

The Role of Entrepreneurship in Community-Based Tourism

**This thesis is presented in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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Table of contents

TABLE OF TABLES	6
TABLE OF FIGURES	7
ABSTRACT	8
LIST OF ACRONYMS	10
STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY	11
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	12
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	13
1.1 Preliminary remarks	13
1.2 Research context	13
1.3 Community-based tourism	15
1.4 Research problem	17
1.5 Research question	18
1.6 Thesis structure	19
1.7 Chapter summary	20
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	22
2.1 Chapter objectives	22
2.2 Community development	22
2.3 Approaches to community development	26
2.4 Community-based tourism (CBT)	28
2.4.1 Community participation	30
2.4.2 Community power and control in CBT	33
2.4.3 Community outcomes of CBT	35
2.4.4 Trajectories of evolution of CBT	36
2.4.5 Conspectus	38
2.5 Entrepreneurship in CBT	39
2.5.1 CBT, community-based enterprises (CBE) and community-based tourism enterprises (CBTE)	41
2.6 Research question	43
2.7 Practice theory as a heuristic device	44
2.8 Chapter summary	46

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY	48
3.1 Chapter objectives	48
3.2 Background	48
3.3 Practice approach	49
3.4 Method	50
3.5 A multiple case study approach	50
3.6 Case selection	52
3.7 Gaining access	54
3.8 Participant recruitment	55
3.9 Data collection	57
3.9.1 Interviews	58
3.9.2 Participant observation	59
3.10 Data analysis	60
3.10.1 Step one: organising data for analysis	61
3.10.2 Step two: second-level coding	63
3.11 Trustworthiness and ethical considerations	65
3.11.1 Researcher's habitus	66
3.12 Chapter summary	67
CHAPTER 4: CASE SETTINGS	69
4.0 Chapter objectives	69
4.1 Kenyan context	69
4.1.2 Economic development background	70
4.2 Il Ngwesi	75
4.3 Lumo Wildlife Sanctuary	78
4.4 Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project	79
4.5 Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary	80
4.6 Chapter summary	81
CHAPTER 5: IL NGWESI CASE	83
5.1 Introduction	83
5.2 The key influences on the creation of Il Ngwesi CBTE	83
5.2.1 Conspectus	87

5.3 Roles of different actors	88
5.3.1 Friend and neighbour	88
5.3.2 Founder role	92
5.3.3 Other actor roles	96
5.4 Influences of the context of Il Ngwesi	99
5.4.1 Political and historical context	99
5.4.2 The cultural context	101
5.5 Case summary	108
CHAPTER 6: LUMO CASE	110
6.1 Introduction	110
6.2 Entry to the case	110
6.3 Background: Parks and local relationships	111
6.4 The Creation of Lumo Wildlife Sanctuary	112
6.5 Different actors	119
6.5.1 Community involvement	119
6.5.2 Pioneer manager	121
6.5.3 Founding members	124
6.5.4 Actors from partner organisations	129
6.6 Influences of the milieu of Lumo	133
6.7 Lumo case summary	133
CHAPTER 7: MWALUGANJE CASE	135
7.1 Introduction	135
7.2 The Process of creation of the Mwaluganje CBTE	135
7.3 Roles of different actors	139
7.3.1 Sense of communal ownership and place identity	139
7.3.2 Role of local community involvement	140
7.3.3 Founding members	143
7.3.4 Founder manager	146
7.3.5 Actors from partner organisations	148
7.4 Role of historical, environmental, political, and cultural environment	151
7.5 Chapter summary	153

CHAPTER 8: MACKINDER EAGLE-OWL CASE	155
8.1 Chapter objectives	155
8.2 The of creation of the Mackinder Eagle-Owl CBTE	155
8.3 Roles of different actors	160
8.3.1 Community involvement	160
8.3.2 Founding member role	161
8.3.3 Actors from partner organisations	163
8.4 Influence of environmental and cultural factors	164
8.5 Chapter summary	166
CHAPTER 9: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	168
9.1 Chapter objectives	168
9.2 Research problem	168
9.3 Research question	168
9.4 Results	169
9.4.1 Results overview	169
9.5 Synthesis and discussion	170
9.5.1 A community-focused process	170
9.5.2 Key Influences on the Creation and Development of CBTEs	172
9.5.3 Entrepreneurship in CBT	177
9.5.4 Other findings	181
9.6 Contributions	183
9.7 Limitations	185
9.8 Conclusion	185
REFERENCES	189
APPENDICES	207

Table of tables

Table 3.1	Case Selection Criteria
Table 3.2	Interview Participants (Consolidated)
Table 3.3	Interview Participants' Pseudonyms (Consolidated)
Table 3.4	Entry Activity Schedule (Part of Research Protocol)
Table 3.5	Data Source Codes
Table 3.6	Category Codes
Table 3.7	Second-Level Analytical Codes
Table 5.1	Il Ngwesi Interview Participants
Table 6.1	Lumo Interview Participants
Table 7.1	Mwaluganje Interview Participants
Table 8.1	Mackinder Interview Participants

Table of figures

Figure 2.1 Trajectories of Community Tourism

Figure 4.1 County Map of Kenya

Abstract

This thesis draws on findings from four case studies conducted in Kenya, East Africa, to investigate the entrepreneuring process associated with community-based tourism. This is accomplished by examining the influences of the historical, social, and political context, community needs, and the actors involved on the creation and development of community-based tourism (CBT) enterprises. The thesis is informed by a recognition that little has been written on CBT enterprise creation and development processes. Instead, the majority of CBT analyses have focused on outcomes; yet understanding how CBT enterprises are created and developed is crucial to determining not only their success, but also their importance as social institutions. Practice theory represents a suitable framework for interpreting the complex web of interactions that underlies the process of CBT enterprise establishment and functioning.

Using a multiple case study approach, this thesis investigates four Kenyan CBT enterprises by drawing on in-depth interviews, supplemented by document data and participant observations. A total of 48 interview participants were drawn from across several key role-groups, including CBT founders, community members, and members of government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The combined data indicate that CBT enterprise creation in each of these four cases was driven by the need to address serious problems faced by the community, such as poverty, drought, human-wildlife conflict, and loss of access to traditional land. These findings strongly suggest that the creation and development of CBT enterprises is underpinned by a purposive process of creation. Viewed through an entrepreneuring lens, such creation can be interpreted as a form of coping and surviving within actors' and communities' lived environments. The process unearthed in these case studies is one of complex interaction between various actors from within and outside the communities, and the situational demands of these settings. Furthermore, it is characterised by drawing on learnable concepts such as practical wisdom, analogising and improvisation, being community-focused, built on trust, and addressing unequal power relations.

This thesis contributes to CBT theory by articulating possible means by which CBT could address poverty, and enhance community agency and solidarity. It also highlights the significance of practice theorisation in understanding the processes of building local community institutions in marginal rural settings. The research reveals new possibilities of approaching CBT as a complex field involving innovative partnerships and collaborations that are able to address

local issues in an agentic manner; it also shows CBT to be a means of community development by which historically and culturally embedded structural limitations to socio-economic change can be overcome in diverse peripheral localities. The findings may prove applicable beyond the field of CBT.

List of acronyms

AGM	Annual General Meeting
AWF	African Wildlife Foundation
CBE	Community-Based Enterprise
CBT	Community-Based Tourism
CBTE	Community-Based Tourism Enterprise
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resource Management
CDA	Coast Development Authority
CDTF	Community Development Trust Fund
COBRA	Conservation for Biodiversity Resource Areas
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
FECTO	Federation of Community-Based Tourism Organisations
GOK	Government of Kenya
HWC	Human-Wildlife Conflict
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KECOBAT	Kenya Community-Based Tourism Network
KCPE	Kenya Certificate of Primary Education
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service
LUMO	Lualenyi, Mramba and Oza
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRT	Northern Rangeland Trust
PA	Protected Area
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VSO	Volunteer Services Overseas

Statement of originality

This thesis contains no material, except with the committee's approval, which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution. I affirm that to the best of my knowledge, the thesis contains no material published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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Melphon Angwenyi Mayaka

5/4/2015

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Journey of a PhD: mythical window dressing to reality show?

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The tapestry of the Starbucks we know so well today was painstakingly stitched together from a variety of stakeholder inputs including those from customers, commercial artists, and community leaders who knowingly or unknowingly participated in a co-creation process that has transformed urban landscapes from Seattle to Ankara (Koehn, 2001 cited in Sarasvathy & Venkataraman, 2011, 118).

1.1 Preliminary remarks

In this chapter, the research underpinning this thesis is contextualised within the notion of CBT as tourism-led community development. This is followed by a justification of examining the processes through which CBT initiatives are developed. Their sociality in diverse settings is then established. Subsequently, the research problem and the research questions are established. Last, the outline of the thesis structure is set out.

1.2 Research context

The objective of this section is to establish the relevance of the present research in the context of the relationship between tourism and development. What follows is an outline of the evolution of various theoretical perspectives on tourism and how these have informed tourism analyses, citing key examples of the relevant literature within each perspective.

The way the tourism and development nexus is conceptualised has been strongly influenced over time by the evolution of development paradigms such as modernisation, neoliberalism, and dependency (Burns, 2004; Jamal & Stronza, 2008; Scheyvens, 2007; Sharpley, 2000; Telfer, 2002). While development is a notoriously difficult concept to pin down, its generally accepted attributes include: some notion of economic growth, structural change, industrialisation, modernisation, self-actualisation, as well as individual, national, regional and cultural self-reliance (Telfer, 2002). Other elements of development include human betterment, fulfilment, the enrichment of lives through the expansion of economic choices, poverty reduction through wealth distribution (Goldsworthy, 1988), freedom both economic and social, guarantees of transparency, and protective security (Sen, 1999). The relevance of these elements depends on the given local situation.

Tourism has been conceived and applied as a means of development since the 1950s. Since that time, four major theoretical perspectives on tourism and development have emerged: the liberally and neo-liberally inclined pro-growth or 'tourism first' school of thought, critical perspectives which challenge the aforementioned view, alternative tourism, and post-cultural perspectives (Burns, 2004; Scheyvens, 2007; Sharpley, 2000). The first three of these are

discussed below, while post-cultural perspectives are addressed in a later section. While other models such as Jafari's (1990) tourism platforms are recognised, these are not discussed in the present outline for the sake brevity and clarity.

The rightist 'tourism first' perspectives of the 1950s and 1960s conceptualised tourism as a modernising tool (Telfer, 2002, 36). This pro-tourism thinking informed contemporary tourism development policies adopted by governments and international development agencies (see Jafari, 1990). These policies were characterised by top-down planning mechanisms, encouraged mass inflows of foreign tourists and prioritised private sector-led industry.

In response to this, leftist critiques informed by dependency and political economy theory raised issues such as the impact of foreign interest-driven tourism development (Britton, 1982; Brohman, 1996; Mbaiwa, 2005). For example, Britton (1982) explained how such tourism development entrenches dependency, a historical conditioning process that adversely alters indigenous economic and social systems to serve the dictates of external markets. Critics of pro-tourism views argued that such dependency results in loss of local control over resources as well as leakage of foreign tourism earnings (Brohman, 1996). Further, the tourism critics maintained that this approach failed to address pressing local issues such as poverty and equitable wealth distribution, especially in developing countries and poorer regions (Brohman, 1996; Harrison, 2008). These views informed calls for change in planning, towards the inclusions of communities in the development and control of tourism (Murphy, 1985; Timothy, 1999).

The approaches that emerged from these critical perspectives emphasise the need to involve citizens in the planning and development process. Murphy's (1985) ecological model, for example, articulates a community-based approach to planning and development for a sustainable tourism industry by presenting host communities as part of a given destination's tourism products. Brohman (1996) argues that broad-based host community participation would ensure that communities are compensated for losses associated with hosting tourists, and foster a positive attitude towards tourism. Timothy (1999) acknowledges that such participation requires that communities be educated in entrepreneurship, as well as professional handling of tourists and general awareness of tourism. He also highlights a complicating factor by pointing out that planning frameworks formulated in other cultural or historical contexts are often implemented without proper consideration of local situations. This highlights a need of frameworks that are sensitive to varying social and cultural situations.

The alternative tourism perspective emerged from two sources, the alternative development paradigm, and environmentally focused sustainable development (Butler, 1990; Deroi, 1981;

Ioannides, 1995). Alternative tourism sought to address concerns about mass tourism having a negative impact on its destinations (de Kadt, 1979). It was also conceived as a means of facilitating positive people-to-people relationships, especially between largely wealthy tourists from the North and host communities in the poorer South (Dernoi, 1981). Alternative tourism perspectives carry two complementary views: alternative approaches to tourism development and alternative forms or types of tourism (Scheyvens, 2007).

Proponents of this school of thought perceived a need to adapt tourism development to the contexts in which it was being implemented (Dernoi, 1981). Critics pointed to the fact that several forms of tourism which emerged under the alternative tourism banner were not paradigmatically distinct from traditional, hegemonic models (Mowforth & Munt, 2003). Others called for caution, arguing that simplistic replacement of mass tourism with alternative forms is problematic as in certain places mass tourism is more appropriate (Butler, 1990). Butler went on to argue that alternative tourism is not always “good” and mass tourism “bad”, indicating a need for complementarity between the two approaches.

An important aspect of alternative tourism thinking was its emphasis on the possibility and desirability of community involvement in tourism development (Murphy, 1985; Simmons, 1994). Consequently there were two important outcomes of the alternative perspective: the emergence of a host of alternative development approaches and models, and the facilitation of increased interest in involving host communities in tourism development as an activity (de Kadt, 1979; Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2015). This perspective raised awareness of the fact that tourism affects people’s everyday lives and that host communities have to compete with tourists for use of resources in any given environment. The concept of community-based tourism that emerged from alternative tourism thinking is the focus of the following section.

1.3 Community-based tourism

Community-based tourism (CBT) emerged within the alternative tourism discourse as a response to the issues associated with mass tourism, the perceived need for community involvement in tourism planning and development, and the call for a more sustainable tourism industry (Butler, 1990; Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2014; Murphy, 1985). Interest in community approaches as a means of sustainable development increased further following the 1987 Brundtland Report and the 1992 Rio Summit (Schubert & Láng, 2005). Questions about what sustainability means and for whom still remain inadequately addressed (Mowforth & Munt, 2003).

CBT is underpinned by the notion of community involvement in tourism as tool for development (Hiwasaki, 2006). CBT has been identified as a socially, economically, and environmentally sustainable approach which facilitates learning about the host community (Suansri, 2003). However, this view is problematised by unresolved issues with regard to who defines and evaluates sustainability, as noted in the preceding section. Characteristically, CBT projects are located on community land, owned by one or more community members, and is community-controlled (Zapata, Hall, Lindo, & Vanderschaeghe, 2011). CBT also involves equal power relationships (Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2014). A further complicating factor is that there are many interpretations of CBT (Mayaka, Croy, & Mayson, 2012). However, three dimensions are identified as important elements of CBT in all interpretations: power, community involvement and community-determined outcomes. In light of this, for the purpose of this thesis CBT is defined as tourism development within a particular community, which uses local resources and strives for equal power relations through community ownership and control in a way that achieves community-determined outcomes.

This thesis is informed by ideas stemming from critical and post-cultural perspectives, especially post-colonial viewpoints on power relations, and takes into consideration the work of Kilduff (1993) and Schnaiberg (1970) regarding voice and representation, and the role of dominant conceptions of knowledge, truth and reality. Criticisms of post-cultural analyses as being removed from “the real world”, contingent, and vague (Delanty 2005, p.113) are also taken into account. These concerns are addressed through combining critical and post-structural viewpoints with more pragmatic notions by grounding the discussion of CBT in the realm of practices, in order to investigate social realities in everyday life (Schatzki, 2001). At the core of this thesis is the argument that lessons learnt from investigating practices can provide fresh theoretical insights into the tourism and community development nexus. In light of this, CBTEs emerge as a promising subject for investigation of CBT from a practice standpoint.

The idea of CBTE has been described in several previous CBT analyses (Manyara & Jones, 2007; Manyara, Jones, & Botterill, 2006; Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2013; Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007; Stone & Stone, 2011; Zapata et al., 2011). Manyara and Jones (2007), for example, have defined CBTE as “a sustainable, community-owned and community-based tourism initiative that enhances conservation and in which the local community is fully involved throughout its development and management and are the main beneficiaries through community development” (Manyara & Jones 2007, 637). However, this definition is case-specific in nature and therefore limiting in its conceptual application. Evidence from the specific cases and literature examined

does not reveal CBTE to be a separate concept from the parent term CBT, but rather a reference to a specific project, enterprise or activity. It would seem therefore that CBTE presents a good site for investigation of CBT processes. For the purposes of this thesis, the term “enterprise” is used in a broad sense to refer to a project or undertaking under the overarching concept of CBT, identifying a specific manifestation of the phenomenon rather than representing a separate concept.

As has been stated, there are many different definitions and interpretations of CBT as well as contestations about its usefulness as a community development and poverty alleviation strategy. Critics dismiss CBT as ploy used by organisations such as NGOs to co-opt communities into efforts aimed at achieving their own goals (Blackstock, 2005) and as an unviable and untenable concept (Weaver, 2010). Supporters of CBT argue that if implemented appropriately, CBT could be a strategy for tourism-led development and poverty alleviation in certain settings. Proponents of CBT respond to criticisms of the model by arguing that critics miscategorise non-CBT projects and approaches as CBT, which delegitimises the model. Novelli and Gebhardt (2007) describe those initiatives portrayed as CBT but lacking its defining characteristics as “CBT window dressing”, and those that bear all or most of the key characteristics as the “CBT reality show”. Despite this contention, there is growing interest in CBT as both a tourism development strategy and an area of enquiry. The need to address theoretical and conceptual issues in CBT is therefore clearly acknowledged (Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2014). While there is growing recognition of CBT as an important approach increasingly affecting many people, which has the potential to address pressing issues such as poverty, there is also a need to develop a better and more systematic understanding of CBT as an approach to community development.

1.4 Research problem

To date, most CBT analyses have been largely evaluative in nature and concerned with measuring outcomes or impacts (Jones, 2005). However, as noted by Jones (2005), little attention has been paid to the processes of social change both leading to, and resulting from, the development of CBT initiatives.

Similarly little attention has been given to the processes that lead to the outcomes evaluated by the above-mentioned analyses, or how the processes of CBT development might influence, or be influenced by the settings in which they take place. There are a handful of exceptions to this trend (Kokkranikal & Morrison, 2011; Zhao, Ritchie, & Echtner, 2011). Kokkranikal and Morrison (2011) examined the role of entrepreneurial innovation in the formation of community networks, emphasising the instrumental application of networks. Zhao et al. (2011) examined

relationships between rural entrepreneurship and social capital, concluding that causal relationships could not be established as social capital proved to be too unclear a concept in practice. The focus of these two studies on entrepreneurship in peripheral rural settings is one that merits greater attention and further investigation, as such research has the potential to generate innovative ideas which can be used to address poverty issues in rural and marginal community contexts. Yet examination of enterprises undertaken in these settings and social processes involved in their development has received precious little attention. These processes are best observed in the project initiation or enterprise creation stage, at which point a high amount of resources and energies are invested (Jones, 2005). An investigation focused on the project initiation stage can therefore serve to elucidate the complexities of CBT development processes in rural contexts. Such research is necessary to fill the gap in current understandings of CBT processes.

There is a need to examine the complexities of implementing CBT projects in different settings, and to derive important practical lessons from such investigation (Dredge, 2006). There is growing acknowledgement of how much can be learnt from observing the implementation of CBT activities, and the potential of study of real-world praxis to enrich theoretical understanding (Stevenson, Airey, & Miller, 2008). It is the objective of this thesis to investigate what happens when communities engage in CBT, and to bring to light the context-specific complexities of creating and developing CBT initiatives in diverse settings.

1.5 Research question

This research applies practice theory as a heuristic device to examine the emergence of community-based tourism initiatives or enterprises, particularly in peripheral or marginal areas. This kind of practice-based empirical approach endeavours to “explore the embeddedness” and “interconnectedness” between thought, understanding and doing in relation to change (Reckwitz, 2002, 258). This research is motivated by the need to understand the underlying sources of change processes (see Chia & Holt, 2006) and the call for a greater focus on processes in CBT analyses (Jones, 2005). Specifically, it addresses the present gap in understanding of enterprise creation in CBT. Such a focus has great promise in unearthing the sociality of the processes involved, and unravelling the complex interplay of situational influences, individuals and relationships at play in the CBT arena. In order to address the aforementioned gap in the literature, the present research sought to answer the following question:

What influences CBTE creation and development processes?

This question is concerned with the underlying sources of human action and decision-making (Chia & Holt, 2006; Sarasvathy & Dew, 2005; Whittington, 2003).

The main line of enquiry is accompanied by supplementary questions:

1. *What are the influences of historical, political and cultural factors on CBTE creation and development?*
2. *What are the roles of actors and actor interconnections in CBTE creation and development processes?*

Addressing these questions enables this exploratory investigation to uncover the underlying social, historical, and political influences on the process of community involvement in creation of CBTEs, and interactions between the situations, actors, and their relationships.

1.6 Thesis structure

This thesis comprises nine chapters, including this introduction. The following eight chapters are outlined below.

Chapter 2: The objective of Chapter 2 is to examine the theoretical underpinnings of community-based tourism enterprise development, and outline the complexities of community involvement upon which this research is built. The conceptual context underlying the notion of community-based tourism as an approach to community development is established. Following this, the chapter investigates the three key conceptual elements of CBT: community involvement, power, and community outcomes. These elements are then positioned within a process-based perspective of entrepreneurship, thus identifying the research gap to be addressed by this thesis. Lastly, a practice approach is presented as a heuristic device for investigating the actions, actors and situations involved in the process of CBTE creation and development.

Chapter 3: This chapter presents the research methodology, opening with a brief description of the research background, followed by a restatement of the research questions in order to establish the criteria guiding methodological choices made. Following this, a justification is given of choosing the case approach and method, as one that allows examination of phenomena in situ. The research, grounded in multiple case studies conducted in Kenya, is introduced, and techniques of data collection and analysis are described. This chapter also addresses procedural issues such as the method of accessing the field and interview participant selection. The ethical issues and questions pertaining integrity of the research are then addressed, as a necessary prelude to presenting the research results in the following four chapters.

Chapter 4: The purpose of this chapter is to establish the geographical, historical, and political contexts of the cases under examination. The distinct ethnic, cultural, historical, and geographical characteristics of each case are laid out, in order to establish the setting for the actions and interactions involved in the creation and development of the CBTEs that are the focus of this investigation. This chapter also establishes the overall country context of Kenya and its tourism system, and the place of CBT within the national tourism policy.

Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8: These chapters present and analyse findings in relation to the research questions for the Il Ngwesi, Lumo, Mwaluganje and Mackinder Eagle-Owl case studies, respectively. These cases reflect diverse ethnic communities situated in a variety of geographical settings. This adds depth to the analysis and ensures greater applicability across a range of contexts. These chapters examine the socio-economic, historical, cultural, and environmental factors that influence the interactions of the actors involved. The findings presented in these chapters inform the discussion and conclusion chapter, enabling the thesis to address the research questions directly, while raising additional, unanticipated issues.

Chapter 9: This chapter integrates a discussion of the findings with an overall interpretation. In doing so, it addresses the research problem and provides answers to the research questions. The theoretical contribution of the research and its implications for practice and policy development are then examined. This chapter highlights the importance of practice theorisation in understanding the process of building local community institutions in marginal rural settings. New ways of thinking about CBT and rural enterprises in general, as well as specific insights into the implementation of CBT projects elucidated by the research are explored. The argument is made that this research contributes to new possibilities for approaching CBT as a complex field involving innovative partnerships and collaborations that are able to address local issues of poverty. The limitations of the research and findings are also outlined.

1.7 Chapter summary

The chapter has laid out the conceptual context in which the notion of tourism as a tool for development evolved. Key analytical perspectives on tourism, along with paradigmatic changes in the way development is conceptualised have been examined in order to locate CBT within this context. This analysis identifies CBT as a form of alternative tourism that addresses the need for host community involvement in tourism planning and development. For this reason, CBT is being implemented in many developing countries, as well as in regional areas of the developed world, as a means of poverty alleviation. As seen in this chapter, there has been scant analytical attention given to the processes that lead to the CBT outcomes. Instead, much of CBT analyses

have focused on the outcomes such as participation and benefits. The exact processes by which these outcomes are achieved, and the ways in which they might influence or be influenced by the settings in which CBT takes place, remain largely unexamined. Particularly little attention has been given to the process of establishing CBT businesses or initiatives. The research questions set out in this chapter are designed to address this gap in the literature. This chapter closes with an outline of the thesis structure. The following chapter provides a review of the literature that informs the research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Chapter objectives

The preceding chapter introduced community-based tourism (CBT) as a form of tourism-driven community development, currently implemented in a number of developing countries to combat poverty and other issues. It is the purpose of this chapter to ground this conception of CBT within the relevant theoretical and philosophical foundations by means of a literature review. The objective of this review is to unearth and examine the theoretical underpinnings of CBTE development and shed light on the complexities of community involvement, thus laying the bedrock upon which this thesis will build. Information unearthed by this process can be instrumental to formulating strategies and policies to better align CBT to community development outcomes. This chapter is subdivided into a number of parts. The first part establishes the broad conceptual context of community development initiatives undertaken in developing nations and regional areas in developed countries. This is followed by an examination of CBT as an approach to community development which addresses pivotal issues of community involvement and power. This discussion highlights the research problem. In the third part of the chapter the relevance of the notion of entrepreneuring is examined and the research gap identified. The last part examines the suitability and importance of practice as a heuristic device for approaching the key issues outlined in the preceding parts and answering the research questions.

2.2 Community development

Communities, both physical and virtual, come in a great diversity of types. However, all possess a common feature – whether they are grounded in shared geographical location, collective political interests, or other relationships – every community has as its key goal the improvement of the quality of life of its members (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990). This quest for improvement has been variously described as “community building”, “community organisation” or “community development” (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990, 56).

Just as there are many definitions of community, there are many approaches to and definitions of community development, with no unifying conception of the activities that fall within this category (Toomey, 2011). A special issue of *Community Development Journal* recently reviewed common themes which have emerged in community development scholarship since the journal was first established in 1966. Key themes that have emerged over the period between 1996 and

2014 include community organising, movements focusing on improving diet and health, Freirean dialogical and capacity-building approaches, local human development focusing on gender equity, and social enterprise approaches (Carpenter, 2014). Arguably, all of these approaches have as their shared focus the need to improve the lives of community members. Therefore, following the work of Bhattacharyya (2004), for the purposes of the present research, community development is treated as an umbrella term uniting those community approaches, methods and techniques that are intended to improve the quality of life of the members of a given community. Conceptualised in this manner, community development has solidarity and agency of community members as its goals, as these are a key aspect of addressing quality of life issues. Within such theorisation of community development, solidarity is seen as shared identity and norms, leading to a definition of community as any social configuration that possesses shared identity and norms (Bhattacharyya, 2004). This broad conceptualisation allows the present investigation to bypass the contests and controversies surrounding competing definitions of community.

Human agents shape culture and history, just as the history and culture shape them. In this sense, there is a relational interdependence between human agents and their historical and cultural contexts (Bourdieu, 1990; Giddens, 1984). Bourdieu and Giddens both offer widely applicable post-empiricist explanations of the relationships between human agency in the form of actions and practices, and structures such as rules and resources. According to Giddens (1991) human practice across space and time – in other words, history – consists of humans as active agents influencing situations around them. Such actions and practices, when reproduced over time, become a regulatory influence on future actions as an unintended consequence (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998).

Similarly, a Bourdieusian view of culture is based on “habitus as a conditioning structure. According to Bourdieu (1990), actions are conditioned by one’s internalised system or habitus, defined as “systems of durable, transposable dispositions and structuring principles which generate and organise practices and representations” (Bourdieu, 1990, 53). Habitus provides an explanation of cultural dispositions and context. Notably, these two theorists differ in that Giddens (1984) acknowledged interaction between actors’ behavioural routines as practice and mental knowing, while Bourdieu (1990) did not recognise such interaction. While these theoretical perspectives have been criticised (Turner, 1986), they offer a valuable interpretation of the past in which “human agency as social engagement processes” is embedded (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998, 962). Accordingly, such a view of human agency permits an understanding of

present and future human activity as contingent upon situational needs. On this view, human beings as agents are oriented towards the past, the future, and the present.

Community development contexts are thus influenced by their participating human agents. Agency has been defined in relation to economic development, poverty alleviation, empowerment, and freedom. Drawing on Giddens (1984), de Certeau (1986), and Sen (1999) individual agency can be defined as “the capacity of people to order their world, the capacity to create, reproduce, change, and live according to their own meaning systems, to have the powers to define themselves, as opposed to being defined by others” (Bhattacharyya, 2004, 12). Agency also includes voluntary non-action. Similarly, community agency has been defined as the “capacity for local people, as a community, to gain *control* over resources and decision-making mechanisms governing their lives” (Wilkinson, 1991 cited in Matarrita-Cascante, 2010, 1144). While community agency may not necessarily mean immediate, complete community control, such complete control is often the desired ultimate outcome. Community agency enables communities to manage and control community development and respond to contingencies within the given developmental context. This notion of community agency combines *power* and *control* as inseparable concepts, making community power and control a vital element of community development.

Community agency is relational, which renders sharp distinctions between thought and action, mind and body, agency and structure untenable (Feldman & Orlikowski, 2011). Instead, based on Berger and Luckmann’s (1966) constructionism and Giddens’ (1984) structuration theory, the interplay between these elements is central to the explanation of social phenomena. Phenomena are thus understood as being embedded in the social setting within which they emerge and evolve (Zafirovski, 1999). Moreover, the local context can be seen as an arena for interaction, learning and control (Gergen, 1999). This contextual dimension has become increasingly analytically important due to the inseparability between the individual and the social (Kim, 2014). Community development research needs a greater focus on practical implementation in diverse settings, owing to the important yet little-explored relationship between agency and the community development context.

A focus on context has strong potential as a source for “glocal” strategies that combine the local and global interaction, which feature in Giddens’ (1984) structuration perspective (Johannisson, 2011, 143). Another issue in understanding of community development is the distinction between “community development” and “development in the community”. These two concepts

are often used interchangeably, however they do not mean the same thing (Kaufman, 1959; Wilkinson, 1970, 1979). Development in the community may include economic growth, modernisation, and improvement of social services (Kaufman, 1959). These improvements include infrastructure, health, food, and education. Accordingly, Kaufman (1959) identifies two types of programs of development in the community: programs implemented in the developed world intended to address community decline resulting from urbanisation, and programs implemented in developing parts of the world that address poverty and related issues. In contrast, community development involves agency and solidarity on the part of the community itself, as discussed above. Community development is characterised by community agency in addressing local issues.

Common conceptions of community development anticipate outcomes such as community integration through building strong cohesive communities, public involvement, and empowerment (Wakefield & Poland, 2005). These are contested concepts. For example, cohesion can also mean exclusion of those outside the group or community. Moreover, community development, participation, and empowerment are also value-laden concepts (Arce, 2003; Ying & Zhou, 2007). These value contestations are often ignored in the application of community development approaches. For example, Arce (2003) questions the analytical value placed on contestable measures of livelihood such as assets and capital, rather than more context-dependent aspects of human action and identity. There is a need for models that bring people's realities and experiences to the centre of community development approaches. Accordingly, theoretical perspectives and community development approaches should be sensitive to the complexities and practicalities of local realities in diverse community development settings. In view of this, the present research seeks to contribute a better and more nuanced understanding of such complexities within its focal study sites.

Arce's (2003) criticism of linear assessments of levels of empowerment and amounts of capital as value-laden and simplistic is both valid and pertinent. He argues that there is a need for greater acknowledgement of the explanatory relevance of the complex interplay between situational factors such as agency, structure, and relationships in assessing community development outcomes (Rouse, 2007). Drawing on the work of Taylor (1991), Rouse (2007) explains the "integrated nature" of society as a "large scale enterprise" characterised by interdependence of ideas, knowledge and the environment. He also highlights the embedded nature of knowledge and ideas as evident and prevalent in everyday social living. This thesis

responds to the need to investigate the sources of and influences on development processes in diverse settings, guided by the fundamental social science question regarding the relative significance of agency, structure, individuals and relationships as overarching analytical concerns.

2.3 Approaches to community development

The purpose of this section is to consider a number of different community development approaches within their historical and cultural contexts, and by doing so attempt to determine the relevance of community-based tourism in a community development context. There are many community development approaches; all of them shaped by the way conceptions of community have evolved. Mainstream community development approaches emerged within western urban sociology in response to the rise of urban mass society and the accompanying sense of “loss of community”, dating back to Tönnies’ (1857) dichotomy between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (Lyon & Driskell, 2011; Rawles, 2014; Wellman, 1979). *Gemeinschaft* refers to intimate, community-based common understanding between members, commitment, and cultural homogeneity. *Gesellschaft* refers to impersonal, formalised, and contractual relationships, and is presented as the more modern societal unit. Within this conceptual context, a distinction is drawn between three traditional approaches to community development, namely: social planning, locality development, and social action (Wakefield & Poland, 2005). Accordingly, community development programs based on this framework are aimed at the rebuilding of solidarity and reclaiming a lost sense of community. For example, when viewed through this conceptual lens, neighbourhood communities in lower income areas are seen to be in constant need of services as recipients or “consumers of service” (McKnight & Kretzmann, 1997). Such community development approaches are need-driven and service-oriented. These approaches aim at power redistribution and fostering justice and equality.

However, such traditional approaches usually represent the community as a homogeneous entity, one often lacking the necessary knowledge, capacity, and other resources necessary for effecting change, and therefore needing to be saved through different types of interventions (Wellman, 1979). Results of such efforts applied in both the developing and developed world have had a limited effect in addressing poverty and other pressing issues (McKnight & Kretzmann, 1997; Rawles, 2014). Using the case of security in American urban areas as an example, Rawles (2014) demonstrates the failure of these approaches, and argues for a paradigm shift away from focusing on social justice and towards human security. Such a focus would prioritise human freedoms,

empowerment, and the ability of people to take care of and provide for themselves, leading to better ultimate outcomes of community development. Rawles (2014) argues that community members treated as clients and recipients of services are more likely to direct their productive energies toward activities that are anti-social.

The emergence of a second set of community development approaches was guided by a focus on international development policy relating to tackling issues such as poverty on a global scale (Arce, 2003; Campfens, 1997). The programs proposed by these approaches range along a spectrum, with interventions, generally known as community development programs on one end, and sustainable livelihood programs on the other end. Community development programs modelled on the post-war reconstruction of Europe aim at building up the nation-state, are largely interventionist and focused chiefly on infrastructural development. These are perhaps more closely aligned to the previously discussed initiatives for development in the community (Wilkinson, 1979). Programs of this kind typically involve interventions in health, housing, and education matters, and are often favoured by development and aid organisations, religious groups, churches, and NGOs.

Interventionist approaches dominated community development agendas in the developing world until the late 1980s. Sustainable livelihoods approaches emerged as an alternative to these needs-driven approaches, and a response to rising global environmental and ecological concerns identified in the World Commission of Environment and Development report (WCED, 1987). It has been argued that alternative approaches need to capitalise on the resources and capacities possessed by communities, rather than focus on their needs and deficiencies (Dolezal & Burns, 2014; McKnight & Kretzmann, 1997). Proponents of such alternative approaches hold that communities can tackle the issues they face more innovatively, and that efforts should be directed at ways of enhancing such capacities. While there are other views, the emphasis on bolstering community agency in alternative approaches is an important one, as it acknowledges the potential for bottom-up grassroots innovation.

The alternative community development paradigm has given rise to a wide variety of approaches. Asset-based approaches are constructed on the notion of communities using their relational and material assets, and even their skills and knowledge in a development process that improves their livelihoods (Burnell, 2013). Community-based natural resource management or CBNRM involves community-based, small scale conservation as an alternative to government-owned and managed large scale protected area conservation (Lineal & Laituri, 2013). CBNRM

relies on tourism as the main economic activity that supports livelihoods and earnings for the communities as an incentive for conserving wildlife. Such initiatives fall within the category of CBT (Mbaiwa, 2015; Sebele, 2010). Therefore, the concept of CBT, its evolution and meaning for tourism-led community development will be the focus of the next section. This analysis will culminate in the articulation of the way that CBT is conceptualised in the thesis.

2.4 Community-based tourism (CBT)

This section aims to address definition issues pertaining to the tourism-community development nexus, particularly where they apply to tourism-led community development. Within this context, conceptions of CBT are set out and key issues identified. Following from this analysis, the research problem is established.

Some of the earliest references to community-based concepts occur in the tourism literature of the 1980s (Murphy, 1985). From the outset, the aim of CBT has been to involve communities in tourism planning and development, with the descriptor “community-based” used as another name for the social planning approach to community development (see Arce, 2003, 282). Community-based notions also appear in other scholarship contexts, such as health and education (Farquhar et al., 1977). For example, in a health context, the community-based approach refers to “interventions in which people themselves ultimately make the decisions about their health practices and lifestyles” (Puska et al., 1985, 190). The idea of people making decisions about and for themselves is central to the notion of a community-based approach to community development as it prioritises community agency. However, no universal definition or understanding of CBT has been formulated in the 40 years since the term was first coined. Despite growing interest in CBT as both a practice and field of study, the literature on the subject is largely fragmented and in need of firmer theoretical underpinning. There is a need to consolidate existing theory, and to guide its analysis towards the application of CBT as a community development approach. A critical survey of supporting and critical views of CBT suggests that the problem may lie in the current conceptualisation of CBT, rather than in CBT as a community development approach (Mayaka et al., 2012).

CBT has been presented as an application of the community-based approach to tourism planning and a form of sustainable tourism development (Murphy, 1985; Murphy & Murphy, 2004; Okazaki, 2008). Some authors describe CBT as a participatory approach to community development (Sebele, 2010; Tosun, 2006). Others have characterised CBT in terms of its outcomes, including community participation, power redistribution, conservation, socio-

economic development, minimum quality standards, and local community ownership (Hiwasaki, 2006; Okazaki, 2008). CBT is also being perceived and implemented as a strategy to address pressing needs such as poverty alleviation in some contexts (Manyara & Jones, 2007; Scheyvens, 2007).

For the most part, this seemingly fragmented CBT literature falls into two notional categories. The first consists of studies informed by political economy theories. These analyses raise issues pertaining to traditional, hegemonic North-South dependency relationships (Manyara & Jones, 2007; Amati, 2013). Studies in this category tend to focus on integrating communities into tourism practice in order to create a sustainable tourism model, and align closely with traditional top-down development thinking. The second category comprises studies that have sought to understand the dynamic and complex interactions between the environment, relationships, and individuals that occur when local communities engage in tourism (Dredge, 2006) or specifically adopt CBT as a tourism-led development strategy (Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2014; Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007; van der Duim, Lamers, & van Wijk, 2015). This second stream of CBT literature has a greater focus on restructuring tourism as a tool for community development to enhance community involvement in management and ownership and facilitate the accrual of benefits. The latter approach has potential to inform strategies and policies for implementing CBT as a means of poverty alleviation and community development, and facilitate its theoretical advancement as a field of study.

Despite the abovementioned divergence in the literature, the majority of extant scholarship acknowledges three dimensions along which the success and general influence of CBT can be measured. The first dimension is the extent of participation of the resident community in the tourism project and development (Kiss, 2004; López-Guzmán, Borges, & Cerezo, 2011; Mitchell & Reid, 2001; Moscardo, 2011; Simpson, 2008; Tosun, 2000a). Second is the exercise of power and control by the community over the development process – this aspect has been identified as critical to CBT success (Ashley & Garland, 1994; Esteban, 2011; Mitchell & Reid, 2001; Moscardo, 2011; Trejos & Chiang, 2009). The third dimension concerns common desired outcomes, particularly the transfer of benefits, and the quality of the tourist experience (Hiwasaki, 2006; Sebele, 2010; Simpson, 2008). While these dimensions have been used widely to assess CBT, these evaluations have been largely evaluative in nature, with some authors arriving at a damning assessment of the entire CBT approach by this route (Weaver, 2010). Despite such criticisms, CBT continues to hold a strong appeal in a variety of settings (van der

Duim et al., 2015). Such conflicting views draw attention to the need to re-examine how CBT is conceptualised and assessed, as well as the voices being represented in the surrounding discourse. This subject is approached in the following section by surveying how the dimensions of participation, power, and outcomes have been analysed in the literature to date, before proceeding with a consideration of ways in which scholarship might advance toward a better understanding of CBT and its impacts.

2.4.1 Community participation

“Community participation” is a phrase often used interchangeably with “community involvement” as both terms concern the inclusion of communities in resolving issues that affect them. However, a distinction between the two has been made in the work of Sherif, Sherif, and Nebergall (1965) and more recently Barki and Jon (1994). According to these theorists, “involvement” is an attitudinal, psychological term that includes personal belief and the importance one attaches to an issue, while “participation” means simply “taking part”, which can occur passively. For example, while voting means much in participatory and democratic terms, for example, such an activity can be carried out non-reflectively, hence the contested nature of the participatory concept within discussions of CBT as praxis (Amati, 2013). For example, Amati (2013) has demonstrated how members of a CBT might vote without paying much regard to how or why they are voting. Thus, community members might vote or otherwise participate, yet demonstrate little involvement in the decision-making about a project. There are numerous conflicting views surrounding the elements of involvement and participation. For example, Cornwall (2008, 269) holds that involvement is public participation in decision-making regarding matters that affect community members, in a manner that holds other parties, such as governments, to account. On the other hand, according to Tosun (2006) involvement means members voluntarily taking up the responsibility of addressing the opportunities and issues present in the community.

The levels of involvement expected of CBT also vary substantially from one study to another. Moscardo (2008) and Tosun (2000), for example, argue that community participation is a critical element in the CBT approach. Aligning her work with this view, Kiss (2004) asserts that CBT implies community involvement to the extent of partial or full ownership of the project or enterprise. Tosun (2006) adds that involvement could be conceptualised as a continuum, contingent upon the distribution of power and the diversity of interests within the community itself. Relatedly, Ying and Zhou (2007) have argued that the meanings of community

involvement ought to be context-based. In contrast, Simpson (2008) posits that involvement, while desirable, is not a critical component. Instead, he contends that the transfer of benefits to a community, regardless of location, size, level of involvement, ownership or control is a more important measure of success. A number of models have been developed to describe and explain various typologies and levels of participation (Arnstein, 1969; J. Pretty, 1995). However, as Cornwall (2008) has observed, such models explain only levels of people's participation in "invited spaces". How people participate in spaces they "create for themselves" is far more complex (Cornwall, 2008, 275). A gap can be observed between participation as defined in theory and implemented in practice, particularly in relation to diverse cultural and geographical contexts.

As previously discussed in section 2.2, the aim of CBT as an approach to community development is to facilitate agency and participation, and enable communities to be involved in and have control over the industry at the local level (Blackstock, 2005; Joppe, 1996). However, Joppe (1996) argues that this aim is not achieved in reality, even in cases regarded as successful, as the project or initiative is often controlled by an external funding body or initiator in the form of government or NGO. In addition, Blackstock (2005, 39) lists "three major failings" of extant CBT approaches. The first of these is the functional approach, which treats community involvement only as a means to a sustainable tourism industry. In other words, CBT is used to promote private industry objectives such as sustaining the tourism product, in order to meet market demands, rather than being treated as a means of community development. The second failing is that the community is treated as a homogenous entity, without regard to power differences within the community. Third is the disregard towards obstacles to local control of tourism, which Blackstock argues is a private industry by nature. Goodwin (2009) notes that applying the CBT label to an initiative is often little more than a ploy used by NGOs to secure funding. Moreover, many projects are small and lack the necessary connection with mainstream tourism. Some critics have suggested a complete departure from the whole idea of CBT and community involvement (Simpson, 2008; Weaver, 2010). Simpson (2008) has proposed a model where communities benefit without the "baggage" of being involved in the running and control of the tourism entity they host. Weaver (2010) views CBT as a strategic dead-end, seeing the "unqualified" and "quite limited" CBT "successes" as evidence of the overall failure of CBT as an alternative tourism development approach.

Weaver's (2010) critique is especially pertinent. Weaver locates the CBT discussion within the broader dispute between the political right and left, thus making it an ideological issue. According to Weaver (2010), proponents of CBT who are ideologically aligned to the socio-political left have not verified claims about the success of CBT. Notably, Weaver has attacked Deroi's (1981) proposal of an alternative tourism model that facilitates better host-to-guest communication and is more adaptable to local situations. Although Deroi (1981) did not explicitly refer to CBT, he proposed an alternative form of tourism development involving "community undertaking", whose values transcend mere economic gain. This alternative to "conventional tourism development" demonstrated equally important aspects such as better distribution of foreign revenue, cultural and "human communication" dimensions (Deroi, 1981, 261). Importantly, this approach to development is characterised by adaptability to local situations. The ideas informing alternative tourism are paradigmatic to CBT, especially with regard to pursuit of benefits other than economic outcomes.

More recent arguments surrounding assessing the success of CBT have focused on the issue of what it is that is being assessed in CBT analyses and by whom (Jones, 2005). The question of whose voice is represented in CBT discourse is an ontological one, dealing with definitions of reality held by different parties. Before such questions can begin to be answered, a better understanding of the CBT processes is necessary, as is a broadening of focus to include factors other than contested and value-laden outcomes. Often the values of those who determine what constitutes desirable outcomes differ from the values of the people living in settings where CBT development takes place. In response to the issues raised above, the present research seeks to contribute to a better understanding of CBT by drawing lessons from the processes observed at various development sites, with a view to shed light on how a grasp of such processes may foster CBT that connects more closely with local socio-economic and environmental situations.

Proponents of CBT see it as a workable notion, albeit one that is in need of better models of implementation to further its applicability as a means of community development (Giampiccoli & Mtapuri, 2014; López-Guzmán, Borges, & Hernandez-Merino, 2012; Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2013; Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007). Novelli and Gebhardt (2007) have followed Deroi (1981) in describing an alternative to current theorisations of CBT. They argue that commonly criticised instances of CBT largely fall into the category best described as "CBT window dressing" as they lack any close or meaningful connection to the local environment. They distinguish these instances from what they see as ideal form of CBT more aligned to community development

goals, which they refer to as the “CBT reality show” (444). Novelli and Gebhardt (2007) contend that through innovation, complex relationships and partnerships, a CBT initiative could be self-sustaining while meeting local community development goals. Mtapuri and Giampiccoli (2013) concur and highlight the role of meaningful partnerships between communities and external actors in realising community development outcomes. While an ideal CBT model may not exist, or be possible, owing to the appropriateness of any model being contingent on locally defined outcomes, the need to advance the discussion of CBT toward creation of more adaptable forms is apparent.

It is especially crucial to link CBT to the local social, cultural, political, and historical contexts within which it is implemented. So far CBT analyses have tended to isolate initiatives from their contexts (Sebele, 2010) and focus solely on impacts or outcomes (Jones, 2005). Analytical approaches that pay more attention to contexts can help advance discussion of CBT as alternative tourism-led community development and its applicability in rural, developing country contexts (Matarrita-Cascante, 2010). While the extant literature reports a range of levels of involvement, from full ownership and control in decision-making by the local community to control by external actors (Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2013; Zapata et al., 2011), the praxis of such involvement has received scant attention. Examining the praxis of community involvement in its complexities, contradictions, and outcomes can improve current understandings of CBT, and provide practical insights into its applicability as a poverty-alleviation strategy. There is a need to understand when and by what process communities get involved in CBT projects, and how such involvement relates to the local settings. Such an analysis must include consideration of the relationships community members have with each other and with external agents, and how these influence outcomes of CBT as a community development approach. It is to this area of inquiry that the present research contributes by investigating the involvement of community in CBT and the complexities thereof, by examining the way communities build their own tourism projects.

2.4.2 Community power and control in CBT

The notion of empowerment – encapsulating control, ownership and decision-making – is a vital aspect of community involvement in CBT development and community relations with external agents. A survey of the subject literature reveals a great diversity of views on power and control. These range from a contextually-informed need to exclude Western notions of empowerment, to varying levels of centrality of power distribution within CBT projects (Mitchell & Reid, 2001; Reed, 1997; Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011). According to Esteban (2011), CBT seeks to achieve

sustainable development through empowering citizens. Mitchell and Reid (2001) posit that an integrated CBT framework links community participation, awareness, and power or control within the community. Tosun (2006) has argued that the redistribution of power is what enables citizens to be deliberately included in shaping their future. Traditional CBT models make an *a priori* assumption of “power” being located in the hands of external agents and needing to be “redistributed” to the community members and other agents (Okazaki, 2008, 153). These models, as noted by Cornwall (2008), presume that communities are invited to participate in spaces created by other agents but do not consider the possibility of communities creating their own spaces. Wearing and MacDonald (2002) have challenged the notion of power as being concentrated outside the hands of community members and needing redistribution. Applying a Foucauldian perspective on power, Wearing and McDonald (2002) give an illustrative example of how better intercultural communication is made possible through knowledge-sharing. Others have challenged the primacy of power relations within CBT discourse, arguing instead in favour of considering power together with trust relations (Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2015). These observations call for alternative ways of looking at power relations in the CBT arena.

