

**COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT :
EXAMINING LEVELS OF INVOLVEMENT IN A KENYAN CASE STUDY**

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ABSTRACT

COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT: EXAMINING LEVELS OF INVOLVEMENT IN A KENYAN CASE STUDY

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Perceived perception of community participation in the process of planning for tourism development are examined in the Amboseli Region, Kajiado District, Kenya using S. Arnstein (1969) *Ladder of Citizen Participation* as a model. Analysis shows that both the government and the local people perceive and define citizen participation differently. Although a partnership programme between each party is currently in place, evidence demonstrates that the level of citizen participation is still at the manipulation stage. A conceptual model has been suggested as a tool to determine a desired level of citizen participation and strategies to successfully achieve that level. By determining and achieving such an optimal level, planning for tourism development in a community setting may be sustained.

In memory of Grand-Maman

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGM	Annual General Assembly
ASAL	Arid and Semi Arid Lands
AWF	African Wildlife Foundation
COBRA	Conservation of Biodiverse Resource Areas
DDC	District Development Committee
GOK	Government of Kenya
Hqs	Headquarters
IUCN	World Conservation Union
KAHC	Kenya Association of Hotel keepers & Caterers
KATO	Kenya Association of Tour Operators
KNWA	Kenya National Wildlife Association
KTDA	Kenya Tourism Development Authority
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service
LDC	Less Developed Country
LG	Local Government
MTW	Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NP	National Park
NR	National Reserve
OP	Office of the President
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program
UNESCO	United Nations Education and Scientific Organisation
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WCMD	Wildlife Conservation and Management Department
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

“The ability of each citizen to appreciate and then adequately and appropriately articulate his or her own needs, beliefs, values and interests is the crucial factor in concepts of popular participation in community decision-making” (Fagence, 1977).

1.1 BACKGROUND

The process of change for community development

During the last decade, communities around the world have been coping with extreme social and economic problems. In developing countries, alleviating poverty and rapid population growth remain high priorities on politicians’ agendas and are constantly creating tensions and uncertainty for community residents. Scholars and practitioners suggest that community development planning initiatives aimed at revitalising rural communities should be home-grown solutions to home-town problems (Hodge & Qadeer 1983: 210; Perry 1987: 66; Nozick 1992). Communities are now engaging in proactive approaches to community development to improve their standard of living.

The process of change should be directed by community residents. The notion of citizen participation has both expanded and diversified over the last decade and is greatly supported by governmental agencies. According to Rhodes (1970) and Hopgood (1969), there is now a legal requirement to include citizen participation in the planning process in many jurisdictions. Citizen participation is defined as a “process in which individuals take part in decision-making in the institutions, programs and environments that affect them” (Helen et al, 1984: 339). Greater demand for participation planning is emerging from the local residents. At the same time, planners recognize the importance of citizen involvement in the planning process as a recipe for fostering sustainable community development, especially when designing and promoting the tourism industry.

Importance for tourism planning and development

Tourism has become one of the largest and fastest growing industries in the world. In 1995, the World Tourism Organization (WTO) reported an increase of 3.8% in global international arrivals to a total of 567 million persons over 1994, while international tourism revenues increased 7.2% to \$372 billion over the previous year (WTO, 1996). The importance of the tourism industry as a foreign exchange earner can be recognized in both developed and developing countries. According to Western (1993), "tourism income in East Africa as a whole has been the single biggest influence behind its extensive network of protected areas" (Western, 1993: 8). The benefits provided to the local economy in terms of employment creation makes the industry attractive to government.

In recent years, the term ecotourism has grown as a "universal conservation catchword" (Western, 1994: 15) and as a component of sustainable development. Ecotourism is defined as "responsible travel to natural areas which conserves the environment and improves the welfare of local people" (The Ecotourism Society, 1993: 8). Western (1997) adds that "ecotourism today is seen as a set of principles and practices intended to ensure the sustainability of the entire nature-based tourism industry" (Western, 1997: 1). The growing interest in ecotourism because of its enormous economic benefits and conservation potentials, relies heavily on local resources and local expertise. Gakahu (1992) mentioned that "sustainable development is based on the ethic of care for the whole community of life now and in the future, and emphasizes that development must be people centred and conservation based" (Gakahu, 1992: 117). However in many cases, the tourism industry has been the cause behind numerous problems such as ecological damage, environmental degradation, and producing negative impacts on local culture rather than meeting local needs. The tourism industry must address these issues on a national and local level in order to balance conservation and culture for all stakeholders at a sustainable level. Finally, evidence suggests that efficient planned tourism might be structured to avoid negative effects and to meet local community needs (Brandon, 1993).

