ngwesi region are reported by Mbaiwa (2005) and Kieti (2007) respectively.

In addition, the research findings established that young men (warriors) performed dances to visitors; women exhibited and sold artefacts, while older men were involved in the production and supply of knives, clubs and spears to the *Manyattas* for sale. These results validate prior research that found that informal sector in eco-tourism presents an opportunity for all the categories of individuals; the youth, women, men and elderly (Clifton and Benson, 2006; Kieti, 2007). The flexibility of the informal occupations, including selling of handcrafts offered an opportunity to most women in Maasai Mara and Amboseli communities to carry out other household commitments along with such activities.

For sustainable development to succeed, local communities must be involved from the start in the planning, implementation and monitoring stages of resource management (Wishitemi, 2008). Besides, local leaders should be informed about the potential for community involvement in ecotourism enterprises and the various approaches to community involvement in ecotourism so that they can use their signing power to good effect (Wishitemi, 2008). Planning of ecotourism development should involve community representatives. Local communities should have legal entitlement to benefits from ventures operating in their areas. Revenue from investors and concessions in communal areas should accrue to local communities. Conservancies should be encouraged in tourism areas so that communities can negotiate contracts with ecotourism

investors, within their area. Studies have revealed that local communities can benefit from community based ecotourism especially with greater control over ecotourism development in their area and the terms of their interaction with tourists (Wishitemi, 2008).

5.2.3 Participation of the Local Communities in Eco-tourism Enterprises

Skill and institutional development, empowerment and equitable distribution of benefits are vital for improved welfare and sustainability of eco-tourism (Wishitemi, 2008). These in turn depend on the degree of community participation in an enterprise and their control of developments (Ashley and Garland, 1994). Besides, Wishitemi (2008) maintains that ecotourism can only thrive when it is participatory, acceptable and appreciated by the host communities, who should then be empowered to take an active as opposed to a passive role. As a result, local communities should have some control over and sharing in the benefits of ecotourism initiatives in their area.

For local communities to be able to exert some control over ecotourism activities, power has to be decentralized from the national to the community level (Akama, 1996). This could include involving grassroots organizations, local church groups and indigenous institutions in decision-making processes and on representative bodies such as national parks' boards or regional tourism associations. For many individual citizens, the sole purpose of participation in the tourism industry is to exercise power, or at least some

influence over the outcomes of tourism development. This is evident in many local communities where local elites initiate tourism projects and end up taking the lions' share of benefits, thus leaving community members disappointed with tourism development (Mwangi, 2005). As was observed, host communities were mainly involved as participants in meetings aimed at creating awareness of ecotourism and conservation issues. This is consistent with some of the common sentiments amongst the respondents, such as *“as the host community, we are only called upon when there are crises to be addressed, such as poaching, insecurity and killing of wild animals.”*

These findings are consistent with Akama and Kieti (2007) assertion that most of tourism projects in Kenya have been initiated through foreign and multinational investments and have tended to preclude local community participation in tourism project design, planning and management. In addition, the study's findings give credibility to Wishitemi (2008) argument that local communities are rarely consulted on tourism project proposals. These omissions end up curtailing sufficient participation of rural host communities in tourism development processes. As a solution, rural host communities should be allowed to give their views during ecotourism planning processes; comment on ecotourism project proposals and perhaps be involved in their implementation as well as monitoring.

The study further revealed that the participation of local community members in ecotourism development was hindered by; lack of adequate grassroots support, lack of skills,

lack of good planning, lack of adequate governmental support, inequality in sharing tourism benefits and lack of financial capital. Similar findings were reported by Manyara *et al.*, (2006). The above sentiments are also shared by Ghimire (2001) when she postulates that local communities not only lack financial resources to begin tourism schemes but they also have difficulties in meeting high level managerial capacity that is required in tourism projects. This is consistent with Akama and Kieti (2007) assertion that lack of knowledge on various facets of tourism product development and marketing inhibits effective participation of local people in tourism.

Ecotourism's ability to effectively contribute to the improvement of local community livelihoods largely depends on the existing and potential local capacities. More often local communities have been excluded from the benefits of tourism as a result of lack of intellectual and economic empowerment needed to effectively take advantage of commercial interests of their resources (Wishitemi, 2008). This calls for a need to overcome the low literacy levels among most communities living adjacent to protected areas.