Giampiccoli and Mtapuri (2014) have made an in-depth investigation of the issue of power and control in relationships between community members as owners and external agents. On this view, those in control define the nature and the speed of development. Relying on Hinch and Butler (1996) as well as Scheyvens and Russell (2012), Giampiccoli and Mtapuri (2014) explain that control and empowerment are correlated, in the sense that if the project or initiative is externally controlled it signifies community disempowerment.

The key findings of the discussion surrounding community involvement, power, and control are that community involvement and empowerment are inseparably intertwined concepts, and that these concepts are enmeshed in the complex web of relationships existing within the community in which they operate. Such relationships need to be understood with close reference to their specific contexts (Ying & Zhou, 2007). The assertion made by Timothy (1999) that it is “potentially dangerous to claim hastily that no resident participation occurs at all in developing countries, under simply copying (*sic*) the western paradigm in terms of community tourism” is particularly pertinent to the present research, which examines specific African communities within their differing social and historical landscapes (Ying & Zhou, 2007, 98). This statement is important because, as Ying and Zhou (2007) state, power arrangements exist in relation to the

way that power is understood and applied in diverse contexts. Contexts shape the meaning of power, and are in turn shaped by the local cultural, historical, and political situations.

The issue of unequal power relationships in the CBT arena and the influences such relationships have on CBT outcomes have been partially analysed (Reed, 1997; Wearing & MacDonald, 2002). However, this analysis needs to be extended beyond the mere presentation of hegemony, to include ways in which structurally imposed barriers can be overcome. The next section will examine the relevance of outcomes in the CBT arena.

2.4.3 Community outcomes of CBT

CBT is conceived as aiming to achieve community development outcomes such as empowerment, self-reliance, social justice, sustainability, and freedom (Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2013). However, critics of CBT contend that it has been unable to deliver these outcomes (Blackstock, 2005; Kiss, 2004; Manyara & Jones, 2007). According to Blackstock (2005), CBT proponents adopt a “functional approach” that aims to co-opt communities. Such an approach achieves externally defined and driven goals such as sustaining the tourism industry, rather than genuinely focusing on improving the lives of the members of the host communities. It has also been argued that the developmental and poverty-alleviation usefulness of CBT is often constrained by structural limitations and dependency fostered by colonialism and neo-colonialism (Manyara & Jones 2007, 628).

On the other hand, proponents of CBT argue that the model is able to deliver a range of outcomes (Esteban, 2011; Jones, 2005; Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2013). Mtapuri and Giampiccoli (2013) observe that examples of demonstrably strong links between CBT and achievement of local development objectives are common in the developing world. Esteban (2011) makes a similar observation, arguing that there are varied conceptions of CBT that possess a diverse multitude of aims, and therefore, many ways in which the CBT models may exist in reality and facilitate favourable outcomes.

Despite the contention surrounding CBT, there is mounting evidence of its appeal to communities and governments as a means of community development (López-Guzmán et al., 2012; Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2013). The interest in CBT as a route to tourism-led development among many rural communities is a response to both the market demand for alternative tourist destinations and products, and the awareness of community development needs (López-Guzmán et al., 2012). As evidenced by the preceding discussion, despite the growth of interest in CBT as

driven by these two forces, theoretical understanding of CBT and its dynamics is still limited, particularly in relation to locations where it is likely to have the greatest social and economical impact (Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2014). Better frameworks for understanding CBT are crucial, particularly as communities and governments in poorer parts of the world embrace CBT as a strategy to address poverty. In order to address the conceptual concerns discussed above, and to advance future theoretical understanding of CBT, it is necessary to explore its evolution as a concept.

2.4.4 Trajectories of evolution of CBT

Since the popularisation of the CBT approach in 1985, two trajectories have evolved in the CBT literature (Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2014; Mayaka et al., 2012; Murphy, 1985). These are represented in Figure 2.1. As was mentioned in the introductory chapter, one of the main motivators for involving communities in tourism development is ensuring sustainability of the tourism industry. Although the main thrust of Murphy's (1985) ecological model focused on involving communities in decision making, it also emphasised the necessity of ensuring a sustainable tourism product. Similar approaches have been taken by other authors (Harper & Stabler, 1997; Haywood, 1988; Simmons, 1994). However, as previously noted, such approaches lack the 'transformative intent' of community development in their exclusive focus on creating a sustainable tourism industry (Blackstock, 2005, 40). Such approaches often feature strategic planning methods such as scenario planning (Haywood, 1988). It is arguable that this trend has focused efforts on more comprehensive methods of involving communities in linear strategic planning processes (Okazaki, 2008). Some analysts conclude that CBT built upon such frameworks is incapable of addressing community needs such as poverty alleviation (Manyara & Jones, 2007; Sebele, 2010). Manyara and Jones (2007) have argued that CBT models built on liberal and neo-liberal foundations are riddled with structural constraints. They argue that tourism business systems and development partnerships based on such models of CBT are inevitably controlled by powerful neo-colonial organisations and individuals. In view of this, Manyara and Jones (2007) highlight the need for alternative CBT models, perhaps built on some form of local entrepreneurship. Similarly, Sebele (2010) argues that CBT conceived in the traditional planning manner is often dominated by elites who monopolise the benefits. Sebele (2010) contends that community-based ventures cannot succeed if locals do not acquire essential skills for running business enterprises. While these criticisms are valid, they only apply to those conceptions of CBT which prioritise sustaining the tourism industry and other industry-driven

objectives. As suggested by Beeton (2006), such models are more appropriately described as “tourism development in the community” rather than CBT.

Drawing on the work of Deroi (1981) and Bilsen (1987) regarding alternative tourism, and more recent works such as Giampiccoli and Saayman (2014), López-Guzmán et al. (2012), Novelli and Gebhardt (2007), and Zapata et al. (2011) an alternative model of CBT can be described, which envisions CBT as a means of restructuring tourism into a tool for community development. Such a model of CBT includes strategies for involving community members more effectively – whether as owners, managers, or beneficiaries – in an agentic community development manner. Analytically, this second line of thought aims to better understand processes that lead to local, community-focused development. Analysts proposing this line of progressive CBT frameworks see possibilities of advancement towards agentic models of CBT which achieve community development outcomes. Such thinking envisions grassroots CBT initiatives characterised by community control through local organising and entrepreneurship (Zapata et al., 2011). This conception paves the way for CBT as a community development mechanism that addresses local issues such as poverty. It is this second line of thought that informs the present research.

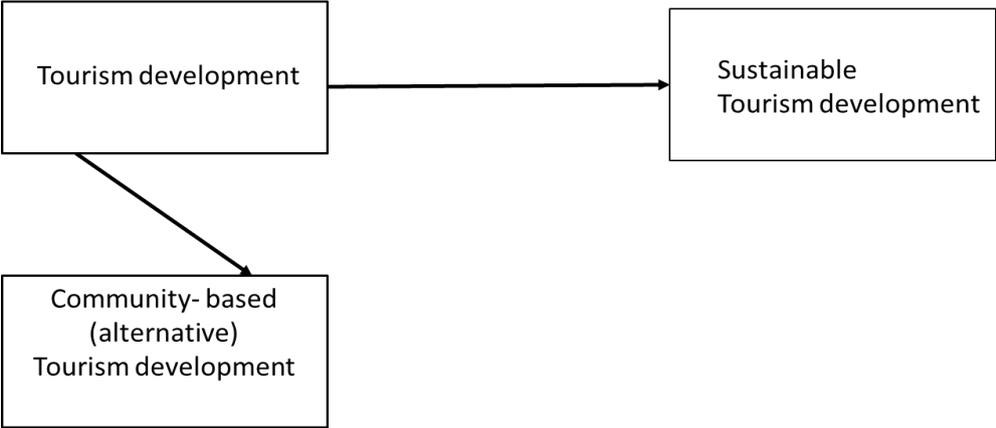


Figure 2.1 Trajectories of Community Tourism. Source: adapted from Giampiccoli & Saayman (2014).

This exploratory work is intended as a response to the need to uncover the complex interplay between the agents, situations and relationships across a range of CBT sites, and the possibility of deriving useful lessons from observing the praxis of CBT. In particular this research seeks to unearth the processes involved in CBTE development (Jones, 2005) and uncover what actually happens when communities become involved in CBT enterprises.

2.4.5 Conspectus

Whilst conceptions of CBT are to an extent unified by identifying community involvement, power, and outcomes as key dimensions, the application of CBT is more dramatically variable. By excluding practices that Beeton (2006) identified as community tourism from the definition of CBT, a conception of CBT as a strategy of poverty-alleviation and tourism-led community development is made viable. The fragmented state of CBT literature calls for a distilled view of what is being debated. At the core of CBT as it is conceived in this thesis are community involvement, empowerment, and the ability of the initiative to deliver context-defined outcomes which relate to community developmental aspirations.

Timothy (1999) observes that frameworks originating in the developed world have as their main objective the inclusion of weak interest groups in decision making. Accordingly, participation is defined as a redistribution of power, which enables disadvantaged citizens to be included in decision making about how they are governed. Participation is the means by which community members can effect social reform and gain access to benefits (Arnstein, 1969, 216). This view emphasises the democratic ambition, and posits giving a voice to the voiceless as the object of participation.

Participation is also construed as a means of increasing efficiency by involving citizens in supporting a new development or service. On this view, the main aim of participation is to initiate mobilisation for collective action or empowerment (Pretty, 1995). In another view, involvement and participation are interchangeable descriptions of the engagement of the households within a community in processes such as mutual-help efforts and formal decision-making surrounding formulating and implementing projects and programs that affect them (Chorguill, 1996). There is a variety of ways in which empowerment and participation are operationalised. How these concepts are understood and therefore how programs aimed at achieving the outcomes are implemented is contingent on the surrounding historical and cultural context.

There has been a gradual shift of focus in CBT studies, towards seeking to derive lessons from observing CBT implementation in different social settings (Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2014; Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007; Van der Duim et al., 2015) Duim, Lamers, and van Wijk (2015) compiled cases of emerging novel institutional arrangements in Eastern and Southern Africa, addressing both critical and sympathetic views of CBT. These studies respond to the call for further investigation of the diverse cultural and historical settings in which CBT initiatives

emerge (Jamal & Stronza, 2008). As Jamal and Stronza (2008) have noted, such an endeavour may require crossing traditional paradigmatic and disciplinary boundaries in order to gain greater insight into what happens in CBT as praxis. The objective of this thesis is to bring together perspectives on community development, tourism, and entrepreneurship to develop a better understanding of the praxis of CBT.

This research draws on early analyses of alternative tourism development projects (Bilsen, 1987; Dernoï, 1981) and follows their cues in pursuing the study of localised entrepreneurship in the form of CBT (Manyara & Jones, 2007; Zapata et al., 2011) and the emergent process perspective of entrepreneurship as (Steyaert, 2007). The aim is to examine the process of creation of community-based tourism projects through the entrepreneurial lens. The following section explores the relevant concepts, particularly those pertaining to entrepreneurship.

2.5 Entrepreneurship in CBT

The term “entrepreneurship” was first used in 1755 by French economist Cantillon, (Morrison, Rimmington, & Williams, 1999). Modern scholars identify entrepreneurship as a process of innovation, creation of artefacts such as firms and enterprises, and economic or social change (Gartner, 1985; Kuratko & Hodgett, 2007). The word “entrepreneur” derives from the French root word *entreprendre*, meaning “to undertake”. Entrepreneurship is therefore relevant to CBT when the latter is conceived as a community “undertaking” in pursuit of an alternative to conventional tourism planning and development (Dernoï, 1981, 261). Furthermore, the idea of community-as-entrepreneur in the creation of CBT or other development projects explored in the preceding section confirms the relevance of entrepreneurship to this research context (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006).

The notion of community-as-entrepreneur emphasises localised efforts that meet community needs and make changes relevant to the activities of community members’ everyday lives, as opposed to the profit motivation inherent entrepreneurship theorisation deriving from market economics (Rehn & Taalas, 2004). It is important distinguish between the conventional conception of entrepreneurship as driven by a single, motivated, and creative individual with a desire to maximise profits, yielding at most a trickle-down benefit to the poor, and the more nuanced notion of entrepreneuring as collective creative process directed by the actions and interactions of agents, and their physical, social, and historical environments (Johannisson, 2011).

The notion of entrepreneuring takes a perspective of entrepreneurship that differs from conventional understandings (Rindova, Barry, & Ketchen Jr, 2009). Entrepreneuring involves “efforts to bring about new economic, social, institutional, and cultural environments through the actions of an individual or group of individuals” (477). Entrepreneuring envisions creative organising embedded in the local community or setting as a relational space from which global transformational ideas can emerge (Johannisson, 2011). This process has emancipatory potential as it often involves breaking away from the social and economic constraints existing in actors’ environments (Rindova et al., 2009). The emancipatory aspect of entrepreneuring provides an avenue for communities to overcome historically embedded structural constraints and is compatible with the CBT dimension of community power discussed in the preceding section. Furthermore, entrepreneuring is concerned less concerned with entities than with processes, actions, and activities through which individuals and communities act as agents of change in their worlds (Rindova et al., 2009; Steyaert, 2007). In this conception of entrepreneuring, the separation between the social and economic spheres is diminished. For the purposes of this thesis, entrepreneuring is approached as a community-focused rather than individual-focused process, which involves community interaction and consultation even when driven by a single agent. This process is often driven by local issues and is related to identity and survival. The purpose of this thesis is not to refine the vocabulary used, but rather to create a better understanding of the process as praxis, the actions and interactions involved, how these are brought about and by whom. Given the need of communities to overcome locally embedded constraints and to creatively and innovatively address local issues, an entrepreneuring focus is adopted in this research.

The notion of entrepreneuring draws on ideas such as practical wisdom and learning, associated with human survival and everyday living. Furthermore, the conception of entrepreneuring as creative organising promises to expand the entrepreneurship space to include the activities of communities in setting up projects or initiatives that have hitherto been excluded from entrepreneurial analyses (Johannisson, 2011; Steyaert, 2007). The following section addresses relationships between CBT and the concepts of community-based enterprise (CBE) and community-based tourism enterprises (CBTE) that have emerged from the CBT literature. The aim is to outline how these concepts have been applied and how they relate to the notion of entrepreneuring.

2.5.1 CBT, community-based enterprises (CBE) and community-based tourism enterprises (CBTE)

Several studies of CBT have either mentioned or applied the concept of community-based enterprise or CBE (Amati, 2013; Kiss, 2004; Manyara & Jones, 2007; Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2013; Sebele, 2010) using the term to refer to enterprises or initiatives. However, there is a lack of clarity in its usage within this corpus of literature. In light of this, an endeavour is made here to clarify its application and relevance within this thesis.

The idea of community-based enterprise involves communities acting as both enterprise and entrepreneur, as part of a venturing process in pursuit of economic and social goals (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). At least five other aspects characterise CBE (Handy, Cnaan, Bhat, & Meijs, 2011; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Torri, 2009). First is the definition of community as made up of people living in a shared location, held together by bonds such as ethnicity and sharing a common culture. Second, is the participation of members, possibly in different ways and with varying levels of commitment, in pursuing an overall community purpose, which entails a level of heterogeneity within the community. The goal of a CBE does not need to be profit-oriented. Third is the observation that CBEs tend to arise in response to economic, social, or environmental stress. Fourth is the possibility of collective learning and the acquisition of skills and knowledge from others. Fifth is the anticipation of an adaptive and socially innovative response to macroeconomic, social, legal, and political factors as an outcome of the CBE process.

The use of CBTE as a unit of analysis signals a shift in analytical focus in CBT studies. Rather than pursuing evaluations such as assessments of involvement or non-involvement of communities in CBT planning, analytical attention is instead shifting toward processes such as enterprise creation. As previously noted, examining the creation process of individual projects or enterprises provides opportunities to examine the complex interrelationships that emerge when communities undertake an involvement in the business of tourism.

Relying on the observations of Nyaupane et al. (2006) regarding “successful” cases of CBT, Mtapuri and Giampiccoli (2013) and Giampiccoli and Mtapuri (2014) have examined the influence of external agents on locally developed CBT projects. In light of their findings, Giampiccoli and Mtapuri (2014) argue for a model of CBT manifested as a fully community-

owned and controlled enterprise, with external actors playing a purely facilitative role, as a means of overcoming structural constraints.

The innovative aspects of CBT enterprises have also been investigated by Novelli and Gebhardt (2007) with reference to a combination of perceptions and practice within CBT as part of “local tourism systems”. This was done in pursuit of fuller understanding of the relationships between enterprises and their local contexts. Resisting the temptation to simply evaluate outcomes such as community benefits, Novelli and Gebhardt (2007) distinguish between “CBT window dressing” projects, and more successful approaches to CBT enterprise they describe as “CBT reality show”, arguing that enterprises which fall into the latter category can provide models for future CBT implementation. Novelli and Gebhardt (2007) concluded that through innovation involving complex relationships and partnerships a CBT initiative could be self-sustaining and meet local developmental goals. Mtapuri and Giampiccoli (2013) refer to the model described by Novelli and Gebhardt (2007) as pointing towards an “original concept” of CBT that is able to achieve community development. While the aim of the present analysis is not to evaluate the cases under study with regard to whether they are real CBT or not, distinction drawn by Novelli and Gebhardt (2007) supports the idea of two distinct trajectories of CBT evolution discussed in section 2.4.4.

Sections 2.4 and 2.5 have addressed the key issues that inform this research, making a brief summary appropriate at this point in the thesis. As discussed, three key dimensions are central to CBT as tourism-led community development and poverty-alleviation strategy: community involvement or participation, power, and community-defined outcomes. In the period of 1980 to 2014, two analytical streams addressing these issues have emerged (Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2014). The first stream is informed by traditional top-down strategic planning frameworks. It is to this stream that key criticisms of CBT as an approach for community development are most applicable. The second, “progressive” stream of analysis, is characterised by a grassroots approach that looks to locally based adaptive frameworks to better inform the development of CBT as a tool for addressing poverty and other issues. This stream is further typified by embracing the possibility of drawing useful lessons from observing CBT undertakings, and an acknowledgement of the complexities associated with the emergence of CBT initiatives in different social sites. It is within this progressive stream of literature that the present research is situated. The research is informed by the shift of investigative focus away from outcome evaluation, toward the processes by which development outcomes are achieved. The creation and

development of the CBT initiatives, enterprises, or projects is investigated in the form of CBTEs. These are examined through the lens of entrepreneuring and venture-creation, using a process-based definition of entrepreneuring. The research question outlined in the following section arises directly from the preceding analysis.

2.6 Research question

The notion of community entrepreneuring has potential to shed light on the agents involved in the creation of CBTEs, their actions, and the tools or resources they use (Johannisson, 2011). This guides the question towards investigating the process of enterprise creation. In addition, this process perspective is concerned with understanding the local setting or context as the relational space in which enterprise creation processes originate and take place (Baumol, 1990; Rindova et al., 2009). Consideration of context is also crucial to understanding the emancipatory potential of entrepreneuring processes (Rindova et al., 2009). This subject area has received little attention in previous CBT analyses, despite its strong potential to inform strategies aimed at tourism-led community development and poverty alleviation in developing countries and peripheral areas of the developed world. In response to this gap in the scholarship, the following general research question emerges:

What influences CBTE creation and development processes?

In addition to addressing the CBTE creation process, this question is concerned with the underlying sources of human action and decision-making (Chia & Holt, 2006; Sarasvathy & Dew, 2005; Whittington, 2003).

Two supplementary and more specific questions accompany the main line of enquiry:

- 1. What are the influences of historical, political, and cultural factors on CBTE creation and development?*
- 2. What are roles of actors and actor interconnections on the CBTE creation and development process?*

These research questions respond to the need to investigate underlying social, historical, and political influences on the process of community involvement in creation of CBT enterprises. The call for further examination of interactions between the actors, their development situations, and their relationships is also addressed. Practice theory emerges as a suitable approach to

answering the research questions. Practice theory and the usefulness of praxis as a heuristic device in answering the above questions is explored in detail in the following section.

2.7 Practice theory as a heuristic device

For the purposes of this thesis, practice theory is defined as “a theory of the relationship between the structures of society and culture on the one hand and the nature of human action on the other” (Ortner, 1984, 149). Practice theory seeks to explain both the reproduction of conditions and behaviours and the sources of change to these with reference to the continuous interaction between situations or structures and events or human actions. The agents practice theory is concerned with are individual members of communities or organisations. Practice theory emphasises the social influences on human actions (Ahearn, 2001). Underlying this school of thought is the notion of agency and structure as intertwined and mutually constitutive. The overarching narrative of practice theory is that a clearer understanding of the realities of the social world can be achieved through examining the continuous interplay between agency and structure that constitutes practice. There are three possible empirical approaches to practice theory, determined by the placement of investigative emphasis on the “what”, the “how” or the practitioner involved in a given process (Feldman & Orlikowski, 2011). For the sake of brevity and clarity, only two are discussed with regard to their relevance to the present investigation.

The first approach to practice theory focuses on the “what”– that is, the routines and improvisations of individuals as agents in organising work within organisational contexts – and draws on early works such as those of Weick (1979). The second approach addresses the “how”– that is, the activity or praxis – and is grounded in Bourdieu (1990) and Heidegger’s relational thinking (Chia & Holt, 2006) and Wittgenstein’s conception of knowledge fields (Gherardi, 2000).

According to Wittgenstein (1953), activities or practices constitute knowledge fields wherein the meaning of activities is determined by the words spoken in these fields. The essence of practice is found in grammar, and the words people say. Wittgenstein held that meanings are pervasively context-dependent and that even thoughts and imaginations, and their outcomes as activities, are mere language games constituted by words that form the rules of such games. (Deangelis, 1999) In this way, Wittgenstein offers an explanation of how actions and practices can be captured analytically by what people say, by identifying words as deeds and vice versa.

Heidegger (2010) explicates the relationship between things and humans in the practical lived world as follows:

in our practical lives, things do not appear as free-standing objects to be scrutinized, mentally represented in the mind and then purposefully utilized, but as an assortment of equipmental extensions, tools readily available to us in the context of a variety of conflicting demands (Heidegger 2012, 102),

Heidegger makes a distinction between purposefulness and purposiveness. The former denotes actions guided by an agentic intentionality, while the latter refers to actions guided by social norms and shared meanings. He argues that phenomena can be explained as resulting from actions guided by intentionality as well as non-deliberate action. For example, many actions involved in daily living are regulated by socially normative purpose (Heidegger 2012, 102). This purpose is understood by participants, such as members of a community, through participation in similar practices within their environment or setting. This process replicates structures and settings, which in turn facilitate replication of the actions. On the other hand, purposeful, goal-oriented action often takes place in response to a change of circumstance or “breakdown or disturbance of equipmentality” (Chia & Holt, 2006, 641). These actions arise in response to change in the setting, and effect further change. In this way, the notions of purposive and purposeful action reflect the central tenet of practice theory, namely, the conception of practice as consisting of the continuous interplay between structures and agents. The value of practice theory is that it bypasses the dilemma of choosing to assign explanatory primacy to either structure or action by presenting practice as a subject of study that is mutually constituted by both elements.

The second philosophical approach concerns the “why” of a given practice. It deals with practices as sources of social reality and applies a practice ontology that locates reality within practice. Examination of the establishment and development of CBTEs using such an approach has potential to further understanding of the subject, especially in relation to the relationship between agency and structure, where actions produce structure and structures act as sources of human actions and agency (Giddens, 1984). The present research focuses on the “how” and “what” of the practices it investigates, in order to explain lived social experience as both guided by both agentic purpose and social norms.

The practice perspective enables a practical and theoretical holism. Such a holistic approach permits an analytical focus on relationships rather than individual variables (Cooper, 2005;

Emirbayer, 1997). In a relational sense, human agency exists in a complex yet meaningful interaction with its environment. This interpretation emphasises the significance relationships over individual entities (Ho & Chiu, 1998). This relationist approach, when combined with a practice theory component that conceives practices as social sites for the interplay of events, meanings, and entities (Schatzki, 2001) creates a practice-based, relational perspective. This perspective enables the interplay between actors, actions, and events to be analysed within their contexts or fields of action. This theoretical perspective has seen little application in the study of CBTE emergence and development, despite its great potential in bridging the gap between micro and macro and ability to bypass the Cartesian distinction between structure and agency.

This research responds to the possibility of applying practice theory further afield, in order to learn from practices taking place in diverse contexts and enrich current theory of practice (Whittington, 2011). Similar approaches have been fruitfully applied in seeking to understand the practice aspects of strategising (Chia & Holt, 2006), consuming (Warde, 2005), and entrepreneuring (Johannisson, 2011). A practice-based approach which applies a relational ontology provides the necessary analytical tools for examination of any activity (Johannisson, 2011). Such an approach facilitates investigation of the interplay of the various dimensions of its subject in a relational and interactive manner (Emirbayer, 1997). A practice view of community-based enterprise creation and development has not been applied in CBT previous analyses.

2.8 Chapter summary

CBT evolved as one of a number of approaches of community development. However, detractors maintain that CBT is a failed concept, citing unequal power relations among community members and between the community and external agents as well as dependency as its key shortcomings. Some analysts have gone so far as to argue that community development cannot be achieved through tourism, contending that tourism is by its nature a private industry. On the other hand, proponents of CBT argue that it is able to deliver context-based outcomes, and take a more nuanced view in identifying different types of CBT initiatives or projects. They maintain that the criticisms outlined above are only applicable to certain types of CBT.

Despite the contention that surrounds the efficacy and definitions of CBT, communities and governments continue to pursue CBT as strategy for tourism-led community development. This thesis responds to the need to move the CBT discussion toward the pursuit of knowledge that can inform CBT implementation strategies, to maximise its potential as a means of alleviating poverty and other problems faced by communities in developing countries. The present research

aims to uncover such knowledge through an investigation of the impact of local conditions on CBTEs, and the complex social interrelationships that form the practice of CBTE development. The realm of practice that is the focus of this study comprises a multiplicity of individual actors, actor interactions, and contextual factors of an historical-cultural nature. By these means, the present thesis seeks to create a fuller understanding of local entrepreneuring and its community basis, with a view to enrich ideas surrounding CBT policy and development.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Chapter objectives

It is arguable that the value of a research project is utterly dependent on the selection and application of a suitable method. The right approach is seldom an obvious choice, and settling on the most appropriate method of enquiry requires striking a balance between the research question, the theoretical framework within which the project is formulated, the environment within which the research is undertaken, time constraints, financial considerations, and the interests and strengths of the researcher. This chapter will justify and elaborate the research approach adopted in this thesis, along with the relevant method and procedures. A brief background to the research problem will lead into a restatement of the research questions previously formulated in Chapter 2, as these inform the methodological choice. The selection of cases for this study will also be explained, along with issues surrounding access to cases and the recruitment of participants. The data collection, coding and analysis methods will be detailed, as will ethical considerations. The researcher's habitus will also be outlined, as in qualitative research with a participant observation component the researcher can never be completely separated from what he or she is studying.

3.2 Background

CBT was defined in the previous chapter as tourism-led development within an identified community that uses local resources and strives for equal power relations through ownership and control in a way that achieves community-determined outcomes. It was argued that in the examination of power in tourism studies, the assumption is often made that communities are powerless and are in most cases unable to be involved in line with the dictates of CBT (see Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2015). Such observations have contributed to current criticisms of CBT as an approach to community development. However, the assumptions underlying such theoretical perspectives are being questioned. A practice perspective as an alternative conceptual framework provides an avenue for advancement of CBT as a strategy for achievement of community development outcomes such as poverty alleviation in resource-poor communities in the developing and developed world. A practice relational perspective that focuses on the creation of community-based tourism enterprises (CBTEs) as entrepreneuring was established in the preceding chapter as the conceptual context of the present research. Such a perspective places the practices of entrepreneuring at the centre of analysis, enabling a practical and theoretical holism that accommodates consideration of intentions, beliefs and values (Dreyfus, 1987). In addition,

the practice viewpoint envisions the individual as the locus of such practices, influenced by a plurality of relational determinants that may lead to incoherent and contradictory individual action (Silverstone, 1989). Accordingly, historical and situational circumstances under which such practices take place are significant (Chia & MacKay, 2007).

The abovementioned key features recommend the practice approach as the most appropriate theoretical framework for investigating the following research questions:

What influences CBTE creation and development processes?

This question also concerns the underlying sources of human action and decision-making (Chia & Holt, 2006; Sarasvathy & Dew, 2005; Whittington, 2003)

The supplementary questions are:

1. *What are the influences of historical, political and cultural factors on CBTE creation and development?*
2. *What are roles of actors and actor interconnections on CBTE creation and development process?*

The considerations described above have informed the choice of method and the techniques discussed in subsequent sections. A case study approach applying the ethnographic method was identified as the appropriate choice to allow in-depth analysis of tourism developments within specific cultural and historical settings (Chia & MacKay, 2007), for reasons detailed in the following section.

3.3 Practice approach

Using a constructivist form of practice theory as an heuristic device in this exploratory research, the actors as agents are presented as body/minds which are involved in practices in their everyday living (Reckwitz, 2006). Accordingly, this particular practice viewpoint seeks to reconcile the Kantian perspective of humans as norm-following and the Tyloric conception of humans as self-interest seeking agents (Rouse, 2007). This perspective provides a view of humans as beings embedded in their own culturally and historically constructed worlds, who apply their knowledge and understanding within a given realm of practices. Following Whittington (2011), the ‘what’ in the activity of creation of the CBTEs is the focus of the research. In addition, practices relate to specific spaces or locations and points in time (Reckwitz, 2002). The aim is to investigate the interaction of the relational, situational and individual influences on the creation of the CBTE venture as an entrepreneuring process. Consequently,

mental as well as emotional aspects of humans are given significance in consideration of practices in the form of knowing (Demir & Lychnell, 2014; Johannisson, 2011). The practice viewpoint provides a lens through which the establishment and development of CBTEs as entrepreneuring located within everyday living in given settings is examined. This practice approach removes distinctions between humans as self-seeking individual *homo economicus* and socially relating *homo sociologicus* (Johannisson, 2011; Reckwitz, 2002). The practice theoretical framework sets the criteria for determining the method.

3.4 Method

The theoretical approach is the key determinant of the appropriate method. Practice theory identifies three study elements, the *practitioner* or the actor and their routines and improvisations, the *praxis* or activity or action, such as entrepreneuring in creation of CBTEs, and *practices* in general, with a philosophical ‘why’ focus on how reality is constructed through everyday practices. A practice theoretical perspective does not bracket any of these elements as entities but aims at the simultaneous interconnectedness as the unit of analysis. In light of this, ethnographic methods are in this thesis as a way of understanding practices in their interconnected nature (Rouse, 2007). The study task is approached ethnographically to avoid methodological bracketing of entities and instead to understand their interconnected nature in practice (Whittington, 2006). The data collection focused on the process of creation of the CBTEs as praxis, investigating how the CBTE process was enacted in the given contexts. This research follows an interpretivist tradition of constructivist practice-theory which calls for interaction between the researcher and participant (Feldman & Orlikowski, 2011). This data collection approach is informed by practice analyses and follows similar studies in other fields (Halkier & Jensen, 2011; Orlikowski, 2002). The following sections further explain the use of ethnography in a multiple case study approach.

3.5 A multiple case study approach

Case studies provide understanding of phenomena and issues *in situ*, within the environments in which they occur or are experienced, and permit the investigation of human behaviour in real life (Creswell, 2013). Since the current research aims to explore tourism development within different social environments, a case study approach was selected to capture actions, events, actor involvement, and the interconnectedness of these. The elements are captured and presented in thick sets of data as participant quotes obtained from in-depth interviews. A case study allows for illumination of an area of study of theoretical interest (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). In

adopting this approach, the present research aligns with the views of Dreyfus (1987) and Flyvbjerg (2011) who, drawing on Bourdieu (1977), have argued that context-dependent knowledge in everyday living is at the heart of human activity. Such context-based knowledge is the object of case study research and is essential to answering the research questions of the present study.

While the study of a single case has potential to provide in-depth understanding of the creation of a CBTE, such an approach would not create the kind of room for comparisons that multiple cases allow. A multiple case study approach is better able to provide a nuanced explanation by means of replication logic, where inferential commonalities and differences can be drawn between multiple social settings (Eisenhardt, 1989; Falzon, 2012; Yin, 2012). There are two types of replication: the first type is where contrasting cases are selected to show differences with regard to the phenomenon being examined, while the second is a literal search for replication through examining many cases with the possibility of seeing a general trend. Elements of both types of replication exist in this study. A multiple case study approach maintains case peculiarities, but allows for commonalities across the cases to be observed inductively. Multiple cases across varied geographical locations as adopted in this study are relevant, as a given CBTE's historical and cultural environment is an important factor of investigation in answering the second supplementary question, which seeks to examine the influences that settings have on the development process and the interactions between players (Refer to 3.2).

Apart from the distinction between single-case and multiple-case studies, other schemata for classifying cases exist and inform the methodological choices made in the present research. Another pertinent distinction is the one drawn between an instrumental case study and an intrinsic one (Stake, 2006). In an intrinsic case study, the interest is the case itself (see Amati, 2013). In contrast, in an instrumental case the interest is the phenomenon under study. The latter approach is more closely aligned to the focus of the present study, where the interest is in the creation and development of CBTEs. Other schemata for classifying case studies also exist (Merriam, 2002). The case study approach is well-established in CBT analyses in general as well as in the examination of enterprise creation processes in particular (Kokkranikal & Morrison, 2011). The combination of participants' social accounts and reports with observations made by the researcher and captured as field notes and memos allow for the triangulation of data. The sections that follow will now address the stages of the research process and the limitations of the method applied, as well as ethical considerations and the trustworthiness of this research.

3.6 Case selection

The aim of the present research is to understand the creation of CBTEs as an entrepreneuring process within culturally embedded relations, meanings, and the interaction of such meanings. Four cases were selected based on the guidelines set out in Section 3.1 and in line with the theoretical framework of the thesis as a whole. These are the Il Ngwesi Community Ranch and Ecolodge, Mackinder Eagle-Owl Sanctuary, Lumo Wildlife Sanctuary, and Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary. These cases are based in Kenya, as it is a country that has embraced CBT in its national tourism policy (GOK, 2013), is within a CBT growth region of the world (van der Duim et al., 2015), and is close to the researcher's habitus (Johannisson, 2011). Three of the cases, Il Ngwesi, Lumo and Mwaluganje are well-known within the CBT literature and have a reputation as exemplar CBTEs (Manyara & Jones, 2007). Case selection for this research was guided by the following factors:

1. Reputation: A case may be chosen on the recommendation of an expert or key participant, in which instance such a selection is purposive. The initial cases – Mackinder Owl, Lumo, and Mwaluganje – were purposively selected after contacts were made with local CBT experts (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014). Cases can be selected based on the recommendations of experts when the focus of study is on phenomena, as it is in instrumental case studies (see Stake, 2005). This strategy was also adopted because of a lack of classification data on CBT establishments, which is unlikely to be an issue encountered in the study of more established types of tourism facilities.
2. Paradigmatic quality: a paradigmatic case is one that might exemplify a phenomenon. A paradigmatic case is further defined as one that sets standards within a discipline or across disciplines, although there are no exact measures of this (Dreyfus, 1987). Paradigmatic cases are generally regarded as typifying a given phenomenon, and be referred to as “typical”. While the selection of a paradigmatic or typical case depends largely on the researcher's intuition, such cases can also be identified by the frequent reference made to them among research participants (Cresswell, 2007). Il Ngwesi was identified and selected as a paradigmatic case because participants from other cases made frequent reference to it. That is why this case was the last to be chosen.
3. Geographical and cultural diversity: The selected cases differ from one another in terms of their geographical locations as well as their historical, political, cultural, and socio-economic contexts. These case settings are discussed in detail in Chapter 4. Il Ngwesi is a combination case of community-ownership and community-management partnership, set within the

pastoral Maasai community inhabiting an arid and semi-arid region of Northern Kenya. Lumo is an entity jointly managed by the community and private sector, located within the more non-migratory Taita community whose members practice mixed subsistence farming. The sanctuary is managed by the local community. Mwaluganje is community-owned and community-managed, but has had a problematic relationship with a privately-owned lodge in a nearby government-managed forest reserve. Mwaluganje is located within a coastal plain region of Kenya, in an area inhabited by the Digo and Duruma communities, which are a part of the larger *Miji Kenda* (translated as nine villages) cultural grouping. Mackinder Owl is privately-managed and privately-owned, with the community being involved only at the level of receiving benefits. It is located among the Kikuyu community, a non-migratory and purely agricultural group inhabiting Kenya's hinterland.

In addition to the above considerations, basic criteria for case selection within qualitative research have been applied (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In this respect, the key considerations are the relevance of the case to the conceptual framework, the likelihood of the case to generate rich information on the phenomenon, generalisability of the findings in a theoretical rather than statistical sense, whether cases can produce believable descriptions or explanations, costs, and ethical issues. A further factor to consider is case reputation (Miles et al., 2014). A summary of the criteria that guided case selection is provided in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1: Case selection criteria

Criteria	Il Ngwesi	Lumo	Mwaluganje	Mackinder Eagle-Owl
Case description	Community-managed sanctuary and ecolodge in Maasai community.	Sanctuary and ecolodge in Taita community. Lodge is privately managed. Sanctuary is community-managed.	Community-managed. Private management of a related, but not community-owned lodge. A sanctuary with no ecolodge, among the Digo and Duruma communities.	Private owner-managed Owl conservation and tourist centre with onsite guide(s).
Relevance of the case	Based on existing data on CBTE and previous studies and varied cultural and historical context.	Based on the available data and previous studies and varied cultural and historical context.	Based on the available data and previous studies, and varied cultural and historical context.	Case was selected for contrast as having a community focus despite having been established by an individual.
Potential to generate rich information	Rich cultural, historical, political, context.	Rich historical, political, economic context, yet may provide contrast with other cases.	Rich historical, political, economic context, yet may provide contrast with other cases, possible arena for complex multiple-actor relationships.	Unique relationship between conservation, culture, tourism, and entrepreneuring.
Theoretical importance (from extant literature)	Based on existing data on CBTE and previous studies.	Based on the available data and previous studies.	Based on the available data and previous studies, as well as difference in cultural and historical context.	May be able to offer unique bounded understanding of the case.

Potential to generate explanations	A CBTE owned and managed by local people.	Established a local artefact in rural setting, process.	Possibility of shedding light on the process of CBTE creation.	Possibility of shedding light on the process of CBTE creation.
Ethical considerations	Not a key criterion for choice but has fulfilled all ethical requirements.	Not a key criterion for choice but has fulfilled all ethical requirements.	Not a key criterion for choice but has fulfilled all ethical requirements.	Not a key criterion for choice but has fulfilled all ethical requirements.
Accessibility and cost issues	Suitably accessible for collection of interview data and other material.	Suitably accessible for collection of interview data and other material.	Suitably accessible for collection of interview data and other material.	Suitably accessible for collection of interview data, may be limited in terms of other documents.

Source: adapted from various sources (Curtis, Gesler, Smith, & Washburn, 2000; Elliott & Sumba, 2013; Miles et al., 2014)

The following sections examine the techniques of accessing the field and the choice of data collection methods.

3.7 Gaining access

In practice-based entrepreneuring research, it has been recommended that the researcher investigate the cases within a context that is well known to him or her, or is part of the researcher's habitus (Johannisson, 2011). The researcher in the present case is an indigenous Kenyan who speaks a number of indigenous languages and has had substantial involvement with tourism in Kenya long before the research project. This circumstance presented relative ease in making initial contacts with people at the study sites.

Initial contacts were made via email with members of CBT networks in Kenya, such as the Federation of Community-based Tourism Organisations (FECTO) and the Kenya Community-based Tourism Network (KECOBAT) as well as individuals who are involved in CBT. These contacts gave the researcher information that informed the choice of instrumental cases to be studied. In addition, an earlier study had identified the Lumo Wildlife Sanctuary and Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary as community-based tourism enterprises and proposed indigenous entrepreneurship as an area for further research (Manyara & Jones, 2007). Thus their emergence as CBTE human artefacts could provide insights into the entrepreneurial process and tourism development within rural community contexts, as discussed in Chapter 2. The researcher then contacted the management of these CBTEs by email, to acquire consent the participation of organisational members in the research. Written consent letters from Mwaluganje, Lumo and Mackinder were obtained via email, and ethics permission was granted from Monash University (see Appendix) Ethics approval was granted on 25 September 2012, and data collection commenced on 13 October 2012. The researcher stayed in the field for five months, during which time he travelled between the four geographically dispersed study sites: Il Ngwesi, Lumo, Mwaluganje and Mackinder Eagle-Owl at Gatarakwa.

3.8 Participant recruitment

Initial contacts with the CBTEs and the other related organisations were made by phone once the researcher was in Kenya, to arrange the appointments before first visiting any of the CBTEs or organisation offices. Each contact was followed up with an introductory familiarisation visit before any data collection commenced. In the majority of cases, people were co-operative and willing to share information freely. This characteristic can be understood with reference to its cultural antecedent, stemming from the oral tradition of African communities and the cultural imperative to be welcoming to strangers and visitors. There were no street directories and community participants did not have access to the Internet. Interview appointments while in the field were made either by mobile phone, which is widely used in Kenya, or by sending a message through a third party in order to set the time and place.

Travel to the actual points of meeting with participants often took many hours and the use of diverse means of transport, including catching the local motorbike taxi popularly known as *boda boda* through market towns and pastureland. Decisions in the field called for practical wisdom in line with Brinkmann and Kvale (2005). Interviews with community members, founders, and leaders were conducted at their convenience.

In the lead-up to the field trip, it was anticipated that the researcher would post notices for community members on CBTE office noticeboards, notifying them about the research and inviting expression of interest to be involved in the project. The assumption was that community members regularly visit the offices, that communication through writing is common, and that there were such noticeboards. The reality proved rather different. First, members do not regularly visit the office, as they are more involved in the private engagements of their daily lives, such as herding cattle. Communication is predominantly oral, and sometimes done via a third party such as a neighbour. The researcher had to carefully select interview participants based on discussions with CBTE officials, drawing on written and non-written information available on site. This process was challenging, as such information has considerable potential for bias. As previously noted, sometimes this information came from participants. The relevance of such inputs requires some discussion. Reliance on third party recommendation can be a basis for between-case selection as discussed in Section 3.6 above. A similar strategy can also be used in within-case selection, as individuals may be regarded as embedded cases (Miles et al., 2014). This observation points to the need for alertness and familiarity on the part of the researcher with local conditions, in ways that enable pragmatic, phronetic choices to be made while in the field (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Those who responded were provided with an explanation of the research

purposes, outcomes, time investment, and risks. Consent was obtained through having participants sign a consent form before the interview, as required by Monash University’s Human Research Ethics Committee. Participants were all above the age of 18, as per ethics requirements.

A total of 48 interviews was conducted. Interview participants included: 6 organisational members, 2 private investors, 17 ordinary community members, 13 CBTE founding community members, 7 managers, and 3 board members. Of these, 12 participants were from Il Ngwesi, 15 were from or related to Lumo, six were from Mackinder, and 15 were from Mwaluganje (See Table 3.3). The participants were selected on the basis of having been involved with the CBTEs from the time of inception, and having a knowledge of the CBTE’s establishment.

Table 3.2 Interview participants (consolidated)

Category	Number
Ordinary community members	17
Managers/board members	10
Founding members	13
Partner Organisations	6
Investors	2
Total	48

Table 3.3 lists the pseudonyms given to interview participants. In the case of Il Ngwesi there were five community members, comprising two women and three men. In addition, there were three managers, three founding members, and one organisational participant, which adds up to twelve participants. Lumo interview participants included four community members, two managers, one board member, four founding members, two participants from partner organisations, and two investors, making a total of fifteen. Six participants were interviewed in the case of Mackinder Eagle-Owl Sanctuary. Five of these were community members and one was the founder. Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary interview participants included three community members, two managers, two board members, five founding members, and four members of partner organisations, resulting in a total of fifteen interviews.

Table 3.3 Interview participants' pseudonyms

Category	Il Ngwesi	Lumo	Mackinder	Mwaluganje	Count
Members	Naserien, Namunyak, Ndiwa, Metito, Tonkei	Mkawasi, Kituri, Charo, Ngeti	Mumbi, Njenga, Jamba, Ngina, Wanjiru	Juma, Zainab, Khadija	17
Managers	Sironka, Sankei, Mwangi	Madoka, Gathogo		Kamau, Kioko	7
Board Members		Mghanga		Sam, Nyae	3
Founding Members	Olonana, Ntimama, Ole Tipis	Mghendi, Mwakidedi Mwandalo, Mwakai	Paul	Bakari, Kidombo, Rai, Mwakwere, Chirau	13
Organisational Participants	Peter	Bob, Fred		Susan, Betty, Julius	6
Investor		Evan, Mary			2
Total	12	15	6	15	48

The choice of such a diversity of participants is grounded in the concept of data triangulation (Watson-Gegeo, 1988). The technique of triangulation involves use of data from different sources to allow for the corroboration of evidence (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Triangulation was achieved in two ways in this research. First, by using different sources of data from the cases. Consequently, data collection included interviews, collection of secondary information including published material on the cases, strategic plans, and government policy documents. Publications on the cases and any other miscellaneous documents, such as a visitor's book from one of the CBTEs as well as inputs from participant observation in the form of field notes and memos written by the researcher in the course of the research have also been used. Second, triangulation is clearly reflected in choice the of interview participants, which included ordinary community members, managers, all but two of whom came from within the communities, board members, all but one of whom were community members, founding members, all of whom came from within the communities, organisational participants, and investors (Table 3.3). This approach follows Schön's (1983) argument that knowledge is in what people do.

3.9 Data collection

The data collection involved in-depth, conversational interviews about what happened in the process of founding and developing the CBTEs, as well as the interconnection of the different individual, relational, and contextual elements. The data comprised interviews, field notes

derived from participant observation, journals, magazines, strategic plans, and other documents from the CBTEs and related organisations. Background materials about the CBTEs were also sought from the field. These included collection of old magazine cuttings, annual reports, and legal documents including constitutions. These were mainly used to understand case backgrounds.

3.9.1 Interviews

The interview questions were pre-tested by means of a two-hour interview with a known entrepreneur. In each interview, the researcher began by briefing the participant about the research and providing reassurance of confidentiality. A conversational, in-depth interviewing style was adopted. Interviews lasted between 45 minutes and two hours and were carried out in diverse locations convenient for participants. Most of the interviews were conducted in Kiswahili, the national language and the *lingua franca* of the research sites. The researcher is fluent in both English and Kiswahili. A conversational, in-depth interview style allowed the interview to flow in a dialogical manner. Questions were rephrased where necessary to ensure that the participants understood what was being asked. Although interview schedules were developed, the discussion was allowed to flow naturally, guided by general topics derived from the research questions. In-depth interviewing acknowledges the plurality of knowledge. Accordingly, knowledge is developed through conversation, as the interviewer travels through the interviewee's lived world (Kvale, 1996). The aim of in-depth interviewing is to allow participants to tell their stories and to create the opportunity for knowledge co-creation rather than data mining (Kvale, 1996).

The aim in an interview is to listen carefully to what is being said both implicitly and explicitly. Creating a rapport and trust is an important part of the interviewing process and is achieved through "projecting an air of genuineness and empathy" with participants (Duncombe & Jessop, 2002,7). This was achieved in a number of ways. First, the interviews were carried out in participants' preferred language of communication, at a place of convenience to the participant. Secondly, as indicated in Section 3.8, the making of phronetic choices and alertness to interview participant sensitivities, which are often expressed non-verbally, were actively pursued by the researcher. For example, there were times when writing and taking notes during the interview was inappropriate. In such cases, the researcher would make notes as soon possible after the interview instead. A high level of alertness necessary while in the field, because research outcomes are influenced by the researcher's interaction with the field environment. Thirdly, the

researcher showed genuine interest in the research topic, as well as in the interview participants and their circumstances. Additionally, issues were openly discussed (see also Patton, 2001).