Citizen participation in tourism decision-making

There are many interpretations of what citizen participation entails with no agreement on a clear definition. Also, the perceptions of citizen participation in the planning process may differ between the bureaucratic elite and the indigenous community. Bureaucrats often refer to participation as a partnership between the tourism officials and the local indigenous people while local citizens often define participation as overall control of the planning process. A great amount of literature has been written on participatory practices (Arnstein, 1969; Glass, 1979; Sewell and Phillips, 1979), the impact of participation (Cole, 1974), the benefits of citizen participation (Arai, 1996), design of participatory programs (Glass, 1970) and the importance of public participation in community development (Florin & Wandersman, 1990). However, very little research has been published on the perceived levels of participation of local community members. To further this need for citizen recognition and involvement in the decision-making process and to adequately plan for sustainable community tourism development, the concept of citizen participation and its operational meaning will be examined in this research.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The political commitment to integrate local involvement in decision-making seems to be present in theory, however the implementation of the participatory process remains, in practice, dominated by the local elites with little involvement by the local people (Akama, 1996). Given the growing recognition to involve local participation in the decision-making process as a requirement for sustainable ecotourism development, little attention has been given to examine the different perspectives of the notion of citizen participation among the various members involved in the process of planning for tourism.

1.3 PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

This research proposes to examine the expectations of people as they are involved in the decision-making process. Arnstein's participation theory and Hersey and Blanchard's behavioural model will provide the framework for the analysis. The research will provide an understanding of people participation's level for the purpose of determining the optimal level of involvement in planning for tourism development. The study will contribute in providing a community participation technique based on the situational environment as a means of creating a foundation for effective involvement for the future of tourism development.

1.4 RESEARCH GOAL

To evaluate the different perceptions of citizen participation among the various people involved in the decision-making process as a means of determining the optimal level of citizen participation stimulating ecotourism initiatives to the benefit of local communities.

1.5 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this research are:

1. To identify measurement indicators for evaluating the levels of involvement of citizens when planning for tourism development
2. To determine the actual level of citizen involvement in the planning process for tourism development and match this level with the expectation of the players in the system by applying the ladder of citizen participation
3. To provide a framework for determining an optimal level of citizen involvement
4. To provide recommendations for achieving an optimal level of citizen participation

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS ADDRESSED IN STUDY

In order to fulfil the objectives of this research, specific questions were addressed during the interview and secondary data analysis process. The questions are grouped in four categories:

- What is the nature of the planning and decision-making process
- The current level of involvement
- The perceived optimal level of participation
- Barriers to community participation

The following type of information was sought in the attempt of understanding the current social, economical and cultural environment of key informants in a selected community.

- What is the current organizational process for planning tourism activities in a community? Who participates in the process of planning? Are there any tourism-based associations in the area (or community) involved in planning? Who makes the final decisions?
- What is the stakeholder's view towards involvement in tourism development in the community? How do local community member become involved in tourism and who may be involved? Will this type of change (tourism development) provide potential employment and/or educational opportunities for local residents to enjoy and benefit from?
- What is the future process for tourism planning at the local community level? Are all stakeholders interested in participating at each level of the process? What type of collaboration measures are currently in place to help tourism development? Is there sufficient external support?
- What are the main barriers affecting the development of tourism at the local level? Are the interests of each stakeholder represented in the planning process? Are the benefits from collaboration identified and appreciated by all community partners? Is a follow-up conducted after each stage of the planning process to evaluate its successes and failures?

The emphasis will be placed on examining the level of participation which are currently being experienced in the local communities and to gain a better understanding of the desired level of participation which communities would like to achieve in the future.