In as much as local communities require capacity building to manage ecotourism enterprises, it would appear that economic realities of these local communities hinder their participation in eco-tourism development. This is consistent with Tosun (1999) argument that lack of capacity of poor people to handle development effectively, apathy and low level of awareness are affecting local community's participation in ecotourism

development. The feasibility of any community enterprise depends on whether the community has the capacity in terms of access to finance for initial costs, business management skills, secure land tenure, marketing skills and language skills for interacting with tourists (Wishitemi, 2008).

Moreover, the study revealed that community participation was limited by lack of structural and economic forums. For the local communities to play an active role in ecotourism development, they need to have adequate access to information such as on tourism market opportunities, market demands, available resources and how they can utilize them efficiently and effectively for their full benefits. These findings underscore the need for appropriate ways of creating awareness, facilitating access to and stimulating the flow of information to residents of both Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli National Park.

5.2.4 Enhancing Equality through Ecotourism Enterprise Development

In determining the success and sustainability of an ecotourism venture, the distribution of economic benefits from ecotourism is just as important as the actual amount of benefits a community may receive (Scheyvens, 1999). In this regard, equitable distribution of ecotourism benefits is of great concern, since the local communities have a right to share in any economic benefits generated from the wildlife resources in their areas (Wishitemi, 2008). The findings equally revealed that most of the respondents were concerned with equity especially in the sharing of benefits accruing from eco-tourism. A typical comment

from one of the respondents was: *“Ecotourism can only be important if income is shared equally among members of the cultural manyattas.”*

Literature reviewed revealed that local elites, particularly men, often co-opt and eventually dominate community-based development efforts, thereby monopolizing the economic benefits of tourism (Scheyvens, 1999). In concurrence, the results disclosed that local community members who owned larger portions of land within group ranches tended to dominate others in terms of employment opportunities, access to bursary and supply of farm produce to the eco-lodges.

In addition, majority of the respondents indicated that they were not pleased with the running of eco-tourism enterprises as they felt that only a few people were actually benefiting. This validates Wishitemi’s assertion that some ecotourism enterprises may be managed by one person acting in the name of community in which case the empowerment and social benefits will be reduced (Wishitemi, 2008). It should be noted that the more unequal distribution of benefits is, the larger the percentage of the population living in poverty.

Besides, the results revealed that the effects that include accumulation of savings by individuals are leading to social differentiation beyond traditional realms-further marginalizing the already impoverished individuals at the expense of the elite. The findings established that young well-to-do Maasai are not only controlling power in the

community following their exposure to the outside world and the wealth they have accumulated but are also eroding traditional settings. This new form of marginalization ought to be addressed, especially through empowerment of individuals who can question modern institutions and are motivated to actively participate in emerging livelihood options.

5.2.5 Promotion of Community Cohesion

Community cohesion and solidarity is one of the crucial assets of the poor. Actually, community cohesion is vital for community stability and for easing the material and psychological strains of poverty (Kieti, 2007). Scheyvens (2002) argues that preservation of community cohesion is extremely necessary in terms of maintaining a group's sense of self-esteem and well-being. Besides, community cohesion strengthens individual and group identities. In order to promote governance, eco-tourism enterprises should aim at strengthening a community's sense of cohesion and integrity. Strong community groups, including youth groups and women's groups, may be signs of an empowered community (Scheyvens, 1999). Community cohesion is improved as individuals and families work together to build a successful venture.

Results disclosed that the local community lacked adequate forums in which they could raise their concerns about eco-tourism development. Moreover, the relationship between steering committee members and the local community supports Tosun (1999) view that lack of information has been the major factor hindering community participation.

Besides, most of the revenue generated from the eco-tourism enterprises seems to benefit only a few members of the community, these being the steering committee members. In this regard, there seems to exist discontent and a bad relationship among the local community who think that their leaders are corrupt and mismanage resources accruing from ecotourism. This supports Wishitemi (2008) assertion that money brought into a community via tourism can provide many benefits, but it can also cause significant disharmony and conflict within community life. This is contrary to Fennell (1999) assertion that tourism is a key to community development with the recognition of its economic contribution and its ability to unify community members. Instead, eco-tourism initiatives in the study regions appear to have failed to unify community members and have instead created a corrupt culture among community leaders. This has resulted in increased mistrust, resentment, jealousy and hatred among community members.