3.9.2 Participant observation

Participant observation took place alongside the interview process, in line with the case study research ethos of using multiple sources of information (Yin, 2009). Participant observation involved the researcher taking field notes during the interviews. These field notes included details about the interview situation. The idea was to capture the non-verbal details of each interview, including the physical location and the perceived emotional disposition of the participant (Miller & Glassner, 1997). The researcher immersed himself in the study context and was involved in the day-to-day activities taking place at the research sites, such as field patrols with ranger scouts. Such involvement served the purpose of creating a rapport and gaining insights into the research environment. Accordingly, this can be achieved without “faking friendship” and overshadowing unequal power relationships between the researcher and the researched.

Table 3.4 Entry activity schedule (part of research protocol)

Site & Contacts	Data collection	Secondary Sources	Preparation
Mackinder Owl (Gatarakwa)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interview <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Manager b. Community c. NGO/govt d. Other 2. Observation 3. Archival data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facts /events • Financials • Legal documents • Awards/recognition • Other outcomes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appointment • Reconnaissance • Journal
Mwaluganje	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interview <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Manager b. Community c. NGO/govt d. Other 2. Observation 3. Archival data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facts /events • Financials • Legal documents • Awards/recognition • Other outcomes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Book accommodation • Schedule community inter-notices
Lumo	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interview <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Manager b. Community c. NGO/govt d. Other 2. Observation 3. Archival data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facts /events • Financials • Legal documents • Awards/recognition • Other outcomes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Book accommodation • Schedule community inter-notices
FECTO	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interview 2. Archival data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Documentation of involvement • Databases • Ratings/certification • Other 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Courtesy • Appointment
Ecotourism Kenya	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interview 2. Archival data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Documentation of involvement • Databases • Ratings/certification • Other 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Courtesy • Appointment
KECOBAT	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interview 2. Archival data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Documentation of involvement • Databases 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Courtesy • Appointment

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ratings/certification • Other 	
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The way the relationships are approached in the field relates to the research tradition and paradigmatic assumptions of the researcher, particularly the question of whether qualitative research is better described as knowledge mining or knowledge co-creation (Kvale, 1996). Active involvement and genuine interest in the topic, the participants, and their environment are all approaches that the researcher used to maximise the outcomes of the interaction (Patton, 2001). The researcher participated in diverse activities, especially in the wildlife sanctuaries. These activities involved removing poacher snares, patrolling in the sanctuary, and taking other duties within the sanctuaries, including assisting in the elephant dung paper production process at Lumo. The researcher was also able to attend a board meeting and to observe other board activities, such as inspections of ongoing work and two annual general meetings (AGM) of community members.

3.10 Data analysis

The purpose of this section is to explain how the data were generated and analysed. The process of data analysis in an ethnographic case study is recursive. The data were approached inductively, with codes emerging from the data drawn from the practice-based ethnographic case studies. While coding has been used, a balanced view on the coding has been adopted (Saldana, 2013). Saldana (2013, 2) cautions against “those who demonize the method outright” but expresses equal caution towards “unyielding affinity to codes”. Verbatim quotes from the participants, rather than line-by-line codes have been used. Based on Aull Davies (2008) and Gillham (2000) data were approached in a manner to allow the capture of deep, subtle meanings beyond explicit text in a reflexive manner. In addition, the researcher served as a research instrument, as all data were sieved through him, which is a common feature of qualitative research (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994). For example, the researcher’s habitus as an indigenous Kenyan and his early experiences have influenced his historical perspectives and interpretations. In addition, the researcher’s position as a co-producer of the knowledge means that this report has not been written from the researcher’s position as detached observer. The research outcomes are also seen from the researcher’s point of view. Data from documents such as strategic plans, constitutions, and other printed material, as well as publications on the cases were analysed through categorisation within QSR NVivo10™. The necessary areas explaining the creation and development of CBTEs in answer to the research question have been extracted and coded (Il Ngwesi, 2014; NRT, 2013; Ogada & Kibuthu, 2008, 2009). The documents were

sorted by case. Rather than line-by-line codes, verbatim quotes obtained from the assortment of documents have been used. These quotes have been incorporated where necessary within the thesis. Some of the documents served more as background and familiarisation materials and were therefore not coded in terms of the research questions.

Interview data were transcribed at the end of the data collection period and upon returning from the field. After transcription, the interview data were also analysed with the assistance of QSR NVivo10™. Data were categorised according to the influences of the CBTE creation process, actors and other factors relating to each case. These data were derived from participants' accounts and from the supporting source documents (Miles et al., 2014). Dense, concrete descriptions that are not neatly summarised into formulae or propositions have been used to build a story of the creation of each of the CBTE in answer to the research questions (Charmaz & Mitchell, 1996; Flyvbjerg, 2006). Analytical coding was conducted in two steps, which are described below.

3.10.1 Step one: organising data for analysis

This step, also referred to as data reduction, involved organising data into simplified forms that would be useful in further coding process (Miles et al., 2014). This was informed by two sources (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011): the information collected through the observations made by the researcher in the field as field notes, and the jottings made by the researcher as comments and reflections during the interview-transcription process.

In view of the fact that data collection involved in-depth conversational interviewing, not all transcribed data were coded, so a lot of peripheral or “dross” data has been left out as part of this early data reduction process (Miles et al., 2014, 86). The first data were reduced according to the sources and the case, as well as whether data were sourced from interviews or documents (Table 3.8). This table shows the codes and their meanings. In Table 3.8 data have been segregated according to the four cases and the source. The first letter represents the data source, where ‘I’ stands for interview and ‘D’ for document. The second letter indicates the case: ‘I’ for Il Ngwesi, ‘G’ for Gatarakwa which is the location of Mackinder, adopted to avoid duplication of the initial ‘M’, which now stands for only Mwaluganje, and ‘L’ for Lumo. The last two letters indicate the identity of the participant or the name of the document. The data were also organised according to tentatively emergent broad categories (Table 3.9).

Table 3.5 Data source codes

Code example	Meaning
1. IGPN	Interview participant on Gataragwa (Mackinder), Peter Njagi
2. ILAM	Interview participant from Lumo Alfred Mzomba
3. DISP	Document II Ngwesi Strategic Plan
4. IMCT	Interview participant from Mwalugange Chidzo Timam
5. IIBR	Interview II Ngwesi Betsy Rimuli

Table 3.6 Category codes

Category	Definition	Interview data chunk example
1. Socio-economic stress	Socio-economic conditions that relate to peoples' daily subsistence and survival that lead to situations of economic stress	<i>So this was a way to have money. This money was not going to be used for anything else it was going to be used for education and for the purposes of alleviating poverty within the Taita and for assisting in treating the sick. That was actually the main cause or the main core objective.</i>
2. Process	Time and place-based explanations of how the CBTE was established	<i>In 1984 our cattle got finished and we had a neighbour at Lewa and he had cattle like us. He shifted and started to look after wildlife. He started to look after wildlife. Wildlife was being looked after but nobody was concerned the wildlife belonged to KWS and it wasn't at all ours. When he began to look after the wildlife he told us that the wildlife had more benefit as our cattle was getting finished. We ourselves took initiative to visit other places that people were looking after wildlife and had built lodges. We visited Masai Mara to experience such, we came back.</i>
3. Relationships (friend)	The relationships with other actors outside of the community that had an influence in the creation of the CBTE	<i>Ian Craig came an told us there is money here from tourism and this your area, this area is dry, (has rocks, hills and desert) this is the only thing that can bring you money. But if you people don't want to eat, stay (so be it). You know if somebody explains to you something, and then you ask what? We thought to ourselves, we didn't have any such money before, no income, we Maasais or others. There was no tourism known to us as business. But tourism began in Narok and other places. But we are pioneers in Laikipia and Samburu. The mzungu just showed us the way. He told us there is money, if you want eat start, if you don't want stay!</i>
4. Individual actor elements	Individual actor explanations for involvement in the establishment and development of the CBTE	<i>After completion of my 'O' level, I wanted to join college the college I wanted to join was mechanical engineering, which personally I was opposed to, unlike my parents who were so much for it. But as I was trying to think about my future, something attracted me to, I had that passion, I thought of starting a business dealing or do with tourism as my elder cousins were doing, selling carvings to tourists. I wanted to consult about the business and ended in Nanyuki town where one of my cousins was working, selling artefacts and curio arts and hand carves. During this time I did not study a lot about the business.</i>

As previously discussed Chapter 2, the emphasis is on the praxis of the activity of creation and development of CBTEs. Accordingly, codes were also developed inductively from the cases. As can be seen from the examples in Table 3.9, these blocks have the potential to yield more than one code (Miles et al., 2014).

3.10.2 Step two: second-level coding

The second level of codes consists of interpretive codes, namely, the ideas as they are analytically interpreted by the researcher in relation to the research question. The codes are grounded in the data, mainly that which derives from the interviews. Miles et al. (2014) use a double-cycle schema, where the first cycle examples include descriptive process codes that give chronological sequencing of events, and in vivo codes which use participants' own words. This schema has been applied to the current study to capture the process of creation and development of the CBTEs in response to the research questions. Within-case analysis included descriptive data emanating from the interviews, archival material from the all the four cases, as well as observations made by the researcher. There are no prescribed standards for undertaking such analysis (Eisenhardt, 1989). The aim of the first level of analysis is to come up with a descriptive write-up of each case study in order to “become intimately familiar with each case as a stand-alone entity” (Eisenhardt, 1989: 540). This first level has produced background to the cases, as well as the other descriptive details that help to unearth the story around the CBTE creation and development process.

Table 3.7 Second level analytical codes

Codes	Interview data
1. Forms of bodily activities (IBA),	<i>Our Maasai brothers (were) looking after wildlife. We embarked on the process of looking for donors. We got them and we built Il Ngwesi. You might try this, you reach somewhere you find no this is not working.</i>
2. Forms of mental activities thoughts and intentions (IMA),	<i>We also got the inspiration to think we could also do the same, we would wish to look after wildlife to benefit from the same. We thought we could also do the same (look after wildlife). We ourselves took initiative to visit other places that people were looking after wildlife.</i>
3. States of emotion and motivational knowledge (IEK).	<i>I'm very proud of my community and I have to stick here and help my community. I really wanted to see what can bring the community together.</i>
4. Non-humans things and their use,--wildlife, land (ETU)	<i>Wildlife was being looked after but nobody was concerned the wildlife belonged to KWS and it wasn't at all ours. Our cattle got finished (died). Nobody had an interest in that land apart from those people who were grazing there and living there.</i>

5. Socio-economic situation (ESE)	<i>Initially it is the money and poverty. They started to realise: Ok we have all these visitors, but our poverty levels are high. I think the key motivator is a source of income, that is one. The other thing is actually security.</i>
6. Background knowledge in the form of understanding, knowhow-history (EBH),	<i>Nobody was concerned about the wildlife it belonged to KWS. They were relating to how the whites took their land during the colonial days. So that was one of the challenges, to convince the old guys about the whole set-up. At the beginning 70% of the people believed that this is just another way of conning them of their land. You look at the national parks, the way they were formed during colonial times, communities were not actually involved in decision making.</i>
7. Forms of wisdom and practical knowledge (CWP)	<i>We normally say one finger cannot kill a louse. Nobody who is very smart in this world, we search for knowledge. A lot of knowledge is through observation and makes entrance into the head. If there is any community that has land where they can be able to take care of wildlife, they should set aside some land for conservation and let tourists come</i>
8. Normative reproduction, collective (CNR)	<i>Our Maasai brothers (were) looking after wildlife. The trust among themselves is what brings unity and the peace they have. The thing that is keeping us going and it is a high thing in our community, is respect, respect, respect.</i>
9. Community identity (CCI)	<i>We built the lodge on a firm foundation of Maasai tradition Ok, Il Ngwesi are proud of themselves. We are very proud that Il Ngwesi is even challenging the world.</i>

The aim of second-cycle coding, illustrated in Table 3.7 above, is to develop categories, themes or patterns from the first level data to offer explanations and attempt to derive meaning from the data. Some of the second cycle coding may occur at the beginning of the data analysis. Some of the first cycle codes may also double as second cycle codes. In moderate constructivist theorising (Reckwitz, 2002), the entities or concepts are not discarded, but rather their interconnectedness is emphasised. In the course of interpretation, both reproductions and changes were found in different passages within the conversations. It is these passages that form the holistic codes. The challenge facing the researcher was to identify the interconnections between second cycle codes from different passages and bits of the conversations, and unify these into a coherent story.

These data were then corroborated with evidence from the documents and observation as recorded in the field notes and memos. Field notes included the log of daily activities documented in diaries as well as sketchbooks. Such notes and observations were made whenever the occasion permitted, such as when it was perceived that note taking would not interfere with the interview process or the field activity routine. On some occasions, observations were made during the working hours and followed up with after-hours, post-observation reflection and further note-writing. Sometimes reflections took place during the transcription, which was carried out solely by the researcher.

3.11 Trustworthiness and ethical considerations

Ethics have been a vital part of the research process. Ethical considerations are as crucial as any choice of methods and techniques (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005). As Mauthner, Birch, Jessop, and Miller (2002) have argued, ethical concerns exist at both the micro and the macro level.

Accordingly, the micro concern is about how the interaction with individual participants is handled, which relates to the methodology and has been outlined in the preceding discussion. At the macro level, however, the concern is about what is to be presented as truth. Thus ethics is not just about following rules set out by ethics committees, but also about how practical realities in the research field are handled (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2005).

To address both the micro and macro concerns, a model that divides ethics into procedural, situational and cultural, and relational realms has been applied in the present research (Tracy, 2010). Procedurally, the research went through Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC) for ethics approval before execution of the project in the field. Consequently, all the procedures outlined in the previous sections conform to MUHREC regulations. The confidentiality of the participants has been safeguarded by securing the transcripts in protected files and spaces, and by not disclosing their actual names. Pseudonyms have been used wherever names would be, such as in direct quotes. In addition, the researcher has taken care not to publicise any material or information deemed sensitive by any participant. Situational and cultural care was also taken. There were several participants who either wanted some questions not to be asked of them or to otherwise have some information excluded. As an example, one participant started talking about his relationship with his mother. Probing revealed sensitivity, so the line of questioning was discontinued. Another participant from a key organisation, upon being informed about the nature of the research and signing the consent form, decided to change his mind. In accordance with this participant's wishes, the interview was discontinued and the material that had been gathered was deleted. While it was easy to attend the AGMs of two of the CBTEs, an attempt to attend one in another CBTE did not eventuate due to cultural considerations. This approach to ethics calls on the qualitative researcher to make pragmatic choices as dictated by the research context.

Relational ethics deal with the relationship between the relationships which obtain between the researcher and participants, such as “co-opting” a participant to “get a great story” (Tracy, 2010). As some of the participants were elders and women, the necessary acceptable protocols that denote respect and trust within the settings had to be observed by the researcher. The researcher's habitus as an indigenous Kenyan facilitated ease of relationship through knowing

how to behave within the research settings. In addition, the participant-observer role further enhanced relationships between the researcher and research environment within the CBTEs. The greatest challenge was striking a balance between being a researcher and being immersed in the research environment. Any excesses either way would have a deleterious effect on the results presented in the findings chapter. Due to logistical and time constraints at the sites, the researcher was not able to share findings with the participants and so the existing ethics were compromised in that sense. In all situations, the researcher took great care to exercise practical wisdom. Within qualitative research contexts practical wisdom is defined as the “ability to perceive and judge thickly” by engaging in “contextualised methods of reasoning” (Mauthner et al., 2002, 3).

Trustworthiness is always a great challenge. First, in this as in any other qualitative study, while all measures to be reflexive and to maintain rigor have been attempted, elements of bias due to the researcher’s self being a research instrument are inevitable (Maanen, 1979). To bring to light some of the possible sources of personal and cultural influence on the part of the researcher, the background of the researcher or his habitus (Bourdieu, 1990b) as a possible source of both beneficial and negative influences on the practice of doing this research must be considered. This is the purpose of the following subsection.

3.11.1 Researcher’s habitus

I was born and raised in Kenya among the Gusii, one of Kenya’s 42 indigenous population groups. Growing up, I was fascinated with different cultural practices. The fascination with other cultures made me seek to learn other languages, which is how I came to speak three Kenyan indigenous languages as well as Kiswahili, Kenya’s *lingua franca*, along with French, German and English as foreign languages. I spent my early childhood years in a village environment, but at the young age of ten I moved to the rural town of Kisii where I spent five years in primary school and away from home, in order to get what my father thought was a better education in an urban environment. One year prior to sitting for the end of primary school exams, I shifted again, this time to a boarding primary school to ensure that I performed well enough in what was then called the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) to gain entry to a good secondary school, which I did. After this, I spent six years of secondary level education in boarding school, always returning to my rural Gusii home for school holidays.

After high school I trained as a tour guide before joining a tour operating firm in Nairobi, the capital city, where I worked for four years in tour administration positions. After the four years I moved to a tourism education college to take up a position as a tourism instructor. I had my

undergraduate education in Columbia, Missouri in the United States and postgraduate (masters) education in Australia.

In 2007 I was part of a team that carried out a baseline survey for an NGO that wanted to help a community to undertake community-based tourism (CBT) at the Kenyan Coast as part of the NGO's community development agenda. However, the project was not established, even after a substantial amount of money had been spent. I have observed that this is not uncommon in Kenya's rural settings. I developed an interest in learning more about community-based tourism initiatives and their creation, to perhaps understand more about initiating community-based projects in rural areas. I got the chance to do this through pursuing this PhD at Monash University, Australia. I am particularly interested in what happens when a community gets involved in CBT and the lessons that can be learned from observing this.

3.12 Chapter summary

The purpose of this research is to understand the process of the emergence of CBTEs as artefacts within the rural environments of a developing country. In order to accomplish this task, the research adopts a practice view, which espouses practical situated reasoning. This practical reasoning is associated with everyday life and adjustment to contingencies arising out of changing situations in the environmental contexts. Resources for such adjustments include local knowledge, relationships and partnerships. A theoretical effectual model, which combines episteme and phronesis aligns the research with an ontology of becoming, or modelling the lived world of actors within such environments. In order to accomplish this task, the research has employed an ethnographic, multiple case approach for a number of reasons. First, a case study approach was adopted to allow for investigation of context as an important element of human action and interaction. Secondly, the selection of multiple cases allows for a more broad-based interpretation on the findings. The rationale for selection of cases is also provided. Four CBTEs in Kenya were selected purposively, to align data collection with methodological choice. Data comprise in-depth interviews, participant observation and some archival materials. In-depth participant interviews were conducted to facilitate the merging of emic and etic viewpoints in an ethnographic manner. The data were subjected to qualitative analysis through coding and categorising to inductively inform the research outcomes. In the next chapters, the cases are introduced and the findings of each of the cases are presented in order to answer the research questions and address the research problem, starting with the case of Il Ngwesi CBTE. The results and its theoretical as well as practical implications will then be discussed in the closing

chapter. In the next chapter, the settings of all four cases are discussed in order to establish the geographical context.

CHAPTER 4: CASE SETTINGS

4.0 Chapter objectives

As has been established in the methodology chapter, a multiple case study approach has been adopted in this thesis. The inclusion of four cases with distinctive ethnic, cultural, historical and geographical characteristics allows for a broad interpretation of findings and a nuanced understanding of the effects of such settings on the actions and interactions of those involved in the development of a CBTE. The objective of this chapter is to describe the setting of each of the four case studies. The first part establishes the overall context of the cases within Kenya's tourism system, and examines how CBT connects with the national tourism policy. The sections that follow address each case, outlining the geographical, historical, and cultural contexts, the changes that have taken place, as well as how the communities and other actors working in partnership with them have been involved in the change process. The overall aim of this chapter is to provide contextual, documented information about the milieu of the cases being researched. The chapter has relied solely on information in the public domain and documents obtained from the research sites, so the scope and scale of detail varies from case to case depending on what was available and accessible to the researcher.

4.1 Kenyan context

The Republic of Kenya (Figure 4.1), whose capital is Nairobi, covers a total area of 582,650 km². It is two and a half times the size of the state of Victoria, Australia and lies astride the Equator in Eastern Africa. Two-thirds of the land is either arid or semi-arid (Mayaka, 1999). The country lies on the Indian Ocean and is neighboured by Ethiopia and South Sudan to the North, Tanzania to the South, Somalia to the East, and Uganda to the West. Over 67.7 percent of the country's estimated population of 44.35 million people is considered rural (World Bank, 2014; GOK, 2014). Kenya became independent from British rule in 1963 and became a republic in 1964. The country is divided into 47 counties as administrative units, and is made up of 42 different ethnic groups. Kenya is Africa's ninth largest economy with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of \$55.2 billion (World Bank, 2014). The data on tourism vary between sources. The Ministry of East African Affairs, Commerce and Tourism is the government ministry in charge of tourism, and cites the variability of data while setting tourism's contribution to GDP to be between 9 and 13.7 percent, and its contribution to national employment to be about 11 per cent (GOK, 2013). Kenya's tourism features wildlife safaris and beach holidays as key components of the tourism product. In order to understand the settings of the case within Kenya's tourism

system, it is important to understand the broader context of Kenya's socio-economic development. This is the objective of the next sub-section.

4.1.2 Economic development background

The nature of Kenya's development and economy has been widely debated. This debate, known as the "Kenyan Debate", began in the mid-1970s and continues to this day (Himbara, 1993; Kanyinga, 2009; Leys, 1975; Swainson, 1980). The Kenya debate has mainly concerned the nature of Kenya's developmental inequalities with regard to the participation of the local people. The debate pits liberal capitalist thought against critical Marxist notions with regard to the development and underdevelopment of postcolonial Kenya. In what is seen as the first phase of the Kenyan debate, Leys (1975) outlined a dependency argument, citing the ways in which Kenya's economy was entangled in a stifling relationship with the Western European economies, whose interests were represented by multinational corporations. Leys later reported on what he saw as the emergence of a state-supported African capitalist class (Leys, 1982). As this debate progressed, the dependency argument was challenged as deterministic and inadequate for assessing the Kenyan development situation (Himbara, 1993).

The second phase of the Kenyan debate centred on indigenous versus non-indigenous Kenyans' contribution to development, with the discussion inevitably taking on racial and ethnic dimensions. Himbara (1993, 1994) empirically argued that the economy was not under the control of multinationals, but rather locals of Asian descent. Chege (1998) challenged this notion, arguing that neither race nor ethnic factors could be used as independent variables in Kenya's development equation. Instead, he attributed a developmental role to social capital, as manifested in the formation of local formal and informal networks. To date, the debate remains inconclusive, as concrete explanations of the magnitude of the persistent poverty gap between rich and poor, which is backgrounded by what is often portrayed as a stable and growing economy, have not been forthcoming. At the centre of the Kenyan debate is the question of how the rural poor could overcome structural impediments, as articulated by dependency arguments and other social theories. This is necessary in order to address issues of poverty, unemployment, poor health, and education. Seen in the light of the quest for policies and strategies to "enable people to make decisions on matters around their region" under the banner of constitutional devolution (Kanyinga, 2009, 339), there is a compelling need for theoretical inputs that inform such processes. As seen in the preceding discussion, such theorisation ought to take unique situational circumstances into greater account.

As Himbara (1994) has correctly observed, it has not been possible to describe development with an all-encompassing theory as a “pre-ordained” evolutionary process (473). Instead, it was necessary to consider unique historical and contextual factors often ignored by all-encompassing paradigmatic positioning. Two important issues within the discussion of Kenya’s economy are relevant as a contextual background to the cases and therefore this study as a whole. First, is the concern about the plight of rural poor, with 34–42 percent of the population living below the poverty line (World Bank, 2014). The need to search for ways to address poverty as a critical contextual issue lends legitimacy to locating such a study within the Kenyan context.

The second issue has to do with the relevance of tourism. It is worth noting that while mainstream debates and discussions on the Kenyan economy prominently feature agriculture and manufacturing, data show a decline in these industries (Vandenberg, 2003). Accordingly, agriculture had dropped in prominence from contributing over 40 percent to GDP at independence in 1963 to about 24 percent by early 2000. In contrast, the service industry, including tourism, which at independence contributed just over 40 percent to the GDP, had grown to a contribution of over 60 percent by the end of same period. Tourism is important to the Kenya debate for two reasons. First, a large proportion of Kenya’s nature-based tourism industry relies on natural resources in rural areas. Second, tourism has been depicted as perpetuating inequality and marginalisation in some Kenyan communities (Akama, 1999a). Yet tourism is seen by communities and policy makers, albeit often only rhetorically, as a means for positive socio-economic change in rural Kenya. The study of tourism in this context is important as tourism effects, or has the potential to effect, Kenya’s socio-economic situation in a substantial way.

Kenya’s development must be understood against the backdrop of its colonial and post-colonial history. In the colonial period, European settlers discriminated against African farmers, prohibiting Kenyans from growing coffee and tea (Kanyinga, 2009). It was argued that locals did not have the knowledge and know-how to grow these cash crops and participate in the complex, externally controlled agribusiness. However, tea is presently the leading export of Kenya, and it is grown predominantly by indigenous smallholder farmers.

The distribution of land and other resources in post-colonial Kenya can be read as a class issue, with the well-connected businessmen and political elites accumulating this resource to the exclusion of the majority poor (Himbara, 1994; Kanyinga, 2009). State and state-run structures after independence appear to have entrenched institutional and political systems that favour urban capitalist groups and disadvantage the rural poor. Alienation and marginalisation of some

communities, especially in drier pastoral lands is a cause of long standing tensions and struggles, which precipitated post-election political unrest in 2007. Development, even in the post-colonial period, has privileged the urban areas to the exclusion of a large, impoverished rural population (Himbara, 1993).

In the 1980s and 1990s, Kenya, along with most sub-Saharan countries sharing similar histories of colonialism and post-colonial elite politics, undertook measures including economic and political reforms. These involved the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) and aimed at reducing poverty and wealth gaps. These measures, collectively known as the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), included, among other components, currency devaluation, elimination of subsidies, and liberalisation of the money markets and trade. It was hoped that reforms under SAPs and the resultant liberalised economic environment would enhance trade, reduce the debt burden of the participating nations and, through a trickle-down effect, alleviate poverty (Konadu-Agyemang, 2001). However, SAPs achieved quite the opposite effect. In particular, the reductions in government support for various industries coupled with cuts to social spending widened the poverty gap, making the poor even poorer. In short, for Kenya, the debate has not come to a conclusion.

Notably, the Kenyan debate has mostly overlooked the service industry, including tourism, in favour of an emphasis on manufacturing (Vandenberg, 2003). Accordingly, the debates were based on an assumed trajectory of evolutionary development, which envisages the development of nation-states through growth in manufacturing and industrialisation. The evidence in the Kenyan case seems to suggest that development has taken a different growth path, with services rather than manufacturing making up the greater portion of the GDP. Tourism contributes around 10–13% to GDP, compared with the same figure being contributed by the whole of manufacturing put together (GOK, 2013). In the past, mainstream discussions of large-scale transformation of Kenya's socio-economic situation have focused predominantly on manufacturing. Tourism, despite being recognised as an important industry, has not been given significant analytical focus within the mainstream development debates (Vandenberg, 2003).

As discussed in Chapter 1, critical perspectives have informed the discussions of the contribution of tourism to Kenya's economic growth and development (Akama, 1996; Akama, Maingi, & Camargo, 2011; Manyara & Jones, 2007; Sindiga, 1996). Akama (1996), for example, has described what he sees as domination of Western aesthetic and environmental values in the development of nature-based tourism. Sindiga (1996) outlines the marginalisation of cultural groups along the Kenyan Coast while Manyara and Jones (2007) decry the inability of CBT to

address poverty due to what they see as a neo-colonial tourism system favouring foreign firms at the expense of local communities. However, Himbara (1993) sees the dependency argument and other such paradigmatic stances as deterministic and only able to envision a situation where development patterns confine some peripheral part of the world to irreversible and perpetual disadvantage. As one organisational interview participant observed, it may well be possible for the story of Kenya's tea and coffee to be retold in the case of tourism. This participant, who has had extensive involvement with communities in CBT settings, predicts a situation where small community-managed and individually-run entities occupy a more significant share of the local tourism industry supply chain, similar to the gradual ascendance of small-holder farmer influence in the coffee and tea industries. Contextually, such ascendance to prominence of community-based and small enterprises has its own challenges, key among them being the safety and security of tourists, as well as quality issues.

In the Kenyan case, tourism-led community development has for a long time been seen as a strategy for integrating poorer areas surrounding tourist resort enclaves in government-protected parks. The system of protected parks and reserves is a vital part of Kenya's nature-based tourism industry (Mayaka & King, 2002). Such areas are endowed with natural and cultural resources. Moreover, wildlife does not recognise the largely unfenced park boundaries and over 60 per cent of the wildlife resides outside protected areas. There has been an upsurge of interest in tourism among these largely rural communities in recent times (GOK, 2009). The government has responded by developing a national framework for CBT (López-Guzmán et al., 2011). For some areas, a CBT approach may provide an avenue for addressing the structural inequalities highlighted by the Kenyan debate. CBT as a community development approach may prove to be one of the avenues for realising the aspirations of "self-reliance" and accommodating forms of "indigenous creativity" (Mazrui, 1974, 71).

In 2009, the former Ministry of Tourism in collaboration with the Commonwealth Secretariat developed a community-based tourism framework to respond to increased interest in CBT as a tool for tourism-led development and poverty alleviation (GOK, 2009). This trend of increased interest in CBT by governments reflects development in other parts of the world (Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2014). The National Framework for CBT in Kenya highlights key points regarding the Kenyan case. First, a great deal of CBT has been associated with development agencies and NGOs. In line with the discussion of CBT in Chapter 2, CBT is adopted by some NGOs as an approach to community development. Second, there is a growing policy interest in CBT, as reflected in the government report (GOK, 2009). Third, there is recognition of CBT as a means

to combine community development with the conservation of wildlife upon which tourism depends as a 'win-win' developmental strategy (Timmer & Juma, 2005, 26).

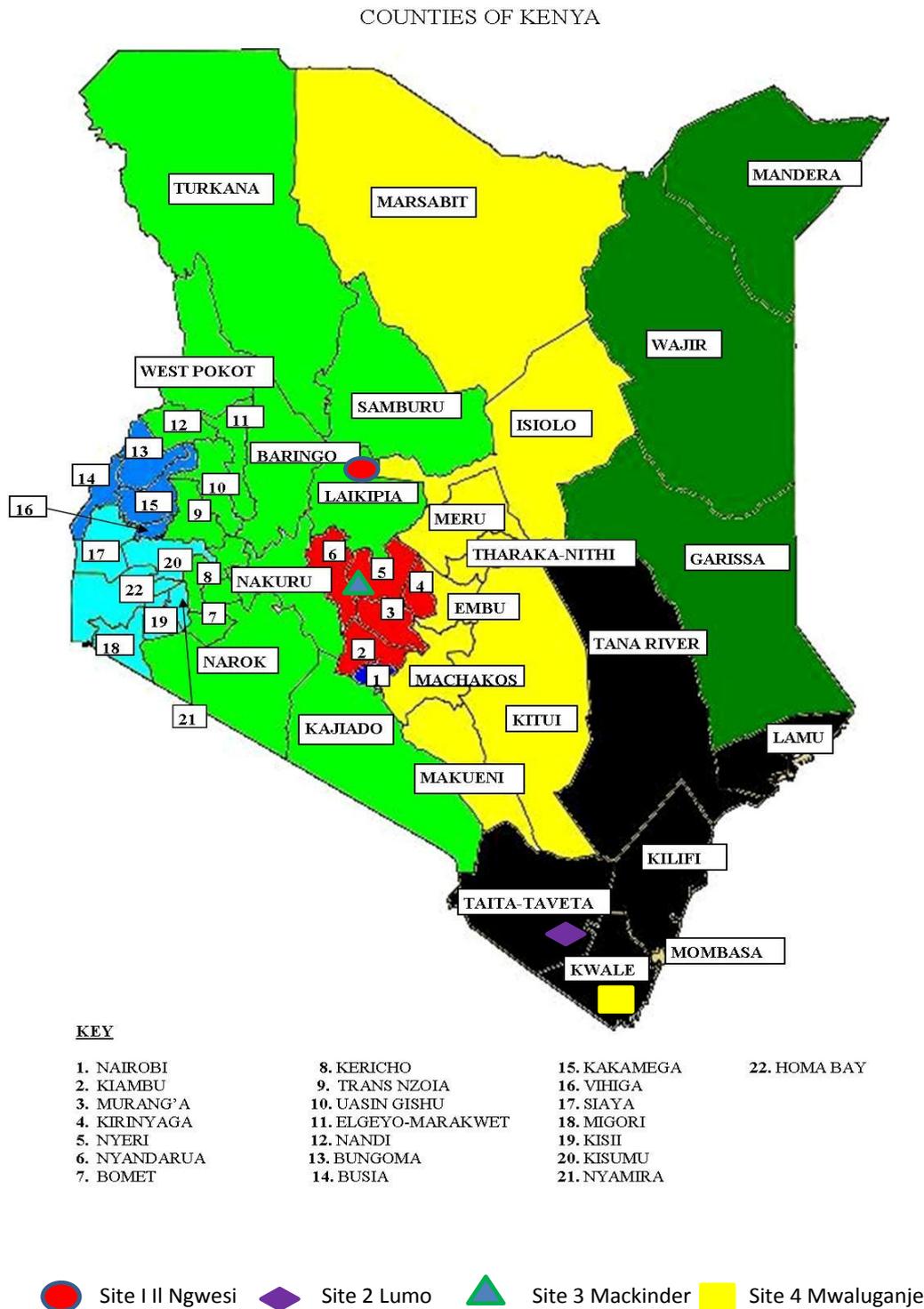


Figure 4.1 County map of Kenya (not to scale). Source: Commons

However, as these authors have noted, there is still limited understanding of the CBT approach to tourism and development. This observation reflects the general state of wider CBT literature

(Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2014; Mayaka et al., 2012). The interest in CBT needs to be supported with sound theoretical understanding and contextually relevant models for its application. An important aspect of such focus is how to link CBT with the milieu of the settings where it is implemented or practiced. Therefore, aim of this chapter is to establish the context of the cases being analysed. Having established the overall national context of CBT in Kenya, the settings for each of the four cases are now described. The locations of the cases are marked on Figure 4.1.

4.2 Il Ngwesi

Il Ngwesi Group Ranch consists of over 700 households with a population of 8000 people, out of whom 3000 live within the ranch and 5000 live outside of it, within Mukogodo Division of Laikipia County (Geheb & Mapedza, 2008; Il Ngwesi, 2014). The group ranch covers 8,675 acres. The Il Ngwesi Maasai or Laikipiak are a part of the larger Maasai ethnic community which includes the Kaputei of Kidong in the South, surrounding Masai Mara and the Purko of Naivasha (Chang, 1982; ole Ndaskoi, 2006). However, the subject of ethnic groupings, and its relation to the Maasai in particular, must be treated with care (Chang, 1982; ole Ndaskoi, 2006). This notwithstanding, the Maasai are predominantly pastoralists but also practice a limited amount of agriculture. The community has set aside 80 per cent of the land for wildlife conservation. The conservation area also serves as pastureland during dry periods. The area is prone to famine and droughts, as well as poaching and frequent cattle raids. In the 1980s and 1990s rampant poaching and cattle rustling was a major problem, aggravated by a porous border with war-torn Somalia acting as a source of frequent incursions and supplier of arms. Security has been, and is a major challenge.

The official government data put the poverty level in Laikipia County at 50.5 per cent, meaning that 50 percent of the people live under the government's poverty index of \$US15 a month equivalent, although this varies across county divisions (GOK, 2014). This is far below \$2 US a day (World Bank, 2014). Poor education standards are evidenced by the low level of primary school enrolment, which stands at only at 13.4 per cent of school-age children being enrolled for the Maasai of Laikipia (Il Ngwesi (Ngwesi, 2010). Low education is intimately related to poverty as it reduces potential for economic involvement. This leads to a self-perpetuating cycle of intergenerational disadvantage, in which families cannot afford to educate their children because they themselves are not educated. It is fair to describe the Maasai as a marginalised and disadvantaged community in Kenya.

Being situated in the drier northern parts of the country, there is also competition for pasture between wildlife and livestock. Such a conflict can be reasonably anticipated to act as a

disincentive to wildlife conservation and tourism development. The Maasai have also been subjected to the impoverishing effects of disempowerment at the hands of both colonial and post-colonial governments (Akama, 1999a; Kantai, 2007; ole Ndaskoi, 2006). This alienation issue dates back to the period of the “exploration” of East Africa when European explorers from the Royal Geographical Society such as Joseph Thomson, the first European to cross Maasailand in an expedition between 1883 and 1884, and Sir Harry Johnston described the Maasai, among other African groups, as “savage” and “primitive” (Kantai, 207, 108). Accordingly, by late 1890 plans were underway to confront the Maasai, who occupied a vast territory in Kenya’s hinterland, in order to pave the way for construction of the East African Railway and European settlement of East Africa. The “savage” Maasai had been severely affected by loss of their cattle through a rinderpest epidemic in the 1890s (Chang, 1982). This significantly weakened the economic position of the Maasai, likely making them more vulnerable to exploitation by the colonial rulers. This exploitation can be observed in an event of momentous impact on the Maasai people and their relationship with their land. The so called “Anglo-Maasai Agreement” signed by Sir Donald Stewart, representing the British, and the *Laibon* or medicine man Olonana ole Mbatiany on behalf of the Maasai in Nairobi, on the 15th of August, 1904, gave away the Maasai rights to a vast territory in Kenya’s hinterland (ole Ndaskoi, 2006). The Maasai were by consent moved from their fertile productive land to two dry reserves: one in the north around Il Ngwesi, the other in south, in Narok and Kajiado Counties (Fig 4.1). Accordingly, the Maasai people believe the British tricked them with a fraudulent treaty (ole Ndaskoi, 2006).

There were two major consequences of the Anglo-Maasai treaties. First was the relocation of Maasai populations from what became known as the “White Highlands” to the Northern Reserve and the Southern Reserve to pave the way for white settlers. In 1911, through a further treaty, the Maasai were forcibly made to move from Laikipia, the Northern Reserve to an “expanded Southern Reserve” (Kantai, 2007, 107). The Maasai thus lost over two million acres of land, except a remnant of ranches including Il Ngwesi and others occupied by non-Maasai. Second is the fact that through this “consensual conquest” they had entered into a subject-and-master relationship, thus ushering in colonial rule (Kantai, 2007, 108). A vital component of this relocation policy was the creation of group ranches that were intended to reduce the mobility of pastoral groups, freeing up valuable land for “real development” in the form of individually owned, large farms (Ntiati, 2002) while leaving the Maasai with unproductive land and limited economic options (Veit, 2011).

At the end of colonial rule, after the establishment of independent Kenya, the Kenyan government pursued a group ranch strategy for pastoralists, with the same objective of settling the pastoralists as the colonial government, but also with the objective of commercialisation of livestock and modernising the pastoralists' communal way of life (Kimani & Pickard, 1998). Accordingly, Chapter 287 of the Land Group Representative Act of 1968, was enacted to institutionalise this objective. Under this Act, the aim was to replace communal land ownership with regulated, legally recognised, group ownership. This group ranch concept can be seen as a modernisation tool to facilitate a movement from a *Gemeinschaft*-like community to a *Gesellschaft*-like one. Based on Tönnies' (1857) conception of modernisation, *Gemeinschaft* refers to community characterised by cultural, relational, historical and institutionalised ties while *Gesellschaft*, literally translated as "business" in German, represents impersonal, formalised, contractual relationships as a modern societal unit (Bell & Newby, 1972). This paradigmatic distinction is important, as it partially explains the difficulties of implementation of the group ranch concept. Group ranches with legally fixed boundaries were different from the less restrictive, traditional land ownership and management systems. Traditional ownership depended on local management and control, while group ranch ownership depends on state regulation through law, often perceived as an externally imposed restriction.

Il Ngwesi was formed on this group ranch basis. The Group Ranch Committee at Il Ngwesi is led by a board of directors, comprising six elected members of the community and three external experts. Decisions are referred to the Group Ranch Committee for a vote before being presented at the annual general meeting (AGM) or at a special general meeting, for consideration and approval by community members. The Il Ngwesi Group Ranch incorporates Il Ngwesi Community Trust Committee, or Natural Resource Management Committee, which consists of fourteen representatives and makes decisions concerning the management of the group ranch or particular land-use regulations such as grazing and conservation. The Community Trust committee has a legal advisor to review proposals. The lodge is run as an independent limited company owned by the group ranch and has its own board of directors. The lodge employs 32 staff, 24 of whom are full-time.

The second event that has had a crucial impact upon people, land and wildlife in the area is the creation of parks and reserves for the protection of wildlife as the main tourist attraction (Akama, 1999b). While the Maasai and other communities around parks bear the highest costs of tourism development in terms of opportunity costs and human-wildlife conflict, benefits from mainstream or mass tourism are minimal. This has exacerbated the pre-existing mistrust towards

outsiders and government agencies, which dates back to the land grab by the European settlers and the colonial government. This same mistrust can also be seen as an adhesive that cements the Maasai identity as a distinct community within Kenya and East Africa. Notably, the creation of wildlife reserves reinforces safaris as a major component of Kenyan tourism, and presents an opportunity for local communities such as the Il Ngwesi Maasai to exploit an economic resource that was previously generally regarded as a livelihood threat.

4.3 Lumo Wildlife Sanctuary

Lumo Community Wildlife Sanctuary is located in Taita Taveta County, about 377 kilometres from Kenya's capital city Nairobi, 160 kilometres from the coastal city of Mombasa, and 50 kilometres from the highway town of Voi (LUMO, 2013). Lumo is an acronym derived from the names of the three community ranches, 'LU' stands for Lualenyi, 'M' for Mramba, and 'O' for Oza. The area is made up of the lowlands and a portion of hill country, extending from an altitude of 150 metres to the highest point, the Vuria peak of Taita Hills, at 1,800 metres above sea level. Lumo lies within the Tsavo ecosystem, which hosts Kenya's largest wildlife parks, Tsavo East National Park, which is 11,747 km² in size, and Tsavo West, which spans 9,065 km². The neighbouring Taita Hills Game Sanctuary is privately owned. The area is in a wildlife migration corridor.

Lumo sanctuary is in Taita-Taveta County, among the Taita people, who represent one of the 42 tribes of Kenya. LUMO Wildlife Sanctuary is located in the lowlands. Traditionally, the Taita lived in the hill country, leaving the lowlands for cattle grazing and hunting. Some of the land in the lowlands is owned by individuals residing elsewhere (Fleuret, 1985). Hunting practices permitted a harmonious co-existence between the people and wildlife. However, with increase in population, people have progressively moved to these lower altitudes. This has created pressure, with new settlements tending to occupy areas formerly inhabited by animals. One of the biggest challenges in the lowlands is the resulting human-wildlife conflict.

Consequently, the poverty levels are high in the lowlands, and people depend on food aid at certain times of the year. The poverty level of Taita-Taveta County is 56.9, meaning 56.9 percent of the population lives below \$15 US a month (GOK, 2014). This poverty stems partly from the poor soil, droughts, and the now-perpetual human-wildlife conflict. There are structural limitations stemming from both the pre-independence and post-independence government systems, such as the replacement of traditional management structures with government control through the provincial administration (Lepp, Lyons, & Wearing, 2008).

The official documents and the sanctuary website indicate that Lumo was officially established in 2001 (LUMO, 2013). However, the individual ranches had intentions to create sanctuaries from as early as the 1970s (Njogu & Dietz, 2011). Lualenyi, Mramba and Oza merged to form a wildlife conservancy. These ranches collectively cover 66,750 hectares. The ranches are in the middle of a historical elephant migration corridor, which links the Tsavo ecosystem to the Shimba Hills in the neighbouring Kwale County. The members of the ranches decided to commit 46,600 hectares to the sanctuary (LUMO, 2013). The Sanctuary was registered as a self-help group in 1998, and as a trust in 2001, which allows the trustees to administer land and other assets on behalf of members. Lualenyi, established in 1965, is a limited company registered under Companies Act Chapter 486 of the Laws of Kenya, with 52 shareholders. Oza and Mramba, formed in the 1980 and 1991 respectively, are community ranches under the Land Group Representative Act, Chapter 287 of the laws of Kenya, with about 2400 members each. Lumo, like Il Ngwesi, has been founded on the back of the Kenyan government's group ranches policy.

Lumo's membership is drawn solely from the Taita ethnic community. It is incorporated as a community trust. The board of trustees comprises nine members, three of whom are executive: the chairman, secretary, and the treasurer. Each member ranch elects three trustees to the board. The sanctuary has a manager, an accounts clerk, and a team of 16 game scouts who double as tour guides. Lumo community is defined by its membership.

The development of Lumo has been made possible by funding from two donors. The European Union, through the Biodiversity Conservation Program (BCP), provided Kshs.12,000,000, which is equivalent to AU \$150,000, for development of the Sanctuary's infrastructure. USAID, through the Conservation of Resources through Enterprise (CORE) program gave Lumo Kshs17,000,000.00, equivalent to AU \$212,500. The community contributed an almost equal amount in the form of labour, to develop a lodge under a work-for-share arrangement, where the number of hours worked translates to shareholding in the CBTE. The lodge is leased to a private investor and has 12 cottages with a total capacity of 24 beds. Lumo also has two campsites.

4.4 Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project

The setting of this case is Gatarakwa in the Kieni Constituency, Nyeri, one of Kenya's 47 counties (Figure 4.1). The site is located approximately 187 kilometres north of Nairobi (UNESCO, 2010). The Mackinder Eagle-Owl Sanctuary is located in Kiawara township, along the Kamariki River valley, at the foothills of the Nyandarua (Aberdares) Mountain Range. The

site is nestled between Ol Donyo Lesatima Mountain, which stands at 3,999 metres and Kirinyaga (Mount Kenya), standing at 5,199 metres. Kiawara itself sits at approximately 2,300 metres above sea level. Although the mountains are a water catchment area, Gatarakwa is dry for most parts of the year, because it lies in a rain shadow on the leeward side of the Nyandarua mountain range, meaning that it is normally shielded from moisture-bearing winds. Nearby is Aberdares National Park, a World Heritage Site and a government-owned national park. It is also worth noting that Gatarakwa is located at a crossing of two tourist routes, one that links Nairobi and Central Kenya to the northern parts of Kenya, and another that connects Central Kenya to the Rift Valley and western parts of the country. As with its rainfall situation, despite being in what may be deemed a tourist zone, Gatarakwa is in the “tourist shadow” of this zone (Lacey, Weiler, & Peel, 2014).

Gatarakwa is cosmopolitan, but largely inhabited by the Kikuyu, the largest of Kenya’s 42 tribes. The poverty rate in the county of Nyeri is 32.7 per cent (GOK, 2014). The people who live in Gatarakwa are mainly farmers, relying primarily on rain and river water. Consequently, most of the small farms are situated along the Kamariki River. The majority of the land is used for subsistence farming, although some farmers grow crops for commercial purposes. The farms are generally small, averaging about one hectare (see Ogada, 2007). Most of the farms are not inhabited but are used only for planting of crops, the settlements being located higher up on the slopes of the Nyandarua Range. The Mackinder eagle-owl (*Bubo capensis mackinderi*), nests on the cliffs occupied by these farms. Being an endangered species, the owl is a tourist attraction, particularly among the many bird fanciers who visit Kenya.

4.5 Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary

Golini-Mwaluganje Community Wildlife Conservation Limited, commonly known as Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary is located in Kwale County on Kenya’s coast, 45 kilometres southwest of the coastal city of Mombasa (KWS, 2014). The sanctuary is also approximately 35km southwest of the county headquarters, Kwale town. The poverty rate of Kwale County as defined above is 72.9. The sanctuary covers an area of 36 km². Together with the adjacent Shimba Hills National Reserve, a government-owned protected area, Mwaluganje is a part of what is known as the Shimba Hills ecosystem. The sanctuary lies at an altitude of about 130–150 metres above sea level and includes the Golini Escarpment on the eastern boundary of the sanctuary. Mwaluganje was established as a company in 1994. The company manages the sanctuary for the conservation of elephants, and is a community-based tourism enterprise (CBTE). The land is held in trust by the company and belongs to 200 local Digo and Duruma

ethnic landowners, who have committed their land to the development of the sanctuary. The farmers still hold title to the land but have transferred legal right of possession to the corporation and cannot dispose of it or use it as collateral without mutual legal consent between the corporation and the individual landowner.