1.7 ORGANIZATION OF RESEARCH

This research is organized in six chapters starting from an overview of theoretical concepts to a case study process with research findings, analysis and recommendations.

Chapter 2 identifies theoretical concepts of community development and citizen participation.

Chapter 3 provides a clear outline of the research methodology while Chapter 4 presents an overview of the case study area and the communities involved in tourism development. Research findings are identified and analysed in Chapter 5 with a quick reference summary of key observations and findings presented at the end of the chapter. Chapter 6 concludes the study by introducing a model for evaluating and providing a process for achieving an optimal level of citizen participation.

CHAPTER 2 - REVIEW OF LITERATURE

“Efforts to make tourism a more sustainable option have been focussing increasingly on a community development approach, but an analysis of the differences between traditional community economic development and community tourism development clearly shows that tourism continues to be driven by levels of government rather than community interests” (Joppe, 1996: 475).

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The literature review chapter has been divided into three sections:

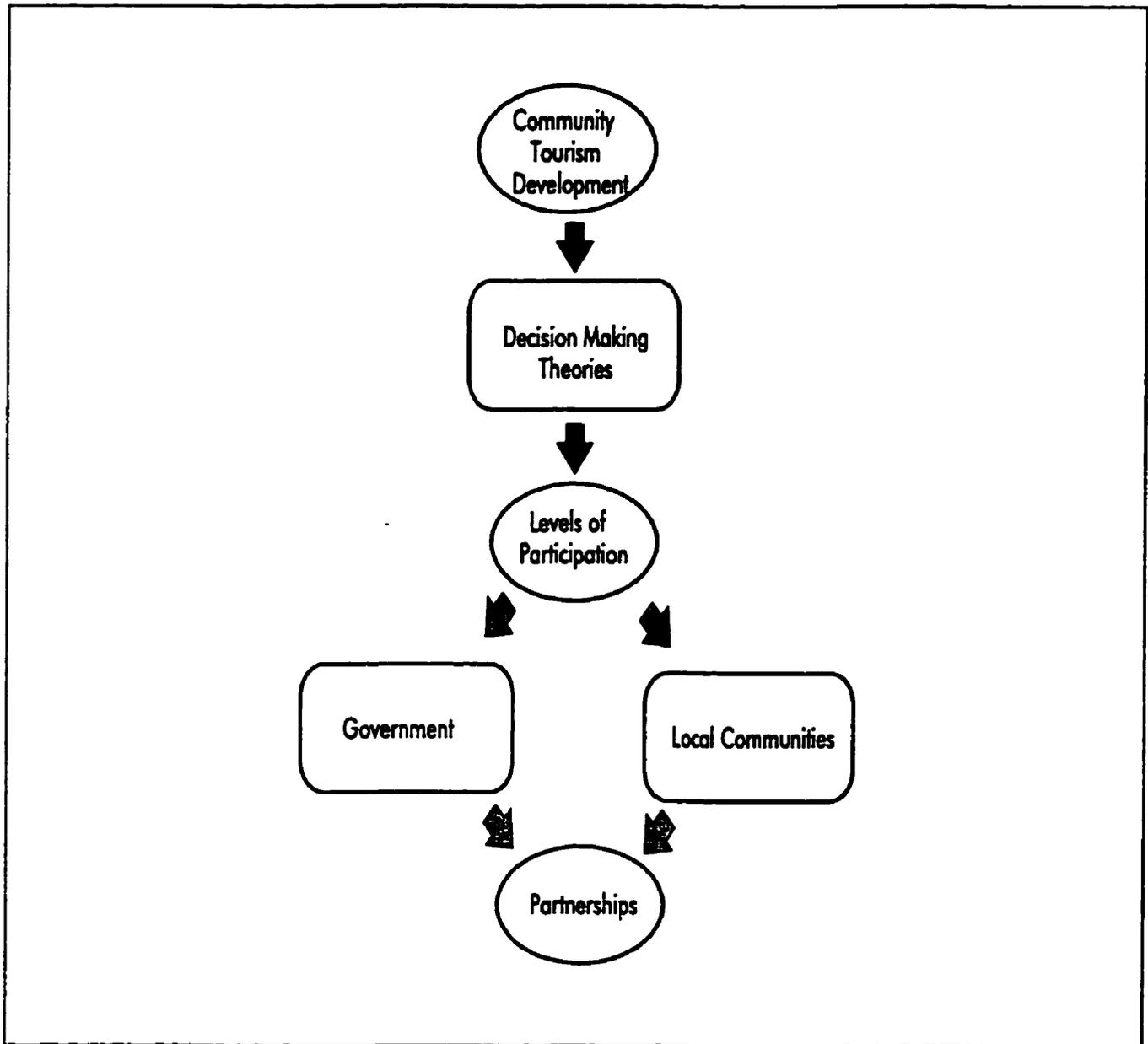
- theoretical concepts of community development;
- levels of involvement in a community approach;
- planning partnerships for tourism development.