Mistrust for instance, is a common barrier to any cooperative process and often results in lack of support for collaborations (Wishitemi, 2008). It can result in skepticism about the motives behind ecotourism and conservation objectives. This further propels opposition towards such initiatives (Wishitemi, 2008). Mistrust can also stem from lack of initiating and building strong relationships within local land owners in conservation areas. It could be overcome in part by proactive communication, strategic partnerships and development of relationships among community members.

Collapse of community cohesion and solidarity has been found to have profound effect on the poor. Narayan *et al.* (2000) affirm that the breakdown of social solidarity and social norms that once regulated public behavior increases the vulnerability of the poor people to violence and crime. Moreover, social ties are the only source of social insurance available to the poor, therefore, a breakdown of community cohesion and solidarity is deemed to increase material, psychological and social strains of poverty.

5.3 Community Support for Eco-tourism Development

The Maasai community who are the indigenous owners of Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli National Park have been pastoralists since time immemorial. Nomadic herdsman still exist in this part of Kenya in the 21st Century, and the nomads still live in their *Manyattas* in open landscape. They occupy arid and semi-arid areas and have few alternatives to livestock keeping. Over the years, the economies of these communities have depended on livestock and wildlife for their sustenance. However, harsh climatic conditions, unreliable rainfall, growing population, lack of government incentives and a properly established beef industry to encourage efficient marketing and pricing of the Maasai livestock, have demonstrated that pastoralism can no longer sustain this community. Besides, the struggles for survival have resulted in human wildlife conflict, poaching and reduced wildlife populations in many wildlife protected areas. In response, the community has embraced eco-tourism as an alternative economic development strategy.

According to Wishitemi (2008) the collapse of Kenya Meat Commission and lack of expertise in livestock husbandry have eroded pastoralism as a means of economic livelihood among the Maasai. Without properly established beef industry to encourage efficient livestock marketing and pricing, alternative economic activities are becoming popular. The impoverishment of the Maasai is obvious and their daily struggle for survival is so vivid that it is not surprising to see them start practicing crop agriculture in marginal rangelands or convert every wetland and riverine habitat into crop farms. It is, therefore not surprising that overwhelming majority of the respondents indicated their willingness to support eco-tourism development. Community's support for ecotourism development depends on its perception of its benefits and costs, as implied in the social exchange theory.

Social exchange theory is a social psychological and sociological perspective that describes social change as a process of negotiated exchanges between individuals or groups (Hritz and Ross, 2010). It is based on the assumption that eco-tourism development will be supported when the benefits, such as economic benefits, outweigh the costs of sharing environmental and social resources with tourists (Hritz and Ross, 2010). It proposes that community members balance the costs and benefits of eco-tourism development and their support for eco-tourism depends on the outcome of this cost-benefit equation (Kieti, 2007). The results of this study give credence to this theory. For instance, they established that on some occasions, there were volunteers who had exhibited culturally inappropriate behaviours. Yet as explained by one of the key

informants, local community members sometimes overlooked those cultural taboos if the volunteer remained in the area for a sufficient period of time and the volunteer's positive contributions outweighed such transgressions. On the other hand, the findings of this study are contrary to Andriotis and Vaughan (2003) assertion that community members who view the exchange as problematic will oppose eco-tourism development. The results revealed that the majority of respondents involved in eco-tourism identified some malpractices associated with eco-tourism for instance, domination and exploitation by the elites. In fact, majority of the respondents felt that a large share of the benefits accrued to the local elites, particularly men and private investors. These negative perceptions did not affect the willingness of the local community to support eco-tourism development. On the other hand, the findings confirm Andereck and Vogt's argument that the "existence of negative attitudes may not decrease residents' desire for tourism development" (Andereck and Vogt, 2000:35).

The foregoing findings are concurrent with those of previous studies by for instance Ormsby and Mannie (2006) who found that whilst residents of Masoala National Park, Madagascar claimed that tourism benefits people who own a hotel or café or are employed as park guides, the majority supported efforts to increase tourism activities in the park. It can be argued that attitudes do not suggest the nature of development considered appropriate by residents. Indeed, Andereck and Vogt found that residents tend to support tourism largely as a community development strategy (Andriotis and Vaughan, 2003).