The Mwaluganje Sanctuary has several attractions including scenic beauty, in the form of cliffs from which one can observe the Indian Ocean below. The natural forests are of cultural significance as *kayas* or traditional religious shrines of the Duruma and Digo people. The wildlife includes elephants, zebra, warthogs, bushbuck, waterbuck, baboons, leopards, porcupines, mongooses, bush babies, birds, and many reptiles. Mwaluganje is a dispersal area, or wildlife corridor, for elephants moving from Shimba National Reserve to Mwaluganje forest. Thus, human-wildlife conflict is a key issue. Mwaluganje is considered by Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS), the government's wildlife conservation agency, to be an important refuge for elephants, and is also ecologically significant as a water catchment area.

At its inception, Mwaluganje Sanctuary did not have an accommodation facility. It relied on a privately owned lodge constructed outside of the sanctuary, within the preserved and government-owned Mwaluganje Forest Reserve. The private investor entered into an agreement to market the sanctuary, and provided the accommodation for its visitors. However, by 2004 the lodge had declined and today it is no longer functional. Mwaluganje Sanctuary has consequently constructed twenty temporary accommodation tents and other facilities. The Sanctuary currently employs fifteen people on permanent basis.

4.6 Chapter summary

This research is premised on the benefits of a multiple case study approach aimed towards understanding the practice of entrepreneuring within CBTE development. As such, it examines four cases situated in distinct cultural and environmental settings. The impacts of these settings and of the interactions between various actors are to be explored in the following chapters, which examine the research findings for each of the cases introduced in this chapter. The preceding description has outlined the broader geographical, environmental, and cultural settings that inform the findings. The cases are situated in vastly different climates, locations, and ethnic communities in rural Kenya.

The first case, the Il Ngwesi Ranch, is located in the arid part of Laikipia and is an initiative of the local Maasai community. The Maasai have suffered a history of disenfranchisement in Kenya and the Maasai of Laikipia also have to contend with security issues due to their proximity to

war-torn Somalia. They are traditional pastoralists who have had to overcome both distrust of government agencies and a cultural reliance on cattle. The second case, the Lumo Wildlife sanctuary, is located in the south-eastern part of the country and inhabited mostly by people of Taita ethnicity. The Taita, traditionally dwellers of the hill country, formerly used the lowlands for hunting, but have been increasingly driven into the low country by population pressure. This has created conflict with wildlife, including elephants, which are very destructive to farms. The third case, Mackinder Owl Sanctuary, is located in the central highlands, on a semi-arid mountain plateau inhabited primarily by rain-dependent subsistence farmers of Kikuyu ethnicity. The local people have a traditional abhorrence of owls, which they see as omens of death. The final case, the Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary, is situated in the southern coastal area. The sanctuary is owned by members of the related but distinct Digo and Duruma tribes. The area is possessed of scenic beauty and abundant wildlife, but has seen conflict between human habitation and animals.

While these cases demonstrate sufficient unique attributes, they also have some aspects in common. All are located in rural, poverty-afflicted regions. In each case, there has been some form of human-wildlife conflict, and every case has been established with wildlife as the major tourist attraction. Each case is also community-owned or community-run, primarily for community benefit. Therefore, these cases allow an analysis with a relatively broad application, connecting distinct settings with threads of commonality. This analysis will be presented case-by-case in the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER 5: IL NGWESI CASE

5.1 Introduction

Il Ngwesi CBTE is a community wildlife sanctuary with an ecolodge, created in 1996 as part of Il Ngwesi Group Ranch, consisting of over 700 households located within Mukogodo Division of Laikipia County (Geheb & Mapedza, 2008; Il Ngwesi, 2014). The Il Ngwesi Maasai or Laikipiak are a part of the greater Maasai group, one of Kenya's 42 ethnic communities. Il Ngwesi CBTE has been analysed as a case of community able to break away from the constraints within its environment and create new socio-economic possibilities in addressing pressing socio-economic challenges (Kieti, Nyakaana, & Mugo, 2012; Timmer & Juma, 2005). The aim of this chapter is to articulate the process through which such change has taken place. First, the influences on the creation and development of Il Ngwesi CBTE are examined in order to answer the general research question. The key actors and the significance of the milieu are then analysed, in response to the first and second supplementary questions. The connections and relationships between different elements that have contributed to the creation and development of Il Ngwesi CBTE are then examined. Therefore, the chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section examines the chronology of events in the establishment of Il Ngwesi, highlighting the key influences. The second section examines the key actors in the process. A discussion of the influences of the milieu is covered in the closing section.

5.2 The key influences on the creation of Il Ngwesi CBTE

The exploration of influences is largely informed by the 12 interviews performed at the site. The interview participants included founding members, managers, a representative of a partner organisation, and ordinary community members. The participants were purposefully selected, based on their involvement in or knowledge about the creation of Il Ngwesi CBTE. Interview questions focused on when and how the CBTE emerged, as well as who did what, and with what resources (Johannisson, 2011). The data mainly consist of participants' accounts of the events and activities surrounding this emergence. Table 5.1 shows the four categories of interview participants, their pseudonyms, gender, and age brackets.

The remainder of the present section will present a thematic analysis of the interview responses with regard to the research question.

Table 5.1 Il Ngwesi interview participants

Category	Participants' pseudonyms	Gender	Age bracket	Number
Members	Naserien	Female	30–40	5
	Namunyak	Female	50–60	
	Ndiwa	Male	30–40	
	Metito	Male	30–40	
	Tonkei	Male	30–40	
Managers	Sironka,	Male	30–40	3
	Sankei,	Male	35–45	
	Mwangi	Male	50–60	
Founding members	Olonana,	Male	60–70	3
	Ntimama,	Male	60–70	
	Ole Tipis	Male	50–60	
Partner Organisation	Peter	Male	30–40	1
Total				12

The themes emerging from the interview data supported by the documents show a common thread across the sources. Based on these data, the findings point to three key influences on the creation of Il Ngwesi CBTE: first, the prevailing cyclical drought conditions; second, the security situation; and third, the condition of poverty.

(i) Effects of drought

A key driving factor in the creation of Il Ngwesi was the prevailing drought condition, which has been observed to be cyclic (Wanyoike, Owuor, Lagat, & Wanjiru, 2015). The effects of drought were particularly severe in Il Ngwesi because of the limited economic options in the harsh environment. While the geographical region of Il Ngwesi is prone to frequent droughts, the severe drought of 1983–84 was particularly significant in changing attitudes to sustainable livelihood in the area, due to the death of a large number of cattle belonging to the Il Ngwesi Maasai.

According to the interviews, a rancher by the name of Ian Craig (the owner of Lewa Conservancy and lodge) established a tourism enterprise on his property. Ian Craig is fondly referred to in the community as “Craig” and as “neighbour” of the Il Ngwesi Ranch. Craig encouraged the community to follow his example in creating a tourism enterprise to generate

ongoing income in the face of drought related losses. The 1983–84 drought may well represent a breakdown moment in everyday life, a disruption in dwelling of actors immersed in their environments that often precipitates a shift from purposive action to more purposeful, goal-oriented mode of acting (Chia & Holt, 2006):

In 1984 our cattle died and we had a neighbour at Lewa. He had cattle like us. He shifted and started to look after wildlife (Olonana, founder).

The death of the livestock in the Il Ngwesi environment triggered a process of broadening socio-economic activities to include tourism as an addition to pastoralism. The circumstances of drought spawned discussions between Craig and the Il Ngwesi Maasai elders about setting aside some land – traditionally valued for its use as pasture – for conservation of wildlife as a tourism resource. Tourism was utterly alien to the traditions of the Il Ngwesi Maasai, and represented a significant shift in the Maasai self-image, which was tied to cattle ownership.

Cattle, it should be noted, are important to Il Ngwesi Maasai, who lead a pastoral lifestyle and depend on livestock as sole source of livelihood in their arid and semi-arid environment. The cattle rely on natural pasture, which in turn depends on the rain patterns. In the already marginal conditions, a severe drought led to the loss of many cattle, which are central to Maasai cultural practices and are a symbol of wealth. Loss of cattle, therefore, affects both the social and economic spheres of Maasai life. Being so highly valued, they are costly to replace and the severity of the losses in the 1980s revealed the need to look to new ways of surviving.

(ii) *Change in tourism and wildlife policy*

The loss of livestock through drought coincided with change in Kenyan government tourism and wildlife policy. This saw a shift from favouring fenced protected areas (PA) to a community approach involving several organisations, under a program known as Conservation for Biodiversity Resource Areas (COBRA). This movement facilitated a partnership between the community and Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS), which had secured funding from United States Agency for International Development (USAID) for conservation. It is with the help of this funding that the community built a lodge and included tourism as an economic activity alongside pastoralism. The shift is best captured by an expression, now common in the Il Ngwesi community, which speaks of metaphorically “milking the rhino” in addition to literally milking the cow. The building of the lodge and wildlife sanctuary was completed in 1996. The collaborative arrangement is outlined in the Il Ngwesi Strategic Plan 2010–2014:

Members of Il Ngwesi II Group Ranch entered into discussions with Ian Craig from neighbouring Lewa Downs [Lewa Conservancy] about setting aside some of their land for wildlife conservation and about tourist-related business ventures that could raise income for the community. In 1995/6, with funding from USAID through the Kenya Wildlife Service, a superb tourist lodge was built in the conservation area, to be managed and run by the local community, giving visitors the opportunity to experience a unique combination of wildlife viewing and superb views (Il Ngwesi, 2010).

The interview participants were asked a direct question about why Il Ngwesi was created. The prevailing, difficult socio-economic and environmental situation emerged as a key impetus for the creation and development of Il Ngwesi CBTE. Key among these conditions were insecurity caused by frequent attacks by cattle rustlers and incursion of armed bandits.

The prevailing insecurity was a key influence in the creation of Il Ngwesi. This finding is corroborated by the fact that security tops the list of beneficial outcomes of Il Ngwesi CBTE. According to the participants, before the creation of the CBTE Il Ngwesi community experienced high levels of insecurity due to frequent attacks by cattle rustlers and incursions of armed bandits from neighbouring Somalia as well as poachers. It is common knowledge that members of the Maasai community do not eat game meat and so did not hunt wildlife for food. Poachers therefore came from outside of the Maasai Il Ngwesi community. Participants emotionally and intensely elaborated the nature of security problem both as a driver for the creation of the CBTE and an outcome. During the 1980s and 1990s in particular, many people from the Il Ngwesi community had lost their lives through cattle raids in this area. The livestock numbers also went down through a combination of the droughts and insecurity. However, according to the interviews, the CBTE now has its own well-armed and well-trained, rapid response security force. In addition, a co-operative network now exists between the various conservancies in the area to allow for co-ordinated security operations. Now Il Ngwesi and other establishments (known by different terms as CBTE, sanctuaries and conservancies) have developed a well-established security network of armed rangers and four-wheel drive vehicles suited for the rough terrain. The security situation has changed as a result of the creation of Il Ngwesi.

Before there was a lot of insecurity but the lodge has brought peace, people live in peace. There is a lot of development and there are no issues of conflict here and there because of security (Ndiwa, community member).

(iii) Poverty situation

Poverty was another key driver in the creation of Il Ngwesi. The combination of droughts and harsh arid conditions as well as the security situation, which led to loss of livestock, are sources of poverty in the Il Ngwesi environment. The idea of money from tourism sounded attractive to the CBTE's early adopters, as this money could be used to address the issue of poverty:

Craig came and told us there is money here from tourism and this, your area is dry, has rocks, hills and desert, this is the only thing that can bring you money. You know if somebody explains to you something, and then you ask "what?" We thought to ourselves, we didn't have any such money before, no income, we Maasais or others. There was no tourism known to us as business. The mzungu [white man] just showed us the way. He told us there is money, if you want to eat start, if you don't want stay! (Ntimama, founder)

The motivation for creating the CBTEs is to earn money, but this money is wanted to address the local issues, as a means to an end. This is illustrated by the quote attributed to Peter, an organisational participant, in response to a question regarding the motivation of creation of CBTEs and conservancies. Importantly, it is difficult to separate the issues, as they are interrelated. As a source of income, a CBTE may address several socio-economic needs:

Initially it is the money [lack, poverty]). But [it] also depends on the set-up that is there. Initially for the conservancy, the drive is security. They know that if we have this organisation of the conservancy, then our security is answered to. Then we are better off. Then they know with security comes tourism activity. And tourism comes with money. Then we can use that money to address a few needs that we have (Peter, organisational participant).

5.2.1 Conspectus

The preceding analysis demonstrates that it is the combination of cyclic droughts and prevailing poverty which motivated the creation the Il Ngwesi CBTE. However, the changing tourism and wildlife policies created the opportunity for the community to act. Then there were the discussions between Craig and the community to actualise the need to create the CBTE. So in answer to the first and second supplementary research questions, the CBTE creation process was influenced by the interaction between local socio-economic conditions, various actor involvement, and opportunity, rather than the actions of one individual. It is notable that the severity of the 1980–1984 drought was a particularly important trigger, as it was the impetus for

discussions between the community actors and Craig. These findings support the view that it is through just such web of moderated interactions that human actors as creators create artefacts (Sarasvathy & Venkataraman, 2011). As has already been noted in Chapter 4, Il Ngwesi is located in the terrain of the dry, northern part of Kenya. There is pressure on the grazing lands, with wildlife and livestock competing for the limited amount of available pasture and water within the Il Ngwesi environment. Intercommunity conflicts over the pasture and meagre water resources are worsened by frequent droughts and famine (Amede, Geheb, & Douthwaite, 2009). These conditions motivate a constant search for solutions on the part of communities living here. However, it is drastic changes like the severe drought in 1984, which caused the death of the community's livestock, that motivate quick action. These findings show that decisions and actions taken in the Il Ngwesi environment related to community livelihood and survival. A synthesis of these elements will be clarified further as the roles of different actors and the environment in the process are analysed in the sections that follow. The next section focuses on the roles of different actors.

5.3 Roles of different actors

The creation and development of Il Ngwesi CBTE has depended on co-operative interactions between numerous actors, which will now be examined.

5.3.1 Friend and neighbour

As already noted, the idea of developing conservation-based tourism was introduced to the community by Craig. In a traditional developmental sense, Craig might be said to have fulfilled Freire's (1970) role of liberator. However, Craig's involvement could also fit the role of ally, which signifies horizontal power within a relationship (Toomey, 2011). As an ally, Craig wanted the community to benefit from the shift to tourism as an alternative to pastoralism.

Craig encouraged the community to follow his lead and create a tourism business. According to the interviews, there were some pre-existing tourism activities in the area, revolving around campsites run by non-community members. These entrepreneurs only employed a few local Maasai. The employment mentioned here took the form of casual menial labour. The community members were unaware that they could get better benefits from the tourism business:

One friend of ours came to us and told us, there are people, wazungus, who come here and employ our people, they do camping. Us, we didn't know and were not conscious of what was going on (Ntimama, founder).

The *wazungu* or white men were using camping grounds and local resources in an apparently

exploitative manner, without adequate compensatory benefits to the community. According to the interviews, as best exemplified in the views of founders Ntimama and Olonana, Craig started agitating the community to seek better terms in their engagements with the businessmen. These businessmen had not been paying fees for using the camping grounds and Craig was insisting they start paying the community. Arguably, Craig was playing an advocacy role:

The only benefit was by the few people who were employed by the camel trek [safaris]. Those are the only benefits that went to the community. Craig began to be at loggerheads with these wazungu [white men] who do camping. The wazungu started to talk to the people they employed. “This mzee [“respected elder”, referring to Craig] is starting to incite you against us. If he introduces the idea of paying [for the campsite] we will refuse” (Ole Tipis, founder).

In the quotation above, founder Ole Tipis refers to the exploitative white men exclusively as wazungu (singular: mzungu), an ostensibly non-pejorative and descriptive term which is nevertheless suggestive of an asymmetric power relationship. Craig, on the other hand, despite being a “white man”, is additionally referred to as a “friend”, signifying a more equal relationship between him and the Il Ngwesi Maasai community. Craig is also described as a “neighbour” rather than a business partner. In this context, “neighbour” denotes a very close relationship. Craig showed the community the possibility of earning money through tourism and so acted as an ally.

The views of founders reflect the overall view expressed by interview participants and the documents regarding Craig’s contribution to the creation of the CBTE. Craig showed the Il Ngwesi community potential benefits that would accrue from tourism, taking on the role of an ally and friend of the community (Toomey, 2011). The use of the terms “friend” and “neighbour” simultaneously in reference to Craig suggests a very close relationship. Such a relationship has the potential for solidarity, which was identified as one of the purposes of community development (see Section 2.2). Furthermore, according to Toomey (2011), solidarity encapsulates compassion, respect, and a propensity for collective action.

It appears that Craig, despite being a *mzungu*, has not taken on the assumed role of an “all powerful” dominant partner as described elsewhere (Geheb & Mapedza, 2008; Manyara & Jones, 2007) but is instead regarded by Il Ngwesi community as a neighbour, friend, and helper who enjoys a horizontal power relationship with the Il Ngwesi community. Craig, and by extension his Lewa enterprise, is trusted by this community as caring for their interests. While it might be argued that the community may have been induced to act by an immediate economic

incentive, the evidence from the interviews shows that Craig's initial contribution was not monetary, but rather took the form of friendly and empowering advice. In other words, the community does not appear to have been lured into the decision to create a tourism enterprise by an economically powerful individual. A further demonstration of Craig's relationship with the community is that he has influenced communities surrounding Il Ngwesi to establish an umbrella organisation for conservancies and CBTEs, the Northern Rangeland Trust (NRT). In a comment attributed to him, Craig reinforces the importance of the trust in his relationship with local communities:

One word, which frequently crops up in discussions about NRT and the conservancies, is trust. "In these pastoralist societies, trust is massively important" says Ian Craig. "It takes a long time to build up trust"(NRT, 2013, 9).

An apparently strong friendship built on trust between Craig and the community is evident in the Il Ngwesi case. As demonstrated here, this relationship has been a significant influence in the creation of Il Ngwesi CBTE.

Based on these findings, the relationship between Craig, and therefore Lewa Conservancy, with Il Ngwesi and other communities is empowering and agency enhancing. These findings differ from observations made in previous references to this case (Geheb & Mapedza, 2008; Manyara & Jones, 2007). Manyara and Jones (2007), using multiple case studies with Il Ngwesi among them, recognise the relevance of Il Ngwesi as a model for other community-based tourism enterprises (CBTE). However, they critique the relationship with "white-owned" Lewa and the influence thereof as one of dependence and "external intervention" (628). Geheb and Mapedza (2008) describe the relationship between Lewa's Ian Craig and the Il Ngwesi Maasai as taking place between a man with "considerably more power" than the Il Ngwesi community and the CBTE, and driven by the former's overriding interests. Manyara and Jones (2007) concur with this view. However, the language of the participants, as members of the community, contrasts with the views of these authors on power relations. One might argue that the relationship has been influenced by a financial imperative, placing Craig in a position of power over the community. The findings show that this does not seem to have been the case. According to documents and community members' accounts, Craig has not been involved in the running of Il Ngwesi CBTE since 2004, within which period the CBTE has remained financially sustainable. Craig voluntarily discontinued his direct involvement in the Il Ngwesi project at a time when it appeared the community had built up sufficient capacity to run the project without the helping hand of a friend. This reinforces the notion that Craig acted to empower the community, rather

than to control it. As has been highlighted, there is no evidence to show that the initial contribution and involvement on the part of Craig included monetary exchanges or donations to the community. Moreover, a friend and neighbour relationship goes beyond financial benefits, and this one started much earlier than the tourism enterprise. The community's relationship with Craig existed long before the establishment of the CBTE. Sankei, a manager in his forties, has known Craig since childhood. He reminisced: "Ian Craig, I knew him when I was a little boy. He actually used to come to my Dad's home". It could be argued that Craig, having dwelled in the Il Ngwesi environment for a long time, has become a part of it, its history, cultural understanding, and practices.

Without trust, it would have been impossible for the community to listen to and take advice from Craig, because in the Il Ngwesi environment white men are associated with colonial domination and loss of community land rights (see ole Ndaskoi, 2006). Olonana, a founder, draws a distinction between Craig and partners in the creation of Il Ngwesi CBTE:

A while ago Il Ngwesi had partners. There was KWS in as far as the wildlife issues were concerned. There are neighbours such as Lewa, and it is from Lewa that we got many more partners and friends, because Lewa is well known (Olonana, founder).

According to Olonana, KWS is a "partner", while Lewa Conservancy, and by extension the owner Craig, is a "neighbour". The neighbour's contribution by way of bringing in "more partners and friends" is notable. Thus, while the leadership role played by Craig is significant beyond doubt (Amede et al., 2009), a relationship exists between the community and Craig that is mutual and not one of domination. "Neighbour" is a term of acceptance within a community. A neighbour is one who shares geographical proximity and usually has overlapping interests. When corroborated with the researcher's own observations, there is a strength of identity, with Craig being regarded as near to being a community member.

With respect to his knowledge of tourism, the local situations, and influence of the community within this environment, Craig also fits the role of a reflective practitioner (Schön, 1983). Accordingly, such an individual is one armed with locally based practical knowledge. In this context, it is knowledge regarding cattle ranching and droughts in the Il Ngwesi area, expressed through adding tourism to cattle rearing as a source of livelihood. It is also worth noting that the community elders had time to reflect and think over Craig's proposition.

We thought and reflected amongst ourselves, what is this mzungu really saying? Now we see tourism money coming. But if it were not for him, we probably would be lagging

behind a bit. Nobody had demonstrated to us [that] there would be money earned from tourism. Now, our area is not really good for grazing cattle, it is not enough for our cattle. But the place set aside is enough for conserving/viewing wildlife (Ntimama, founder).

There is no evidence in the interviews and participant observation to suggest that Craig's involvement with Il Ngwesi compromised the community's power to make decisions about their own affairs. Indeed, as has been discussed, his role appears to have been very much one of facilitating community power.

5.3.2 Founder role

Categorically identifying founding members of Il Ngwesi CBTE is problematic. This is related to a cultural peculiarity that is reflected in Kenyan Benga music. In Benga, the roles of various instruments are ill defined, with lead, rhythm, and bass guitars changing musical positions throughout the song. Similarly, actors in Kenyan CBTE development are inclined to move between roles, which are not always clearly definable with western labels. Actors who might be described as founding members were often said to move between roles, making it difficult to ascertain their predominant function. Of the six people who could reasonably be identified as founding members, three were available to be interviewed. These members provided guidance in community decision-making regarding their land. They are the ones who held discussions with Craig and other actors from outside the community. They travelled and learned from sources outside of the community. Upon acquiring such knowledge, they mobilised the community and provided the necessary leadership for committing community land to tourism. A number of themes emerged with regard to their roles.

First, these individuals are well-respected elders trusted by other community members. They are also, in the practical lived world of Il Ngwesi, normally consulted in other community matters. As exemplified by the quote below, the founders were described as people with wisdom. They were problem-solvers. These leaders are identified here by their pseudonyms.

One was Sompisha, Ole Kiyiapi, Ole Mpa, Ntimama, Ole Tipis. They were Wazee [respected elders] who are well respected and trusted and who, even within their families, when there is a problem, are consulted. So these were respected people. These are people of wisdom (Olonana, founder).

In the interviews, these leaders preferred not to talk about their individual abilities and capacities, instead referring to those of others in their team or circle of leaders, similar to an

observation made elsewhere (Dale, 2014). This is reflective of an inclusive attitude, a realisation that outcomes were not just a result of an individual's efforts, but also those of a team, reflecting collective community agency.

According to the data, the elders demonstrated a combination of wisdom, knowledge, and understanding. In interview data attributed to Naserien, Namunyak, Tonkei, Olonana and Ole Tipis, the words *ujuzi* (expertise), *akili* (intelligence), and *hekima* (non-codified practical wisdom) were used to refer to the human resources and abilities applied in the creation of the CBTE. This is evidenced by the quote below, in which a founding member, Olonana, explains how the team of founders was willing, through what he calls "being sharp", to accept the Craig's inputs as one knowledgeable in tourism business, as well as those of Ole Kaparo, a Maasai lawyer who was not a member of the group ranch. With the help of Ole Kaparo's legal expertise, the community, through the founding membership, was able to develop a unique and innovative three-tier governance system.

The wazee were sharp [having a combination of knowledge and wisdom] nevertheless walikubali kuongozwa na wale woko na ujuzi [they were ready to accept direction from the experts]. Because otherwise, if they did not agree to be led they would have said, "oh this Mzungu we don't want him here, Kaparo is not a member of this group ranch", you know, that kind of thing (Ole Tipis, founding member).

Tonkei, a community participant in his late thirties, a bit concerned about the current management of the CBTE, tried to compare those founders as members of the pioneer Il Ngwesi board of directors with the current board. According to this participant, the founding members performed well until their exit in 2004. As noted earlier, Il Ngwesi Lodge has not depended on external funding since 2004. Based on such views it may be possible that the steering of the CBTE to the point of perceived financial sustainability is attributable to the founding board and management. It is notable that the majority of the founders, according to the participant and corroborated by participant observation, had little codified formal education and thus relied on other knowledge and abilities:

If you look carefully, to be very honest, Il Ngwesi was established in 1995 and it was established by wazee, there was only one person who could read, two could only write just a little. They were seven people in total. They managed all the way to 2004, that is when more educated people actually got in. To be very honest, I see little improvement on what was built (Tonkei, community member).

The views expressed by this youthful community member reflect observations made through researcher interaction with some of the founding members. A founding member, Olonana, elaborated on the role of the founders in applying their knowledge, mobilising community resources, and constructing the lodge. This participant was particularly clear about the process of establishing Il Ngwesi CBTE, and the distinction between community as owners and partners, and expressed a sense of community accomplishment in realising the creation of Il Ngwesi CBTE. This participant makes clear distinctions between community as owners and initiators, a *mzungu* (white) building contractor, and a neighbour (Craig) who brokered a relationship between the community and project funders:

This, our lodge project has not been the initiative of a Mzungu. We used our akili. [knowledge] and joined forces together as community. But a Mzungu constructed it. We gave a Mzungu the building contract. But the drivers [those directing the process] were ourselves. We cannot gainsay the help of the neighbour to get us donors, to get money. But talking to the community and mobilising the community to accept and get involved was our work (Olonana, founding member).

A clarity about the leadership role is evident among the founders. They sought what they lacked, namely financial resources, from outside of the community:

We were leaders, we wrote proposals and looked for money from organisations (Ntimama, founder).

The founding members provided leadership in a time of turbulence in the drought period of 1983–1984. As already demonstrated in Section 5.2, these elders were able to use knowledge drawn from outside the community, particularly from Craig and from fellow Maasai in southern parts of the country who had experience with tourism. Given the background of historical injustices, as well as the marginalisation of the Maasai as discussed in Chapter 4, one of the key roles of these leaders was to create an understanding in the community that they were not about to surrender their land rights to external actors.

These were people who had learned that this issue is not about selling land or giving land to the government. It is just a way of using land to benefit, so those are the people behind, of course with support from Lewa Conservancy and the KWS (Ole Tipis, founder).

These founding members convincingly engaged the entire community and persuaded them to take action by way of setting aside 8000 hectares of land for conservation of wildlife for tourism,

in what Sarasvathy (2001) calls an actor commitment. In this case, the founders, much like expert entrepreneurs in Sarasvathy's (2001) effectual model, have been able to shape the future of Il Ngwesi, which is not necessarily a predictable one, through gaining community member commitment of resources to Il Ngwesi as an enterprise. Part of the role of the founding members was to allay the fear felt by the community that Il Ngwesi creating a CBTE would result in loss of community land. This is expressed by Ole Tipis:

So those are the group that was motivating and encouraging the others [to believe] that this is not a bad investment. So people should not fear, you know. Encouraging people, trying to get fear out of the community themselves. So that is the team that worked. It took us about a year (Ole Tipis, founding member).

As trusted community insiders, the founders were able to convince the community to think about tourism as an additional source of livelihood. This is something that an "outside" organisation or player would likely have struggled to do, given the historically entrenched fear of authorities. The leaders carry community aspirations. The links of such aspirations with the creation of the CBTE were clear during the interviews.

We had the vision to build Il Ngwesi so that our children could get work instead of them going to Nairobi or elsewhere to look for jobs, and to get bursaries for education of our children, and to help the community by way of creating jobs (Olonana, founding member).

These community aspirations of creating employment and bursaries for education, cited by the founder Olonana, have been articulated in the Il Ngwesi 2010–2014 Strategic Plan (Ngwesi, 2010).

While future viability of Il Ngwesi CBTE is unpredictable, its place as an innovative local solution to issues of poverty and security is not contested (Kieti, Manono, & Momanyi, 2013; Timmer & Juma, 2005). The function of the founding members as community leaders is identity driven (a palpable community identity of being Il Ngwesi Maasai). The community identity (Johannisson & Wigren, 2008) is subtly expressed in a general sense of accomplishment observable in the community, especially among founding members. Such identity fits "Quixote's decision criteria" as a defining feature of entrepreneuring and alternative to the rational choice model of decision (Sarasvathy & Dew, 2005, 393). Arguably, within the Il Ngwesi community, identity is not just about who "I am" but also about who "we are". Such community identity was

found to be a key motivational theme, as particularly strongly expressed by the founders of Il Ngwesi CBTE, and exemplified in stated views of interview participants:

We built the lodge on a firm foundation of Maasai tradition in areas of accountability and transparency (Olonana, founder).

Ok, Il Ngwesi are proud of themselves (Ole Tipis, founder).

[What] I really wanted to see was what can bring the community together (Ole Tipis, founder).

We are very proud that Il Ngwesi is even challenging the world (Tonkei, member).

We ourselves took initiative to visit other places that people were looking after wildlife and had built lodges (Olonana, founder).

So, you see tourism is a better option. When the wazee caught the vision, now [it] is like the whole world is coming to see and learn from us. We held to this knowledge and discovery, we have held it tight and are progressing. Now other people are coming to learn from us (Ntimama, founding member).

The founders act as stewards and trustees of such community identity, which they are entrusted to safeguard as elders. Based on these data, therefore, these leaders do not fit the label of “community elites” who act on self-interest and as community gatekeepers or power brokers. Instead they were, and continue to be, people who are regarded with respect and trust, epitomise community aspirations, are keepers of collective knowledge and wisdom, and perhaps as a means towards realisation of the community development vision of collective community agency (Dale, 2014). While identity has been discussed in relation to creation of artefacts by expert entrepreneurs, the Il Ngwesi case presents a possibility for theoretical extension of the concept, to include communities in the pursuit of the concept of entrepreneuring “as anything but genuinely social and collective” (Johannisson, 2011, 136). The process of creation of CBTE also involved other actors, to whom attention is now directed.

5.3.3 Other actor roles

This subsection addresses all other actors who have contributed to the founding of Il Ngwesi and its development, albeit in minor, less explicit ways. As already seen, its establishment was led by the founding members, who were able to apply their own knowledge and practical wisdom.

However, these founders were also able to gain knowledge from experts such as Mr Ole Kaparo,

friends and neighbours such as Craig, and even fellow Maasai who have learnt to look after wildlife, as represented by Chief Ole Ntuntu.

Other actors also came on board the project to help, support, and contribute, albeit in minor ways. The partner role is identified as one of supporting and, as expressed in the founders' words, "chipping in". In the practical lived world of Il Ngwesi it is normal for others to offer support and help. Although the partners helped the community financially and in other ways, they are not seen as having driven the process. Their role is clearly demarcated:

So those organisations came in to support it, the private ranches came in to support it. So those, I would say, are the key people who chipped in. (Ole Tipis, founding member)

Noticeable in above quote is the clarity in the view of the participant about the form of "support" given like funds from USAID, distinguishing funders from implementers. It is also important to note that the friends and partners came in to support and so, based on this evidence, one may be hard put to think that these external actors exercised complete control in the CBTE creation and development process. Furthermore, in the present context, while other actors might be more aligned with the traditional roles of rescuer, provider, or moderniser (see Toomey, 2011), Craig of Lewa (discussed in Section 5.2) is more aligned with alternative community development roles of ally and advocate. This model of CBTE, and the partner relationship it has involved, have the potential to achieve community agency and solidarity (Bhattacharyya, 2004). The process of creation and development of Il Ngwesi CBTE has also been influenced by the support given by fellow Maasai in the south. As discussed in Chapter 4, the Maasai people are a pastoralist, indigenous Kenyan ethnic group. The Maasai keep livestock, particularly cattle, as their main source of livelihood. According to the participants, the shift "to looking after wildlife" alongside keeping livestock for livelihood was a major change in this community because previously:

nobody was concerned with wildlife as it belonged to KWS and it wasn't at all ours (Olonana, founder).

In order to make this move, the CBTE founder members were recommended by "the friend" to take three *wazee* (respected elderly men) and travel to Narok to see a group ranch (Ntimama, founder). This was part of the Masai Mara, an area of land in the south owned and managed by Maasai people, visited by the *wazee* to be able to see and experience how fellow Maasai had established tourism enterprises alongside their traditional pastoral activities.

The visit to Narok and ensuing events link the CBTE creation process with the cultural context. The interview participants pointed out the relevance of traditional deep respect for elders among

Maasai. This is best exemplified by the reference to the visit made to the Masai Mara area in Kenya's south by the Il Ngwesi founders. Here they met with Senior Chief Ole Ntuntu. Contact with the Chief and other Maasai from southern parts of Kenya, with their greater experience in tourism, further enlightened the founders about engaging with tourism. Learning by Il Ngwesi community from fellow Maasai was grounded in trust and respect, as key elements of Maasai community cultural practices. As a Maasai community "elder statesman", the late Senior Chief Ole Ntuntu explained both the merits and the risks of tourism, and the group from Il Ngwesi drew on his knowledge and wisdom:

You see, we had visited and had talked to more elders. You know in our customs an elder of a certain age and calibre cannot say lies and their word is respected. Of particular mention is Mzee Ole Ntuntu. We stayed at his place for two days, he explained to us the problem they have experienced with livestock, about wildlife and the money coming in from the lodge. He explained to us as an elder statesman and we understood as his juniors. We understood that this elder cannot be lying to us, and that the truth along with the negative experiences to expect were true. So we drew from the wisdom of this mzee because he had applied the same wisdom and got results (Olonana, founding member).

The visit to Narok was characterised by horizontal learning, described elsewhere as "Maasai-to-Maasai knowledge sharing" (Okech, 2011, 26). Such learning can be further elaborated in entrepreneuring terms as analogising, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Johannisson, 2011). Not only has Il Ngwesi been able to replicate the experience of others, they have gone on to become a role model for establishment and development of CBTEs (see Okech, 2011; Timmer & Juma, 2005; Wanyoike et al., 2015). The case of Il Ngwesi as an exemplar CBTE not only demonstrates adaptable learning, but also improvising, using one's own imagination, and social organisation. Arguably a form of bricolage is also present, given the limitations of founders, the limited formal knowledge on the part of the community, and the scarcity of financial and other resources in this arid rural area (see Garud & Karn e, 2003). Whether it is viewed in the context of the relationship between Craig and the Il Ngwesi community, or between the Il Ngwesi community and the Maasai in the south, the process of creation and development of Il Ngwesi CBTE as an artefact has empowered the Il Ngwesi community and is socially embedded. Such a process has the potential for community development through enhancement of community agency. This process is closely linked to local situations and contingencies, such as the drought conditions in the case of Il Ngwesi. While addressing such situations requires the help of others, such as neighbours and friends, the observed process is nevertheless empowering and agency enhancing.

The elders and statesmen represent expertise and wisdom in practical living in the local environment. Such process involves both reproduction and change, as well as interaction between different actors, as evidenced in the examination of actors' roles.

In the entrepreneuring process of creating the CBTE, partners' and friends' roles included funding, educating, and encouraging the community, in ways that enhanced both founding and ordinary member capacities and abilities. This is a case of collective action, in that it involves multiple actors (Corner & Ho, 2010). As supported by the work of Mtapuri and Giampiccoli (2014) the findings point to a process that can inform the formulation of a comprehensive model of CBT, which draws on both local and external knowledge and is built on trust relationships. As has been alluded to in this section, the process is influenced by specific historical, cultural, and environmental situations. The influences of these physical and cultural settings are now addressed.

5.4 Influences of the context of Il Ngwesi

There were several contextual influences on the creation and development of Il Ngwesi CBTE. The influences of the security situation, droughts, and poverty have already been examined, and are not part of this discussion. Other important contextual influences on the process include historical land issues, the political marginalisation of the Maasai, and the overarching cultural dimension. These issues are now addressed.

5.4.1 Political and historical context

The results indicate two key contextual influences of a historical and political nature on the creation and development of Il Ngwesi CBTE. First is the effect of colonisation and loss of land rights by Il Ngwesi Maasai. Second is the relationship of the community with wildlife and KWS as the custodians of wildlife resources. The influences of these factors overlap, as they relate to land rights issues, and to power and domination.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Maasai and other communities have had their land taken over by the government to create parks that are part of nature-based tourism. When Craig brought up the suggestion that the community could use part of their land for tourism and wildlife conservation, the community initially thought their land was being confiscated again by KWS and the government. It is pertinent to recall that in the process of park creation, local communities were not consulted. Consequently, the founders had a difficult time getting the community to accept the idea. There was a general apathy towards any association with tourism and wildlife, and fear

of any further loss of community land. These early views were held by a majority of the participants and are exemplified by the following quote:

To convince people to contemplate any association with wildlife known then as “game” and KWS was extremely difficult. The people thought animals belonged to KWS. KWS had taken Samburu land and was poised to take their land as well. There was a lot of differing views on the subject and building consensus was extremely difficult. But gradually, because this is our community, people understood that our land was not about to be taken (Olonana, founder).

Despite being a neighbour and a friend, Craig’s idea was initially received with suspicion because he was white like the colonialists. The majority of the community members believed that this was another fraud, as reflected in the use of the word “conning” by Sironka, a manager. The views captured here represent the overall participant input on the issue.

At the beginning, 70 percent of the people believed that this was just another way of conning them off their land so that converting this area into a conservation area would definitely go to government. You look at the national parks, the way they were formed during colonial times; communities were not actually involved in decision-making (Sironka, manager).

Community members, especially the older generation said they did not want handouts, preferring a situation where they would only earn money through employment:

So they said we don’t want money from a white man [development aid funds], we are satisfied with salaries, and any other indirect benefit, but not getting cash from a mzungu (Ntimama, founder).

Attitudes of fear towards *wazungu* (white men) and government are immanent in Il Ngwesi’s political and historical context.

Participants generally displayed an attitude of apathy towards government and government-aided initiatives. This was apparent in references made to a government funding for community and other development projects through a scheme known as Community Development Fund (CDF), meant to devolve money to small governance units or local electoral constituencies. A question regarding people or partners who had contributed to the CBTE project elicited an unexpected yet interesting response from a founder. Ntimama, a founder, was quick to point out that government was not one of them: “In this project we have not used [money from]CDF or the government”.

The tone of this response was intended to make the statement that government funding did not trickle down to projects at Il Ngwesi. The reference to a water project that had only been made possible through community effort with the help of a foreign *mzungu* (white man) further illustrates this point:

Like now you see here at Chumvi [a division of Il Ngwesi] we have water, it comes from Mt. Kenya, but there is no one to help us like government, there is not even CDF money. We got together as Il Ngwesi and there was a mzungu from Canada, he came here, we got together with him and we got a loan, we got the water and it has got to the community (Namunyak, community member).

Consequently, there is a feeling in Il Ngwesi that without the CBTE the community would still be lacking basic services like security and water:

We don't rely on the police for security (Ntimama, founder).

You see, now if we did not have the lodge and depended on the government we would be very far [lagging behind socio-economically] (Tonkei, community member).

A comment attributed from Namunyak, a community member, which is reflective of wider participant views about the lived world of Il Ngwesi illustrates how such conditions of resource constraint inspire new possibilities and change in the Il Ngwesi community.

So you see with the akili ndogo tunaokota kila mahali [little knowledge we are collecting from everywhere] we are building ourselves [up] with it (Namunyak, community member).

Following on from Namunyak's comment, it would appear that Il Ngwesi has become a site for collecting bits and pieces of information and knowledge from diverse locations, as building blocks for new possibilities. The historical context of domination and loss of land at Il Ngwesi, accompanied by apparent marginalisation and scarcity of economic resources may also act as a source of innovative ways to address pressing social issues of poverty (see Sarasvathy & Dew, 2005). These conditions accommodate the emancipatory potential of entrepreneuring as a route to breaking away from socio-economic constraints (Rindova et al., 2009) towards creating a better world. The significance of the cultural context is examined below.

5.4.2 The cultural context

The cultural influences on the creation and the development of Il Ngwesi CBTE can be described in terms of the relationships amongst community members, and between community and non-

community members, akin to bonding and bridging social capital respectively (Putnam, Leonardi, & Nanetti, 1993). The relationships among community members are addressed, before proceeding to the examination of the across-community relationships.

5.4.2.1 Relationships between community members

Five themes emerged with regard to relationships amongst community members. These are trust, respect, a sense of community and belonging, solidarity, and common problem solving. An exploration of these themes follows.

Trust is recognised as an important element not only among Il Ngwesi Maasai, but among Kenyan pastoral communities in general (NRT, 2013). The interviews revealed how trust played out in relation to the creation and development of the CBTE. The influential roles of the CBTE founders, Craig, and Senior Chief Ole Ntuntu were all based on relationships of trust:

I was one of the learned people from the community and the community had a lot of trust in me, so I came on board. We did a lot to convince them that this is a new way of utilising your land to get the benefits. So there was a lot of fear, anyway. It took us some time to convince them. Eventually they agreed, that is how we came to start Il Ngwesi Lodge (Ole Tipis, founder).

It is through trust that founders were able to convince the community to commit their land to tourism and even have dealings with actors from outside of the community in matters to do with land. It must be remembered that the Maasai had welcomed white outsiders to their land as visitors based on trust, only to become subservient to them as colonial masters. Further, trust among the community is an important element even at present, with regard to the management of the CBTE and community involvement, as explained by a community member:

Like when we go for the AGM, everything is laid out about the lodge, the way the trust works, everything is exposed so that everyone understands what is happening. The trust among [ourselves] is what brings unity and the peace they [community members] have (Namunyak, community member).

However, the members' sentiments should not be misconstrued as indicating that there are no internal politics or conflicts, as expressed by a founder who is still a member of the Ranch Governing Committee. Internal politics were present from the moment of inception, although a consensus was reached in the end:

There lacks no small politics here and there, but we agreed (Ntimama, founder).

Respect is the second element of the relational cultural context of Il Ngwesi community, and an

important aspect of Maasai culture. Respect for the more senior in age is particularly important:

What is very special is that the young people respect the old and the old people respect the young. Long ago in Maasai tradition, people respected the elders. And you could not, deviate, alter, cheat your way out, but [had to] follow the rules laid down by the elders (Olonana, founder).

Olonana further noted that it is upon this bedrock of respect that the CBTE was established. However, this founding member mourns the “loss” of such respect with changing generations and the advent of coded knowledge characteristic of learned people:

But with the entrance of the learned, they say this is that on paper, put things down, but [it] is like money has been blown away by some wind. There is utter dishonesty. I see like the young people have lost respect and our traditions. And as an elder you avoid getting involved to keep your self-respect and dignity (Olonana, founder).

A senior manager explained the relevance of respect and in culture in the Il Ngwesi CBTE:

First, our culture is a selling point. It is one attraction. The other positive thing about the culture is the traditional model of leadership. Maasai eldership and leadership is based on such respect and is not just positional. So, the leadership has been one of the things, it is a respected kind of leadership. You find that the way the community is organised, the elders are respected and their opinions valued. Most of the time they don't lean on one side, they do things in a straight line because they believe that it is [for] them to lead the community (Sironka, manager).

As noted by Sironka, culture is a selling point of CBT and therefore a driver and a contributor of ongoing development and viability of Il Ngwesi CBTE.

An organisational participant who is also a community outsider explained the importance of respect and its relationship to leadership and management of community resources within the cultural practices of Il Ngwesi:

For example, in Il Ngwesi the grazing system is well-managed using the cultural system, you find [that it is led by] mostly elderly people. I have seen in two [or] three conservancies where you have grazing issues, when you sit down with the elders they say “this is what we are going to do” and they follow it up. For example when they say “we are not going to harvest the acacia pods [food] for the goats” it is obeyed (Peter, organisational participant).

As previously noted, the CBTE is a ground for both change and reproduction as illustrated by views attributed to the founder, Olonana. The emergent generational issues and contestations between the educated and uneducated community members are challenges that have to be addressed in the ongoing CBTE functionality, in order to realise its potential as a community development strategy to address issues of poverty and. Balancing between the needs for change and stability is a crucially important issue.

The third cultural element that played an important part in the creation and development of the CBTE is the sense of community and belonging:

You know this a communally owned property. When I talk [about] “we” it is because I was not alone. We were all the membership of that area and some of the beneficiaries who were not even in the register. That is why the word ‘we’ comes in. Ownership of the land, it does not belong to “a” [an individual] but all of them that live within, the community cannot break, they have membership so how do you move from what we own? (Ole Tipis, founder).

Reinforcing the point made by Ole Tipis, Sankei, a manager, talk about a course he attended in South Africa and how in the process he had received a good job offer, but opted to return to his community, motivated by his sense of belonging:

I attended that course. I passed very well and after that I came back to my community (Sankei, manager).

However, the sense of community does not preclude individualised motives and sense of self, as illustrated by Sankei’s words regarding a recent trip to the UK to represent the community. On completion of the trip, Sankei arranged to meet the elders to brief them about it. Notably, the trip also involved raising funds for Il Ngwesi’s development projects. It is important to note here too, that Il Ngwesi has innovatively separated the community development section that raises funds for community development from the tourism business in its accounting, so that the community development money does not go to the running of the lodge. The researcher met Sankei immediately upon his return from the UK and took an interest in the essence of the trip and its outcomes. Sankei explained the context of the fund-raising element, along with other details of the trip as captured in the following excerpt:

It happens that there is a great friend of mine who has been to Il Ngwesi like six times. Ok, tourism now in our country is like a bit low, that is because of the issue of Al Shabaab and the elections that are knocking on the door, and I find it a bit tricky for the

community to get funds for education. Luckily, I approached my friend and he said “Wow! Come over, I will pay for your ticket and your accommodation. I will arrange for you to give a lecture at the Royal Geographical Society”. Through the connection with the Vice President, he invited me and the trip was really good. I went there to do the fund raising as well as marketing of Il Ngwesi. Quite a number of them [elders] are very proud of what I went to do and that is why they wanted to see me and appreciate me because not all people in the community do what I did. I did this through my networking, I let the office do the booking. I made it happen, and if you get ten people doing what I did, the community will go far. So I wanted the elders to sneak this in [to the elders’ meeting] in order to get the blessings from the elders (Sankei, manager).

Notable in the story surrounding Sankei’s UK visit is the interaction between the self and the collective in a continuous yet not discordant manner. However, the quote and the whole story reflect the relational nature of the CBT arena, and the interrelationship between the individual and the collective as being one that is in continuous flux. As an actor, Sankei has the challenge to balance between the need for both self and community identities, as well as between the modern and the traditional as a younger generation Il Ngwesi community member.

The fourth key element of the surrounding cultural practices solidarity. This solidarity can be observed in the views of a manager, Mwangi. Although being non-Maasai and therefore not a member of the Il Ngwesi ethnic community, he has lived in the community for a long time. Importantly, he notes the role that Maasai culture plays in cementing the Il Ngwesi community together:

I think to my understanding, it [Il Ngwesi Maasai] is a wonderful community, in that they still have their culture. They maintain it, where I come from, for example, they don’t have anything to go by the culture. It is everybody on his own [is an individualistic society]. We don’t have those groupings. They stick to groups here, even in this town [Nanyuki], maybe they are weak [laughter] but they have a group culture. They have their own tradition, which they have maintained so far. Maybe that is why they are able to maintain the groups. They have the same kind of thinking, the same culture (Mwangi, manager).

Ethnic Maasai community members also emphasised the importance of community solidarity as is exemplified in the following quote attributed to Namunyak, a community member:

What is holding the community together is how [we] are united and all [our] affairs; [we] carry out together in unity. There is nothing that can be going on and we fail to be together (Namunyak, community member).

This participant also sees solidarity as part of contribution of the Il Ngwesi CBTE to the community:

But since we united and became one unit, we came together. We did a Harambee (fundraising). We were able to build a duka [shop] at this our lodge [that is to say] the ladies [did]. So we are in the lodge together with everybody. So we tumekuwa kitu kimoja kwa hii [this lodge has brought us together as a community] (Namunyak, community member).

This community solidarity is further iterated by Sankei, a manager:

Like now you know time is money, but in our culture you always have time to exchange the news, you tell me your news and I tell you mine. If you have a problem you can always share with me and we can easily hold a meeting together and solve the problem and if something happens we have a traditional way of solving the problem, that is we have to keep our culture alive (Sankei, manager).