The first section reviews and defines current theoretical concepts regarding community development. A review of social movement ideologies and traditions is provided and used as a foundation for planning principles with special emphasis on community interests.

Section two focuses on the importance of community involvement in community tourism development. Understanding the possible levels of community involvement in the decision-making process are indispensable to this research. A review of citizen participation frameworks which could be employed in determining optimal levels of citizen participation and evaluating the effectiveness of participation are presented in the final portion of this section.

The last section examines tourism partnerships with an emphasis on roles of stakeholders in the process and their involvement in the decision-making. Special emphasis is given to government and to local communities and their responsibilities as key partners in the process. The chapter concludes by exploring and discussing successful partnership frameworks and their implications for community participation. The literature review process is described in figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 Literature Review Process



2.2 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT - THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

Countries around the world are increasingly faced by economic restructuring. The majority are reassessing their current state of development by focussing their efforts on sustainable approaches brought forward after the World Commission on Environment and Development (The Bruntland Commission) in 1987. The popular buzzword 'sustainable development' defined as "meeting the needs and aspirations of the present without compromising the ability to meet those of the future" (Bruntland Commission, 1987: 40) favours environmental conservation at the global, national and international levels. Traditionally, the tourism field has been a response to a presented opportunity driven by government and industry rather than community interests. Now, efforts are placed on making tourism more sustainable by focussing on an alternative planning approach which involves community development.

Although tourism has become one of the largest growing industries in the world, emphasis is now being placed on responsible tourism by linking conservation and sustainable local development. Ecotourism, one branch of the travel industry, has surged because it amalgamates environmental, economic and social concerns. Ecotourism requires a multi disciplinary approach, careful planning and strict guidelines and regulations that will guarantee sustainable operation (Ceballos- Lascuráin, 1993). This form of development has large economic and conservation potential, and it is important to include local involvement to truly share the benefits associated with tourism development.

The goal of this section is to examine the definitions and different theories provided by many authors (Joppe, 1996; Brethour, 1994; Campfens, 1997; Reid and van Dreunen, 1996; Ross, 1967 ; Hutchison, 1998; Getz, 1983 and Friedmann, 1987) who have contributed to the literature of community development approaches. This will provide a greater understanding of the founding concepts which guide this research.

Defining community tourism development

Before examining the concept of community development, the term community must be defined. Joppe (1996) defines *community* as “self-defining based on a sense of shared purpose and common goals” (Joppe, 1996: 475). It may be geographical in nature or a community of interest, built on heritage and cultural values shared among community members.

According to Brethour (1994), an important prerequisite for a community is the broad interest of community members in participating in community development. “Often, communities cluster together beyond municipal boundaries, based on their assessment of the value in working together” (Brethour, 1994: 475). Her definition implies that a community must have a clear identity and common purpose to pursue community development. In other words, local residents must base their ideas and beliefs together to reach a common goal beyond boundaries and borders.

Campfens (1997) argues that often the notion of community refers to a ‘unity’ concept such as a village or a city neighbourhood. He states that: “there is an assumption that democratic consensus will somehow overcome differences and bring the various segments in the community together to form a united front of community action” (Campfens, 1997: 21).