5.4 Efficacy of Ecotourism Enterprises in Promoting Socio-economic Development

Around the world, ecotourism enterprises have adopted various initiatives ranging from cash payments to social services such as construction of health clinics and schools, in an attempt to mediate on conflicts between local residents and wildlife protected areas through justifying to the local residents the purpose of conservation. As a consequence, such interventions do not make any meaningful impact on the livelihoods of the local community. This was the case for the ecotourism enterprises in Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli National Park which were found to be driven by other objectives rather than socio-economic objectives. In fact, it was established that these enterprises were mainly driven by not only profit maximization but also protection and maintenance of biological diversity while ignoring fundamental socio-economic development issues.

In this regard, the findings revealed that as much as, ecotourism enterprises in Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli National Park have been instrumental in the provision of education, employment opportunities and health services, they are largely ineffective. In reality, the living standards of the local communities have remained largely unchanged by these initiatives in that, majority of community members, have no food to eat, no water to drink, no adequate shelter and no adequate security. These challenges express doubt whether ecotourism enterprises in Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli National Park are driven by socio-economic development objectives aimed at

improving the living standards of the local community. In an ideal scenario, ecotourism enterprises should address the basic survival needs of the local community or at least enhance their access to assets. In other words, ecotourism enterprises must begin by satisfying the basic needs such as food, shelter, clothing and security needs, and only after these are satisfied, further efforts can be directed to higher level needs.

This scenario calls for an ecotourism paradigm hinged on protected landscape model that facilitates local community's access to pasture and subsequently basic needs. This is in line with Maslow's hierarchy of needs, where the basic human needs are crucial without which the realization of any other needs is not possible. This notion is hinged on the fact that a person who cannot meet basic needs cannot be expected to pursue environmental conservation.

Findings further revealed that most of the benefits generated from the eco-tourism enterprises benefits only a few members of the community thus creating conflicts among community members. In this regard, the study findings proposed that further host community's support for ecotourism development was dependent on the contribution of ecotourism enterprises to community cohesion and pride.

Elsewhere the results disclosed that the local leaders failed to represent the aspirations of the local community and instead pursued their own interests. These aspirations included involvement, control and equality in revenue sharing, government support, increased

water supply, compensation, promotion of community cohesion, enhancement of skills and security, construction of more healthcare facilities and better roads and increased access to markets and marketing of local agricultural produce. As such the local community felt alienated from the decision-making process. Moreover, the study established that the local community's participation in ecotourism was hindered by poor leadership at grassroots level, lack of skills, lack of good planning, lack of adequate government support and inequality in sharing ecotourism benefits. In spite of that an overwhelming majority of the local community members supported further eco-tourism development.

5.5 Conclusions

Ecotourism enterprises have the potential to positively impact on socio-economic development of communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas. On the contrary, the study findings revealed that grassroots involvement of local communities in ecotourism enterprises was minimal and mainly confined to the supply of goods and services, sale of handicrafts and traditional dance entertainment.

Although, the local communities had benefitted from social programmes financed by ecotourism revenues such as water, schools, bursaries, healthcare and veterinary services; such benefits had remained largely ineffective, as majority of the local community were unable to gain access to basic needs such as food, decent shelter and clothing. Thus ecotourism enterprises in MMNR and ANP had not significantly contributed to socio-

economic development of the local community. In this regard, it can be argued that such ecotourism enterprises were mainly driven by conservation objectives rather than socio-economic development. As a consequence, they had not been able to make any meaningful impact on the livelihoods of the local community.

Moreover, inadequate democratic and popular participation had limited local community's control of revenues and effective involvement in planning and implementation of ecotourism enterprises. Besides, the study findings revealed that effective local community participation in ecotourism development was hindered by poor leadership at grassroots level, lack of skills, lack of planning and lack of adequate government support. These findings are contrary to the idea that the concept of ecotourism is different from mass tourism. Generally, eco-tourism is assumed to involve a high degree of involvement of the local community and results of this study suggest otherwise. The practicality of the situation in the study sites reflects otherwise as it was evident that the majority of the people felt excluded from the eco-tourism enterprises and local community's involvement was not realized.