In the Il Ngwesi environment, community is not an entity that is being created, communities have long existed as a way of life and a channel for addressing issues. Life is lived with others in a community:

[Communities] are not actually starting, they have been there, only that they have not come up with the ideas to the public to be known. But communities used to be there even from time immemorial. Communities were there. All there is now is having an extra idea, exchanging ideas, let us unite for this purpose (Mwangi, manager).

Ole Tipis, a founder who also represents Il Ngwesi in another organisation involved with environmental issues in the surroundings of Il Ngwesi, explained coming together in groups of people in order to address common issues as a cultural practice:

Simply because we have a common interest, that in the long run brings people together (Ole Tipis, founder).

Ultimately, in the lived world of Il Ngwesi, communities are linked together. Tourism has become a part of the web of relationships and interconnections that is helping in the development of Il Ngwesi and the emergence of other community development initiatives in the environment.

Tourism has helped that. We have now a campsite, we have a cultural boma [village], beads[are being sold]. Initially there were none of those ideas. But as a result of this lodge, other businesses [have] come up we never thought of. We can now get honey. We get organised and sell to the wazungu. We have beadwork, a local organisation, cultural bomas, women's curio shop to sell to wazungu. At least opened up the avenues that they never knew, and is still helping. I'm talking about benefits from the tourism (Ole Tipis, founder).

5.4.2.2 Relationships with others from outside Il Ngwesi Maasai community

Relationships with others from outside the community are explained with regard to their instrumental utility and can be categorised into the informal and caring friend relationships, and the more formal and perhaps contractual partnership relationships. The friendship relationship has already been discussed in Section 5.3, and so will not be covered here. However, the concept of “friend” is revisited in brief, for the purpose of making distinctions. Notably, in the Il Ngwesi context friends are sources of encouragement, ideas, and advice, as was the case with Craig. The researcher interrogatively asked if Craig was not manipulating the community to achieve his own interests. This technique did not yield different results from those obtained earlier:

So I can't say that Ian is here to manipulate anything also, no. It is just that he comes from this area and he wanted the communities to benefit out of their land (Sironka, manager).

The interview participants made a clear distinction between friends and partners. Partners are seen as sources of funds and other forms of support. There are several such partner organisations, including Volunteer Services Overseas (VSO), COBRA and NRT. These partners have been involved with the Il Ngwesi CBTE, but the relationships have tended to be ephemeral rather than long-term. The partners enter and exit or pull out as noted by Mwangi, a manager:

We used to have donors long time, but they keep pulling out. We now don't have any donor apart from NRT (Mwangi, manager).

In the case of Il Ngwesi, partners have acted to develop community skills and knowledge:

They have given us akili [developed our capacity] (Namunyak, community member).

Thus, in the case of Il Ngwesi's cultural context, and therefore the CBT arena, a distinction exists between friends and partners. Whereas friend relationships are relied upon for ideas, encouragement and (sometimes, ongoing) advice, partners are seen as more formal sources of funds and other help such as technical support. However, as seen in reference to Sankei's visit to

the UK, a friend can also a source of funds, showing that there are overlaps between these relationship categories. Nevertheless, these relationship distinctions have been important in the cultural context of the creation and development of Il Ngwesi CBTE.

5.5 Case summary

The establishment and the development of the Il Ngwesi CBTE has been realised through an interaction between community involvement and ownership, the different roles played by various actors, as well as the practical situational exigencies of Il Ngwesi. A number of process characteristics have been uncovered in the chapter. First, the process is one that is connected to and is influenced by prevailing conditions, such as drought, poverty, and lack of security, as influences and sources of individual and collective motives for the creation of such community enterprise, confirming ideas articulated in the work of Rindova et al. (2009). Second, following Steyaert and Katz (2004), the process is a social one, and is located in-between relationships, including those among community members as well as with their leaders, and the relationship with actors from outside of the community including friends, neighbours, and partners.

In answer to the third research question, the process is not reliant on individuals or organisations such as NGOs, but rather on interactions between several actors, and between actors and situations in their socio-economic and cultural contexts. The Il Ngwesi Maasai occupy land that is drought-prone, which is proving challenging to their traditional pastoral activities. Developing tourism and other seeded business activities involved complex and changing relationships, which evolved from unequal partnerships with government bodies such as KWS to enabling relationships with friends, neighbours, and business partners in which the Maasai found themselves in control of their destinies and decisions regarding tourism, as well as the related or facilitated activities. Of particular note in the relationships was the perception of a white neighbour as a friend, ally and advocate rather than as the all-powerful player portrayed by extant academic literature.

Through the advice and encouragement of this friend, who had himself diverted his focus from livestock ranching to conserving wildlife and the business of tourism, the community was able to commit over 8000 acres of their land to conservation of wildlife and construct an ecolodge. This was realised with the help of the friend and the various partners, some of whom were acquired through the friendship. The process of creating the CBTE involved the application of local knowledge and wisdom, but also knowledge acquired through learning from others such as Craig, and fellow Maasai in the Masai Mara, represented by late Senior Chief Ole Ntuntu. Relationships with these two actors in particular are mutual and based on trust and respect. The

founding members as key actors are representative of community knowledge, identity, and aspirations. As actors, these founders were respected and trusted members of the community. Thus, the process of creating Il Ngwesi CBTE is one of entrepreneuring and realisation of new artefacts, in which many actors work together in ways that empower the poor to engage in business activities, rather than a situation where a single actor drives business development.

CHAPTER 6: LUMO CASE

6.1 Introduction

Lumo Community Wildlife Sanctuary is located in Taita Taveta County 377 kilometres from Nairobi, 160 kilometres from Mombasa, and 50 kilometres from Voi (LUMO, 2013). Lumo is an acronym derived from the names of three constituent community ranches, where ‘LU’ stands for Lualenyi, ‘M’ for Mramba, and ‘O’ for Oza. Lumo owns the Lions’ Bluff Lodge located within the sanctuary with a 25 year lease to a private investor paying US \$15,000 per annum. Lumo is adjacent to the government-owned Tsavo West National Park and privately-owned Taita Hills Wildlife Sanctuary. The aim of this chapter is to analyse the elements that have influenced the process of creation and development of the Lumo Wildlife Sanctuary as a CBTE. Of particular interest are the key influences on the creation of this CBTE, such as the roles of different actors and their contexts. The chapter is divided into several sections. The process of establishing Lumo is to be analysed to determine the key influences, followed by a discussion of the role of different contextual elements. Lastly, the main actors and their roles in the establishment of Lumo are analysed.

6.2 Entry to the case

In addition to the official permission to interview and carry out research at Lumo acquired as part of the ethics approval process, further permission for collecting data on site was granted after a briefing with the board of trustees of Lumo about the nature of the research. Data were obtained through interviews and from documents collected at the site. Table 6.1 shows the composition of the interview participant group. Five community members were interviewed, along with two managers, one board member, three founding members, two investors, and three members of partner organisations, making a total of 15 participants. Only one female community member was interviewed, as participant selection was guided by criteria set out in Chapter 3, the main one being involvement with the creation of the CBTE. This was the only female participant meeting this criterion and available for interviewing. The term “investor” as referred to in the section below is used in the sense of “one who runs a private business in the sanctuary through a contractual lease agreement with the community”.

Table 6.1 Interview participants

Category	Participants' pseudonyms	Gender	Age Bracket	Number
Members	Mkawasi,	Female	30–40	4
	Kituri,	Male	30–40	
	*Charo,	Male	30–40	
	*Ngeti	Male	40–50	
Managers	Madoka,	Male	60–70	2
	Gathogo	Male	40–50	
Board members	Mghanga	Male	50–60	1
Founding members	Mghendi,	Male	60–70	3
	Mwandalo,	Male	60–70	
	Mwakidedi,	Male	60–70	
Partner Organisations	Bob,	Male	30–40	3
	Fred	Male	40–50	
		Male	40–50	
Investors	Evan	Male	50–60	2
	Mary	Male	50–60	
Total				15

*Former manager

6.3 Background: Parks and local relationships

The creation of national parks during the colonial era ushered in absolute state control of wildlife resources and loss of user rights by the local people (Akama, 1996). The park creation process was non-participatory. Consequently, any activities within the wildlife areas, such as hunting and collection of firewood, which had long been part of the practices of local people's everyday lives, were now criminalised as acts of trespass into government land, and poaching.

Communities adjacent to parks and reserves have hitherto remained passive and, sometimes, powerless victims of exclusion from park areas and of human-wildlife conflict (HWC). National parks and reserves are central to Kenya's nature-based tourism product. Parks belong to the

central government and are more strictly controlled than reserves, which belong to local governments, and which formerly belonged to county councils. The wildlife in both is the property of the central government. The tourism industry, which operates within the parks and reserves, is by and large private-sector controlled (Mayaka & Prasad, 2012). Thus, the parks and reserves are a symbol of a hegemonic power relationship in the evolution of Kenya's tourism development (Akama, 1999b).

Kenya's two largest parks, Tsavo East, which spans 11,747 km², and Tsavo West, which covers 9,065 km², both of which are adjacent to Lumo, were created in 1948. As custodian and manager of all wildlife, 60% of which is located outside the parks and reserves system, the government agency, Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) has had strained relationships with the communities that surround the parks. In particular, these communities felt that the precursors of KWS, first the Game Department and later the Wildlife Conservation and Management Department (WCMD) committed injustices against them. The departments were pejoratively referred to by locals as "game", a tag that KWS bears to the present day (Barrow, Gichohi, & Infield, 2000).

6.4 The Creation of Lumo Wildlife Sanctuary

When looking through a practice lens, it is impossible to explain the creation of Lumo Wildlife Sanctuary in isolation from the complex web of relationships between people, wildlife, KWS, and tourism. To begin with, there was a strained relationship between the local people and wildlife in the Lumo environment. The areas adjacent to parks bring people into close and often antagonistic contact with animals that might destroy crops, kill livestock, or pose a direct threat to the people themselves. It is not uncommon for community members to be killed or maimed in such wildlife encounters within this environment:

I have lived here I know this place, there is no water, farming doesn't do well, there are elephants everywhere, people are killed, there is this human-wildlife conflict (Charo, community member).

Finding a solution to this conflict, which was compounded by other environmental factors such as the arid environment, can be seen as a key driver in the creation and development of Lumo Wildlife Sanctuary.

The natural response of local communities was to kill members of the wildlife species perceived as a threat to their lives or livelihoods. The government agencies that came to be known as "game" saw the conservation and protection of wildlife as their sole responsibility. As a result of this, the human-wildlife conflict escalated into a local communities versus government

authorities conflict. “Game” responded to the encroachment of local people into parks and the killing of protected animals with draconian punishments, such as the torture of suspected poachers. Not surprisingly, the wildlife authorities were feared and hated, as they occupied a position of power over the local communities:

In the past KWS used to be known as “game” and they used to torture the locals especially when they find that they have killed the wild animals. This made the community to hate the wildlife service officers. In fact they were enemies. Whenever anyone saw a wildlife officer before 1992, they ran away (Mwandalo, founding member).

“Game” curtailed community freedom to use the vast rangelands that traverse the Taita Taveta County within which Lumo is situated. This strained relationship between people, wildlife, and “game” dates back to when the parks were being created:

Well, before that there were no national parks, you see the rangelands were free for people to roam and graze their animals between Taita Hills and all the way to the foothills of Kilimanjaro. People would graze anywhere. In 1948 the national parks came into being, so there were restrictions. So where people used to move freely, they were not able to move any more (Mghendi, founding member).

The wildlife parks as part of Kenya’s nature-based tourism industry have not significantly improved local livelihoods, but have been sources of constant human-wildlife conflict and tensions between KWS and local communities. Local communities are neither a part of the decision making process nor beneficiaries of this mainstream tourism development (Akama, 1996; Akama et al., 2011). This has created animosity between local people and government authorities:

You see after the national parks were created. You see the way the colonialists worked here is the park boundary, you used to graze the animals up the park, the next day you walk to the park you are arrested, it is trespass. There wasn’t sensitisation, or creation of awareness that we are creating the park. There was no involvement, the parks have been created and that is it (Mghendi, founding member).

Asked whether the relationship with wildlife and KWS would have been different if the community had been involved or at least consulted in the matters to do with protection of wildlife, the founding member answered in the affirmative:

In the creation of national parks, yeah it would have changed. That’s where it starts. Because they felt that, why are animals being treated better than human beings? The

animals come into our place, we are not allowed to kill them, you go into the park, just walking and not carrying anything, you are trespassing and you are arrested. It created that kind of animosity (Mghendi, founding member).

Benefits accruing to locals from the creation of parks were smaller than the costs, such as loss of grazing land and increased conflict with wildlife. The parks provide very limited employment opportunities to compensate for reduced agricultural income. A few local people are employed to do menial jobs in accommodation and tourist facilities. Higher-level positions, however, are filled by people from outside the community, due to prevailing low levels of education among locals. Those locals who do acquire better education tend to migrate to cities such as Mombasa. In the case of Lumo, the more educated members of the community were said by two participants to have little attachment to their home region. Rural-to-urban migration is, however, normal in rural Kenyan settings:

These Taita guys, come home for funerals, they stay in the most horrible lodgings along the main road. The next day they have gone. They don't even have a base. And that is something completely new to me. So their base now is Nairobi or Mombasa or wherever it is (Evan, investor).

The lack of employment opportunities from the parks, along with the strained relationship with government agencies and conflict with wildlife have led the community to look for options of its own in creating a secure livelihood. Lumo's proximity to the adjacent Tsavo West National Park and a privately owned Taita Hills Game Sanctuary presented potential models for a community-based enterprise. It was noted, for example, that the privately owned Taita Hills Game Sanctuary incorporated a game lookout lodge. This was built overlooking a salt lick to attract animals so they could be viewed from the comfort and safety of the lodge itself. The development has allowed a private sanctuary to capitalise on tourists travelling to the region because of the Tsavo National Park. This knowledge inspired the Lumo community to examine the prospect of creating their own community-based wildlife sanctuary in the ranches, thereby entering into the tourism industry:

Because the community used to see vehicles passing here on the way to Salt Lick and they couldn't stop. They asked and the tourists could not stop because they were going to Salt Lick for lunch. But they had the idea of a lodge right from the beginning (Ngeti, community member).

We used to hear that tourists going to the neighbouring place, Bura and they even came around here but we were getting nothing, we were not benefiting from the wildlife. We started thinking of what we could do to change this situation, to tap into tourism, given our resource, the wildlife. We thought of a sanctuary as Lualenyi ran for example. Oza applied to establish one on their own, so did Mramba (Mwakidedii, founding member).

The strained relationship with wildlife, KWS, and related organisation HWC, as well as the geographical proximity to an otherwise exploitative nature-based tourism system had a counterintuitive impact. Rather than push the community away from the thought of tourism, the situation created interest in each of the member ranches, Lualenyi, Mramba, and Oza, to create a sanctuary. Mramba Ranch, for example, had “resolved to form sanctuary as early as 1970” (Njogu & Dietz, 2011, 21). The ranch was established in 1965. A founding member recounted how each of the three ranches had tried to seek help from partners to create a sanctuary, but without success because of apparent lack of financial support:

We have Lualenyi, we have Mramba and Oza. The three ranches. Each ranch wanted to have a sanctuary of its own. So when they applied for assistance from any willing donor, they mentioned Mwaktau Location, Mwaktau Town and Tsavo West as being their neighbour. They mentioned Taita Taveta/Voi Road (Mwandalo, founding member).

Along with the strained relationship with surrounding parks, KWS, tourism generally, and the prevailing human-wildlife conflict, the need to alleviate poverty was a key driver in the creation of Lumo. The poverty level defined by the Government of Kenya website as the proportion of the population earning below Kshs.1562 or US \$15 equivalent a month is 56.9 to 66 percent in Taita-Taveta County, depending on the area, the lowlands within which Lumo is situated being regarded as poorer than the upper zones (GOK, 2014). Interview data links the establishment of Lumo with this poverty condition as a motivator. Particularly deleterious effects of poverty included the lack of health and education facilities:

So this was a way to have money. This money was not going to be used for anything else it was going to be used for education and for the purposes of alleviating poverty within the Taita and for assisting in treating the sick. That was actually the main cause or the main core objective. From 2004 to 2008 the sanctuary was running well (Mghanga, board member).

Furthermore, there is an awareness within the community that this poverty exists despite the rich natural environment:

You know, we are very rich in terms of natural resources. If we use the resources well. We are the richest people in Kenya, we Taitas. In terms of resources we are the richest, but because the resources are not used well, we are the poorest (Mwakidedi, founding member).

The poverty levels are also associated with constant droughts, as people depend on rain for subsistence farming, and serious infrastructural deficiencies. Consequently, people in Lumo lead a subsistence lifestyle, education standards are low, and basic facilities lacking. A participant paints the picture of the poverty conditions of the area:

The problem [is that] here we have drought. Mostly throughout the year we have drought and the climate is not very conducive to farming so most of the people here are herders they are grazers and the sort of grazing they do is not commercial, it is just type of herding, these are the normal indigenous Taita cows, and the profit or whatever they get from there will not be enough for them to educate their children and to get good health facilities and the like. These are the sort of things that I talk of as alleviation of poverty. If today they are given bursaries, that money which they could have used to pay school fees, they will use to eat in their own houses, [so that] they will not sleep hungry (Mghanga, board member).

The people within the Lumo area travel to Moshi in neighbouring Tanzania for free medical services. In this regard, a probing suggestion by the researcher to a community member that the current socio-economic benefits of Lumo CBTE to were not big, met with a sharp reaction:

One cannot complain a lot, because at the beginning there was completely nothing! (Mkawasi, community member).

It should be understood that benefits to communities are relative. What might seem like an insignificant benefit in a more prosperous community, can be very substantial to a poorer community such as Lumo.

It is arguable that prevailing socio-economic and physical conditions are internalised, and able to trigger community actor responses and actions in their environments. Therefore, in the wake of the new approach to conservation and tourism development, each of Lumo's constituent ranches, Lualenyi, Mramba, and Oza considered creating a CBTE. Each ranch applied separately to the same community-development funding agency, the Community Development Trust Fund (CDTF), for a grant, but it was realised by CTDF that the applicants for funds were actually neighbours and "the same people" ethnically speaking:

This made the director of CDTF to whom every one of these ranches had applied for assistance [to be concerned]. So this director decided to come down to the ground where he met all the three boards, he was taken round the three ranches. In the end he asked the three ranches to form one big sanctuary so that they [CDTF] could agree to fund them as one sanctuary. What made him to decide like this is he felt that these three ranches are owned by the same people (Mwandalo, founding member).

Ultimately, upon consensus the three member ranches signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) establishing Lumo Community Wildlife Trust, registered in 2001, which owns the Lumo Wildlife Sanctuary enterprise.

In light of these participants' accounts of the events and activities leading to the creation of Lumo Wildlife Sanctuary and the development of tourism infrastructure, the change in Lumo can be explained in practice terms. Though there were plans and strategies that led to the process of establishing Lumo, a non-apparent practical change process took place non-deliberately. This non-deliberate process is associated with everyday living and dwelling in the Lumo environment, and is an internalised process associated with the need to adapt and improvise for survival in the surrounding environment. The change in national policy and the advent of community-based tourism, which ushered in a deliberate change process to compliment this internalised one, was a change from what Heidegger would call the dwelling mode to an occurrent mode (Chia & Holt, 2006), or from purposive to purposeful action. External actors may initiate and even drive the deliberate planned process, but it can only have a community development effect when it is incorporated into this non-deliberate and endogenous modus operandi (Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2014). Opportunity, friends, and partners come along to help and so become part of the patchwork. At Il Ngwesi, this non-deliberate process was influenced by prevailing conditions of drought, insecurity, and poverty. These findings are supported by the view that in peripheral and marginalised areas, a change takes place according to a process that is propelled by situational demands (Chia & Holt, 2006).

While tensions in relationships between locals and their lived physical environment have existed since the 1940s, the dream to establish a sanctuary did not materialise until 1992. In this year, there was a change in national policy on the part of KWS towards including communities in the tourism, conservation, and development nexus (Barrow et al., 2000). With this new policy, communities were encouraged to form community-based organisations (CBOs) to conserve wildlife, and to create tourism enterprises. Against the background of strained relationships, it

was not easy to facilitate interaction of the community with KWS under the new community-based conservation and tourism policy.

The community was particularly suspicious of KWS's intentions. In the case of Lumo, a trusted KWS official from the Taita ethnic community, Sio (pseudonym), played a critical role as an actor individual in convincing the community to collaborate with KWS. This official sensitised the community to the idea of turning the abundant wildlife into a tourism resource, and facilitated learning from other communities that had adopted CBT. Notably, Sio's brokering role between the community and other players to facilitate partnership and learning casts him in the role of ally (Toomey, 2011). This individual was familiar with the Lumo situation, as he came from the region and therefore in a way was still a local, but one with external links. It is also notable that learning from other communities took place. This actor, either self-driven or driven by the KWS policy changes, facilitated a horizontal learning process whereby the Lumo founders visited other communities that had started similar initiatives:

So it was not easy for the community to accept. But through interaction with KWS officials and especially there was one of the officials who comes from this region. He played a big role in sensitising the community and they arranged for us to visit other areas where conservation had been undertaken by communities and in the end it came then to be accepted (Mghendi, founding member).

According to the findings outlined above, the creation of Lumo CBTE establishment can be linked to several factors. The first set of factors are the interconnected environmental influences in the form of tensions and struggles relating to land, wildlife, poverty, government agencies, and tourism development. The second set of factors might be regarded as catalysts. These include a sense of tourism awareness due to the Lumo community's proximity to Tsavo West National Park and Taita Hills Game Sanctuary. The third set consists of the opportunities provided by Lumo's resource endowment and the new approach to conservation and tourism development that enabled the potential of the area to be realised. Although it is possible to pigeonhole the influences that led to the creation of the CBTE in this manner, it must be remembered that they continuously interacted with one another. Consequently, these influences should be viewed as part of a web, rather than as a series of neat categories or boxes. The next section examines more explicitly the roles played by different individual and organisational actors in the creation of the Lumo CBTE.

6.5 Different actors

Having examined the key influences on the creation of Lumo Wildlife Sanctuary and Lion's Bluff Lodge, the aim of this section is to determine the specific ways in which various actors were involved, in order to address the second research question. In this exploratory research, the actors have not been placed into neatly pre-determined, known, or traditional role categories. Instead, their roles have been allowed to emerge from within the context of their actions and involvement in the CBTE creation and development process. This approach has been adopted in order to capture role complexity and overlaps. The nature of community involvement will first be outlined, in order to establish the context.

6.5.1 Community involvement

Community member participants explained the nature of membership and community involvement at the inception of the CBTE:

I'm a member and a shareholder. A member is one who has paid registration fee, Kshs100. A shareholder paid Kshs1000. So to be a shareholder you would have had to pay a total of Kshs1100 (Kituri, community member).

In further clarification of community involvement, a distinction was made between membership and shareholding with specific reference to Mramba group ranch. As illustrated in the quotation from Mkawasi below, involvement was voluntary and open to all. Registration was by payment of Ksh100, about US \$2 at the time, and shareholding about US \$20 at the time. People also registered their spouses and their children in the new entity called Lumo:

First and foremost I'm a shareholder, because of my parent. I've paid money, I'm one of those who were paid for by parents. When the project was started, the people who started it, when they were involving the citizenry you had to pay a fee to become a member. And so the parents were told that whoever wanted to have their children join or wanted to join themselves, the project was open for all. The registration to become a member was only Kshs100. Lumo has three ranches. Mramba Ranch registration was Kshs100. My parent registered me and I became a shareholder. And then there was a fee that was being paid of Kshs1000. So Kshs100 was just registration and Kshs1000 was now a contribution towards the project. (Mkawasi, community member).

However, the total membership fees and contributions did not amount to the requisite 10 per cent equity contribution from the community required by the funding arrangement. Moreover, some community members could not afford to pay for membership as well as shareholding. Because of

this, a provision was made for payment by way of labour on the part of community members. This included activities such as clearing bush and fencing, as well as the construction of the lodge itself, as part of a work-for-share scheme:

So when we got the seed money to develop the structures, the ideas travelled that fast that the community is willing and implementing, but the project was quite challenging because the community had to produce 10% but they couldn't raise the Kshs1.2 million. So in the process [they] came up with other strategies in liaison with the community. The community produces labour and they provide construction materials. And the project went very well (Ngeti, community member).

Some community members did further, unpaid work:

There were about 6 days excess labour but this just went to the project (Mkawasi, community member).

Presently, there are fifteen permanent employees at the Lumo Sanctuary alone, excluding lodge employees. Sanctuary employees include one manager, one accountant and thirteen ranger scouts, twelve of whom are trained. Consequently, an employee is also a shareholder:

So I'm a shareholder and an employee. I joined, was registered by my parent while young but I started work at the age of 18 (Mkawasi, community member).

In this case, the participant is a member, a shareholder, and an employee.

A high level of commitment was evident in the early employees, the manager, and founding members in the process of establishment of the sanctuary. According to the findings, pioneer employees, for example, worked for a period of two years without pay. During this period, the founding chairman allowed these employees to “purchase” items from his retail shop on credit:

We volunteered without any pay for a period of two years, actually it was 23 months. We had to go back to relatives who were outside. We borrowed by taking things from shops on credit. The chairman is one person who particularly helped us. He had a shop from where workers took items on credit. This is because he understood the problem because he was the chairman (Kituri, community member).

The pioneer employees, who were also shareholders made special contributions to the founding of Lumo. The commitment of these employees is demonstrated by their voluntary unpaid labour. The reasons given for the commitment to work without pay are worth noting for their recurrent themes, such as “because it was community work” and “it was ours”. The latter sentiment is best

captured in a Kiswahili phrase frequently used by participants during interviews, *mradi wetu*, meaning “our project”. *Mradi wetu* denotes a sense of ownership, as well as a belonging and attachment to Lumo:

We stayed for a period of about two years working without pay, because it was community work. We thought to ourselves “let’s keep doing the work because ulikuwa mradi wetu” [it was our project] (Kituri, Community member).

The founding manager’s role in encouraging the early employees is also notable:

We continued and were particularly encouraged to work on by our manager (Mkawasi, community member).

According to this participant, the donors came to support the cause of a committed community:

We continued with this spirit of perseverance and the donors saw fit to come and support us and so they again paid our salaries for another 6 months. From there now the project picked up and we started to receive visitors. And until this day I’m working here and we are now being paid well (Mkawasi, community member).

These participants all recognised the support of external actors, but also emphasised their involvement as Lumo members in the creation and ownership of the CBTE. A strong sense of community and attachment fostered community member ownership and commitment as evidenced by the words of the early employees, the manager, and founding members regarding Lumo’s inception. This finding aligns with those of similar studies conducted elsewhere (Iorio & Wall, 2012; Lee, 2013). The voluntary participation and cooperation in the project are evidence of a sense of community. Such sense of community involves belonging to a place, expecting and receiving benefits from this environment, and reciprocally giving to it (Pretty, Chipuer, & Bramston, 2003). In other words, there are cognitive, affective, and behavioural components of such a sense of community. The roles of the different actors are examined below.

6.5.2 Pioneer manager

Interview participants emphasised the role of a pioneering manager in establishing Lumo. This manager appears to have been able to secure employee commitment to staying on in the project despite challenging conditions accompanying the initial process:

Our manager was encouraging us to soldier on, [saying] that pioneers face challenges. There was this feeling ni kitu chetu [this is our thing] ni mradi wa kwetu [this is our

home project]. We decided let's persevere and see how the end of the project will be
(Mkawasi, community member).

The manager encouraged employees due to his own sense of commitment to the project:

But I believed in the business plans because they were real and I took part of developing [it] and so I knew from all the angles and factors that this was workable. So there was no day I could get discouraged (Ngeti, community member).

The researcher's interaction with this former manager revealed his personal commitment to seeing Lumo succeed. During the interview, this participant gave a personal account of how he came to be interested in Lumo, in which he displayed a strong sense of emotional attachment and commitment to the project. He highlighted specific issues, which in his opinion were the key challenges in the advancement of Lumo as a CBT initiative. Of key concern was governance.

The former manager's high level of education and keen sense of attachment to the Lumo rangeland environment were observable during the interview, as illustrated by the quote below. Of particular note is the fact that this actor's sense of local attachment is at odds with Evan's earlier description of educated people from Lumo, cited in Section 6.3. This observation could mean either that Evan's opinion was a sole or minority divergent view, or that the manager is an exceptional individual:

I joined Mraro Primary School where I went to class 8. After that I was among the leading students, I joined Kenyatta High School. I performed equally well and went to University after form four, Egerton University [best school in the county and renowned nationally]. I did a course in Bachelor of Science in Natural Resource Management. I did equally well and came back to the community. But prior to that I had lived on rangelands for quite some time and I had so many unanswered questions (Ngeti, community member).

Then the participant paused at one point in his discussion of Lumo, to relate a conversation he had with his mother prior to joining Lumo as a manager, which may shed light on his actions:

Even before I go further, my mother used to tell me that projects in Taita Taveta fail due to mismanagement and greediness and the rest. Then I told her, by then I was a teacher, having taught Chemistry, Physics and I had come to Mwangeka teaching Biology and Agriculture. I told her that this is a community-based tourism project and I feel a calling to go and do it (Ngeti, community member).

Ngeti's mother, in a bid to discourage him from taking up the manager's position at Lumo, opined that Lumo would be a failure just as other community projects she knew of within Taita Taveta had been:

My mother told me no project in Taita Taveta has succeeded. I told her "well let me go and try my luck, but I think I will overcome the obstacles". She was saying the educated have failed, money has been squandered (Ngeti, community member).

Determined to make a difference and prove his mother wrong, this community member went ahead and took up the management job at Lumo, becoming the pioneer manager. He became part of the team that developed the initial plans and set up the business of Lumo. At the time, any structures were yet to be erected, yet his commitment to Lumo was firm and his intentions were clear:

There are 28 ranches in Taita Taveta. Lumo is one of them. I didn't want it to be a white elephant (Ngeti, community member).

The manager went on to describe his experience of Lumo's formative years. The views of this former manager about his early involvement with Lumo demonstrate aspects of personal sacrifice and effort:

My staff left, some but not all. They were leaving at different times. So in the process, we struggled until 2005. Well the project was launched. I can't recall but it was [in] 2004, towards the end. Then there were so many problems in the hotel, which was the main source of income. So in 2005 we started now staggering, we started paying salaries. Things went on smoothly in 2006. I had ran all this session without relaxation, I had never seen Christmas, Sunday or leave. The chairman told me we can now relax, you can control things. The systems are all in place (Ngeti, community member).

This pioneer manager's involvement is woven into the process of setting up the business and of Lumo CBTE having joined the enterprise in 2001 before its official launch in 2004. Notably, the dates cited by interview participants correspond to those given in official records. This early involvement encompassed setting up systems as well as inspiring and encouraging early employees. Based on Datta (2007) and Toomey (2011), therefore the manager's role closely fits that of catalyst. An actor who plays this role helps and works together with the community, either as a part of it or from the outside, as a practitioner engaged in horizontal relational and learning relationships. However, such categorising and confinement glosses over otherwise complex relationships. It is notable Ngeti, in identifying with Taita and the Rangelands

participates in Lumo's collective cultural identity, thus reproducing it as a sense of "who we are". However, as an implementer of business plans he was also an agent of change, perhaps one representing interests that may not have been entirely local in origin. Nevertheless, these seemingly conflicting interests and positions were reconciled in his role in the process of creating the CBTE. The manager is thus a part of the complex interrelational patchwork that characterises the establishment of Lumo Wildlife Sanctuary and CBTE.

6.5.3 Founding members

According to the former chairman, Lumo had there were fifteen founding members. Only three of these individuals were available for interviewing. Although this could not be verified, a few members of the founding team were said to no longer be alive. Interview participants other than the founders themselves were asked to name specific community members they thought had been instrumental in establishing the sanctuary. All participants mentioned the same names. Descriptions of the ways that these founding members participated in the process of creating Lumo, as given below, draw on the participants' accounts.

The participants repeatedly highlighted the founding chairman's role in initiating the project and steering the community to undertake the development of Lumo. This particular founding member is singled out as "the one who began the project". It was apparent through participant observation that this individual actor is particularly inseparable from the CBTE creation and development process. According to a pioneer community member, the chairman's work had elements of both "pain" and "joys", indicating a close personal involvement in the project's initiation. He was able to persuade others in the community to be involved, as related by a community member:

A person I would really recommend is Mr. Mghendi, who was the chairman who really began this project, who when the project began, he knows the pains and the joys of initiation of this project. He knows the problem and how he followed and persuaded the citizens by preaching the gospel about these sorts of projects (Mkawasi, community member).

An organisational participant working with a partner NGO, who was involved with Lumo at its inception, further explained the role played by this former chairman. Particularly notable is that while this community development partner classified the founding chairman Mghendi as a local community elite, he recognised that Mghendi also enjoyed a trust relationship with the community. Note also that the involvement of this individual actor led to the community-desired

outcome of establishing Lumo, an aspiration dating back to at least the 1970s:

In Lumo there was a guy called Mghendi, Councillor Mghendi. You have heard about Councillor Mghendi? Councillor Mghendi was instrumental as a voice for moving things forward. In most of the successful community enterprises, there has always been that influential leader who has been the major agent of change and has moved things forward. Because you know it is about trust. New ideas are about trust. Because if the people feel they can sufficiently trust the “elite” to push the project ahead you do better than if there is mistrust. But I can single out Mr. Mghendi as one who spearheaded the thing. He was pushing the ideas, saying, “guys, let’s go forward” (Fred, organisational participant).

Thus, despite this practitioner’s reference to Mghendi as a “community elite”, which in community development terms would translate to one ultimately pursuing own interests (Blackstock, 2005), there was no evidence of such a pursuit by Mghendi in the context of Lumo. Despite Mghendi’s “elite” position, he was able to use local relationships to the community’s advantage, thus enhancing community agency, by rallying others – in this case 14 founders as well as the broader Lumo community – towards achieving the creation of Lumo for the common good. This founding chairman used existing relationship networks effectively to get the resources required by the community. For example, it is through Mghendi that the community got a CBTE-owned vehicle.

The founders were also able and willing to learn from other communities that had already established similar enterprises:

These people were telling us “you have to go step-by-step, this thing has to grow like a baby”. So they had to educate us first. After being educated and being exposed to the successes and failures of other people... (Mghendi, founding member).

Against the background of community’s strained relationship with KWS as “game” and the HWC, Lumo can be considered a novel development. This novelty concept is perhaps different from how it would be applied in other contexts, as “in the periphery” is the awareness to adapt and respond to new demands (Chia & Holt, 2006). This was an active rather than passive process for the community, connoting community agency. Words used by interview participants, such as “effort” and “hard work”, imply an active rather than passive involvement of founders and other community members. According to one founding member, the establishment of Lumo took personal efforts and the sacrifices of the founding members:

We went on that way mradi tuliundesha kwa shida [we steered the project with difficulty]. We cannot be compared with those who are now running the project, who have just joined when everything seems to be running (Mwakidedi, founding member).

Comparing the position of founders with present board membership, Mwakidedi explained the founding members' perceived role as creators of Lumo:

They found everything ready, the hotel is running, there is money, people are coming, but we began literally with zero (Mwakidedi, founding member).

While these are only participant views, the mention of "beginning from zero" denotes the attribution of driving the process of creation or establishment of the CBTE to the contribution made by these founding members.

A theme that runs through the interview data is that the founder-leaders were able to learn and get advice from partners, friends, and even potential competitors in the form of other CBTEs. The founding members learned from the neighbouring, privately owned, Taita Hills Game Sanctuary:

What happened is that we have the Taita Hill Game Sanctuary. It is next to us. So these guys [founding members] said why can't we also make money if our neighbours are making money and they are driving through our land. They are charging at their gate, why don't we also do the same and get money. Mradi ndivyo tulivioekeleza (that is how the idea was actualised) (Mghanga, board member)

The findings support the presence of concepts such as analogising and bricolage as part of the process (Johannisson, 2011). Analogising means social learning, learning from others, but also the contribution of one's own knowledge and imagination in creating something, which requires some practical understanding. Analogising perhaps explains why visiting other communities that had adopted similar projects was an important aspect of the CBTE creation and development process. So far, in answer to the research questions for the case of Lumo, the data point to a process involving the interconnection between different elements. There is the influence of situational, historically and politically embedded conditions associated with indigenous land ownership and wildlife management, which are in turn connected to prevailing poverty. These are also related to structural relationships between the government and community. Equally important in this web of influences are the motives and personal efforts of various individual actors. Further, the complexity of this process includes the community's learning and tourism awareness, which can be attributed to Lumo's proximity to Tsavo West National Park and the

Taita Hills Game Sanctuary, as well as opportunities occasioned by changes in national policy. An additional theme emerged from the Lumo case that adds to this complexity, which is addressed in this next sub-section in the form of sources of action in the world of Lumo.

6.5.3.1 Sources of action in the everyday lived world of Lumo

As has been previously articulated in Chapter 2, an aim of applying a practice approach is to understand the entrepreneuring process in terms of the actions and interactions involved, discovered through focusing investigative attention on patterns rather than entities, and on vocabulary (see Johannisson, 2011). Furthermore, this approach accommodates the mental and emotional aspects of human action (Reckwitz, 2002). A few sub-themes emerged *in vivo* with regard to the creation of the venture and may reflect a convolution of various practices in the everyday life of Lumo. These sub-themes are captured here under the overarching theme of “non-cognitive” or “affective” elements.

A founding member’s religious faith is cited as not only being a motivation for involvement but also a source of “hope” for the future of Lumo:

We prayed to God to help us, and He did help us indeed and we have hope (Mwakidedi, founding member).

While this is only one participant’s view, based on the researcher’s observations, religious influences are otherwise broadly evident in the Lumo environment. The involvement of the late Anglican bishop of the area as part of the team of founding members, which received particularly strong emphasis in interviews with former chairman Mghendi and manager Madoka reinforces this point.

Another theme that emerged is perseverance, used to describe the situation where the employees stayed without pay for a period of 23 months. As noted in section 6.4.1, Mkawasi appeared to link the community’s perseverance with the willingness of donors to provide funding. However, this was not necessarily the predominant driving force behind the tenacity. Visualising the future, should one quit during difficult times in the initiation phase, was also presented as a strong motivator. The concept captured is that of endurance, which can be regarded as an important element since it is being associated here with the action of fifteen pioneer employees, who were registered members of Lumo:

Imagine also if you left at the time when the project was struggling and then you came when it is up and running you would understandably be told if you couldn’t endure at the

time of difficulties you may not endure in case of any other such challenges in the future
(Mkawasi, community member).

The qualities of sacrifice and empathy were ascribed to founding chairman by a community member. This actor provided credit at his small retail outlet to the ranger scouts during their protracted period of unpaid labour. As has already been discussed, the chairman applied his individual resources to achieve a community goal and was not seen to act out of self-interest or with an ulterior motive. As indicated in the quote below, the former chairman's action was "motivating" to the pioneer employees:

The Chairman had a shop and alijitolea [sacrificed] to give us items from the shop for all that time. He also persevered for all that time. Alikuwa na utu [(he had empathy)]. His name was Joseph Mghendi. His willingness to give 15 workers food was a great contribution and motivating factor. Remember these were people with families, for all that time he was using his money to buy and our bill was accumulating (Mkawasi, community member)

The founders provided leadership and direction to the community in the creation and development process. They were able to learn from other communities. They used their efforts and resources to realise the creation of the sanctuary. These founders, such as the chairman, who were in a position to act as gatekeeping elites in the CBTE as a form of community development (Botes & van Rensburg, 2000) did not appear to conduct themselves as such. Instead, they enhanced the potential of the community to realise the creation of the CBTE in an enabling manner. More importantly, their contribution aligns with the view of entrepreneuring as a co-creation process comprising a complexity of multiple actors (Sarasvathy & Venkataraman, 2011). Key among these actors in the case of Lumo were the founders who used their efforts, networks and abilities in the creation of the CBTE.

However, despite this early positive contribution of the founders, things took a different turn in 2008 when they were removed from office unceremoniously and a new board was installed. A participant, who is a member of the current board, narrated the incident, which is well known and talked about in the Lumo community:

And the board which was there led by councillor Mghendi, the first chairman also said they didn't realise any gate collection. So people were furious, people were not happy with the project. They came up and forced their way into the project and took over the

project and they took over the running of gate, they went to the lodge and told the investor to move away. That was in 2008 (Mghanga, board member).

Interestingly, the above-mentioned board members, when asked about the people who were most influential in the creation of the CBTE, still mentioned the former chairman along with other founders. Based on these findings and participant observation, CBT emerges as an arena for contestations and conflict. Rivalries between the current board and members of the founding board led by councillor Mghendi were observable and played out in the internal politics of Lumo. In the next sub-section, the roles of other actors will be examined.

6.5.4 Actors from partner organisations

This sub-section addresses the role played by partner organisations and in particular individual actors within those organisations. Two organisational actors had significant involvement with the Lumo community and the CBTE project in particular. One such person is Mr. John Kiio, who was working with AWF. Another is Mr. Samwel Sio who was a KWS warden at the time of establishing Lumo. Their roles are mapped in the context of the prevailing discourse within their organisations. Particular reference is made to the changing discourse in wildlife management as a nature-based tourism resource in the Kenyan context.

According to a key organisational participant who has had significant involvement with Lumo from its onset, the process of setting up Lumo is associated with the change of discourse within the conservation fraternity. The new discourse was reframed to incorporate community-based approaches in the management of wildlife, the key tourism resource in the area. This change in discourse arguably drove the official and formal purposive process (see Chia & Holt, 2006):

The idea of Lumo conservancy is a long one because it started early 1990s. At that time, if I may fix it within the trends for wildlife conservation within the country, at that time was the time when Kenya was making the transition from what was strictly a protected area management strategy to a more open collaborative participatory strategy. So at that time in early 1990s people were moving from what we call fenced parks and were coming to park outreach which were the beginning of community-based natural resource management or community-based conservation (Fred, partner organisation).

Those involved with conservation were concerned that the majority of the wildlife in Kenya, over 60 percent, is found outside the national parks and reserves discussed in Chapter 4:

More than 60 percent of wildlife in Kenya was being found outside protected areas. So there was change from focus on just protected areas to a much wider area. So the COBRA project started in 1992 (Fred, partner organisation).

The COBRA project aimed at enabling communities to manage wildlife by running businesses such as tourism (Elliott & Sumba, 2013). These initiatives would in turn benefit conservation through communities committing extra land outside the parks and reserves to conservation. The COBRA project brought together a number of partners, key among them being KWS, the government agency in charge of wildlife resource management.

However, for KWS to be accepted as a partner and for its intentions to be understood in the Lumo community, it would take the active role of one particular KWS game warden, Samwel Sio, who was attached to the area around Lumo. Notably, this individual was of Taita ethnic identity and from the Taita County. Consequently, he gained community trust. Sio was able to influence the relationship of the community and KWS to some extent:

When this warden came, incidentally he was a Taita by tribe. His name was Samwel Sio. When Sio came, he gathered the Taita in my location and introduced the idea of forming sanctuaries in the ranches so that they could make use of the wildlife and get money (Mwandalo, founder).

According to interview participants, the community and the founding members felt suspicious that KWS was plotting to take their land. They nonetheless decided to take a chance on the initiative, partly because of Sio's persuasive approach and partly based on trust since he came from among the Taita ethnic community. From a community development practice perspective, Sio's role closely resembles that of a facilitator (Datta, 2007; Toomey, 2011). In playing this role, the actor brings people together and guides them through. Such an actor is able to bring about balance of power between external and community forces. Evidently, being a local in the sense of being from the Taita ethnic community, Sio did not merely bring the blueprint of external interests of his organisation. He was instead able to merge such interests with those of the community by working with community members.

Another individual actor is John Kiio, an official with African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) who played a brokering role, which seems to have endeared him to the community members:

We had Mr. Kiio of AWF in 2008. He contributed significantly to, call it the revival of Lumo. It is through him that we got the current investor and it is through him we did away with the former investor (Mghanga, board member).

So significant was the relationship with Kiiio that the community at one time considered having him sit on the Lumo board, which would in essence translate into his being considered a part of the Lumo community:

He had a particular love for Lumo community because at one time we suggested that he would be sitting on the board, and he would become one of the members of the board of trustees, and in fact we were thinking seriously of involving him. Unfortunately, it is during that time that he resigned from AWF (Mghanga, board member).

Kiiio brokered relationships between the community and other organisations:

We went through AWF to get CDTF money, Kiiio connected us (Mghanga, board member).

Notably, Lumo's relationship with CDTF was significant in that it is through the seed funding from CDTF that the Lion's Bluff Lodge was built.

Another interview participant, who in this particular context can be regarded as an outsider and observer in the events, noted the enthusiasm exhibited by Kiiio. Notably, Kiiio unlike Sio did not hail from Taita County. Neither did he have a particular connection with the rangelands. Being a community-based enterprise expert with AWF, Kiiio was enthusiastic about community pursuing the CBT course:

I watched a guy called Paul Kiiio from AWF dealing with big meetings, AGMs, government meetings, and he could really whip up the enthusiasm and he is very good at that (Evan, investor).

While he may fit into multiple and overlapping roles, Kiiio could be best described as an advocate. Such an actor might not necessarily be driven by a strong connection with the people or community involved, but rather a concern or commitment to an issue or course (Toomey, 2011). Kiiio also acted as an ally or friend to the Lumo community. This sense of friendship is illustrated by the community's aforementioned desire for him to join the Lumo board, despite his being an ethnic and geographical outsider.

A common thread between Sio's and Kiiio's relationships with the community is that despite being organisational actors, neither played a paternalistic role through exercising power over the community. Rather, they were able to work with community members in ways that could enhance community agency. The role of these individuals can be equated with that of Craig, the friend of Il Ngwesi. This relationship can be nuanced, in the sense that while Craig acted as an individual, Sio and Kiiio were representing organisations whose interests they had to protect.

Therefore, in view Evan's comments cited above, emotional attachment and perhaps empathetic personalities may be implicated in these actors' involvement with Lumo. This observation is supported the view that actors' attachment to a project, as well as association with a given community can influence their relationship and action towards and within a community (G. Lacey, Peel, & Weiler, 2012). Lacey et al. (2012) found this to be the motive for philanthropic tourists visiting communities and being involved in community affairs. Such philanthropic motives could also influence the actions of individual practitioners working for organisations such as NGOs in their relationships with projects they are involved in. The significance of this factor in partnering with communities in development projects is an area that requires further investigation.

In summary, the objective of this section was to investigate the role of various actors in the creation of Lumo Wildlife Sanctuary. In Lumo CBTE there is an observable endogenous community development process. While the process was assisted and facilitated by external actors, it is a grassroots, needs-driven, self-help change process. This process involves relationships of trust between community members, such as trust for their leaders and evolving trust for the external partner organisations, as was the case with KWS. As can be observed in this case, there was a significant role played by individual actors within such organisations, who were able to empathise with the needs of the community and align their organisational goals with such needs and community aspirations. All these factors combined to translate into the efforts to establish Lumo. Arguably, this is a complex and collective creative process that cannot be attributed to one individual or organisation, but one that involves multiple actors including community members, founding leaders, managers, and individual actors within organisations.

In answer to the second research question, this section has particularly highlighted the roles of different actors. Important here is the active involvement of community and the founding leadership within this community. It is important to note that in the case of Lumo, the community was not a homogeneous entity, as reflected by the different roles played by members, pioneer employees, the pioneer manager, and founders. As evidenced by the findings of this case-study, specifically the interview data, none of the actors' roles was overpowering or dominating. Neither were these roles conflicting in the limited context of the Lumo case, as reflected in the views of the participants interviewed. A further important observation to be made here is the possibility of actors being able to change roles within a given project situation which requires actor flexibility, as evidenced by actions of Sio and Kiio.

In line with practice theory, the creation of Lumo can be interpreted as a practical activity that

incorporates a combination of doings and sayings “which become co-ordinated by procedures and engagements” (Warde, 2005, 134). Accordingly, understandings such as “what to do” and “how to do” figured prominently, represented by the learning facilitated by the actions of various actors. Procedures are instructions, principles, and rules represented by the plans systems, which have not been a focus of this analysis. Engagements involve the emotional aspects of the process, or the orientations with which things are done.