If the term community can be summarized as the participation of united members sharing the same purpose or goal, then the application to empower and integrate these interests must focus on a corresponding implementing strategy for planned change. According to Reid and Van Dreunen (1996), the notion stressing the process of an implementing strategy is referred to as community development (Reid and van Dreunen, 1996: 49).

Over the years, community development has evolved from a desired state to a useful alternative approach to planning. The United Nations (1989) defined community development as “a process designated to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with its active participation” (United Nations, 1989: 81). Many scholars emphasize the process rather than the actual outcome of community development which is based on self-

sufficiency and local control over planned change (Wisner, 1981).

Ross (1967) summarizes the concept of community development by adding that “development of a specific project (such as an industry or school) is less important than the development of the capacity of people to establish that project” (Ross, 1967: 36). The importance of the level of citizen involvement is highlighted in this definition which can provide stronger and sustainable communities. This concept is also well summarized by Hutchison’s (1998) definition: “Community development is a process where citizens work together to identify issues which are important in their lives, to plan strategies which seem most relevant to them, and to put these plans into action” (Hutchison, 1998: 5).

Differentiating between community development and tourism development demonstrates that the latter is still driven by political power rather than community interests. Community economic development initiatives emerge usually from crisis situations that would affect the community as a whole. The process is locally driven and focuses on small, ‘green’ and social opportunities through independent and not-for-profit organizations. The new objectives of community economic development are ‘inward’ initiatives: “by helping consumers become producers, users become providers, and employees become owners of enterprise” (Joppe, 1996: 476) rather than ‘outward’ attracting businesses to the communities (Joppe, 1996). However, community groups still feel they have very little power in deciding how they should be involved in the initiatives.

On the other hand, community tourism development, still a new field in the planning profession, is mostly seen as a response to an opportunity that presents itself in the form of government assistance or development priority (Joppe, 1996). Planning departments tend to encourage the promotion of tourism in their community as an industry using a top-down approach and thus using the community as a resource to be developed or exploited for their tourism potential (Getz, 1983). The problem still remains with integrating tourism planning into official community plans for development (Gunn, 1994) and attempting to depoliticize the

community participation process. More often than not, tourism planning is linked with political prestige in supporting development of an event or site. Political powers will use these opportunities to rally themselves with supportive interest groups to gain 'community support' and/or 'community consultation' (Joppe, 1996).

The common problem of both community economic development and community tourism development remains with community groups. Involvement of local citizens in decision-making who might benefit from development in their community is still not evident. As Greenwood (1994) stated: "only the local people have learned about the 'cost' of tourism. The outside investors and the government have been reaping huge profits and are well satisfied" (Greenwood, 1994: 141). Most often the plans for development are introduced from an external agency or by government and not initiated by local communities who will eventually live with this new development.

It is suggested that there is a "need for a catalyst to bring the fundamental idea for development forward to the community for consideration" (Reid, Fuller, Haywood and Bryden, 1993: 73). In other words, local communities must start initiating such development projects perhaps in the beginning with the guidance of an agency supporting communities' interests. The planning process supporting community interests groups and encouraging their active involvement in decision-making will be examined in following sections. However, these fundamental ideas are not always new, they have been reoccurring for centuries. These ideas and concepts have all been based on past movements, which depending on the area and stages of development, will help guide the process. The catalyst represents the 'initiator' and a 'mediator' in the planning process using fundamental theoretical concepts as a guideline to effectively and efficiently meet the needs of the community. These concepts and theories are presented in the next section.

Social movements for community development

Social forces have, since the nineteenth century, influenced the style of planning. Certain theories based on technical reasoning or rationality such as social guidance were opposed by a movement which related to the political communities and utopian traditions. The last and most recent theory which contributed the most to the practice of community development is *social learning*. Ideologies and traditions which have influenced planning and development have been best reviewed by John Friedmann (1987). One of Friedmann's definitions of planning is based on the Social Learning theory.