Results also showed that community leaders made all decisions with the owners of the enterprises thus disregarding community's aspirations which included increased local community involvement, control and equality in sharing ecotourism revenues, government's support with technical and legal expertise when drafting partnership agreements with investors, increased water supply, enhancement of individual benefits,

increased compensation from wildlife damage, promotion of community cohesion, enhancement of skills to facilitate participation in eco-tourism, enhancement of security, provision of more health services, improvement of transportation infrastructure, increased access to markets and marketing of locally produced goods.

As a result, the community felt alienated in the decision making process, as their leaders failed to represent community's views but instead decided to pursue their own personal interests. This situation had resulted in mistrust between the community and their leaders, as there was no transparency and accountability. Consequently, community cohesion and cooperative spirit was gradually diminishing as mistrust and disunity tended to replace the traditional emphasis on group welfare. Gender discrimination against women was yet another pertinent issue that was established during the study. The results found out that women were totally excluded from the discussions regarding the development of the eco-tourism enterprises.

5.6 Recommendations

To address the various emerging issues and promote socio-economic development, various measures have to be undertaken. First, an eco-tourism policy should be developed and implemented so as to empower and accord technical assistance to local land owners when negotiating contracts or agreements with partnering eco-tourism investors.

Secondly, payments made to communities must commensurate with the value of their assets contributed. The terms of the contract made with local communities should allow investors to generate an acceptable return on their investment compared with other opportunities. However, the deal arrived at should respect the perspectives, priorities and thresholds of parties involved. In addition, parties entering into the partnership should agree on an open disclosure of information to open up negotiations that would lead to a new, mutually satisfactory agreement. Disclosure of information could entail laying open books of their parties, followed by workshops to help define and detail the stakeholders' aspirations and expectations regarding the partnership for purposes of reaching a consensus in negotiations. During such disclosures, information on what each party must get, intends to get, or would like to get is necessary.

Thirdly, the government should support local communities with technical and legal expertise on lease agreements, contract negotiations and community asset valuation, whenever they are negotiating partnership contracts with investors so as to establish fair and lasting economic partnerships. Besides, the government should ensure that partnership contracts are flexible and avoid exclusive clauses.

Fourth, the government should review all existing ecotourism partnership contracts to establish their effectiveness in addressing their pre - determined objectives and take the necessary action. Importantly, the government should not only act as a "watch-dog" to ensure a fair deal between the investors and the local community but also ensure that the

interests of the investors do not impinge on the social well-being of the local community. Fifth, in view of the differences in the levels of competencies between communities and private investors, the study roots for the adoption of profit-sharing joint ventures in wildlife dispersal areas. This will entail collaboration between the investors and host communities in the operation of ecotourism enterprises; with the community having not only entitlements to profits and lease payments but also being closely involved in their management. In this regard, it will be necessary to extensively train host communities on business management skills, marketing, community fund management, planning and budgeting, monitoring and evaluation skills so that they can gradually take on management responsibility of the enterprise.

Sixth, the study recommends increased adoption of community based ecotourism ventures in the study regions. Given that eco-tourism requires highly sophisticated marketing and management skills, communities should be assisted by the government in developing and marketing their products. Furthermore, local communities need to be trained on entrepreneurship so as to improve their involvement and participation in ecotourism businesses. In addition, they need exposure tours to renowned community based eco-tourism enterprises so that they can learn the best practices of conducting businesses. In this regard, it is paramount that community based ecotourism ventures be given a clear legal status to encourage their increased establishment and effective management.

Seventh, in light of discrimination of women in the development and management of ecotourism highlighted in this study, there is need for the local leaders to ensure true equity in decision-making whereby women should be encouraged to articulate their desires for ecotourism development, to plan and take necessary actions.

Eighth, ecotourism investors should ensure that there is stakeholder collaboration through involving all community members whenever designing, planning and executing ecotourism ventures so as to strengthen a community's sense of cohesion and integrity. In this regard, diverse interest groups within a community such as women and youth should have representation on community decision making bodies. Moreover all community's views and concerns should guide the development of any ecotourism project from the feasibility stage through to its implementation.