6.6 Influences of the milieu of Lumo

As discussed in sections 6.3 and 6.4 above, the participant accounts link the creation and development of Lumo with the prevailing conditions in the Lumo environment. In this section, therefore, it is concluded in response to the research question that, based on the evidence examined, Lumo CBTE has emerged through the influence of conditions that are structural in nature, such as the relationship between communities, the wildlife management, and the tourism industry in the setting of Lumo. These factors form the milieu of everyday life in Lumo community, and are therefore a vital part of the influences on any community development and any social change processes within the Lumo environment. Also related are the issues of prevailing human-wildlife conflict and the need to alleviate poverty conditions. These elements were key influences on the entrepreneuring process that materialised in the CBTE that is Lumo Community Wildlife Sanctuary.

6.7 Lumo case summary

This research examines the influences on the establishment of a CBT project or enterprise and its development as a process within a given locality. As subsidiary questions, the research also investigates the roles of different actors, as well as the historical, political, and cultural contexts in this venture-creation process. The findings show that the establishment of Lumo was a complex process that can best be understood as a tapestry consisting of a multiplicity of individual actors and actor interactions, as well as historical, political, and cultural influences. The aim of adopting a practice-based approach was to reconstruct and understand events, actions, interactions among actors, and between actors and the environment in the creation of Lumo CBTE as an artefact within a rural and peripheral developing country set-up. This approach covered different elements in a holistic manner.

The data have demonstrated that in the case of Lumo, the CBTE was instigated by forces within the Lumo environment. These were predominantly the tension in the community’s relationship with wildlife juxtaposed with the community’s awareness of the area’s natural resource

endowment, and strong sense of community. The prevalent poverty conditions provided an impetus to put the wildlife resource to use. The historical and political context also had its role. Of historical significance is the loss of resource use rights by the Taita indigenous people during the colonial as well as the post-colonial periods, which meant that people could not freely carry out activities on their traditional land. Lumo Wildlife Sanctuary has emerged from a search for solutions to drought and human-wildlife conflict. Despite the area's endowment with natural and cultural resources, the community faced challenges that threatened their identity and physical survival.

The process has been assisted by partner organisations, as part of community development practice in the Lumo environment. The process of creating Lumo CBTE involved effort and sacrifices on the part of individual actors. Founder members were particularly instrumental, with respect to personal resources as well as relationships, skills, and abilities, and were respected and trusted by community members. The role of individual actors in the partner organisations, who were empathetic to the needs and situation of the community, was particularly crucial. These findings contribute to knowledge of a model of CBT that is able to foster community development by enhancing community involvement and local control. This process can be instigated locally as well as by external actors.

CHAPTER 7: MWALUGANJE CASE

7.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to investigate the factors that influenced the establishment of the Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary. In doing so, the roles and relationships of various actors are examined in relation to the specific historical, cultural, and environmental landscape occupied by the local Digo-Duruma (Golini Mwaluganje) community. The aim is to uncover the connections and relationships between factors relating to CBT as a community development approach within peripheral, marginal contexts. To address the research question, the chapter is divided into three sections. The first section provides an outline of the process through which the Mwaluganje CBTE was created. The second section features a discussion of the role of different contextual factors to establish why the CBTE was created in the first place. The third and last section examines the key actors in the process and in doing so address the final question.

7.2 The Process of creation of the Mwaluganje CBTE

Table 7.1 shows the interview of the participants' pseudonyms, including those of three community members, two managers, two board members, five founding members, and four organisational participants.

Table 7.1 Mwaluganje interview participants

Interview participants' roles	Participants' pseudonyms	Gender	Age bracket	Number
Members	Juma,	Female	40–50	3
	Zainab	Female	30–40	
	Khadija	Female	30–40	
Managers	Kamau	Male	50–60	2
	Kioko	Male	30–40	
Board members	Sam	Male	60–70	2
	Nyae	Male	40–50	
Founding members	Bakari,	Male	70–80	5
	Kidombo	Male	70–80	
	Rai	Male	60–70	
	Mwakwere,	Male	80–90	
	Chirau	Male	60–70	
Organisations	Susan	Female	50–60	4
	Fred	Male	40–50	
	Betty	Female	40–50	
	Julius	Male	50–60	
Total				16

Examining the process of creating the Mwaluganje CBTE illuminates the various influences involved. The findings show that the creation of the CBTE was a complex process and involved a multiplicity of actors, whose roles are discussed in the next section. Similar to Lumo, Mwaluganje is located within an elephant migration corridor, between the Mwaluganje Forest Reserve and Shimba Hill national Reserve, which is part of the mainstream nature-based tourism system (see Chapter 6). Both of these reserve entities are owned by the government. The reserve is home to 200 elephants, mainly bulls, which the local people believe came from the government owned Tsavo West National Park, one of Kenya's prime tourist attractions, in the 1970s (Cocheba & Ndriangu, 1998). Consequently, according to all interview participants, there has been a perennial and severe human-wildlife conflict (HWC), caused by the location of a human settlement in the elephant migration corridor between North and West Mkongani Forest Reserves, and Mwaluganje Forest Reserve in the north, and the southern Shimba Hills National Reserve, which is also part of Kenya's mainstream nature-based tourism system. All participants linked the creation of the CBTE to the human-wildlife conflict. The elephants used to cross the area now occupied by the sanctuary, which was known simply as "Corridor", consisting of community members' farms.

The community members made efforts to address the HWC through formation of local committees. For example, they had a local committee called the "Corridor committee" consisting of community elders. It is through the work of this committee, with funding from a conservation NGO, the Eden Wildlife Trust, that a four kilometre fence to prevent elephants from straying into human settlements was constructed. The process also involved the government agency KWS, which provided technical assistance and advice. Community members tried to address HWC after several attempts to involve the wildlife authorities failed. Underneath this process lies the fact that communities around parks and reserves had started agitating for inclusion in sharing benefits from the mainstream tourism system.

Through the concerted efforts of the Kwale District Game Warden and the local people led by their elders, Golini-Mwaluganje Community Conservation Limited was formed in 1994. It took a lot of sensitisation, education, mobilisation, and negotiation before the idea was agreed upon (Cocheba & Ndriangu, 1998; Mburu & Birner, 2007). There was local suspicion that KWS wanted to take community members' individually owned land. This suspicion must be seen against the backdrop of the history of land ownership, where local people lost their land first to European settlers, and later to non-indigenous owners, as has been discussed for previous cases. In addition, there was animosity between KWS, known colloquially as "game", and the local

people, due to what the locals saw as a wildlife management system that treated animals better than human beings. According to documents and the words of interview participants, it took the presence of a local government development agency, Coast Development Authority, for the communities to be convinced that KWS was a benevolent player. The local people, felt that they could trust CDA officials because they came from the local community:

Being a local authority where office bearers were local people, it was very easy for us to understand the idea because it was not some form of conning (Nyae, board member).

Consequently, the community landowners chose CDA to represent them in making an agreement with KWS. While KWS had their own legal staff, CDA also provided a lawyer to represent the community landowners.

A memorandum of understanding was signed by a lawyer from Coast Development Authority on behalf the community landowners and one from KWS. Golini-Mwaluganje Community Conservation Limited was created in 1994, trading under the name of Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary. The CBTE officially opened in 1995. Thus, Golini-Mwaluganje is a company whose shareholding is determined through land ownership in the sanctuary. A share is equivalent to one acre of land. The CBTE was financed through the Biodiverse Resource Areas (COBRA) Project administered by KWS and funded mainly by United States Agency for International Development (USAID). USAID funding through COBRA ran from 1992 to 1998. The areas targeted were those with a high incidence of HWC. The COBRA project had an Enterprise Development Specialist.

According to Susan, a former KWS official in the period of COBRA involvement, and Betty, a senior officer in the ministry of tourism, this story is only a part of a more complicated process. The emergence of the CBTE is closely related to the need to include communities in the management of wildlife as a tourist attraction, and the history of creation of national parks and reserves discussed in the previous chapter (Section 6). Accordingly, the process of community involvement was not initiated by the government. Instead, communities supported by NGOs started to agitate for inclusion in the tourism system through direct financial benefits from the parks and reserves:

“The communities also started agitating. They started to realise “Ok we have all these visitors, but our poverty levels are high. So we want something out of this”. In fact, it is not the government that started thinking, “these people want something”. It is the

communities themselves who started thinking, “we need to get something out of this for ourselves” (Betty, organisational participant).

Thus, when KWS was formed in 1989, it created a section to deal with a component of community conservation called Community Wildlife Conservation (Mburu & Birner, 2007).

Community Wildlife Conservation involved the building of schools and construction of boreholes to provide water, as well as other similar projects in areas where the HWC was particularly severe. However, according to Susan, who was a senior KWS official during the period in question, it was soon realised that gestures made to communities by KWS through the Community Wildlife Conservation were being regarded by these communities as tokenistic public relations exercises meant to pacify those affected by HWC:

We came to realise that working with the communities is no longer a public relations exercise and that you are dealing with intelligent people, you are dealing with people with needs and you are dealing with people that you can sit down with and discuss (Susan, Organisational participant).

KWS Community Wildlife Conservation was a corporate social responsibility strategy. However, there was a growing suspicion of the intentions of KWS, as noted in the preceding discussion of the Lumo case. Informed by such observations in the field, there was change of policy at KWS, which can be interpreted as a case of the micro bringing about change in the macro system (Giddens, 1991). KWS made changes in policy toward involving communities, which were articulated in a strategic plan for 1990–1996, otherwise known as the Zebra Book. It is through this strategy in the Zebra Book that the COBRA project came into being. According to Susan, who was in charge of the program, the change in policy was informed by factors realised in the field when dealing with communities.

These findings point to the creation of Mwaluganje CBTE as a process that was externally driven, but had an internal or local contributing force as well. Therefore, the creation of Golini-Mwaluganje CBTE was influenced by external forces such as COBRA and other initiatives. However, there was an internal force, representing an invisible and non-articulated strategy, which is largely recognised only by practice theorists. This process brought about changes through experiences in the field, a field of practice. This is represented by various local responses to situations, such as HWC in the environment, which often initially appear to have no logic, but which have internal structures of their own (Chia & Holt, 2006). The role of different actors in this complex web of people, events, and activities is addressed below.

7.3 Roles of different actors

The previous section examined influences on the creation of Mwaluganje CBTE by focusing on the process aspects. This section will address the second research question on the role of the different actors in the project. As argued throughout this thesis, the process of creating human artefacts as a practice involves a combination of activities both mental and physical, knowledge as well as motives. The relevance of these elements and how they are interconnected will be highlighted as the different actors' involvement is discussed. To put these elements in context, the role of community identity and community involvement in the process will be outlined, before the roles of actors such as the founding manager, the founding members, and partner organisation representatives are examined in depth.

7.3.1 Sense of communal ownership and place identity

The objective of this section is to further examine the role that sense of communal ownership played in the establishment of Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary, in order to understand influences on the processes of CBTE creation and development. It may be recalled from Chapter 4 that Mwaluganje is located in Kwale County. Community identity in the context of Mwaluganje came up in the interview discussions. Golini-Mwaluganje consists of two ethnic communities, the Digo and the Duruma. These two ethnic groups are closely related and belong to the large Mijikenda (literally “nine villages”) group, which comprises nine Kenyan coastal ethnic groups.

One of the founders, Bakari, further clarified the relationship and the relevance of this in the context of the Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary. Of particular note is the mention made by interview participants of the unity of these two ethnic groups and their “respect for each other”. The meaning of Golini-Mwaluganje as a trading name is that the closely related ethnicities of Digo and Duruma united to form the Mwaluganje Sanctuary. According to participants, the *shambas* (farms) belonged to both the Digo and the Duruma people.

Unlike the Lumo and Il Ngwesi cases, no strong ethnic community identity motive was explicitly linked to the establishment of the sanctuary. However, its significance appears in the politics of the sanctuary with regard to who has played what role in its establishment:

[The CBTE] was begun by the people of Golini alone, not Mwaluganje. Mwaluganje only followed us. Golini is where I come from. Golini people are Digos (Bakari, founding member).

Hence, it is evident that there are two distinct, albeit related, ethnic identities linked to and complicating the place identity. Despite this, the importance of a sense of community ownership as a motivating factor for establishment of artefacts is evident in the case of Mwaluganje.

A strong sense of how “we went about completing and doing our project” was expressed by most of the participants that had been associated with the CBTEs creation. This sense of ownership and belonging was frequently expressed with the use of the word “our”, even when speaking about participation and labour activities:

“We went round our project, our part, our sanctuary until we finished. I was the surveyor of the road” (Kidombo, founding member).

This strong sense of place and community identity was particularly present among the founders and continues to be felt, as could be observed during an AGM attended by the researcher. This is why, despite the challenges the project faced, there was reluctance within the community to wind up the venture. There was a palpable determination to ensure the sanctuary’s success. A participant from outside of the Digo and Duruma ethnic groups observed the sense of ownership and attachment the project imparted on Mwaluganje community:

They have the motivation, there is that internal feeling that this is our project, we are the ones who initiated this project to solve our problems (Kioko, manager).

The sense of community is a factor that drove the local people to create and manage something they can call their own. This sense of community identity as a motivation for involvement has been identified by other studies (Iorio & Wall, 2012; Mitchell & Reid, 2001)

7.3.2 Role of local community involvement

The local landowners own and manage the sanctuary. The process of involving the local community in order for them to participate, however, had its own internal dynamic and did not “just happen”. This is the case because the community involvement was occurring against a background of mistrust for government and government agencies with regard to land matters. Because of perceived historical injustices to do with land and appropriation of natural resources, as discussed in the background to the cases in Chapter 4 as well as in Chapter 6, some community members thought that there were plans to take away local land. Given a background of loss of land by communities both in colonial and post-colonial Kenya, it was not an easy decision to commit one’s land, which is often the sole asset of an individual or family. A relationship of trust was a precondition for community member commitment. The inclusion of a

local body, the Coast Development Authority, in the discussions leading to establishing the sanctuary, was crucial in engagement with external partners.

Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary is a limited company with membership and shareholding determined in proportion to ownership of land. Employees are selected in relation to this fact. The condition of the employment is that one has to be a member's child in order to be employed by the sanctuary. The human-wildlife conflict forced the community to form committees in response to changes in the environment. A group of leaders who came to be known as *Wazee wa Corido* (Corridor Committee), for example, became a channel for education of the community members, and a liaison between the community and external players:

We formed a committee involving the locals and it is through that committee that the members were educated, the locals who have their land there (Rai, founding member).

We, wazee began the discussion. Brothers, issues about the animals you see how things have gotten worse. Tutafanya akili gani? [What can we do, what strategies do we apply?] (Kidombo, founding member).

The inclusion of government officials who were locals was significant in developing the trust of the community and dispelling the suspicion that government agencies were engaged in a land-grab. It is important to note the wording and the tone used in describing this, for example the association of outsiders or others with “conning” referred to in Section 7.2 above.

When the other parties comprised of outsiders, the CDA comprised of native people (Nyae, founding member).

From a practice perspective, the importance of practices as representing both reproduction and change can be seen (Halkier & Jensen, 2011). While the locals in the CDA represented stability and familiarity, the “other parties” may be seen to represent change, pointing to an intersection and interaction, observation of which is afforded by a practice theoretical, empirical approach. A participant from a partner organisation involved with creation of Mwaluganje describes the relevance of local knowledge and understandings at the time of establishment of Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary:

They also knew when elephant activity would be highest. That would enable you to plan for the eventuality. We got so many good ideas coming from people. I did not encourage a situation where KWS would have the monopoly of knowledge (Kamau, former manager).

As a means of community involvement, the management of the sanctuary has had one local

manager and two managers, including the current one, that were regarded as outsiders. The first manager's role is discussed in the next section. Notably, this manager was fired and replaced by a community member. This new manager's performance was below the board's expectations, and so he was also fired:

Our own son, kijana tu wa nyumbani [our very own son]. Our very own son, he started to sink this project [ran the project unsuccessfully]. It made community members very angry, they demonstrated. We came and changed locks at the office door and got rid of him. And he didn't last a month. He was fired (Rai, founding member).

Although this is a single incident, this finding may be argued to reflect a commonly held view that communities may not be able to manage CBTEs. Another participant offering an outsider view made his comments on the issue:

My view on the solution to the current problem is that the community needs to get out of management. They must leave it to the experts to manage the place. Perhaps leasing the sanctuary to a private developer will solve their problems (Kamau, former manager).

However, as argued in Chapter 2, and as has been demonstrated by both Il Ngwesi and Lumo, local management may not be the problem. Rather, it may be a governance issue. Community members wanted to have a say in day-to-day running of the business. Kamau made the statement below in reference to an incident where a community elder went to collect money at the gate:

Ok, now. You see now, we cannot have everybody running the show. At the end of each year they elect their own representatives (Kamau).

Asked further whether this related to a general incompetence on the part of community members, Kamau clarified the issue:

I don't believe that communities cannot run tourism business, they can. I have just told you, we proved. We proved, I proved that community can participate in the management of tourism business. It all depends on the level of exposure of this community [learning] they have to learn (Kamau, former manager).

The founders were not only experts in everyday living, but were good at learning and adapting. As observed in the Il Ngwesi case, there was a process of learning by experience. In the case of Il Ngwesi, this learning was supported by a stringent governance and management system established with the enterprise. Such knowledge and wisdom is potentially helpful in building models of CBTE (Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007). Another participant, who was arguably an outsider, agreed that the community had the capacity to learn the necessary management skills:

They are ready to learn. If you tell them “I will take you for a safari, may be to Il Ngwesi, Olerai or another sanctuary” they are actually ready to go and learn what is happening (Kioko, manager).

CBTEs provide an arena for exchanges of local knowledge and wisdom (Okech, 2011). The elders, through visiting other areas, were able use their own knowledge and draw on the knowledge of others in ways that improved their understanding of their situation:

We also went to Loitokitok and we went to Kimana, tumeelimika [we have been educated] about the protection of when our animals are harmed we get very sad (Chirau, founding member).

The concept of analogising is relevant to understanding how the CBTE emerged through a negotiation between the old and the new, the local and the non-local (Johannisson, 2011).

7.3.3 Founding members

The interviews uncovered the roles played by the twelve founding members, although no accurate number of founders was obtained, as some are no longer alive. Five of the surviving founders were interviewed. According to the interview results, these individuals provided leadership to the community, partly by convincing them of the ideas worthiness, and partly by being a liaison between the community and the other actors, in particular KWS and Eden Wildlife Trust. Three have also served as chairmen of the Mwaluganje board of directors. Other participants supported the interpretation of the founders’ roles as articulated by the surviving founders themselves.

A participant, who for Mwaluganje is equivalent to a “friend” as defined in discussion of the Il Ngwesi case, narrated his experiences with past chairmen and other leaders, whom he described as people who were driven by community rather than individual interests. These people, he noted, sacrificed their own time, money, and effort in serving the community. Accordingly, a succession of Mwaluganje chairmen have been said to display such characteristics. The participant added that people of such a nature are not normally highlighted by popular media:

Yes definitely, it is not something you commonly see when you read newspapers [or] when you watch television. But having been involved here, it has become quite obvious (Sam, board member).

Participant views reveal that although some of the leaders described had a limited level of formal education, which was also evident in the researcher’s interaction with them, they possessed locally situated wisdom and knowledge that was valued not only in the creation of the CBTE but

in everyday life in the community. The significance of such situated knowledge was recognisable in the interviews. A participant who is himself a former chairman, but with a high level of formal education, having been a school teacher at the time of founding Mwaluganje, seemed to regard his colleague with no formal education as being more knowledgeable, referring to him as a “pioneer crafter” with regard to the creation of the CBTE:

Mr Bakari will talk with you in Kisawhili, he doesn't speak English and he doesn't even know how to write, but he has many things [knowledge and wisdom], which you will appreciate. He is a key founder of this thing. Ni wazee wale waliotangulia kuja kutengeneza hii kazi [these are the old men who were the pioneer crafters of this work] (Mwakwere, founding member).

Given that tourism was being introduced as a new area of community engagement and involvement, such local experts can be viewed as having had an ability to incorporate new knowledge into their existing local knowledge. They were able to learn from how CBTEs being were being run by other communities such as Il Ngwesi. Such knowledge sharing, the transfer of knowledge between local communities, has been reported as an emergent trend in CBT (Okech, 2011). In practice theory, such people are considered experts in the application of practical wisdom or phronesis in their environments (Flyvbjerg, 2001)

Thus, while community elites driven by their individualised interests may be a common feature in CBT (Manyara & Jones, 2007; Manyara et al., 2006; Tosun, 2000b), the interview data for this case instead show leaders who provide leadership in uncertainty, and work toward a common community good. Such findings are similar to those of another study (Moswete, Thapa, & Lacey, 2009). In contrast to community elites as they are commonly conceived of, such leaders are described in the interview data as helping communities not only in organising and coping with situations (Johannisson & Olaison, 2007), but also as catalysts for achieving lasting community development. A founder described the act of convincing and involving other community members to an agreed course of action using words such as “engaging”, “negotiation”, and “understanding”. Such terms can be associated with the “tools” applied as a nexus of internal composition of practices (Warde, 2005). Creating Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary involved a major decision on the part of the people about vacating their land. Founding members played a big role in engaging the community and convincing members to make this move:

I was ahead of my peers in engaging the ordinary citizens. I said, this part has become unproductive, we are not able to farm, we'd better cooperate with the government, with

KWS to fence so that even if one cultivates an acre, he harvests. So we continued this sort of negotiation until we all agreed and left that part of the forest for the wildlife, others left, there were inside over ten villages, but through persuasion and good understanding among ourselves they moved out, we agreed amongst ourselves (Kidombo, founding member).

While this may well be an area for further research, it was observable that these leaders provide ongoing moral support for the initiative and are likely to inspire others despite ongoing challenges. The researcher was able to observe the contribution of such leadership, particularly during the AGM he attended. Community needs and common issues appeared to be more important reasons than personal gain for involvement in the CBTE project:

What made me to be involved then and up to this moment is the problem between animals and the wananchi [citizens], we sat down, not because we wanted positions or privilege, because the animals had been giving us problems and we were told if we got a fence it would reduce the losses of the cashew nut farmer, maize farmer, even mango trees are often destroyed, everything is eaten by the wildlife (Rai, founding member).

Albeit in a speculative manner, a link can be drawn between the involvement of these leaders, who are now retired, and the survival of the initiative. A participant who was a former manager related how this group of founders, concerned with slow progress in the development of Mwaluganje CBTE, had approached him and requested his return to address certain observed challenges:

I do follow the events in Mwaluganje very closely. I know because the wazee [old men] came to me and said their earnings have gone down and they don't know what to do. My consolation is that, so far, the sanctuary has weathered all the storms. It is still surviving; it has not closed down like a few other sanctuaries, which started around the same time (Kamau, manager).

However, not all agree that such knowledge, residing in the more senior citizens or elders, was useful. Some think that such leaders were responsible for Mwaluganje's apparent slow progress. A teacher and former chairman of the board presented these elder founders as being contributors to challenges facing Mwaluganje, and as a part of a hegemonic power structure introduced by one of the partners who was also identified as a friend by other interview participants. The late Ted Goss was the founding chairman of Eden Wildlife Trust, which partnered with the community in the early stages of the creation of Mwaluganje.

As I said, the problem was there between the old men picked by Ted Goss. There was a system where young guys were saying that what he was doing was unfair. So there was pulling here and there (Nyae, founding member).

Nyae's view represents a divergent generational thinking, characterised by tensions between the new and old, an intergenerational conflict. This tension between a younger generation and the older generation was also observable in the cases of Il Ngwesi and Lumo, where one generation blames the other for present challenges. Such tensions have the potential to affect CBTE outcomes and long-term sustainability, but also reflect the CBTE as an arena of constant flux between change and stability. The implications of such tensions for the future of locally controlled CBTEs is an area for further research.

Nyae's criticisms notwithstanding, the founders sacrificed their own time, money, and effort in the creation of the CBTE. Based on the findings, they had a genuine interest in others' wellbeing at the core of their community leadership. They had little codified knowledge, but gained community trust and confidence, as evidenced by the fact that the community had allowed the founders to lead them and negotiate with outside partners. They applied their local wisdom and knowledge as part of the CBTE creation process. This finding leads to the question regarding the additional role of the founder manager. This is to be examined in the following section.

7.3.4 Founder manager

As with the case of Lumo, the interviews in Mwaluganje revealed a crucial role played by the founder manager, Kamau, in the formative years of Mwaluganje. Kamau formally joined the CBTE around 1995. This manager had previously served as a KWS warden for the area for seventeen years. When the work of establishing of Mwaluganje began in 1992, this future manager, who was then a warden in Kwale County in which Mwaluganje is located, represented KWS as a partner. He subsequently changed roles after retiring from KWS and joined Mwaluganje as a manager. His influence and role may be compared with that of Craig at Il Ngwesi (Chapter 5) and that of John Kiio at Lumo (Chapter, 6). The importance of lived experience in dwelling in the area and among the community was an important factor in building bridges with the community and therefore in the establishment of the CBTE. The researcher asked Kamau whether KWS then was using its power position to influence the creation of the CBTE as a conservation effort. Kamau answered in the negative. He acknowledged the contribution of the community and stressed the importance of his relationship with the community, established over a long period of time, in contributing to the CBTE creation process:

The locals are not just driven by KWS. They have their input. And I found it very useful. It made my work very easy. Remember I was the warden of Kwale and Shimba Hills for close to seventeen years. For you to survive that long, you must have had a good work relationship with those people. You only have such a relationship if you involve them (Kamau, founder manager).

According to secondary material, in 1994, Kamau, who was Kwale District Warden at the time, put forward a proposal to form the Golini-Mwaluganje Community Conservation Ltd (Cocheba & Ndriangu, 1998; Mburu & Birner, 2007). Community members made reference to his contribution to Mwaluganje in his time as the manager. This information was corroborated through a personal interview with Kamau. He still has an interest in Mwaluganje, despite declining approaches from the elders for his return to a managerial role.

The community members who participated in the interviews acknowledged Kamau's contribution in negotiating with partners and his commitment to the entire process, along with his exceptional work as a manager, which was evidenced by the record earnings in the period of 1997–2000, with peak earnings of Kshs 1500 (over US \$16) per share. However, in a turn of events around 2000–2001, members of the community decided to terminate his services as the manager:

Mr. Kamau is the one who negotiated with all these people [at] Eden Rock [and] KWS because he was a former warden here, senior warden. Things were running smoothly, but because of the community, they came one day and said they didn't want this manager and this manager must go (Rai, founding member).

Asked why the community did not now want Mr. Kamau as manager, despite his earlier contribution and performance, Rai explained that the board decided it was time to have a local person from the native Digo or Duruma ethnic communities. According to this participant, there was the thought that having Kamau any longer would make it difficult to replace him with one of their own. A clarification was sought and it was found that there had been internal power struggles, and that based on the evidence from other participants, Kamau's overall contribution, both positive and negative, seems to have brought net value to the project. Accordingly, there have been recent advances made to have Kamau back as manager (see sub-section 7.3.2) but, as expressed in interviews with both himself and the concerned founder members, he is reluctant to return to the role. It is also notable that, according to the participants, the next manager, despite being a member of the local ethnic community did not last long due to governance issues. It was also revealed in the interviews that Mr. Kamau's exit was caused by internal power struggles and

his non-local ethnic background, but also facilitated by the fact that, according to a founding board member:

“he was very good at dealing with people but at the same time [he can] be very bad. He can wind them up. He is very straight” (Sam, board member).

Hence it can be seen that a strong ethnic identity can also have an exclusion effect, which might be detrimental to a CBTE. However, given Sam’s words about Kamau and his exit from Mwaluganje, the situation discussed above could also be reflective of the powerful influence of interpersonal relationships.

7.3.5 Actors from partner organisations

All interview participants pointed to the friend role played by two wazungu (white men) both of whom were shareholders in Mwaluganje. One is Sam, a locally based pilot who runs private business, the other is the late Mr. Ted Goss, the founding chairman of Eden Wildlife Trust, which funded the first four-kilometre fence, before the COBRA project funding was introduced. Sam has been on the board since the founding of Golini-Mwaluganje, and has been consistently re-elected. The researcher was able to observe the trust relationship between this “friend” and community members. In the interview, Sam indicated that having been in Mwaluganje from the start, he represents continuity. Sam spelled out the relevance of this continuity by saying that relationships and experience are built over a long period of time. He made reference to the AGM the researcher attended, which was addressed by a new government forest officer. In Sam’s view, the officer needed a fair amount of time to acclimatise to the situation and be able to achieve what she said she would:

And you see, having been a director right from the beginning, I’m representing continuity. And that is so important, because so often, like at that AGM in January [was actually on 2 February] time we had a new forest officer. She has been going around to find what’s going on. She stood up [and] made a speech, “we are going to get this done, we can do this...” and yeah we have heard all this before. I mean it is great to hear and I really hope she can achieve what she said she will (Sam, board member).

Based on the findings in the cases of Il Ngwesi and Lumo as well, it could be argued that such continuity and stability are important for sustainability of the CBTE, in keeping with the community aspirations in the founding stages. However, such continuity may also represent a resistance to change. Nevertheless, as no data were collected to support such an argument, it is an area of for further enquiry. Again, based on the interview and interaction with both

community members and this “friend”, it seems that his present role reflects the wishes of community members. Based on the interview data, the relationship the Mwaluganje community has with Sam as a friend in its present form is an asset to the community. Such a relationship and presence is not theoretically contestable from a community development perspective, since it is a choice by the community and so maintains community power in deciding whether to change or not to change the status quo (Bhattacharyya, 2004). In similar fashion, the Il Ngwesi community wanted to make Craig an elder in the Maasai community.

A participant referred to Ted Goss as “colonial”. According to this participant:

Ted Goss, the way I have rated him, although he was very good and fighting hard, he had a bit of a colonial mentality. He used just to favour some old men (Nyae, founding member).

The views held here about this friend figure are negative and strong, but this could not be verified, given other participants’ dramatically divergent views about his relationship with the community. It is notable that Nyae raises an issue about the “old men” with whom Ted Goss was working within the community. It should be recalled that members of the “Corridor committee” referred to in Section 7.2 were community elders, whom Nyae refers to as “old men”. Nyae also indicated that he thought the elder founders, as “old men”, were responsible for Mwaluganje’s apparent slow progress. These views were divergent from other views in the community about their relationship with Ted Goss. This divergent view on elders, also discussed above (sub-section 7.3.2) is an area for further investigation to determine if such thoughts represent a significant generational attitude or merely one anomalous viewpoint.

The “friend” relationships between Sam and the Mwaluganje community and as between Craig and the Il Ngwesi community are reflective of a hospitable attitude, peculiar perhaps to Kenya, in which the wazungu are easily accepted, sometimes as fellow Kenyans, and are not necessarily suspected of having external allegiances. Hence, while they do not have the local community’s ethnic identity, they are not treated with suspicion, while Africans of a different tribal heritage might be, as exemplified by the attitude to Kamau, who was a successful leader but unacceptable because of his different ethnic identity. However, in the same communities reference has been made to some wazungu as “wakoloni” (colonialists). Such distinction can be observed here in the reference by one participant to the late Ted Goss as a “mkoloni” (colonialist) despite his good deeds, perhaps reflecting a neo-colonial dynamic. It is beyond the scope of this analysis to determine the exact nature of such enigmatically complex attitudes to people of varying ethnicity. There may be an “irrational” component at play here, whereby personality plays a greater role than ethnic identity or positive contribution in determining the status of those people

who are not of the dominant ethnic identity but involved in community matters. Further research is required to shed brighter light on this apparent paradox.

The role of other organisational actors as partners in the process has already been discussed in Section 7.2. As can be recalled from that section, the community landowners chose CDA to represent them in negotiations with other partners, particularly KWS, in coming to an agreement to set aside their land for the creation of the CBTE. It should also be recalled that KWS provided technical expertise in wildlife management and the construction of related infrastructure for the CBTE. It is notable that it took the involvement of the local CDA, which was trusted by the community, for the community to trust KWS. It is also notable that local people believed the CDA officials because they came from the local community. These findings demonstrate that variation obtains within relationship categories, as can be seen in the case of various partner organisation relationships with the community. A brokerage role was played by the CDA, although such brokerage served community interests. The concept of the “honest broker” was highlighted in an interview with an organisational participant:

In terms of labelling, we label ourselves as an honest broker to facilitate an equitable deal between the partners (Fred, partner organisation representative).

CDA can be seen as an “honest broker” in the relationship between Mwaluganje and KWS. A similar position was occupied by AWF in the Lumo case. Thus, actors from other organisations fitted into the equation of the CBTE creation process as either friend, “honest broker”, or partner. The involvement of key actors was examined in this section. In order to answer the second research question, this section has highlighted the role of the different actors in the creation of Mwaluganje CBTE. The Mwaluganje case has been highlighted as one that had a multiplicity of players, as questions have been asked about how a large number of actors with such diverse interests could agree to create the CBTE (Kiiru, cited in Cocheba & Ndirangu 1998). Based on the findings, the process of creation and development of Mwaluganje CBTE displays a great deal of complexity. In particular, this case reflects the complexity of interplay between trust and power, as observable in the relationships between the community and the late Ted Goss, Sam, and Kamau. In Kamau’s case, a dynamic of interpersonal relationships was also an evident factor. Such complexity is acknowledged as a feature of tourism development in peripheral locations (Dredge, 2006). In this context, Mwaluganje CBTE can be thought of as an innovation. Such innovative organising does not present as a smooth coalition of interests or disinterests, but as a patchwork “socially and culturally constructed” through the struggles and contestations surrounding community interests (Dredge, 2006, 269). For the Mwaluganje case, the local

community members are landowners who also own and manage the sanctuary. The local community landowners have committed their land to the CBTE, largely as a response to the local situation of HWC and poverty, further motivated by a strong sense of community and place identity. This process put the community into firm coalition with KWS, hitherto seen symbolic of a system of domination. As with the other cases, Il Ngwesi and Lumo, the Mwaluganje findings highlight the crucial role played by the founder members. These people sacrificed their own time, money, and effort in creating the enterprise. These leaders, with only limited levels of formal codified knowledge, possessed locally situated wisdom and knowledge that has not only been valuable in the creation of the CBTE but is also exercised in everyday living in the given context.

The founding manager, a former warden who has lived in the locality for over 17 years, contributed to this project by making proposals for solutions to the HWC from the moment of inception, while also working with KWS. Crucially, his changing of roles from initially representing KWS as a partner in the project to becoming a manager of the CBTE demonstrated commitment and lent consistency to the CBTE and community development course, but could also be indicative of negotiations taking place in this space. The former manager's influence and role is comparable to that of Craig at Il Ngwesi, and Samwel Mwakio at Lumo, characterised as fulfilling a "friend" role. Arguably, the former manager's lived experience of dwelling in the area among the community made an important contribution to building bridges with the community. In the case of Mwaluganje, the findings have illuminated a great prominence of the "friend" role. In Mwaluganje, this role was been played by two wazungu (white men) both of whom were shareholders in the project.

The role of other organisational actors as partners in the CBTE creation process has been detailed in Section 7.2, above. As can be recalled from that section, the community landowners chose CDA to represent them in the negotiations with other partners, particularly KWS, in coming to agreement to set aside their land for the creation of the CBTE. Arguably, this multiplicity of actors has been able to achieve some synergy through a collective entrepreneuring process, which has materialised in an existing CBTE.

7.4 Role of historical, environmental, political, and cultural environment

The objective of this section is to examine the role of different situational factors in the establishment of Mwaluganje Wildlife Sanctuary. In the previous chapter it was noted that in the case of Lumo, the creation of the sanctuary was closely tied to the evolution of tourism development in Kenya, particularly with respect to the creation of national parks and reserves as

key tourism attractions in Kenya. In the case of Il Ngwesi, the key issues were droughts, insecurity and the attendant poverty situation. The case of Mwaluganje evolved slightly differently, but similar underpinning forces can be observed to have been at play.

The findings indicate that the greatest influence on the creation of Mwaluganje was the human-wildlife conflict. Because of the human-wildlife conflict people could not harvest their crops. Initially, KWS policy was to try to drive away the wildlife from the human settlements and farms. According to the interviews and document data, the extant system of compensation for loss of life, crops, and livestock had become unsustainable, and by 1989, local people no longer received compensation for the loss of their crops and livestock. Mr Kamau, who was the Game Warden in charge of Kwale District (now Kwale County) within which Mwaluganje is located and who became the first manager of Mwaluganje Wildlife Sanctuary describes the situation prevailing in the early 1990s as very serious and characterised by inadequate government efforts at redress. The HWC within the area now occupied by the Mwaluganje CBTE had become unmanageable. People would plant maize and cassava in the area, but be unable to harvest. There were two hundred elephants in a small area of about 1400 hectares between the Shimba Hills National Reserve the Mwaluganje Forest Reserve. That is where people used to cultivate, but they would end up harvesting nothing because, as phrased by Mwakwere, a founding member, “the elephants did the harvesting”. Kamau, as former warden in charge of wildlife management, explained the situation as it was at that time, and the role of HWC in relation to the creation of Mwaluganje:

Mwaluganje’s story is a long one. It all started in 1994, when I was at KWS Kwale Office. And I was called to help severally [on a number of occasions]. I would send rangers there, but immediately [after] the rangers left the elephants would go back and it became a total nonsense (Kamau, former manager).

In interviews, local community members recalled how they frequented the warden’s office to report about the destruction of their crops by elephants but could not get any assistance. This case reflects a failure of existing tourism system because the elephants were protected and preserved as a tourist attraction. This tourism system had failed to direct funds towards compensating the locals, who bore the greatest cost of maintaining wildlife as a tourist attraction. It must be recalled that a key justification for CBT as a community approach to tourism development is the enhancement of community involvement in tourism, which ensures a more sustainable tourism industry (Murphy, 1985). Creating the CBTE would not only address the HWC problem, but also create an alternative form of tourism development in the area.

From the community's perspective, the human-wildlife conflict and the constant search for solutions was a key motivator for creating the CBTE. "Severe crop raiding continued to the north and east of the Mwaluganje Forest" and "the search for a solution to the human-elephant conflict continued" (Cocheba & Ndriangu, 1998 n p). Thus, while all interview participants acknowledge the human-wildlife conflict has not been completely eliminated, they are in agreement that a great achievement has been made in this regard, which seems to ensure the survival of the CBTE despite the challenges it has faced.

Similar to Il Ngwesi and Lumo, the prevailing poverty is another factor that contributed to the establishment of Mwaluganje:

[The] bottom line is money. The people here are way below the poverty line" (Sam, board member).

Asked whether the creation Mwaluganje was being driven by a conservation motive rather than alleviation of poverty, Sam retorted, "You cannot separate the two". In the Mwaluganje case, the HWC and poverty were inseparable. Conservation and community development are intertwined in the case of Mwaluganje, as they have been shown to be in the other cases under study. As Sam indicated, the aim of creating the CBTE as a community project was to take care of the elephants and raise the living standards of community members.

In summary, and to address the third question, regarding to the role of contextual factors in the creation of Mwaluganje CBTE, several key factors have emerged in this section. A severe human-wildlife conflict and failure of policy in compensating community members for loss of crops and livestock, and the burden imposed on them by existing tourism development necessitated the search for a lasting solution. Through creating the CBTE, it was hoped, the HWC would be addressed and a means created for addressing the prevailing poverty in Mwaluganje.

7.5 Chapter summary

The findings have highlighted key influences on the establishment of Golini-Mwaluganje Community Wildlife Conservation Limited, commonly known as Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary. Numerous factors influenced the creation of Mwaluganje CBTE, the first of which is the HWC. Second is the socio-economic situation, namely the prevailing poverty condition, compounded by the HWC. Third is the change of KWS policy toward including communities in the management of wildlife as a tourism resource. Because of this policy, the COBRA project was started by KWS, and ran from 1992 to 1998 as a nationwide program targeting areas with

high incidence of HWC. Mwaluganje was the project's first beneficiary in 1994. The fourth factor is the multiplicity of institutional actors, attracted by the need to resolve the HWC. The fifth and final factor is the contribution of various individual actors, such as the founding manager, the founders, and the efforts of various friends and partners.

CHAPTER 8: MACKINDER EAGLE-OWL CASE

8.1 Chapter objectives

The Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project is located in Kiawara, in the Gatarakwa sub-district on the main highway between the Central Highlands tourist towns of Nyeri and Nyahururu. This places the sub-district in a rain shadow between mountains, as well as a “tourism shadow” between the popular Northern and Rift Valley tourist regions (Lacey et al., 2014; Mutinda & Mayaka, 2012). This chapter analyses the complex connections and relationships between the different elements that have contributed to the creation and development of the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project as a CBTE. This analysis is aimed at understanding the influences of the creation of CBTEs in peripheral locations, as outlined in the discussion of the key research question. The first section gives an overview of how the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project emerged as a CBTE. In the second section, the relevance of various contextual aspects is discussed, while a discussion of the key actors and their roles is the focus of the last section. The establishment of the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project site as an attraction and tourism business is examined more broadly as a community development organisation known as Mackinder Kiondo Irrigation Water Project.

8.2 The of creation of the Mackinder Eagle-Owl CBTE

The pseudonyms of the interview of the participants are displayed in Table 8.1. In this case only Paul and five community members were available for the interviews.

Table 8.1 Mackinder interview participants

Interview participants	Pseudonym	Gender	Age Bracket	Number
Members	Mumbi	F	30–40	5
	Njenga	M	20–30	
	Jamba	M	30–40	
	Ngina	F	50–60	
	Wanjiru	F	30–40	
Founder	Paul	M	30–40	1
Total				6

The impetus to establish Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project arose in part from the desire of the founder, Paul to conduct a tourism business from an early age. Although Paul’s parents wanted him to take up an engineering career after high school, he had a passion to start a tourism business. Paul revealed in an interview that his cousins were already involved in trading curios in the neighbouring tourist town of Nanyuki. In Paul’s view, it is his interaction with his cousins and their curio business, along with the interest in wildlife he has had since secondary school, that drew his attention to the owls inhabiting his family’s farm. It is possible that the link of the owls to tourism derives from the fact that tourism within the Kenyan environment is largely

wildlife-based, although this was not explicitly stated. Notably, Paul's home is situated on the Nyeri/Nyahururu Road, which is a tourist route.

According to the interview with Paul and documents such as magazine cuttings and academic publications (Ogada, 2007; Ogada & Kibuthu, 2008, 2009) Paul established the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project as a small scale enterprise with the aim of conserving the endangered Mackinder eagle-owl for the purposes of tourism. Through the venture's financial returns and by continuous education (Ogada, 2007) Paul has been able to change community members' attitudes towards this traditionally despised bird:

The [Kikuyu] believe that owls are not good, they are a bad omen. They never want to associate themselves with them. They believe that whenever an owl hoots or calls outside one's homestead, a person in the homestead will die (Paul, founder).

Taking the project's slogan "I am not a bad omen" to heart, local farmers have been able to preserve the owl's habitat by ceasing activities detrimental to its survival, such as unnecessary burning of adjacent bushland.

The opportunity for Paul to start this business came when he had an encounter with visitors looking for the Mackinder eagle-owl in 1997. The interest shown by visitors inspired Paul to start the business by erecting a sign at Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project's present site. Visitors stop at the site and pay Paul to guide them through the small sanctuary. Paul shares the US \$5.00 fee with the local farmers through whose land the owls are accessed.

Because of the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project's tourism initiative, a community water project and a basket weaving business run cooperatively by local women were also started. All the three entities, tourism, water project, and basket weaving business, operate under the umbrella name Mackinder Kiondo Irrigation Water Project. Paul, nicknamed locally the "ndundu man" (owl man), has encouraged community members to come together to start these new initiatives. The first addition to the tourism initiative was the basket weaving business, which is conducted and run by the local women. Consequently, the Kiswahili word for a basket, "kiondo", has been added to the project's name. This was followed by an irrigation project born out of a desperate need for agricultural water in the semi-arid area. As Paul explained during the interview, the idea of a water project arose from discussions about sharing tourism revenue with the locals, given that the tourists access the owl site via various individual farmers' properties. Paul explains this community involvement:

Then we have tourism coming in, we have now the formation of the Mackinder Kiondo Women Group and then [I have] introduced tourism fee. But the problem was how do I share five dollars? I had to seek the opinion of the stakeholders on how to share the \$5. And it was a little bit tricky, how you can distribute five dollars or twenty dollars or even one hundred dollars to as many as forty farmers? (Paul, founder).

In order to resolve the problem of revenue sharing, Paul decided to invite the forty or so community members to a meeting. He discussed the prevailing situation with these members and it was decided that a water project would benefit all:

When we had the meeting they voted overwhelmingly for the water project. The voting was easy. First of all there was no chairman, there was no secretary, we were just members with one agenda: to try and find an answer to sharing this resource (Paul, founder).

Paul elaborates on the process of coming up with the water project as following a locally embedded practice or modus operandi of community members coming together to discuss and address their issues. Paul presented the problem, views were aired, and a common solution to the problem was arrived at. In this way, the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project precipitated a community initiative. Therefore, while the tourism venture was the creation of a single actor, it is a cooperative, community-based business, which has spawned further community-determined projects:

The main success of the project is the [community] coming together to address their own challenges, creating their own way and coming up with solutions in problem-solving, and by the end of the day raising their own money and their time. At the same time, we try to look at more factors, even giving out free land if [it is] sought for, wherever we construct like tanks and stuff, and at the same time [encourage the locals] to bring their ideas. Yeah, it is not only Paul's idea and sometimes I don't mind or don't care about [it] like I'm not a bossy person or a boss. They have a meeting [at] which they decide for themselves, which is not dictated by an individual and then when they sit down and then we walk, they might come for the meeting whether I'm around or not and then they can discuss their own project and their own mind, and their own stuff (Paul, founder).

This finding is similar to results obtained by studies within the organisation context (Orlikowski, 2002) where supporting participation describes a process in which a multiplicity of ideas and voices is used to arrive at deliberations. As stated in the constitution and by-laws of the

Mackinder Kiondo Irrigation and Water Project, Paul holds the position of “coordinator”, which is indicative of an equal power relationship with other community members. Eighty-three per cent of the community’s water money comes from tourism fees, collected in the form of a US \$5.00 entry fee to the sanctuary (DGC). These findings point to the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project CBTE as a site for change and innovation, particularly in relation to community attitudes toward wildlife.

Paul’s self-perception as coordinator or facilitator, rather than a “boss” was supported by the researcher’s field observations. The small community of Kiawara clearly regarded Paul as a peer or friend. Paul’s obvious popularity indicates the positive impact the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project has had on the community:

The interview commences at 15:30 hours in a “restaurant” after a long search for a place for fear of interruption from passers-by. Everybody in Kiawara township seems to know Paul and so stops to say hello. Getting a place away from the public is a little hard, even in this venue there are occasional interruptions as people want to say hello. People in this little town seem to know each other so well. There is an occasional greeting with a question like “how are your birds?” (Field notes).

The admittedly modest basket weaving and water initiatives are linked to the owl conservation and tourism project. Paul explains the relationships between tourism and developments at the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project town of Kiawara:

We have tourists who are coming. With tourists we have seen new things coming. We have a water project, which is underway.

A community member explained the link between the various activities at the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project site:

This is the connection, the owl man is the one who brought us the information about the water (Mumbi, female community member).

However, not all the changes have been positive. As explained by Paul, the CBTE is also an arena of internal power struggles, which have emerged within the community in relation to the water project in particular. Paul laments:

There are those who would want to get into positions to get access to resources, create opportunities [only] for themselves even in order to make money for themselves” (Paul, founder).

As such, CBTEs as arenas for practice of everyday life are also sites for possible contestations and contradictions (Halkier & Jensen, 2011).

This sense of dissonance is further reflected in the comments of one community member, Ngina, who regards the Eagle-Owl Project as Paul's private enterprise. Ngina also suggested that other community members felt that Paul alone was benefitting from the CBTE. While Ngina acknowledged there being some sort of "communal arrangement", in her view it is a voluntary process whereby people have come together, but not necessarily through Paul's involvement. Ngina further pointed out that Paul had only been able to mobilise community members from one side of the Kiawara area, the so-called "upper part", denoting the highlands approximately five kilometres west of Kiawara Village, where Paul comes from but Ngina does not. This points to a potential for exclusion on the part of the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project as a CBTE.

This might be a phenomenon specific to communities less characterised by social cohesion. Kiawara, despite having a predominantly Kikuyu population, is home to many internal immigrants, Ngina included. The entire region between Nyeri and Nyahururu, within which Kiawara is located, has attracted many displaced Kikuyu, some of whom were forced out of Western Kenya following the 2007 post-election ethnic violence. Others have migrated to the town because of economic circumstances and the community is deeply impoverished for the most part. In Kenya, such communities are often characterised by jealousy and cliques. Consequently, the Kikuyu of Kiawara are not necessarily a fully integrated and established community. It is therefore unsurprising to hear an occasional dissenting voice. The division of communities into cliques or sub-groups can lead to issues of perceived inclusion and exclusion (see Moswete, Thapa & Lacey 2009). The question of who is "in" and who is "out" can create or further exacerbate tensions within communities.