Ninth, in order to ensure that most of ecotourism benefits accrue to the host communities, investors should integrate economic benefits, natural and cultural resources conservation and grassroots democracy into their business operations. All community members should be allowed by investors to give their views during ecotourism planning processes, comment on ecotourism project proposals and perhaps be involved in their implementation as well as monitoring. In realization of this, Ecotourism Society of Kenya should set precedence by incorporating grassroots democracy into its ecotourism facility performance evaluation criteria.

Finally, in light of low educational standards in areas adjacent to wildlife protected areas, the government should act swiftly to curb low literacy levels by providing the necessary educational infrastructure and teachers. Nevertheless, for sustainable development to succeed, the government should involve local communities in the planning, implementation and monitoring of ecotourism enterprises. Besides, local leaders should be informed about the potential for community involvement in ecotourism development and the various approaches to community involvement in ecotourism so that they can use their signing power to good effect.

5.7 Opportunities for Further Research

The researcher recommends the following for further research;

First, there is need to explore available means of establishing an appropriate partnership framework which will address the diverse needs and concerns of private investors and host communities.

Second, although this study highlighted the link between priority socio-economic development dimensions and Maslow's hierarchy of needs, this was not explored in depth. Further research needs to be done on this with a view of identifying an appropriate entry point for ecotourism interventions.

Finally, this research revealed that volunteers had made positive contributions to the sampled communities. However, there is need for further research to investigate the criteria for assessing the effective transactions of donations.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Questionnaire for Local Residents

Questionnaire Number _____ Interview Date _____

Residence:

Village _____ Location _____ Division _____ District _____

Dear Respondent,

The information sought by this questionnaire will assist in establishing whether or not ecotourism development has had social and economic benefits accruing to you. This is aimed at tailoring ecotourism initiatives to meet your aspirations. The information will also be used in writing a Masters thesis on the effect of ecotourism enterprises on the socio-economic development of communities living adjacent to wildlife protected areas in Kenya: a case study of gold-ecorated lodges.

Please follow the instructions below carefully when completing this questionnaire

There are four parts on the questionnaire: PART A, B, C and D. Kindly fill and complete all the parts of the questionnaire. These are: PART A on general information, PART B on the effect of ecotourism enterprises on socio-economic development, PART C on the constraints to your participation in ecotourism development and PART D on your views and aspirations on ecotourism development.

The information given will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you for assisting in this research project,

Momanyi O. Stephen

Part A: General Information

- 1. Age (Tick one):
 - (01) Below 20 years
 - (02) 21-40 years
 - (03) 41-60 years
 - (04) Above 60 years
- 2. Gender (Tick one):
 - (01) Male
 - (02) Female

3. Marital Status (Tick one):

- (01) Married (02) Single (03) Divorced/ Separated
 (04) Any other (specify) _____

4. Educational Level (Tick one)

- (01) None (02) Primary (03) Secondary
 (04) College (05) University
 (06) Any other (specify) _____

5. Occupation (Tick one)

- (01) Unemployed (02) Self- employed
 (03) Salaried/formal employment (04) Farmer
 (05) Any other (specify) _____

Part B: Effect of ecotourism enterprises on socio-economic development

Using the guide to responses given below, please circle where appropriate in the table the answer that best describes your opinion on the statements given.

1- Strongly Disagree 2- Disagree 3- Neither 4- Agree 5- Strongly Agree

Ecotourism enterprises have had a positive effect on:

6. Access to education	1	2	3	4	5
7. Access to health facilities	1	2	3	4	5
8. Enhanced security	1	2	3	4	5
9. Adequate and decent shelter	1	2	3	4	5
10. Access to tap water/ water supply	1	2	3	4	5
11. Better transportation	1	2	3	4	5
12. Enhanced communication	1	2	3	4	5
13. Access to market	1	2	3	4	5
14. Increased small enterprise opportunities	1	2	3	4	5
15. Access to credit	1	2	3	4	5
16. Increased resource ownership	1	2	3	4	5
17. Increased resource control	1	2	3	4	5
18. Enhanced involvement & participation in decision-making	1	2	3	4	5
19. Access to information	1	2	3	4	5
20. Enhanced information sharing	1	2	3	4	5

21. Increased registered groups	1	2	3	4	5
22. Increased community cohesion and pride	1	2	3	4	5
23. Expansion of employment opportunities	1	2	3	4	5
24. Enhanced revenue sharing	1	2	3	4	5
25. Acquisition of assets	1	2	3	4	5
26. Access to grazing pastures	1	2	3	4	5
27. Adequate food 'supply'	1	2	3	4	5
28. Access to income	1	2	3	4	5

Part C: Constraints to Local People's Participation in Ecotourism Enterprises

Use the key to responses given below to circle the appropriate responses to questions 29 to 48

1-Strongly Disagree 2-Disagree 3-Neither 4-Agree 5-Strongly Agree

Local people's participation in ecotourism enterprises is hindered by:

29. Lack of skills	1	2	3	4	5
30. Lack of financial capital	1	2	3	4	5
31. Lack of social capital (organizational strength)	1	2	3	4	5
32. Gender constraints	1	2	3	4	5
33. Location of residence	1	2	3	4	5
34. Mistrust	1	2	3	4	5
35. Disunity	1	2	3	4	5
36. Lack of ownership	1	2	3	4	5
37. Lack of good planning	1	2	3	4	5
38. Lack of favorable regulation	1	2	3	4	5
39. Inadequate access to tourism market	1	2	3	4	5
40. Lack of partnerships with other stakeholders	1	2	3	4	5
41. Lack of adequate governmental support	1	2	3	4	5
42. Inequality in sharing tourism benefits	1	2	3	4	5
43. Incompatibility with existing livelihood strategies	1	2	3	4	5
44. Lack of education	1	2	3	4	5
45. Lack of control of tourism activities	1	2	3	4	5
46. Domination by outsiders (individuals and companies)	1	2	3	4	5
47. Poor leadership at grassroots level	1	2	3	4	5
48. Lack of adequate grassroots support	1	2	3	4	5

Part D: Local People’s Views and Aspirations on Ecotourism Development

49. Do you support eco-tourism development in this area?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

50. (a) As an individual, are you currently involved in eco-tourism activities?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

(b) If yes in 50 (a) above, how are you involved?

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(c) If no in 50 (a) above, explain why?

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51. How much do you earn per month from the eco-tourism activities in which you are currently involved?

- (1) Less than Kshs. 999
- (2) Kshs. 1000-4999
- (3) Kshs. 5000-9999
- (4) Kshs. Over 10,000

52. List at least THREE ways in which income earned from ecotourism has assisted in improving your livelihood.

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53. What are your aspirations in regards to the development of ecotourism enterprises?

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54. List at least THREE ways in which ecotourism can be developed to meet your aspirations.

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55. What do you think would be your role in ecotourism development?

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56. How has the community changed since the ecolodge opened?

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57. Give any other comment(s) you may have on ecotourism

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Appendix II: Key Informant Interview Guide (For the Management of the Eco-Lodges)

1. Opinion on ecotourism enterprises
 - a. Do you think communities living adjacent to your eco-lodge support ecotourism development in this area?
 - b. Do you involve local communities in ecotourism management in this area?
 - c. How do you involve local communities in ecotourism development in this area?
2. Effect of ecotourism enterprises on the local community's socio-economic development
 - a) Do you think ecotourism has had any effect on the socio-economic development of communities living adjacent to your eco-lodge?
 - b) Have you initiated any community development initiatives on the adjacent community?
 - c) How have these community development initiatives impacted on the socio-economic welfare of your adjacent community?
 - d) What is your opinion on the effect of the ecolodges on the following;
 - (i) Access to assets (ii) Access to basic needs
 - (iii) Enhanced governance (iv) Enhanced security
 - (v) Community empowerment (vi) Equality
3. To what extent is your adjacent community engaged as owners and managers in the ecolodges?

Appendix III: Focus Group Discussion Questions (For Opinion Leaders)

1. Opinion on ecotourism development
 - a) Do you support ecotourism development in this area?
 - b) Are you involved in ecotourism development in this area?
 - c) What is your opinion on the development of the ecolodges in this area?
2. Effect of Ecotourism Enterprises on the local community's socio-economic development
 - a) How has the ecolodge in this area affected your life?
 - b) How has the ecolodge in this area affected your community?
 - c) Has the ecolodge in this area improved or impoverished your living conditions?
 - d) Can you briefly comment on the effect of the ecolodge on your life and your community over the years?
3. Aspirations for ecotourism development
 - a) What is the most important issue that needs to be addressed in regard to the eco-lodges in this area?