This brief overview of the Mackinder Eagle-Owl CBTE demonstrates how an initiative apparently instigated by an individual actor is able to link the actor's aspirations, passion, and commitment to serving the community with a conservation motive. The five interview participants, all ordinary community members, linked Paul to the establishment of Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project as a key actor and founder, and the Mackinder Eagle-Owl CBTE to positive changes within the community.

8.3 Roles of different actors

8.3.1 Community involvement

Mackinder Eagle-Owl began as the initiative of an individual actor. However, with time it became a site for community engagement and collective action. According to Ngina, a community member, Paul “has brought people together”. This participant’s apparent acknowledgement of Paul’s role of uniting people, despite her earlier disparaging comments (see Section 8.2) is notable. Based on observation, the apparent dissonance with in Ngina’s views regarding Paul’s role is interpretable as arising from existing negative feelings, such as jealousy, within the community. Nonetheless, the women’s basket weaving business began in 1998, soon after the start of the tourism initiative in 1997. The community coming together is a common practice within the environment and is not a feature unique to the project. According to Wanjiru, a community member, the CBTE as a community development has only become a part of the web of activities and relationships in the Kiawara area, the way “we live around here”. The Community comes together in such times as the occasion of a death, as well as happy moments such as weddings:

People help each other and celebrate the occasion, that way (Wanjiru, community member).

It could therefore be argued that the CBTE simply been integrated into the practice of living and dwelling in this environment and the sociality of addressing common issues. A participant who is part of the basket-weaving group elaborates how people in the community form or join groups in order to improve their livelihoods:

I join women groups so that I can be able to profit from them. We take what in Kikuyu is called gumbacio [a small loan] for ladies (Wanjiru, community member).

Mumbi, another female community member, echoes this view “we need to organise ourselves to get the money”. While a profit motive is implied in these quotes regarding the initiatives, collective organising to meet collective needs is an important practice when seen within the community and CBTE as an organising context.

In the Kiawara community, it is normal practice to participate in community life together by way of contributing to the common wellbeing. Women are particularly involved in activities that bring them together. In interviews, members explained how members leverage individual efforts and abilities in addressing issues in everyday living. Women have created what is known in local parlance as a “merry-go-round”, a system where they contribute money each month and help

each other to meet their financial needs as a form of self-help microfinance arrangement. This a practice tied to the community way of life:

Our problems and the need to help one another brings us together, there is nobody who is self-sufficient (Wanjiru, community member).

People come together, and a family or individual receives help according to the magnitude or nature of their problem. The Mackinder Eagle-Owl CBTE, through the creation of the women's groups, has become a part of this web of horizontal relationships (Toomey, 2011). This is also observable in Paul's role as a founding member.

8.3.2 Founding member role

Paul's personal interest in wildlife has played a key role in the establishment of the Mackinder Eagle-Owl CBT. In particular, Paul "became interested in the owls inhabiting his family's farm" (Ogada, 2007, 10). This interest "began in secondary school" (Paul). Paul's interest and passion are examples of an individual actor's emotional state and motivational knowledge (Halkier & Jensen, 2011). Paul also mentions knowledge and understanding developed through the relationship and interaction with his cousins, who were involved with tourism through their curio business.

Paul recalls that he made "regular observations of owls, and even witnessed local boys stoning the birds". These early experiences can be seen as learning which took place in Paul's environment, and influenced Paul's attitudes and relationship with the birds. The culturally embedded knowledge of owls as a "bad omen" did not have a normative influence on Paul, instead he associated these "birds of misfortune" with good luck, and cared for them in a way that "nearly severed relationships with other family members". Paul had developed knowledge and understanding about owls that is markedly different from the cultural norm. In this way, the cultural conventions, rather than regulating Paul's actions, led to action that defied the cultural norm, namely preserving the owls and educating his community about them. These background factors materialised into a venture when Paul came into contact with opportunity. A visit by Canadian tourists looking for this rare owl in a hitherto unknown pristine destination in 1997 provided impetus to commercialise the sanctuary:

"I had not intended to start the business. This is the time I got the opportunity to start the business" (Paul, founder).

This initiating opportunity was followed by a visit from the then British High Commissioner to Kenya in 2001:

I received my first visitor after the four Canadians, Sir Jeffrey James, the British High Commissioner to Kenya (Paul, founder).

After visiting the site, the high commissioner influenced more visitors to come to the sanctuary by virtue of his high office. The visit by the high commissioner highlighted the significance of Paul's business and brought about the realisation that he had to improve his signage. Visitors seeking new destinations and attractions have previously been identified as an influence in the creation of CBTEs (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011). The visit also changed the attitudes of Paul's relatives, his parents in particular, toward both Paul's desire to run a tourism business and the "ominous" bird at the heart of this nascent business.

The changed attitude is supported by observations made by another researcher, who interviewed Paul's mother, Nduta:

Nduta was extremely pleased to note that I had spoken at length with her son [Paul] a few days earlier. This was a lighter, happier moment in what had so far been an emotional and cathartic interview for her. The tears had stopped now and her face carried a huge smile. She asked me if I had been to her son's owl sanctuary. She was enormously proud of his achievement and boasted of how a young woman had spent a long time there conducting research for her Ph.D. She told me of how her son had been featured in many newspaper and magazine articles (unpublished field note, Lacey, 2009).

In relation to this, Paul recalls the visit of British High Commissioner as reality-changing:

When the ambassador came to our home, my parents were shocked and knew my fortunes [had turned to reality] (Paul, founder).

In this case, the establishment and development of the CBTE, seen from a practice perspective, was influenced by Paul's individual dreams and intentions, relational elements in the form of community collaboration, and cultural beliefs about the owl. The CBTE represents a "nexus of practices" pertaining to the groups and individuals dwelling in the environment (Halkier & Jensen, 2011, 105). The CBTE is now a part of the everyday practices of community life, intimately tied to community members' ways of doing things together and helping each other. In light of this case study's findings, the CBTE arena can be seen as one of constant flow between change on the one hand, and reproduction or stability on the other.

Paul's interests and the opportunities that presented themselves influenced his role as a founder of the business. However, as illustrated in sections 8.2 and 8.3.1, Paul's role within the CBTE

does not fit neatly into a traditional concept of a business entrepreneur. His community interest has led him into a more complex relationship with the surrounding community, and while he is the inspired founder of the eagle-owl sanctuary, his official role in the broader network of projects that surround the tourism business is that of co-ordinator. His self-perception is also one of an equal partner and ally or friend, in solidarity with the other CBTE members (Toomey, 2011). He was described in a similar light by most of the community members interviewed. In light of this, it is difficult to apply any of the usual labels to his role, which is both nuanced and complex. In devolving decision-making to the community, he has enhanced community agency and power, and facilitated the transformation of his business into a community-owned, community-operated project.

8.3.3 Actors from partner organisations

The partnership at Mackinder Owl Eagle CBTE is relatively unstructured. However, different people and organisations have given a helping hand, as has been observed in the other cases. The visit by the British High Commissioner, Sir Jeffrey James, was extremely significant, as two weeks later it had precipitated the arrival of the first tour van from the British-owned tour company, Abercrombie and Kent. Sir Jeffrey was a powerful individual who was able to use his position for the benefit of the community by partnering with Paul's business. However, this was not an instance of conventional, rational behaviour inspired business partnership in which each partner seeks to maximise personal benefits. There was no apparent benefit to be gained by the High Commissioner in forming a relationship with the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project. Instead, a friendship formed between Paul and the Sir Jeffrey:

“When I went to take a painting of an owl to the ambassador, we talked like brothers. I was not even harassed by security people” (Paul, founder).

In view of this, it is arguable that the partnership was formed because of the goodwill of the High Commissioner, who simply wanted to see the project thrive. Such relationships are likely to continue even if one actor receives no discernible benefit, facilitated and sustained by goodwill and sociability (Widegren, 1983). The former British High Commissioner can be understood as an ally of Paul and the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project CBTE establishment.

Other partners include the Japan International Co-operation Agency (JICA), which provided and funded a month of training in community-based resource management to Paul in 2009:

I went at their [JICA] headquarters and then after that I earned a certificate (Paul, founder).

Paul was recruited to take part in the course in relation to the water project, through an arrangement by a local government official, the District Commissioner of Nyeri North. Paul was also enabled to study ornithology at a local college in Naivasha Town, through joint funding by the Peregrine Fund, East Africa and the Busch Gardens Conservation Fund from the US. An owl researcher also sponsored by these organisations facilitated this opportunity.

These partnerships do not seem to provide the external actors with any direct benefits, and the external partners have not laid down any conditions for their involvement. JICA is an organisation dedicated to supporting socio-economic development in developing countries, and while this is intended to ensure sound development of both the Japanese and the global economies, involvement at Mackinder was philanthropic (JICA, 2014). JICA's role then is not dissimilar to that of the British High Commissioner, other than it was played out at an organisational rather than a personal level. The roles played by the local government official and the area chief were also comparable in some respects to that of the High Commissioner, in that they involved officials for whom there was no obvious benefit apart from the administration of their duties and an interest in promoting local enterprise. There was no evidence of friendships arising from these partnerships. The funding provided by Peregrine and Busch Gardens is also charitable in nature, and these organisations play a role very similar to that of JICA as philanthropic partners. The owl researcher who facilitated the funding can be regarded as a shared-interest partner, whose only gain was in seeing to the conservation of owls.

Paul notes that while his classmates at the college in Naivasha went on to join private businesses, he preferred to come back and carry on his business in the community, citing his passion for owls as the motive: "I don't rear the birds for lack of another job. I love them and I know they can also employ me". His classmates have also become partners by way of directing customers to the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project. These are privately owned businesses, which nonetheless provide a flow of tourists to Mackinder. Consequently, Paul has managed to facilitate a change of attitudes on the part of the local people with regard to the owl, and has earned international recognition, having received an award for his work in the conservation of the Mackinder eagle-owl (IFO, 2008).

8.4 Influence of environmental and cultural factors

The establishment and development of Mackinder Eagle-Owl as a CBTE involved complex relationships and overlaps between local cultural practices, agricultural practices, relationships with the environment, and the socio-economic conditions prevailing at Kiawara. As already highlighted, the tourism business revolves around preserving the Mackinder eagle-owl in its

natural habitat. According to Paul, the bird is endangered partly because of the practice of burning the owl's bushland habitat to make room for subsistence agriculture. Local farmers also use pesticides to poison rodents, which then enter the bird's food chain (see Ogada, 2007). Having been raised in area near the birds' breeding caves and within the Kiawara cultural environment, Paul first began to intervene for the birds as a little boy, whenever he saw other boys trying to stone the birds. Through learning by experience, Paul has developed a knowledge and understanding that the bird is not a bad omen after all:

I often used to hear these owls hoot and I never had a relative die or anything like this (Paul, founder).

Thus, the establishment of the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project is directly linked to practical lived experience, which shaped the relationship between Paul, along with other residents of Kiawara, and the surrounding environment.

While poverty did not drive the creation and establishment of the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project, the project's ongoing development is connected to a desire on the part of Paul and the community to address local needs such as the water shortage, which is intimately related to the poverty of the local population. The Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project site is located in a dry part of Nyeri, one of 47 Kenyan counties. Responding to a question about why Mackinder Eagle-Owl CBTE is linked to the water project, Njenga, a male community member, explained: "one is that the place is dry and we get water from far". Mumbi, another community member, cited the water issue as a possible electoral priority in the area, saying, "The greatest problem here is water, in fact if those vying for votes knew, they would run with it". The need for water as an important factor is reflected in the constitution of the Mackinder Kiondo Irrigation and Water Project:

The area is semi-arid and often receives low rainfall. It however has fertile soils. The community relies on government relief food although there is a lot of wasted rain water due to lack of harvesting capability, techniques and poor soil conservation methods. The community continues to lag behind in food production (Mackinder, 2008, 2)

As noted by a Wanjiru, a community member, "necessity [in the form of poverty and water shortages] is key in joining groups" and joining initiatives such as the Mackinder Eagle-Owl CBTE. Furthermore, it is common practice within the community, especially among the women, to form mutual aid groups to leverage their individual abilities and efforts. Coming together as community to help one another when there is a calamity such as a loss through death is also culturally embedded. Thus, as with the cases of Il Ngwesi and Lumo, the Mackinder Eagle-Owl

CBTE establishment and ongoing development has been shaped by situational factors, both socio-economic and environmental.

8.5 Chapter summary

This chapter sought to determine the influences, contextual elements, and key actors involved in the creation and development of the Mackinder Owl Project. Unlike the other cases examined in this thesis, the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project was established by a single player in the community, in order to satisfy his desire to protect an endangered native bird species stigmatised by cultural beliefs. Paul's desire to protect the birds stemmed from his childhood fascination with the owls inhabiting his family's farm and grew through his realisation that despite their hooting outside the family home, no family member had ever died as a result. An encounter with tourists who were attracted to the area by the possibility of observing the eagle-owl inspired Paul to start a small tourism business by erecting a sign at the spot where the birds are found. While this would appear to be a case of local business entrepreneurship on the part of one inspired and freethinking player creating a business by capitalising on an opportunity, there is a notable absence of any strong, individual profit motive. Consequently, Paul has shared his tourism income with the neighbouring community through the establishment of a local craft cooperative and an aquifer project, as decided by a community meeting. From this point on, the community members became partners in the business. The method of profit sharing was necessitated by the low level of visitation and the modest entry fee, which was difficult to divide between the numerous stakeholders. Outside players also played an important part in the CBTE's development, including the then British High Commissioner to Kenya, the tour company Abercrombie and Kent, and the Japan International Cooperation Agency. None of these outside agents appears to have exercised any control over the CBTE, but all have contributed to its success. Consequently, the CBTE can be said to be a community enterprise, despite having been founded by one individual. Of particular importance is its relationship with the local community through profit sharing to fund community enterprises, as this has made community members partners in the project. In answer to research questions one and two, it would appear that the creation and development of Mackinder Eagle-Owl CBTE has been influenced largely by the individual founder's motivation to conserve owls, as well as childhood dream and self-drive to create a tourism business. However, the Mackinder Eagle-Owl CBTE has also been influenced in its development by local contextual factors, especially poverty and water scarcity, as evidenced in the content of its constitution. A community-focused and co-operative entrepreneuring process is evidenced by the spawning of the women's basket-weaving business and the water project.

The local cultural influence on the process is somewhat anomalous, in the sense that the CBTE was been created in opposition to an existing cultural belief about owls.

In answer to the third research question, the roles of various actors were found to be complex and did not always fit the titles that would traditionally be assigned to actors in enterprises. The internal partners include the founder, whose official role is that of coordinator, and members of the local community with whom benefits are shared and in whom considerable decision-making power resides. External partners have largely played the roles of friends or allies, with little to no power or control over the CBTE. In this way, their role is distinct from the usual business partner role in enterprise development, which is based on rational, profit-driven decision-making. While the project was not initiated to counter poverty, doing so has become its mission, as reflected in the Mackinder Kiondo Irrigation and Water Project's constitution, which covers all three aspects of the project, including the tourism business. Hence, the eagle-owl sanctuary has evolved into a community-run and effectively community-owned tourism enterprise. It has fulfilled its original aim of protecting the owls and changing community attitudes through education. In addition to this, it has taken on a new role of combating poverty. Its success depends on the complex interaction of the many players and circumstances with which it comes into contact.

CHAPTER 9: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

9.1 Chapter objectives

The objective of this chapter is to synthesise and discuss the findings reported in the preceding four chapters, in response to the research problem and research questions outlined in the first chapter of this thesis. This chapter also highlights the key contributions and conclusions of the present research, and suggests directions for further research with reference to these.

9.2 Research problem

CBT is currently pursued in many developing countries and regional areas of the developed world. Despite this growth in practical interest, the CBT literature has lagged behind in a number of areas. The processes that lead to CBT outcomes and how such processes of CBT development might influence or be influenced by the milieu in which CBT takes place are subjects that have received particularly little analytical attention. As discussed in Chapter 2, with few exceptions (Kokkranikal & Morrison, 2011; Zhao et al., 2011) little effort has been made to examine the project initiation and development phases of CBTE creation as social processes. The aim of this research is to facilitate a greater understanding of the complexities of creating and developing CBT initiatives in diverse geographical and cultural contexts in marginal rural settings. This understanding has potential to shed light on the processes through which socio-economic change is realised in peripheral areas. The lessons learned can provide insights to guide the conceptual advancement of CBT as a strategy for addressing globally felt community needs such as poverty alleviation, and equip the model with a sensitivity to local specificity.

9.3 Research question

For the purposes of this thesis, CBT was defined as tourism-led development within an identified community, which uses local resources and strives for equal power relations through ownership and control in a way that achieves community-determined outcomes. Practice theory has been applied as a heuristic device for understanding the realities of social life through examining the emergence of community-based tourism initiatives or enterprises in peripheral and marginal areas. The aims of the practice-based empirical approach are to “explore the embeddedness” of thought, observe “understanding and knowing” as reflected in actions and events, and examine how a given set of practices may bring about social change (Reckwitz, 2002, 258). An entrepreneuring perspective was adopted. In order to understand the creation and development of CBTEs from an entrepreneuring perspective, the researcher sought to answer questions regarding how the initiatives emerge, and the influence of actors and resources involved in the process.

This approach was prompted by the need to broaden the analytical focus of the current outcomes-oriented CBT literature to include the processes through which projects and initiatives emerge or are created. Such a focus promises to unravel the sociality of the processes and the web of influences that encompasses the roles of situations, individuals, and relationships in the CBT arena. In order to address this gap the research sought to answer the following questions:

What influences CBTE creation and development processes?

This question also concerns the underlying sources of human action and decision-making (Chia & Holt, 2006; Sarasvathy & Dew, 2005; Whittington, 2003)

In order to explore this question fully, the following supplementary questions were also posed:

- 1. What are the influences of historical, political, and cultural factors on CBTE creation and development?*
- 2. What are roles of actors and their interconnections on CBTE creation and development process?*

Drawing on knowledge from the field of entrepreneurship, the present research aimed to unearth the process of creation of CBTEs as entrepreneuring, which involves “efforts to bring about new economic, social, institutional, and cultural environments through the actions of an individual or group of individuals” (Rindova et al., 2009, 477). This entrepreneuring perspective examines how the CBTE enterprise creation process takes places, the actors involved, and the resources they use.

9.4 Results

In this section, an overview of the research results is presented to create a broad picture, followed by a detailed discussion of the key elements of the findings.

9.4.1 Results overview

Overall, the results point to a process of entrepreneuring that is community-focused even when the CBTE in question is initiated by an individual actor or a team. This process is closely linked to locality-specific issues of everyday living within the environments occupied by the communities examined. This process was found to be collaborative, assisted by friends, neighbours, and partners in the guise of both individuals and organisations. Although CBTE establishment is a change process, it is also one of reproduction and stability, with these two aspects interacting in a state of continuous flux. In this chapter, the results are discussed against the theoretical backdrop established in Chapter 2.

As discussed in Chapter 2, entrepreneuring is a collaborative process, incorporating several actors in realisation of ventures as human artefacts (Johannisson, 2011) and has emancipatory potential (Rindova et al., 2009). A practice approach was adopted to investigate the CBTE entrepreneuring process. Similar to studies applying a practice-based approach in other fields, this research sought to address the need to understand the praxis of the process of CBTE creation and development in terms of where and how CBTEs emerge, who does the entrepreneuring, and with what resources (Chia & Holt, 2006; Whittington, 2006, 2011).

While every case is unique, the overall results point to an entrepreneuring process propelled by situational demands in the practical lived worlds inhabited by communities in which CBTEs emerge. Although plans and strategies have played a part in establishing the CBTEs under consideration here, apparent practical change processes often took place “non-deliberately”. This non-deliberate, purposive mode of acting is associated with everyday living and dwelling within environments. It is an internalised process, associated with the need to adapt and to improvise for survival. However, this non-deliberate dwelling mode is often assisted by a more deliberate, purposeful process which Heidegger called an “occurrent” or “building mode” (Chia & Holt, 2006). External actors may initiate and even drive the deliberate planned process, but it can only have a community development effect when it is incorporated into a broader non-deliberate and endogenous *modus operandi* (Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2014). Opportunity, friends, and partners come along to help, and in doing so become part of the complex patchwork. The synthesis and discussion of key findings now follows.

9.5 Synthesis and discussion

The results are examined through three key lenses, namely the community focus of the cases, the common influences of the process, and the entrepreneuring features.

9.5.1 A community-focused process

The results point to a community-focused process, which manifested in different ways within each case. The cases therefore represent a form of CBT that is circumstantially adaptable enough to have potential in addressing local community needs. At Il Ngwesi, the process involved members of the community, with the founders acting as leaders and carriers of community wishes and aspirations as well as keepers of local wisdom and knowledge in practical living. These leaders involved community members in decision making through deliberations and discussions that resulted in a community undertaking to establish a CBTE. The process involved application of locally embedded knowing and understanding, but also learning from others

including friends, neighbours and partners. This resulted in the community committing 8000 acres of land to wildlife conservation and tourism. The benefits are shared communally.

Il Ngwesi has become a showcase of community-owned and community-managed CBTE that is both self-supporting and self-sustaining and is able to innovatively meet local needs. On the other end of this ownership and management spectrum is the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project, which was started by a single individual driven by what initially appeared to be purely individualised motives. However, through engagement with the community, the individual has been able to transform the entity into a community project whose benefits are shared among many community members. The tourism business has facilitated new community-based businesses such as a basket weaving co-operative, and funded a community water project. This case demonstrates the possibility of CBTE meeting community development objectives despite having been instigated by an individual.

However, the research also unearthed challenges that are likely to undermine the community development potential of such projects. One of the greatest challenges any CBTE faces is the tension between change and reproduction, or between cultural traditions and modernity, which is inherent in the process of CBTE development. The generational differences observed at both Il Ngwesi and Mwaluganje exemplify these tensions. For example, Nyae, a former senior member of the Mwaluganje board expressed disdain towards decisions made by previous boards chaired by older members of the community. Conversely, a founding member of the Il Ngwesi CBTE expressed fears about a possible lack of accountability on the part of subsequent Il Ngwesi boards consisting of younger community members. In both these cases, while the older people felt that the younger generations taking over leadership represented a shift away from the values that underpinned the creation of the CBTE, the younger community members felt that older members in leadership roles were responsible for the slow progress of the enterprises. In view of this, CBTEs represent an arena for both change and reproduction. The development and operation of CBTEs calls for ongoing interactions and negotiations between different players throughout the process. There is also the possibility that changing circumstances might lead to changing strategies, which in turn call for yet more ongoing negotiations. In a way, change reproduces the need for negotiation.

Another challenge faced by emergent CBTEs takes the form of internal conflicts and politics, which create mistrust among community leadership, as readily observable in the case of Lumo. Two participants recommended mechanisms that ensure continuity with regard to foundational aspirations.

A further key challenge is the relationship between the community and founding capital, especially the question of how long the partners should stay on the project. This too can be observed in the case of Lumo, which currently relies on ongoing structural support from partners. Such ongoing support can translate into dependency, while partners departing prematurely, before adequate community capacity is developed may have unpredictable, potentially deleterious socio-economic consequences (Moswete et al., 2009). These are ongoing challenges, which must be acknowledged and resolved if CBT is to realise its potential as a strategy for community development.

9.5.2 Key Influences on the Creation and Development of CBTEs

As previously discussed in Chapter 2, the key concern of the practice approach to examining change processes is uncovering what drives change (see for example Tsoukas & Chia, 2002). In answer to the general research question, a common theme of the Il Ngwesi, Lumo and Mwaluganje cases is the influence of prevailing socio-economic conditions on CBTE creation and development processes taking place in these localised environments. The actors, as exemplified by the founders, did not relate their actions to any deliberate goals or plans, but rather framed them as responses to the prevailing conditions in their lived environments. For example, the creation of Il Ngwesi CBTE was mainly driven by the prevailing drought and dry conditions, insecurity, and resultant poverty. A further key factor is the effect of historically and culturally embedded conditioning resulting from colonisation and subsequent marginalisation of the Maasai, a process that began in 1904 with the occupation of Maasai land. Loss of Il Ngwesi Maasai land to colonialists caused the community to be cautious in approaching any proposition or project that involves dealings with external actors. The research findings lead the researcher to contend that it is these long-term debilitating effects of colonisation and marginalisation, coupled with poverty, that have driven the creation of the Il Ngwesi CBTE, as a practical coping mechanism in response to prevailing conditions. This purposive response has occurred in tandem with a purposeful process characterised by partnerships and collaboration.

The finding that prevailing socio-economic and physical conditions internalised by actors act as triggers for community actor responses is an interesting one that calls for further discussion. For CBT this finding points to the need for approaches that align CBT outcomes to the process, specifically to the situations in which projects are initiated as. This aligns with the progressive, adaptive view of CBT discussed in Chapter 2. This point also relates to the ways in which CBT is presently evaluated. Standardised measures that do not consider the specificity of local situations may lead to misleading conclusions. There is also a need to revisit how CBT is

approached as a community development strategy, with more analytical attention paid to how projects are initiated. Emphasis on linear planned processes may need to be balanced with a cognisance of purposive local coping mechanisms. In other words, it is not the plans and strategies that will make a project achieve desirable CBT outcomes, but how empathetic these plans are to the situations in which they are being implemented.

There are valuable lessons about partnering with communities to be learned from the cases. For example, external actors and partners may need to take approaches that are more sympathetic to localised developmental situations. Despite their idiosyncrasies, the cases investigated provide useful insights about how partners working with communities might engage more meaningfully with local situations in the CBT project initiation and implementation processes. This way, CBT could serve the community development goal of enhancing community capacity and agency more effectively, as discussed in Chapter 2. Such a view is supported by similar studies carried out in other fields (Chia & MacKay, 2007; Tsoukas & Chia, 2002). This study highlights possibilities of learning by governments and non-governmental organisations from the praxis of CBTE implementation at various sites. This is a process of learning from the bottom up, one that can also inform the way in which government policies are formulated and implemented at both national and regional levels, perhaps representing a case of structuration (Giddens, 1984).

This research, therefore, also contributes towards addressing the question asked time and again about CBT and other tourism-led development and poverty alleviation approaches:

“Development for whom?” (Goodwin, 2009; Schellhorn, 2010). On the surface, this is a simple question, but it is fundamental to the evaluation of CBT as a developmental and poverty alleviation strategy. This question also calls for reflexivity on the part of CBT analysts with regard to their world-views and assumptions. The question of what exactly is being analysed and by whom is a fundamental and philosophical one (Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007). In this regard, the practice theoretical approach used in the present study has a potential that is yet to be exploited in CBT studies.

In the case of Il Ngwesi, the creation and development of the CBTE has involved the application of local knowledge and wisdom, with the local founding members acting as phronetic agents. These members were able to use a combination of local knowledge drawn from their community and tourism business knowledge drawn from their friend and neighbour Craig, together with practical experiential knowledge and wisdom gained from the likes of Senior Chief Ole Ntuntu and Ole Kaparo, a lawyer and later Speaker of Kenya’s National Assembly. The friend relationship with Craig is particularly complex. One would have expected this relationship to be

characterised by unequal power, given Craig's standing as a known businessman and a white man standing in the long shadow of colonialism. Yet the interview data saw Craig emerge as a neighbour and friend trusted by the Il Ngwesi community, positioned in an equal, horizontal relationship. Il Ngwesi represents an example of a CBTE where trust relations may have more significance than power relations. These findings support a view that power relations need to be considered alongside the role of trust in CBT (Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2015). In light of this, there is need to revise dominant views of power in CBT. While the neo-colonial dynamic was present in the Il Ngwesi case in the form of exploitative wazungu (white men), Craig acted in sharp contrast to this dynamic, as a trusted friend empowering the community to resist exploitation and enhancing their endogenous agentic capability by encouraging them to create an enterprise of their own. Relationships of power and trust, as well as their sources and interplay in the CBT arena, represent an area in need of further investigation. For example, it would be interesting to establish the sources of power and influence within friendship relationships like the one described above.

The relationship between the Il Ngwesi community and fellow Maasai in the South were mutual and based on trust and respect, embedded in Maasai culture where an elder of Chief Ole Ntuntu's status is expected to provide brotherly, honest advice. These relationships and the learning derived from them encouraged the community to adopt the new practice of "milking the rhino along with milking the cow" in this predominantly pastoral economy. This represented a substantial shift in socio-economic orientation for the Il Ngwesi Maasai. The relationship with Ole Ntuntu, a Maasai elder, is culturally based and represents a reproduction. In answer to question one, such reproduction is a cultural influence on the CBTE establishment process.

As previously highlighted, Il Ngwesi faces challenges in the form of changing relationships, especially between the younger, more educated generation who see the traditional and customary practices as an impediment to progress and the older generation, who have brought about transformation but lament the perceived loss of cultural values. Nonetheless, the Il Ngwesi case represents an entrepreneuring process that is both innovative and emancipatory, involving a complex multiplicity of actors with diverse and sometimes overlapping roles. Furthermore, the sources of power and influence within the community itself and the interplay of power and trust have emerged as a cornerstone of the CBTE creation process, signalling a need for further investigation.

Similar to the Il Ngwesi case, the socio-economic context of the Lumo environment drove the creation and development of Lumo CBTE. Key among these socio-economic factors is the

tension between the community and wildlife, and between the community and the government agency KWS. An uneasy power relationship with KWS, which acts as the custodian of wildlife, has been an impetus to search for pragmatic solutions since the 1970s. An apparent community awareness of the Lumo area's natural resource endowment further predisposed the community towards CBTE creation. Lastly, drought conditions and high levels of poverty were yet another impetus to put the local wildlife resource to commercial use. As with the case of Il Ngwesi, the historical and political context were significant influences on the character of the process. The creation of national parks, particularly that of Tsavo East and West in 1948, saw the loss of land rights by the Taita indigenous people to the colonial government. Furthermore, the creation of these parks restricted local community use of ancestral land for grazing and carrying out simple activities associated with everyday living, such as collecting firewood. For Lumo, the key influences on the CBTE creation process were practical realities, linked to community identity and survival, such as the destructive and often deadly human-wildlife conflict and prevailing poverty.

The Lumo case represents a patchwork of individual and organisational actors interacting with each other and with the historical, political, and cultural circumstances in the Lumo environment. The founding members of Lumo were respected and trusted community members, who contributed to the creation of the CBTE by using their personal resources, relationships, skills, abilities and networks. However, shifting relationships that created internal politics and rivalries between the founders and those allied to them and the subsequent leadership of the Lumo governing board have also been observed. These findings point to the influence of local politics, and the creation of elites, as components of CBTE practice that warrant further research.

The role played by individual philanthropic actors representing partner organisations also proved to be important in this case. In the Lumo case, this role was played by Sio and Kiio. While such community development practitioners carry out the plans of partner organisations, it is crucial that they are empathetic to the needs and situations of the community. Such actors operate in a negotiated space between local community needs and the plans and interests of their organisations (Datta, 2007). Further research is required in this area.

A further notable dynamic observable in the Lumo case is the ongoing engagement of an organisational actor in the role of an "honest broker" (see Elliott & Sumba, 2013). Fred, an organisational participant familiar with the affairs of Lumo, consciously positioned himself in this role. While the ongoing support by a development partner could be interpreted as a form of dependency, this begs the question regarding how long development partners should remain in

community development projects. This subject may need further research and analysis. The premature departure of a development partner is likely to leave the CBTE in the hands of an ill-prepared community. This can pose an impediment to sustainable community development and the growth of community agency (Moswete et al., 2009). Partnerships with communities at early stages of enterprise development in CBT have emerged as necessary from the present research. Arguably, what matters most is the nature of such relationships. In the case of Il Ngwesi, Craig maintained his involvement as a friend from the project's establishment in 1996 until 2004. This actor's involvement seems to have enhanced community capacity and agency to the extent that the CBTE has remained sustainable since his participation ceased in 2004. The findings contribute to knowledge of a CBT that is able to foster community development by enhancing community involvement and local control.

A number of factors influenced the establishment of Golini-Mwaluganje Community Wildlife as a CBTE. Key among these was the perpetual HWC in the Mwaluganje-Golini environment. The second key influence was the poverty situation, arguably compounded by the HWC. Third was the policy change on the part of KWS toward involving communities in the management of wildlife for tourism. The Mwaluganje case illustrates how a complexity of actors with diverse interests successfully collaborated to form one entity to act towards under a broader common goal. This patchwork included both organisational and individual actors, with particularly prominent roles played by the founding members and the founding manager.

As a side observation, it would appear that ethno-geographic definitions of community are not wholly adequate for exploring the topic of CBTE development, as some important community-affiliated players in the cases examined here are ethnically diverse. This point is supported by the work of Moswete et al. (2009), who found that CBTE development involved complex, and somewhat contested, relationships between multiple ethnicities in Botswana. Despite its composition of dual ethnicities, the Mwaluganje community exhibits a cooperative relationship between the two constituent groups, albeit not one entirely devoid of jealousy or conflict. The actors who played significant roles in the development of Mwaluganje and collaborated successfully despite being of different ethnic identities are illustrative of this point.

The Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project differs from the other cases in that the initial impetus for its creation was not to address poverty. However, alleviation of poverty in the Gatarakwa environment soon became a key part of the project's mission, as reflected in the Mackinder Kiondo Irrigation constitution, which covers all three aspects of the project, including the community water project and the basket weaving co-operative as well as the tourism business.

Over its course, the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project has transformed from an individually owned and managed tourism project into one that is run and managed by the community. It addresses local needs while at the same time meeting the initiators' original aim of protecting the owls. The local culture, multiple actors, and other underpinning influences form a weave of complexity, as has been observed in other studies (Dredge, 2006). It is notable that the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Project was not created for the financial benefit or empowerment of its creator, but was motivated by the initiator's desire to preserve a specific wildlife species. In light of this, the project's creator could be described as "other-focused". This aspect may well have been a key factor in the project's transformation into a community development enterprise.

This research reflects the ways in which the application of practice theory as a heuristic device facilitates a nuanced examination of different forms of entrepreneuring in diverse local contexts (Johannisson & Olaison, 2007). In answer to both the general and first supplementary research questions, the entrepreneuring process of CBTE creation and development emerges as practical coping driven by a combination of locally prevailing socio-economic conditions. The process is purposefully enhanced through partnerships and collaboration. In answer to the second supplementary research question, the process is realised through the interaction of various actor roles (see Toomey, 2011). The trusted friend role in particular makes an important contribution to the process. Complexity, rather than simple linear evaluations emerges as a descriptor of CBT in diverse locations (Dredge, 2006). These cases also demonstrate a plurality of different ways of community involvement in CBT (Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2014), which suggests that the present research is an appropriate response to the possibilities of expanding the application of practice theoretical models and methodologies further afield (Whittington, 2011).

With regard to the practice of CBT as a community development approach, this research has highlighted innovative ways and mechanisms through which communities can partner and collaborate with other actors to meet locally defined community development needs (Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2013; Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007). What emerges from the cases under study is a community-focused rather than individual-focused process, which involves community interaction and consultation even when driven by a single actor.

9.5.3 Entrepeneuring in CBT

This exploratory research contributes answers to the research question in frequently posed in studies of entrepreneurship, as to what spaces and voices are included in the discourse and which ones are left out (Steyaert, 2007). This research also expands the understanding of entrepreneuring as collective process, rather than a purely individualised one driven by a heroic,

opportunity-seeking individual. This research has demonstrated an ongoing entrepreneuring process in the field of CBT. This process is strongly driven by local issues and is related to identity and survival in the community actors' environment. External actors can occupy multiple and sometimes overlapping roles drawn from community development practice, ranging from catalyst to advocate (Toomey, 2011). These roles, which Toomey (2011) terms "non-traditional" community development roles, engender alternative power relationships rather than dominant ones. The roles of given actors within a CBT project may change over time, as demonstrated within the Mwaluganje case. The findings of this research are therefore especially significant in enhancing the potential of CBT as a strategy for community development and poverty alleviation, especially in developing nations.

The creation and development of CBTEs can be understood with reference to mundane, practical coping in the lived world of community members. Such coping is associated with local practical wisdom, knowledge, and understanding. It is such knowledge and understanding of the actors' world that has helped the communities studied in these cases to create and develop local ventures through a process of entrepreneuring. While purposeful plans and visions make sense in the building mode, they are not sufficient in themselves for local community-based development. Plans and strategies are only a part of the puzzle, and not necessarily the most important one. Arguably, the creation and development is realised not so much through the efficacy of the plans, as through actions that relate to addressing local situations.

In Chapter 2, entrepreneuring was defined as a collective and emancipatory agentic process that involves analogising and bricolage in coping with and addressing the issues of everyday life. In this conceptualisation, the local community is approached as a relational space. This research has been able to demonstrate varying facets of entrepreneuring across the four cases.

Il Ngwesi has emerged as an innovative local partnership, in which community organising has been able to arrive at a solution to the local issues of poverty and security (Timmer & Juma, 2005). Further research is required on the nature of this innovation and its ongoing sustainability. Il Ngwesi is an illustrative exemplar CBTE, not only in terms of the analogising which took place during its development, but also in terms of improvising or bricolage necessitated by its founders' limited formal coded knowledge and scarcity of financial and other resources, a situation that characterises the Il Ngwesi environment (see Garud & Karnøe, 2003). Il Ngwesi CBTE and its emergence process are empowering, given the historical background of colonisation, loss of land rights and marginalisation of members of the Il Ngwesi Maasai community. Such a process encompasses both reproduction and change, and interaction between

different actors as co-creators (Sarasvathy & Venkataraman, 2011). This process is closely linked to local situations and contingencies, such as the cyclical drought conditions in Il Ngwesi. While addressing such situations requires the help of others, such as neighbours and friends, the observed process is nevertheless agency-enhancing. In particular, the elders and statesmen personify expertise and wisdom in practical living in the local environment.

The Lumo case demonstrates similarity with Il Ngwesi in its collective nature, involvement of local founders, and learning from other communities as a form of analogising. In contrast, some founder members of Lumo, such as the former Chairman Mghendi, a man with good formal education, would be considered community elites (Botes & van Rensburg, 2000). Yet their actions did not conform to those traditionally ascribed to elites, as they served the community rather than their own interests. The Lumo case is one of co-creation, involving the complex collaboration of multiple actors (Sarasvathy & Venkataraman, 2011). These actors used their individual efforts, resources, and networks, yet the process was community focused. Lumo in its present form differs in terms of its management, being reliant on partners such as KWS in a way that Il Ngwesi is not. In addition, the lodge has been leased to a private investor, meaning loss of control of certain aspects of the business, unlike the wholly community-managed case of Il Ngwesi.

Based on the results, the creation and development of CBTEs is underpinned by a purposive entrepreneuring process associated with coping and surviving within actors' and communities' lived environments. This process combines individual actor involvement, practical situations within the actors' environments, and the relationships within the community as well as those with outsiders. The research has revealed similarities forming a common thread between cases, although each case also represents a unique combination of factors. Il Ngwesi shares similar socio-economic circumstances with the other case locations, although the unique friendship relationship with Ian Craig has played a significant role in influencing the creation and development of the CBTE to a greater extent than similar relationships noted in the other cases. However, there are overlaps of influence between the relationship and qualities possessed by Craig as an individual. In the case of Mackinder, while relationships have been important in the ongoing development of the CBTE, it is the individual interests and qualities of the founder, Paul, that were key in establishing the enterprise. Nevertheless, the ongoing progression of community initiatives at Mackinder has depended on this individual's ability and willingness to build relationships with people from within and outside the community.

The entrepreneuring process involves coping with the environment and local circumstances in which the actors are immersed in a Heideggerian fashion. However, it also means change and seizing opportune moments in changing circumstances, as illustrated by community responses to changes in their environments at Il Ngwesi, and the change in government policies regarding tourism and wildlife management in 1992 (see Chia & Holt, 2006, Johannisson, 2011). As was seen in the Il Ngwesi case, purposefulness and a search for new solutions are crucial in times of failure, such as the drought and loss of hunting and gathering grounds that faced the Lumo community. Arguably, it is such failure or breakdown of equipmentality, rather than success that sets in motion goal-oriented, purposeful activities, calling to mind the proverb “necessity is the mother of invention”. In the case of Il Ngwesi, the drought of 1984 represents a moment when intentionality and purposefulness is demanded. In such moments, actors re-examine their circumstances, as did the Il Ngwesi elders and founders, prompted by advice from their friend Craig. As previously noted, the founders then sat back and reflected, or deliberated purposefully, on the suggestion of starting a tourism business. Furthermore, as has been illustrated by the Il Ngwesi case, friends, neighbours, or partners may encourage and help actors to realise and seize the opportunity represented by such moments. However, they can only do so in a relevant and effectual way when they operate as part of the actors’ world, identify with it, or approach it with an empathetic and nuanced understanding.

Much of the entrepreneuring process takes place as actions emanating from the practical necessities of living and self-preservation, which create unexpected opportunities. This research has further confirmed that entrepreneuring, like strategising and other processes, is inherent in “coping actions” that proceed from “internalised predispositions” which orient actors toward a particular way of engaging with their lived environments (Chia & Holt, 2006). As Von Mises (1949) has argued, “most everyday action takes place within the immediacy of ambiguous concerns confronting us” (Von Mises, 1949, cited in Chia & Holt, 2006, p 648). This immediacy and ambiguity might explain the observation that actions are not entirely the product of rational choice, being perhaps more influenced by what Sarasvathy (2001) terms “foolishness” or emotional responses.

As seen in all four cases examined here, entrepreneuring is not the work of a heroic individual’s creativity. Rather, it is a co-creation process engaged in by a diversity of players pursuing different interests. It is a tapestry of actors, some of whom may not be conscious participants (Sarasvathy & Venkataraman, 2011). The notion of entrepreneuring de-centres the heroic entrepreneur, spreading the net of entrepreneurial concepts further afield to include social

movements (Weber, Heinze, & DeSoucey, 2008). In the four CBTE developments examined in this study, entrepreneuring was seen as a bottom-up approach to dealing with issues faced by disempowered and impoverished communities. Entrepreneuring then emerges as a means for emancipation (Rindova et al., 2009) and a route to enhancing community identity and sustainability (Sarasvathy & Dew, 2005). The study suggests that entrepreneuring can be useful for community development and community-based tourism in particular. Sarasvathy & Venkataraman (2011, p 112) asked, “What if we have been thinking about entrepreneurship the wrong way?” Indeed, the traditional approach has been to view entrepreneurship as a means of wealth creation pursued by inspired individuals. As such, it has been viewed largely as a trickle-down approach to poverty alleviation, possessed of little concern for social impacts. Entrepreneuring, as defined in this thesis, is a bottom-up approach in which control and benefits, both social and economic, accrue predominantly to the most needy because the process is a response by the needy to issues identified by the needy. Entrepreneuring concepts can be extended in the CBT field through the examination of how CBTEs emerge in diverse settings, thus creating a symbiotic interdisciplinary relationship between CBT research and entrepreneurship as entrepreneuring.

9.5.4 Other findings

The findings of this research have implications for post-colonial perspectives, particularly in relation to the classification of outsiders such as Craig, the friend of the Il Ngwesi Community. Post-colonial perspectives are relevant to the present research with regard to the historical aspects of CBTE creation contexts, especially in relation to communities, land, ethnicity, and the effects of economic marginalisation faced by particular ethnic groups (Akama, 1999a). Craig, as a white private businessman may fit contemporary post-colonial descriptions of a powerful and dominant individual and neo-colonialist (see, Geheb & Mapedza, 2008; Hall & Tucker, 2004; Manyara & Jones, 2007). This indiscriminate personification of outsiders as colonialists predisposes people to reject advice or assistance from outsiders or those prejudicially perceived to be neo-colonialists. Such a post-colonial mindset with regard to outsiders within a given community, as among planners and other professionals, has the potential to create a state of inertia. This pre-occupation may shield the locals from all change, through fostering the belief that nothing can be achieved because the people are irreversibly historically hamstrung. Post-colonialism might be regarded as somewhat backward looking, whereas development requires a focus on the future, without necessitating a total disregard of historical factors. Moreover, a pre-occupation with power relationships on the part of researchers, as observable in some analyses of

Il Ngwesi case (see for example Geheb & Mapedza, 2008; Manyara & Jones, 2007) risks masking trust relationships that might develop between community insiders and outsiders. There is a need to rethink the role of power within tourism literature generally, and CBT analyses in particular (Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2015). Further research is called for, in order to lay a foundation for a more nuanced post-colonial analysis that takes into account the experiential accounts of affected communities. The extent to which the post-colonial perspective is relevant is likely to vary from case to case and, as the Il Ngwesi case demonstrates, the universality of post-colonial analysis is questionable when applied at certain sites.

The friend phenomenon also figured in the other cases. In Lumo, the philanthropic development practitioner Kiio acted as a friend of the Lumo community. Kiio, despite being a community outsider working for an NGO, acted in the community's interest in finding an investor to lease the CBTE-owned Lion's Bluff Lodge. Kiio was able to reconcile his occupying the role of a practitioner representing the interests of his organisation with being a friend sympathetic to the needs of Lumo. As with the case of Il Ngwesi, where the community wanted to make Craig a Maasai elder, Lumo community had wanted to make Kiio a member of the Lumo board before he resigned from his job at the NGO. Another interview participant, Sam, is a friend in the Mwaluganje community, though he does not believe himself to be, and has been re-elected many times as a member of the Mwaluganje board. The former British High Commissioner, Jeffrey James, briefly acted in the friend role in relation to the Mackinder Eagle Owl Project and its associated community.

This friend role has not been explored in the extant CBTE creation and development literature. While the role of ally has been identified within community development practice (Datta, 2007; Toomey, 2011) such description and conceptual context does not fit the role of friend as it manifests in the Il Ngwesi case. In the Il Ngwesi context, the friend is definable as a knowledgeable ethnic or geographical outsider to the community who is perceived by the community as acting in the community's best interests. The friend brings ideas or expertise that are regarded as valuable, and displays a likable personality that endears him or her to the community. The friend is not seen as neo-colonial, an enforcer of plans, or a coercer. The friend might also evolve into a full community member, as exemplified by Craig being invited to become a Maasai elder. This differs from the concept of a partner, who is valued for purely rational reasons as a person with something to offer. The friend, while also valued on a rational level, must also be valued at an emotional level. The identification of such a role by this study might be unsurprising to those who are familiar with rural Kenyan communities. However, the

extent to which this phenomenon might emerge in CBTE developments in other settings remains to be seen, and requires additional research in varied settings.

9.6 Contributions

In the context of the tourism and development nexus, this research can be described as a hybrid study, which by its nature has potential to provide greater understanding than research contained strictly within a specific framework. As such, the study also makes a significant contribution to the field of CBTE analysis and development thought. The research also contributes to practice theoretical thought by responding to the invitation to extend applications of the approach further afield (Whittington, 2011).

By applying the practice theoretical approach in tandem with an entrepreneuring process perspective to the CBTE creation and development process, this research draws attention to new issues away from the dominant discourse of power and participation. It achieves this by illuminating little-acknowledged complexities and new areas of interest, such as partnerships and collaboration, without being hampered by unnecessary ties to predetermined vocabularies in examining actions, activities, and their patterns (see Johannisson, 2011). The research has demonstrated how through an entrepreneuring process, CBT is able to enhance community agency and enable communities to overcome historically and culturally embedded structural limitations to socio-economic change. Furthermore, as previously discussed in Chapter 2, entrepreneuring draws on concepts such as practical wisdom, learning through analogising, and improvising, which are easily assimilated into mundane aspects of everyday living. Such thinking about entrepreneurship removes the distinction between the heroic entrepreneurial superman and the *mama mboga* (female roadside vegetable seller in Kenya). Furthermore, as previously discussed in Chapter 2 and further explicated in the relevant entrepreneurship literature (see Johannisson, 2011; Steyaert, 2007) the notion of entrepreneuring shows great promise to include new spaces in entrepreneurship.

In this research, the CBTE creation process was approached as entrepreneuring, a negotiated space composed of a complex interplay between local and external actors. Such entrepreneuring involves collective venturing and collaborative effort to realise new realities (Johannisson, 2011). The researcher has sought to understand how the community enterprise creation as an entrepreneuring process unfolded, who were the actors involved, and what they actually did, as well as the resources they used in this practice (see, Johannisson & Olaison, 2007). Applying practice theory as a heuristic device, this research has demonstrated that CBTE creation and development in the contexts of the four cases examined was a process involving local and

external actors, playing multiple and often overlapping roles ranging from catalyst to advocate, and their interaction with the situational contexts in a phronetic manner (Johannisson, 2011). It is this combination of factors that produced CBTEs suited to addressing community issues in a contextually embedded manner.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the entrepreneuring process can be described with reference to analogising, bricolage, and the organising context (Johannisson, 2011). By locating these within the process of CBTE creation and development, the present research has highlighted the importance of entrepreneuring as a process of community involvement, engagement, and continued negotiation involving many actors. Entrepreneuring stands in contrast to the more traditional notion of entrepreneurship, which is seen as a single individual actor-led development conceived primarily for individual gain. A key question addressed in this research is, “what drives such a process?” The findings have demonstrated that the process is driven by a combination of local socio-economic situations, and sometimes the motivations of individual actors. The research also reinforced the understanding that communities and cultures are seldom static, existing for the most part in a state of constant flux. Hence, there is a need to consider the process rather than just the outcome. A focus on process enables a greater understanding of the ways in which community development takes place, the likely pitfalls and sources of strength, and the need for a flexible approach on the part of both planners and theorists.

This links to government policy on CBT as examined in Chapter 4. In this regard, several key points emerge. One is the possibility of attitudinal change with new generations. However, this was the opinion expressed by only one participant and while it might indicate a possible intergenerational issue, further investigation of this matter would be required to draw a more informed conclusion. Another key policy issue is the finding that there appears to be a need for ongoing interactions and negotiations between all parties throughout the development and the operation of CBTEs. Their development and operation does not adhere perfectly to the model of strategic planning in which contingencies are predicted and written into the plan. The roles of individual actors are at times fuzzy, and can vary over the life of the project. These roles are not always clearly definable with the present nomenclature of western organisational analysis. There is a reduced role of the individual entrepreneur in the CBTE development space, the top-down model being rejected in favour of a more egalitarian approach to development, driven by the importance of community situations and conditions embedded in the local environment and the strength of community identities.

This research has demonstrated the value of using a practice approach as a heuristic tool to investigate actions undertaken in CBT fields that are consequential for CBT outcomes. This approach can provide new ways of thinking about CBT and rural enterprises in general, as well as implementation of CBT projects in particular.

9.7 Limitations

The key limitation of the present research emerges from its reliance on case data. Case findings, it has been suggested, tend to be particular and therefore of little theoretical value. This position assumes that social science mirrors natural science in its aim of developing theory that is both explanatory and predictive (Flyvbjerg, 2001, 2011). Drawing on the works of Bourdieu (1977) and Dreyfus (1987), Flyvbjerg (2011) argues that while specialised higher level skills are often important, context-dependent knowledge in everyday living is at the heart of expert activity. He further argues that such context-based knowledge is at the centre of the case study as a research approach. Case studies permit the nuanced view that human behaviour is not only explicable with reference to the normative realm of laws, but also understanding of relationships within their environments. Nevertheless, the theoretical generalisability of qualitative case study data remains questionable. This being said, case studies serve as empirical examples that combine to generate a picture of how the world operates. They can also serve as the basis for quantitative studies that can aspire to universality. Although this research has relied on four distinct case studies, its findings are only reliably applicable to those four cases. While they may shed light on possible outcomes in other communities, case-specific circumstances should be expected.

This study might also be regarded as limited because of its heavy bias toward male respondents. While this is reflective of the traditional nature of rural Kenyan communities, in which men, and particularly male elders, are the dominant decision takers, it is possible that additional female voices might have revealed some different results. In less patriarchal societies, different results might therefore be found. The gender mix of interview participants in this study might further limit its theoretical generalisability.

9.8 Conclusion

This research set out to determine the influences on CBTE creation and development in a developing country context. Despite investigating four unique cases in distinct geographical settings and involving different ethnic communities throughout Kenya, some remarkable commonalities were observed. In each case, CBTE creation was driven by a set of needs that were not directly related to individual wealth or power creation. In three of the four cases, II

Ngwesi, Mwalanganje, and Lumo, community sustainability was threatened by drought, loss of access to land, entrenched poverty and human-wildlife conflict. In the fourth case, the Mackinder Eagle-Owl Sanctuary, the CBTE was created in response to an individual's desire to protect wildlife. Arguably, this too was a response to human-wildlife conflict in which owls were perceived as omens of death and therefore frequently killed by the local Kikuyu people.

The key theoretical contribution of this research is that the findings have a potential to provoke new thinking about CBT and rural enterprises specifically, as well as the implementation of community development projects more generally. As demonstrated in this research, a practice theoretical approach is well placed to provide fresh insights into the process of building local community institutions in rural marginal settings. The findings illuminate a community-focused development process by which CBTE can realise its emancipatory and poverty-alleviation potential. In this research, the creation of CBTEs has been approached as a complex field for realising collaborative innovations, possibly through an entrepreneuring process.

This process has been outlined here as one that involves a diversity of actors. This finding is similar to observations made elsewhere, as quoted at the beginning of this thesis:

The tapestry of the Starbucks we know so well today was painstakingly stitched together from a variety of stakeholder inputs including those from customers, commercial artists, and community leaders who knowingly or unknowingly participated in a co-creation process that has transformed urban landscapes from Seattle to Ankara (Koehn, 2001 cited in Sarasvathy & Venkataraman, 2011, 118).

Similarly, the process of creation of the CBTE emerges as realised through the contributions of a variety of actors, including founding members, ordinary community members, trusted friends, and external partners. Other actors may not have been acknowledged within this research, or other writings on the cases. This process is not attributable to any one entity, individual, or group, but emerges out of their complex interactions. This is a purposive as well as a purposeful process, driven both by intent and by actors' participation in everyday living in their environments. The outcome is an innovative entrepreneurial patchwork.

The entrepreneuring process as described in the cases privileges neither agency nor structure. Instead, it is presented as a practice composed of events and actions. This process provides possibilities for change and transformation in peripheral and marginal areas, particularly in rural parts of the developing world. However, the realm of practices is challenging, being an arena for tensions between change and reproduction. There are many lessons to be learned from observing

the practices in varied CBT sites, as undertaken in this study. Chief among them is the importance of situational specificity. In light of this, the results of this study can contribute towards CBT frameworks which are more adaptable to local situations and better suited to achieving community-defined development outcomes.

Again, having been created by an individual, the divergent case was Mackinder. However, even in the development of the Mackinder CBTE, the owner divested control of the project to the community with the aim of bringing about community benefits. Hence, the development process, if not the impetus for initiation, was driven by community needs for water and economic diversity. All four projects can be interpreted as bottom-up poverty alleviation schemes, in which the benefits accrued to the most needy. Common to all cases was the complexity of interactions and negotiations between actors throughout the development process.

The study also investigated political, historical, and social factors to reveal their roles in the creation and development process. These elements were found to be extremely influential. In some cases, the history of colonisation emerged as directly relevant to present economic and cultural conditions. In the case of Il Ngwesi, mistreatment of the Maasai people by British colonialists precipitated an ingrained distrust towards government agencies. Distrust of parks and wildlife agencies, particularly in relation to HWC, was also a factor in the development of the Lumo CBTE. Wildlife issues linked to the historical creation of national parks featured prominently in the Mwalanganje case, although issue of trust between the community and government agencies was not as pronounced. As mentioned, the Mackinder Eagle-Owl case also involved HWC, but this was associated with traditional superstition rather than colonial and postcolonial policies. Other cultural and social factors were also found to play a part, most notably the cultural connection to cattle ownership among the Maasai of Il Ngwesi. This connection formed a strong part of Maasai identity and acted as a barrier to adopting alternative livelihood strategies.

Finally, the study sought to examine the roles of actors in the CBTE creation and development process. These were often complicated in that they were not always readily identifiable using traditional organisational studies nomenclature. In some cases, actors in the processes could not agree on exactly who fulfilled which roles, as with the founders of Il Ngwesi. Certainly, there appeared to be no firm position descriptions for actors, which rendered some roles fuzzy and others interchangeable. Nonetheless, interesting categories and roles could be observed.

Founders of CBTEs tended to be respected elders with community knowledge. With the exception of the Mackinder case, there were multiple founders acting on behalf of the

community. In the case of Mackinder there was one founder acting to protect wildlife. Other roles included managers and members, who largely fitted the nominal role descriptions although the roles of individuals did sometimes shift over time. The Mackinder founder divested himself of power and control to turn the project over to the community, adopting the role of an equal member.

Partnerships were also formed with external organisations including government agencies and NGOs. Interestingly, these partners appeared not to exercise significant control over the projects and the community members remained empowered. The one partnership that might have wrested some control from the community was the private investor who was engaged to run the lodge at Lumo, but no specific issues of disempowerment were uncovered by this research.

Related to the role of partner was the friend figure, an actor role not previously discussed in the literature. The friend role may not be unique to Kenya, or to Africa, but there appears to be a strong cultural influence in its prevalence. The friend emerged as a trusted community outsider who acted altruistically to assist or influence the community in its decision to create and run a CBTE. Friends figured prominently in the Il Ngwesi and Mackinder cases. In the former, the friend was a neighbouring white farmer, while in the latter this role was played by a high ranking official. The role of the friend will likely prove important in other fields of community development, particularly in Kenya.

CBTEs were found to have emerged in response to community needs such as poverty, water shortages, human-wildlife conflict, and loss of access to land. They were created by outwardly motivated, community-oriented people rather than inspired entrepreneurs seeking individual wealth and power. A multitude of actors whose roles were often ill defined or changeable engaged in complex and ongoing interactions and negotiations. These negotiations were complicated and influenced by an array of cultural and historical overlays, including legacies of colonialism and traditional practices that had to be confronted in order to create and develop institutions that transformed the economic and social life of the participating communities.

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APPENDICES

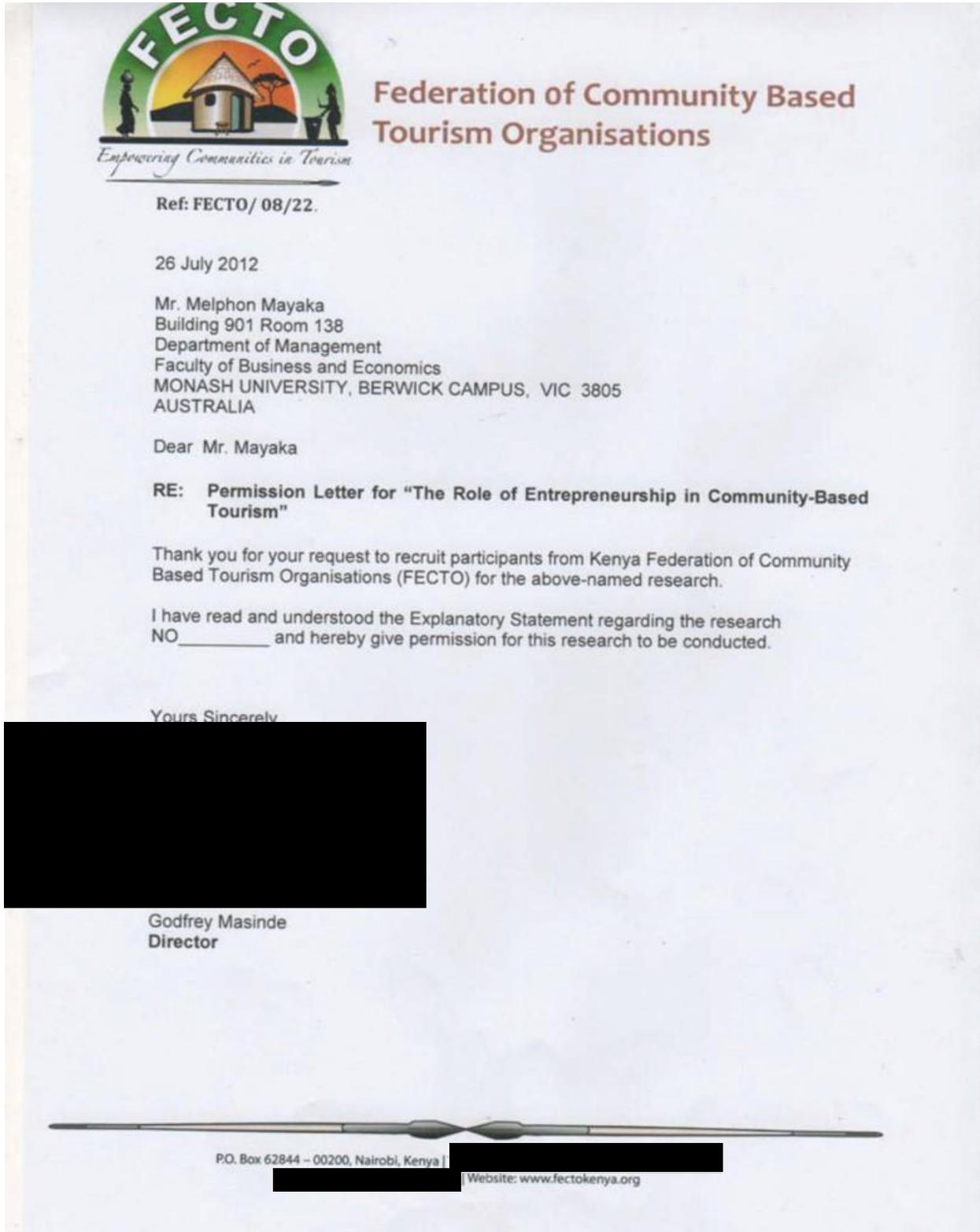
- i. Permission letters
- ii. Explanatory Statement
- iii. Interview guide
- iv. Examples of Field Notes/Observations
- v. Data Table
- vi. Relevant new items

Permission letters

African Wildlife Foundation



Federation of Community-based Tourism Organisations (FECTO)



Community Development Trust Fund (CDTF)



COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TRUST FUND

Joseph Trust House, 2nd Floor
Bunyala/Masaba Road
P.O. Box 62199-00200 NAIROBI

Website: <http://www.cdtfkenya.org>

Our ref: JR/jr/1959/13L

29th January 2013

Mr. Melphon Mayaka
Building 901 Room 138 3457
Department of Management
Faculty of Business and Economics
Monash University, Berwick Campus, Vic 3805
AUSTRALIA

Dear Mr. Mayaka

Permission Letter for "The Role of Entrepreneurship in Community-Based Tourism"

Thank you for your request to recruit participants from CDTF Kenya for the above-named research.

I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement regarding the research NO CF12/2694-2012001462 and hereby give permission for this research to be conducted.


Joseph Kyuma
Programme Manager, CEF

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MERU OFFICE
P.O. Box 293 - 60200 MERU

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Ministry of Tourism

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



MINISTRY OF TOURISM

Telephone 254 020 313010
Email: www.tourismkenya.go.ke
When replying please quote
REF No.

UTALII HOUSE
P. O. BOX 30027,
NAIROBI,
KENYA

17 December 2012

Mr. Melphon Mayaka
Building 901 Room 138
Department of Management
Faculty of Business and Economics
MONASH UNIVERSITY, BERWICK CAMPUS, VIC 3805
AUSTRALIA

RE: Permission Letter for “The Role of Entrepreneurship in Community-Based Tourism”

Dear Mr. Mayaka

Thank you for your request to recruit participants from the Ministry of Tourism for the above-named research.

I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement regarding the research NO CF12/2694-2012001462 and hereby give permission for this research to be conducted.

Yours Sincerely,
Keziah

Keziah Odemba
Assistant Director of Tourism

Il Ngwesi



IL NGWESI GROUP RANCH

Incorporating Il Ngwesi Community Trust

P.O. Box 263,

10406-Timau



Permission Letter

Permission Letter for "The Role of Entrepreneurship in Community-Based Tourism"

17 December 2012

Mr. Melphon Mayaka
Building 901 Room 138
Department of Management
Faculty of Business and Economics
MONASH UNIVERSITY, BERWICK CAMPUS, VIC 3805
AUSTRALIA

Dear, Mr. Mayaka

Thank you for your request to recruit participants from Il Ngwesi Group Ranch for the above-named research.

I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement regarding the research NO CF12/2694-2012001462 and hereby give permission for this research to be conducted.

Yours Sincerely,

Patrick Karmushu

General Manager



LUMO COMMUNITY WILDLIFE SANCTUARY
P. O. BOX 186-80300, NG'AMBWA. TEL. 020-2688580. Email: lumowildlifetrust@yahoo.com

Permission Letter

Lumo Community Wildlife Sanctuary

Permission Letter for "The Role of Entrepreneurship in Community-Based Tourism"

28th August 2012

Mr. Melphon Mayaka
Building 901 Room 138
Department of Management
Faculty of Business and Economics
MONASH UNIVERSITY, BERWICK CAMPUS, VIC 3805
AUSTRALIA

Dear Mr. Mayaka

Thank you for your request to recruit participants from Lumo Community Sanctuary for the above-named research.

I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement regarding the research No. _____ and hereby give permission for this research to be conducted.

Yours Sincerely,


Oscar Waueru

Sanctuary manager

Mackinder

Permission Letter



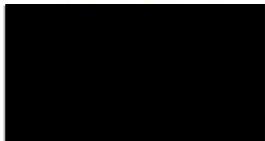
Mackinder's Eagle Owl Project

Permission letter for "The Role of Entrepreneurship in Community-Based Tourism"

11th September 2012

Mr. Melphon Mayaka
Building 901 Room 138
Department of Management
Faculty of Business and Economics
MONASH UNIVERSITY, BERWICK CAMPUS VIC 3805
AUSTRALIA

Dear Mr. Mayaka
Thank you for your request to recruit participants from Mackinder's Eagle Owl Project.
I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement regarding the research No. _____
and hereby give permission for this research to be conducted.



Manager

I am not a bad omen

Mwaluganje



Permission Letter

Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary

Permission Letter for "The Role of Entrepreneurship in Community-Based Tourism"

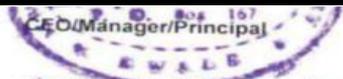
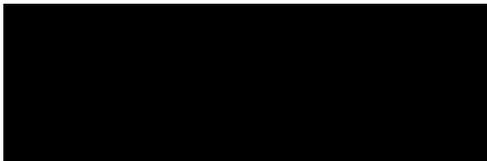
28th August 2012

Mr. Melphon Mayaka
Building 901 Room 138
Department of Management
Faculty of Business and Economics
MONASH UNIVERSITY, BERWICK CAMPUS, VIC 3805
AUSTRALIA

Dear Mr. Mayaka

Thank you for your request to recruit participants from Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary for the above-named research.

I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement regarding the research No. _____ and hereby give permission for this research to be conducted.



<insert name of the above signatory>
<insert above signatory's position>

Explanatory statement

12 September 2013

Explanatory Statement

Title: The Role of Entrepreneurship in Community-Based Tourism

This information sheet is for you to keep.

Student research project

Dear Sir or Madam:

My name is Melphon Mayaka and I am conducting a research project with Dr Glen Croy and Professor Julie Wolfram Cox of Department Management for the fulfilment of Doctor of Philosophy degree, at Monash University, Australia. The outcome of the project will be a 250–300 page thesis.

The aim/purpose of the research

The purpose of this study is to investigate role of social entrepreneurship in the development of community-based tourism (CBT). The main area of investigation is the process of emergence of community-based tourism as social enterprise and the various actors involved.

What does the research involve?

Your participation in this research involves responding to all questions during the one-one-one discussion. You will be under no obligation to respond to all the questions asked and so if you feel you do not wish to answer any particular one, you may refuse to respond without any explanation or consequence.

There may be need for clarification of any of the areas discussed at a later date.

How much time will the research take?

A single discussion will take approximately 45–60 minutes to complete

Can I withdraw from the research?

Being in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. You may withdraw at any time prior to finalisation of the results.

Confidentiality

You are assured of utmost confidentiality and that your identity and any other personal details will be used for the purpose of this research and will not be availed to a third party for any other use. In any publication that results, individual participants will be referred to using non-identifiable pseudonyms or codes designed by the researcher.

Storage of data

Storage of the data collected will be in accordance to the Monash University regulations, which require data and information to be kept on University premises in a locked cupboard/filing cabinet for 5 years. A report of the study may be submitted for publication, but individual participants will not be identifiable in such publication.

Results

If you would like to be informed of the aggregate research finding, please contact Melphon Mayaka by email, the address being: [REDACTED] The findings will be accessible for 5 years from completion of the thesis.

If you would like to contact the researchers about any aspect of this study, please contact the main supervisor	If you have a complaint concerning the manner in which this research No. CF12/2694-2012001462 is being conducted, please contact:
Dkt. Glen Croy Senior Lecturer, Department of Management Monash University, Peninsula [REDACTED] [REDACTED] A: McMahons Road, Frankston, Victoria 3199, AUSTRALIA	Executive Officer, Human Research Ethics Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC) Building 3e Room 111 Research Office Monash University VIC 3800 [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Martin C. Njoroge, PhD Director, Confucius Institute & Senior Lecturer of Linguistics Kenyatta University P.O. Box 43844-00100 NAIROBI, KENYA [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

Thank you.

[REDACTED]

Melphon Mayaka

Semi-structured interview guide

1. Tell me about your background and how you came to be involved with the _____ project
2. **Aspirations**
 - Give me a brief history of how and why the project was established
 - Who were the main players?
 - Why did people get involved?
 - What drove you to get involved?
3. **Set of means/resources at start of CBT**
 - Try and recall events at the establishment of this project
 - What was the socio-cultural, economic situation?
 - What resources were available for establishment of the project?
 - How did a particular actor(s) affect the establishment/development of the project?
 - What were the constraints/ barriers?
4. **Desired effect**
 - Can you recall the events at the beginning of the project?
 - Tell me about the people that were involved
 - What were their goals?
 - How did they select what they wanted to create?
 - What loss or risk was involved?
 - How was the risk controlled?
5. **Contingencies – changes in means and aspirations**
 - Have any circumstance changed over time, when and how?
 - I wonder if you would think of the last time someone did something that had much effect on the development of the project.
 - What were the general circumstances that lead to this incident?
 - Tell me exactly what this person did and why it was so important at the time?
 - When did this happen?
 - What was this person's exact role?
 - How long has he been involved with the project?
 - Tell me more about this person, his age, association?

6. Partnerships

- How have others(**organisations/government agencies etc.**)been involved?
- Has this involvement affected the project negatively or positively? Explain.

7. Outcomes

- Who is the community?
 - During the time that you have been involved, do you think there has been any changes as a result of the CBT or not? Why or why not?
 - If there have been any changes, do you see these changes as positive, negative, or both?
 - Do you think your community has changed as a result of the project or remained the same?
 - Have all people in the community experienced the same kinds of change, or has it varied among members?
 - Has tourism affected the community or has the community influenced tourism?
8. What else haven't we discussed that is relevant to the process of establishing and developing the community-based tourism project?
9. Is there anyone you think I should talk to about this sanctuary/project?

Example of field notes

MW/20/12/12

Today I met Mr. Bakari one of the founders of Mwaluganje in Kwale Town. Bakari hasn't gone to school but certainly a very knowledgeable man about Duruma culture which he talks a great deal about. Although he does not hold any position he still is an influential man within (observable during the AGM and how he relates with his peers). His founding colleague describes him as one who only speaks Kiswahili, he doesn't speak English but one full of knowledge and wisdom. This interesting because Mr. Mwakwere (an educated former primary school principal) describes Bakari as a key founder and crafter of Mwaluganje. Bakari seems to have depth of knowledge about the way the elephant sanctuary was established especially the relationships with Mr. Goss Sam, KWS Mr. Bakari also talks about the many visitors he has hosted among them a group of academics led by a professor from University of Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania. He also talks about activities that he's been involved in. Notable is the involvement with planting of trees. He presently has planted over 50,000 seedlings.

Sample data table

	Environmental and socio-economic conditions
Il Ngwesi	<p>The other thing, there was a lot of insecurity. Because we had no a well-organised network that can assist that kind of insecurity. So there were a lot of loopholes. Nobody had an interest in that land apart from those people who were grazing there and living there. The only benefit was by the few people who were employed by the camel trek. Those are the only benefits that went to the community.</p> <p>Yeah, yeah (very emphatic)(IDM)</p> <p>And the other thing was the insecurity in these areas, 1990s and 1980s many people lost their lives in this area, cattle raids in this area. So the only thing was to empower the communities in terms of alternative sources because livestock numbers had gone down also because of population increases. So to mitigate that the only way was to go to conservation. You combine conservation and livestock and both will benefit from each (IIPK)</p> <p>I think the key motivator is a source of income, that is one. The other thing is actually security. Because you look at these conservancies in Northern Kenya, security is another thing because of cattle rustling. So a community looks at this they will see a conservancy as a source of income and having their own scout, having their own vehicle and forming linkages with the local government. The other motivator is the climate change. You find that that the livestock numbers are increasing and there is recurrence of drought and so on. So you can see people a conservancy as an organizing body in terms of grazing patterns, they will actually be more organized and they feel more secure in terms of the reserve of pasture. So those are some of the things.(IIPK)</p>
Mwaluganje	<p>We now are struggling because the greatest challenge in a community like this one without anything other than wildlife, something else to other than the wildlife as a source of revenue. It is difficult for such a project to continue, given that you are the only one to look for the money. Think about for example a government institution or organization, you are assured of some allocation even when you don't generate your own income even if such an allocation is small (powerful argument here see Musila). For us here we have to look for the little we get and use it the, cycle goes on.(IMAM)</p> <p>The big thing that has inspired this whole project, is the fact that our crops as I told you earlier, were destroyed by wild animals, for me that was a trigger event. And then we got a solution. (IMDM)</p> <p>Now, where do I start. Mwaluganje story is a long one. It all started in 1994, when I was at KWS Kwale Office. The area occupied by the sanctuary was an area of serious human wildlife conflict, particularly elephant and man conflict. People would plant maize, cassava in that area.(IMDM)</p> <p>Well you can't really separate the two. Where you have poor people here and you have wildlife and they are fighting each other, the only solution, pretty much, is what we have done. For what we have managed to achieve is reasonable. I became a life member of Mwaluganje because I kept on being revoted in as a director to the board. And the reason we want to remain right from the beginning, we know in Africa corruption is a serious problem. And someone like me in the board, really was like an anchor if you like, stabilizer if you like, watching what is going on.(IMPZ)</p>
Lumo	<p>The problem here we have drought. Mostly throughout the year we have drought and the climate is not very conducive to farming so most of the people here are herders they are grazers and the sort of grazing they do is not commercial it is just type of herding, these are the normal indigenous Taita cows and the profit or whatever they get from there will not be enough for them to educate their children and to get good health facilities and the like. These are the sort of things that I talk of as alleviation of poverty.(ILAM)</p> <p>The concept and the ideas are good because of the harsh terrain, there isn't much else you can do on this land other than livestock. You can't grow maize, it is a disaster. Because the humans are so poor, the wildlife will be eaten. So we've got to provide something that gives hope to the youth and get away from the idea that you can just grow food anywhere you want, you can't do it (LIL)</p> <p>So when I heard from Patrick that these people will be dealing with communities directly but they want to operate under the umbrella of LUMO I saw that potential. That community neighbouring LUMO is a place hit by poverty is a semi arid place. So I said ok, if these guys can really assist our people, we lose nothing. (LDM)</p> <p>MM: Even you now, are you being driven by issues facing people, or a conservation agenda?</p> <p>What we wanted to do is this, we went to other places and saw how communities benefited we went to other places and how communities benefited from these projects</p> <p>In Amboseli, yeah. People had their own sanctuaries like these and students were sponsored, Kijana. When we saw those things and thought we can replicate these things here. This could be done here, but it is not happening up to now. And now, in fact, during our time unfortunately, during the 2007 elections, cancellation of tourism bookings, there was mass cancellation. In fact we used to stay for one or two months getting one or two visitors, unlike now when they have a lot of money in the gate in.(LRM)</p>
Mackinder (Gataragwa)	<p>Necessity, is key in joining groups. You see if you have your Kshs100 if you join a group you can be able to take a loan of Kshs1000, pay the 10% on top of the principal but you will have benefited. You stay say for a month and return it in another month because only your Kshs.100 may seldom help you, you see if you combine Kshs100 from several people you combine and then give one person to go and help themselves, it could with something like school fees. You could improve (promote) your farm business (IGEN).</p> <p>I joined about 5 years ago, as usual these are women. There are tourists who used to come and they needed curios. We were making cibombo (woven baskets). We used to go and get the material for making them. The material (sisal) is actually planted on the roadside like a fence. Everyone would buy and then weave the baskets. (IGEN)</p> <p>There is plenty of food, potatoes and even arrow roots. So to adapt to the conditions at Kieni (Gataragwa) it was extremely difficult. There can live 3 years without proper rains. When we came we mainly planted the red onions. Sometimes we plant and they stay for 2, 3 months and they get spoilt because there isn't enough rain. So you see living there is difficult, it is a matter of survival. We got acquainted and got enjoined to the people of the place. There is place down there by the river where I leased small pieces of land.</p> <p>Then there is a man Mureithi was with, a relative. They went together into the bush and tried to crack the huge stone to get the water out. So when they managed to crack the stone, we used to get them money for food from our group. (IGMT)</p>
Documents	<p>Education, 67.6% of all children between the ages of 6 and 13 years were enrolled in primary school in Kenya in 2000. This varies from region to region, and most significantly from one ethnic group to another, but amongst the pastoral communities that include the Maasai, Borana, Pokot, Somali, Rendille, and Samburu among others, the primary school enrolment rate is a mere 13.4%2. (DISP)</p> <p>"If we'd come here a few years ago, we would have run a high risk of being killed by bandits or cattle rustlers," says Titus Letaapo, regional coordinator with the Northern Rangelands Trust (NRT). He and his colleagues have come to witness a 'peace marathon', which will take place the following morning, and they have set up camp in a dry riverbed below the ruins of Kom, a remote settlement destroyed by tribal fighting in the late 1990s.</p> <p>Nowadays, elephant, lion and buffalo are the most dangerous things you're likely to encounter in Il Ngwesi. But it wasn't always like that. In the early 1970s, 48 Maasai moran – or warriors – were killed in one day, ambushed by Somali shifto on the aptly named Hill of Blood. The local warriors were armed with spears; the shifto with automatic weapons. "In those days, and for a long time afterwards, everybody here used to sleep with their shoes on, because they never knew when the next attack would come," says Gabriel Nyausi, the first conservancy manager.</p> <p>"We were exhausted by all this suffering," recalls Joshua Kipich, the vice-chairman of the conservancy's finance committee. "We realised that nobody was benefiting, all of us were losing. So we vowed: no more killing, no more poverty creation." However, winning peace is one thing; winning the peace is quite another.</p>

Sample document 1

MACKINDER KIONDO IRRIGATION AND MACKINDER GROUP



1. HISTORY:

Mackinder is the name of an OWL which is found at the peak of Mt. Kenya and at the moorlands of the Aberlare ranges. The OWL is primarily a cliff dwelling bird large in size and has ear tufts. It is a predator and often feared by the local community for its night-time hooting sounds.

2. LOCATION AND COMMUNITY

The group resides in Biricha village of Lumuria sub-location, Gatarakwa location, Kiini West Division, Nyeri North District in Central province. It is approximately 55 km from Nyeri town and 65 km from Nyahururu town.

The area is semi-arid and often receives low rainfall. It however has fertile soils. The Community relies on government relief food although there is a lot of wasted rain water due to lack of harvesting capability, techniques and poor soil conservation methods. The community continue to lag behind in food production. The community does irrigation on the available land near streams. The overall poor farming practices, low rainfall and ignorance of biodiversity and soil conservation measures account for poverty being at an all time high.

3. RESEARCH

Research on **THE EFFECTS OF AGRICULTURE ON MACKINDER'S EAGLE OWLS** was established to look into the relationship between human activities (agriculture) and Owl behaviour. The research team found out after three years that positive agricultural activities affected a high percentage of these Owls. With need for more land for agriculture, forest destruction can lead to loss of Owl habitat. With water for agriculture, training in issues of land management, water conservation and good farming practices, conservation of habitat, both for Owl and for agriculture can be achieved. There is a great need for change in human behavior towards biodiversity conservation. (See www.owlspot.com for further details).



I am not a bad omen

Sample document 1 (cont.)

4. TOURISM

With the growing market in bird tourism in Kenya, there are many tourists who want to see Mackinder's Eagle Owl in its natural habitat and at close range. The area is a great place for such activity due to having a resident owl population that is easily accessible to tourists. This has gradually become popular in our area and 8% of our group's water project money is collected from the entry fee (5 \$US) paid to view Owls. Previously, the money collected was shared amongst members whose land was accessed to view Owls. However, the group decided to use the funds for one common project which would benefit the whole community.

5. HISTORY OF WATER PROJECT

The location and the idea began with one community member who mobilized the others as their co-ordinator to solicit for water providers, funding management and advice on financial management. The location of the intake and water harvesting method was provided by the co-ordinator who was also behind the Owl conservation and tourism project in the area. He is also a 2008 global award winner on Owl Conservation.

PEOPLE

Bird of ill omen is his good fortune

Battling ancient beliefs to save a dying species

By CYRUS KINYUNGU

Owls strike such terror in the African heart that the sound of their booming alone is sufficient to galvanise the residents of Kiwara Village in Nyeri District into action.

An owl is a harbinger of doom, a bad omen — a death-lister. It is why the sound of its booming — be it at midday or midnight, morning or high noon — will galvanise the villagers to seek it and kill it. Among the Kikuyu, as is the case in many African communities, the sighting or sound of an owl alone is enough to warrant an impending death.

Yet, deep inside this community, 26-year-old Paul Mureithi Kibathi has chosen to live by the owl. It is often associated with witchcraft and sorcery, but that does not deter Mureithi from caring for the feared species even if it means being isolated by the members of his community and his friends.

Along the busy Nyeri-Nyahururu road, Mureithi has picked off a site where his owl can have some privacy. He says owls are the most beautiful creatures ever created, and he must of his neighbours, he sounds like an undisciplined fanatic. Luckily, he has the support of his very traditional parents. At least, they are loathe enough to accept that there is nothing wrong with what their son is doing.

It is hard to tell that there is a sensitive, caring and knowledgeable side to Mureithi who, one to most here in the marketplace in Kiara, has on the side, where he produces owls, some 35 kilometres from Nyeri town, and another 20 to Nyahururu, he knows his craft out to whoever will hear him.

The shack is on a rocky quarry site abandoned in the 1970s by a local construction company. The place was once dug for stones but has now become a large dam.

There are two varieties of owls in the Kiara area, there are two varieties of owls — the Mackinder eagle owl and the Scops owl — but I can also tell you in which cave you will find which bird kind," he proudly says.

Some are strict taking care of the place, some people do not stop by, not to view the birds, but to take a look at the keeper of the sanctuaries.

Though Mureithi appreciates Mureithi more than his friends and neighbours. The latter's impressions about him are often negative, but that does not deter him.

Mureithi says he has been collecting information about the location of the birds at all times since the local people seem to care more about killing owls than protecting them.

"They have been hunting these birds, and any



PHOTO: MARTIN TALEWA
LOFTY PERCH: An owl rests on a tree in the 'evil forest' in Kiwara village in Nyeri District. Left, Paul Mureithi points to a well camouflaged owl in another tree.

time they see one, they call out for the mob to kill it," he says.

But owls have their ways. The birds live in dark caves, camouflaged by the rocky environment. Only a trained eye can pick them out from the rocks.

It could take days, even weeks, to sight an owl within the caves, but to Mureithi, it is just a matter of minutes.

And the previous impression of a scaring bird disappears instantly when one sees a multicoloured bird with cool, rounded red eyes inside a cave.

Mureithi claims that even with powerful binoculars, it would not be hard to spot the owl — a "bird" but I only require my naked eyes."

He has studied their routine for the time he has been with them — and they have become like his domestic animals. "I even know when and where they lay their eggs."

Since his childhood days, Mureithi has been able to accept the owl as a normal bird. The birds were always close by home, and he never associated them with any ill omen.

"People sometimes blame the acidity in this place to the presence of these birds," he says.

What turned his casual interest into a full-fledged hobby was the interest some tourists showed in the birds. A group visiting the area spent many days looking for the birds and were still not able to sight them.

"I once guided them to where the birds were and they had a very good view of them. It seemed to get them very excited, as if it had made their trip worthwhile," the owl man says.

Since that time, there has been no turning back. Now, even his friends call him the "owl man". He plans to keep rats and rabbits there to make sure that he can keep the owls from fleeing the sanctuaries.

His is a job he has found for himself and which he intends to keep because the benefits are far too good. He has met many people, among them prominent personalities, by virtue of being the tour guide in the caves. Previously, they were all people he only heard of and saw on radio and television.

The former British High Commissioner to Kenya, Sir Kenneth Robinson, and several other ambassadors have visited the caves with him.

"I mostly remember Jeffrey James, who came with his family to my home. He had tried finding the owls four times and had failed. He called me from my bed and I took him to the place where he saw the birds. He couldn't believe that it could be so easy," Mureithi says.

"I mostly remember Jeffrey James, who came with his family to my home. He had tried finding the owls four times and had failed. He called me from my bed and I took him to the place where he saw the birds. He couldn't believe that it could be so easy," Mureithi says.



THIS WAY: Mureithi at a signboard on the Nyeri-Nakuru road announcing the presence of owls. www.owlsPot.com

Owls have always evoked awe and wonder

By CYRUS KINYUNGU

THROUGHOUT history and across many cultures, owls have been regarded with fascination and awe. In fact, many creatures have an innate — often contradictory — beliefs about them. They are feared and adored, revered and admired, considered wise and foolish, as well as associated with witchcraft and medicine, the weather, birth and death.

The owl is a nocturnal carnivorous bird that lives in caves and trees, and which inspires a great deal of awe because of its mysterious nature. In fact, birds like that of a cat but it has a beak, claws and feathers just like any other bird.

In the Greek fairy tales, the owl has been used as the most common way in the same way the owl is used in

most African folk narratives. Greek stories portray the owl as a very wise and puffed character who is able to outwit other animals.

Owls have also been depicted as being helpful, and as having the power of prophecy. The same attributes occur in Indian folklores.

But by the Middle Ages in Europe, the owl's image had changed and it had come to be associated with witches and inhabitants of dark, lonely and profane places. In some old tales people with a robbing and apprehensive outlook was a sign of some evil was of hand.

Symbol of wisdom
During the eighteenth century, the zoological aspects of owls were studied through close observation. This reduced the mystique surrounding these birds. In the West, the owl

has gradually returned to its position as a symbol of wisdom.

Owls are also generally associated with death and the underworld because of their nocturnal habits, the burn owl, with its "ghastly appearance" and blood-curdling shriek, is considered a bad omen in cultures throughout the world. Several African cultures depict owls as spirits of the dead and as omens that foretell the death of anyone who sees them.

There are a few exceptions. Some California Indian tribes believe the owl is a positive spirit who watches over people. And the Inuit believe that the snowy owl is a good omen. Perhaps the reason for this unusually positive view of the owl is that the snowy owl is a diurnal creature. Diurnal activity

is a necessity for this owl: It lives above the Arctic Circle, where the period of breeding and peak prey abundance coincide with the endless daylight of Arctic summer.

Common belief
Among the Kikuyu, the owl is believed to be a bad omen. When it perches on a house, this is taken as a signal that a member of the family will have to die. The Luo and several other Kenyan communities share this belief.

Consequently, the owl is killed indiscriminately, and has become an endangered species. In some other cultures, the owl's egg is believed to be able to cure a wide range of diseases. The eggs are targeted by people who sell them to those seeking cures. One egg goes for as much as \$50,000 on the black market.

He has come to learn many things about birds, and also to understand a little why foreigners are so fascinated by them. James, claims Mureithi, told him the Irish believe that if one sees an owl, his lifespan is increased.

"The ambassador left so overjoyed and told me that he now believed he would live a longer and enjoyable life," he adds.

Mureithi also made good friends with the diplomat. "When I want to take a painting of an owl to the ambassador, we talked like brothers. I was not even harassed by the security people."

Prying eyes
The only charge his visitors often leave him with is "Protect these birds, they are an asset." He has taken their word as a word and intends to keep it.

Away from prying eyes, Mureithi has abandoned the woods where he takes wounded "non-ferrous" birds. There, he treats them and nurtures them back to health.

"Last month I used to buy meat every day to feed an owl inside the 'sanatorium'. Its wing had been broken by boys who wanted to kill it," says the owl man.

His greatest challenge is having to protect the birds from members of his own community, who would give anything for a chance to kill the owl. Also, some tour drivers sometimes send boys to roam around the area to scare the birds so that they can be seen. The boys do more than scare them; they kill them with their catapults.

Six months ago, one of the biggest and most striking owls was killed by a kid who tried to drive it into a visitor's view.

"It was a very trying moment in my career," he says. But he has found a way of sensitising the local people to the importance of the birds.

He talks about protecting the bird to the people and has even tried to get people to see the owl as a good omen.

No rain
"I tell them to accept and protect the owl just like they would any other bird," he adds. He tries to spread the benefits of caring for the owl to all the residents — including the boys lurking along the river.

Even then, an elderly Jane Mugeri cannot hide her dislike for Mureithi. He it is that she blames for the drought that has punished the area for a long time now.

"That is why rain is falling in areas near this place but not a single drop can fall here. We need a lot of prayers for this boy to respect our culture," she says.

She confesses, though, that she doesn't hate Mureithi as a person, only his treating of the ominous birds.

"We know him as a boy of good character, but now he has decided to taint his name. We can only pray for him," she says.

Mureithi believes strongly that caring for the birds will, in the long run, be good for the whole community.

"I don't rear the birds for lack of another job. I love them and I know they can also employ me," Mureithi says.

He hopes that one day, the owl site will become a great tourist destination that will benefit the community. For now, the government has yet to recognize and start promoting the site as a bird sanctuary.

"How come the government does not promote the site as a tourist destination and yet tourists value the bird?" he asks.

Relevant local news items

Rhino's killing sparks community's undying spirit to curb poaching

Updated Saturday, May 18th 2013 at 00:00 GMT +3

By Jacob Ng'etich

Grazing in the lush and dense thicket at the hills of Parpeles that overlook the Lewa Ranch in Laikipia County are two white endangered rhinoceros.

The carcass of Omni their third companion throws a pungent smell near the Il Ngwesi Community Conservancy's unattended airstrip.

Omni, the only black rhino succumbed to injuries sustained from a poisoned spear stab on its back within the conservancy a month ago in what swirls anger in the villagers.

According to Head of Security Njeman Portoi at the Il Ngwesi Omni ran down growling unlike other days but they did not anticipate that it had been attacked.

“It was unusual but we thought maybe he was angry; little did we know that the orphan rhino donated by the Lewa Conservancy had been hurt in an poaching attacked” said Mr Portoi. The Head of Security said poachers who hoped they would overpower it and bring it down after spearing it with a poisoned spear.

Friendly animal

“The animal that was friendly with human beings due to its upbringing at Lewa Conservancy, made it to the lower grounds just on time to be noticed before it died, it's ivory was however intact” said Portoi.

According to Mr Gabriel Nyausi, Greater Sera Region Coordinator, Northern Rangeland Trust (NRT), the 14-year-old bull had spent over 10 years at Il Ngwesi, its natural habitat after it was translocated from Lewa in 2002, and its presence was symbolic to the residence of Il Ngwesi, being among the only three rhinos to live on the land since the 1970s.

“It was sad that the poachers killed it when it had adapted to its natural habitat and was giving the residents hope of a possible increase in the herd, the old people say there were hundreds in the region before the 1970s”, said Nyausi.

“When you have such wild animals you have visitors coming from far and wide to get a glimpse and that means money to the local community and also employment opportunities through conservation”, said Nyausi.

Security Officer Diwani Parkulas said the devastation over the rhino's killing provoked an outcry in the community, but also gave them a unity of purpose to proactively confront the poaching menace after all elephants have been felled before in their midst.

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An in a move likely to create precedence across the region, the community elders of Il Ngwessi, with assistance from NRT, Kenya Wildlife Services officers, Lewa and Borana Conservancy immediately launched an investigation.

Mr Leiten Kiperus, a Security Officer in the Conservancy who first tumbled on the carcass of Omni said the elders meeting in the villagers meeting in mid April, where those involved in the killings were given 10 days to confess or be cursed. "The community was unhappy and vowed not to relent until those who participated in the heinous act were punished", said Kiperus.

On April 24, the date of the second community meeting, Amayo Shwel, Ramson Legei, Kamung Nyausi and Misiiya ole Kaunga, confessed they participated in the planning and killing of Omni.

And when the four poachers were taken to court an even bigger surprise awaited them, as the Judge declared each pay Sh4 million bond for their release, making it historically the highest amount ever in respect of poaching in the country.

Deep pride

"The enraged community members felt relieved. Though the animal had died those who killed it were going to pay for it", said Portoi.

Nyausi explained that the entire investigation was a community-led initiative, using the arm of the law alongside a traditional cultural approach to expose the culprits within this small society.

"The entire process has been driven by the community's deep pride in Omni, recognising the benefits he attracted through tourism, given the sensitisation from Northern Rangeland Trust NRT and a desire to see an expanding rhino population thrive on Il Ngwesi", he said.

According to Ms Sophia Mwendwa the Senior Administrator NRT, Il Ngwesi, the first community-led conservation initiative set up by the organisation in Northern Kenya, with a vision to sustainably manage the environment both for grazing of livestock and wildlife conservation.

"We have previously raised funds for the conservancy alongside others, which we use to train the community around on the importance of taking a proactive stance in ending the poaching menace", said Mwendwa.

Mwendwa said much of their participation was to support a wide range of trainings and also helps broker agreements between conservancies and investors who would like to invest in the region in a bid to improve the lives of the people.

The organisation that was established in 2004 with a purpose to develop ways on how the locals could benefit from a blend of sustaining wild life and livestock as means of transforming their lives, has played a role in securing peace and conserving natural resources and is currently overseeing 26 conservancies in the region.

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“We have 26 conservancies under us that bring together over 200,000 members from several communities in the region, and our organisation is now widely seen as a model of how to support community conservancies”, said Mwendwa. She lauded the community for taking the initiative of arresting the poachers, a move that has been emphasised by the organisation during its community outreach meetings.

Dr Mordecai Ogada, the Laikipia Wildlife Forum said the bond given to the poachers was a sign of the appreciation of the challenge that was been caused by poaching in Kenya that has threatened to decimate the targeted animals in the country.

Government serious

“This is an encouraging sign that the Government is taking poaching crimes seriously. We hope this judgment will set a precedent and become a serious deterrent against poachers. Wildlife crime it seems will no longer go unpunished. We congratulate the elders of the Il Ngwesi community for showing initiative and leadership”, said Ogada.

Monday, April 27, 2015

People living around Maasai Mara say reserve not benefiting them



Tourists watch a herd of wildebeest run through a field during the annual wildebeest migration through the Maasai Mara Game Reserve. At least 10,000 permanent hotel workers at the Coast have been sent on unpaid leave due to the downturn in tourism. FILE | PHOTO | NATION MEDIA GROUP

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By RUTH MBULA

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The world famous wildebeest migration, regarded as one of the Seven Wonders of the World at the Maasai Mara Game Reserve is only just weeks away.

However, as the tourists prepare to witness the migration, people living around the game reserve say they have little to celebrate about this annual event.

Locals say they have remained poor despite playing a major role in guarding the wildlife in the reserve for years.

According to Mr Simon ole Karia, who lives near the Sekenani gate, one of the main routes to the game reserve, the poverty index in the area is very high.

He says that only a few individuals, mainly the hoteliers, county officials and tour operators benefit from the game reserve.

LANDLORDS HAVE BECOME WATCHMEN

Another resident, John Lekishon, says a number of landlords had resorted to doing menial jobs like being watchmen in facilities put up on their own parcels of land.

He says out of desperation, the communities around the reserve had resorted to mining stones, poaching as well as charcoal burning which will in the future impact negatively on the environment.

Nick Murero, the chairman of Narok County Wildlife Forum, faults the owners of lodges and camps in the reserve for not employing locals.

He says managers import most of the human resource, leaving locals jobless.

Mr Leshan Ntuntu who chairs the land owners association on the western side of the reserve says that the only way locals can benefit from their resource that belonged to their forefathers was for them to stop selling and leasing it but instead invest directly in the land.

During a number of visits to the reserve, Narok Governor Samuel ole Tunai said his government had put in place a master plan to ensure locals benefit.

He said investors would be required to set aside a certain percentage of job opportunities for the locals.

The County Boss said locals should be encouraged to invest in tourism through incentives from both national and county governments for them to compete with foreign and other investors.