The concept of action is central here, in the sense that action is viewed as being prior to any need for scientific and technical knowledge. Actors request the services of planners; they are in charge. The concept is taken from political philosophy (Arendt, 1958), in which action signifies both a departure from routine behaviour (a new path or an innovative practice) and the initiation of a chain of consequences that, except for the action, would not have occurred. (Friedmann, 1987: 39)

The Social Learning theory is based on actions within the person's environment and is defined as 'knowledge derived from experiences and validated by practice'. The learning process is not static but forever changing and being modified by the lessons drawn from practice (Campfens, 1997). Friedmann states that social learning is a complex process that flows from the attempt to change reality through four practices: political strategies and tactics, theories of reality, values that inspire and direct action. Friedmann's model of social practice and learning describes the correlative process involving actors (individual person, small groups or organized communities), learners (the same as actors) and the mode of learning (through participation in an activity, by a consultant or facilitator or by a single or double-loop learning which involves action to solve a problem).

Social learning involves professional practitioners working in partnership with community or community groups. In the tourism planning field, community organizations are now starting to play an important role in the action-oriented process. Local people are seeing the

direct result of their participation thus, more are volunteering.

The importance of prior learning also referred to as indigenous knowledge for development is still not being recognized as an essential tool in planning. Friedmann stated that practice guided by theory is not only based on evolving experience but on prior learning. This traditional knowledge based on concepts, beliefs, perceptions acquired, augmented, stored and transmitted over generations have proven that rural people have a profound and detailed knowledge of their ecosystem and thus, over time have enabled themselves to manage their natural resources (Von Lieesten, 1993; Chambers, 1979; Atle, 1993). By promoting tourism in rural communities and encouraging community involvement from key interest groups and organizations, past experiences and traditional knowledge should be referred to when developing innovative practice for future development.

This section has provided a general overview of planning movements developed over the last century. These concepts are still currently employed as the founding theory of planning and for this study of community tourism development. Understanding the community's needs, by involving its members in the development process can have a 'catalyst' effect on their perceived level of empowerment and on their environment. This will be further examined in the following section.

2.3 LEVELS OF INVOLVEMENT IN A COMMUNITY APPROACH

To achieve sustainable tourism development, community members involved in a coordinated planning process must work together in achieving a common goal. The growth in community-led initiatives has emerged in the 1990's. Pigram (1992) claims that: "community involvement in tourism planning and development is not merely good relations, it can also play a role in facilitating the policy implementation process" (Pigram, 1992: 85). Many studies exist which stress the importance of citizen participation and its role in the decision-making process although, the types and levels of involvement from community members are subject to further

examination. The purpose of this section is to present an understanding of citizen participation and the levels of involvement of local members in planning for the successful development of a community. Citizens want to improve the quality of their environment, enhance services, prevent crime, and improve the general social conditions of their community (Chavis and Wandersman, 1990: 56).

What is citizen participation?

The term citizen participation has been defined by many authors (Akama, 1996; Arai, 1996; Arnstein, 1969; Florin and Wandersman, 1990; Gakahu, 1992; McArthur, 1993) as a 'tool' involving individuals in the decision-making process for community development. Various forms of participation have influenced the social movements of planning such as advisors on boards or committees, policy makers on neighbourhood councils, local residents in community organizations and women's groups (Florin and Wandersman, 1990). Citizen participation is said to provide beneficial results to community and neighbourhood improvements which encourage a feeling of confidence and competence contributing to the process of personal empowerment (Florin & Wandersman, 1990; Arai, 1996).

Arnstein (1969) defines citizen participation as redistributing power to the 'have-not' citizens which were excluded from political and economic processes, enabling them to be included in future plans and/or programs. Hall (1994) states that "the study of power arrangements is a vital part of the analysis of tourism policy because power governs the interaction of individuals, organisations and agencies influencing, or trying to influence, the formulation of tourism policy and the manner in which it is implemented" (Hall, 1994: 52). By becoming involved in the planning process at all levels, the have-not citizens will have a better chance of sharing in the fruits of that planning.

Gakahu (1992) states that local people have the greatest knowledge of their environment and natural resources which, when blended with modern techniques, gives the best results. He

outlines three types of participation: *remedial*, *token* and *real* participation. *Remedial* participation means that people are informed of a certain project/program, however, they are not consulted during the initial project identification stage. *Token* participation involves the local people in the designing and planning process but excludes them from all project negotiations such as initial identification and the discovery of alternative processes. As for *real* participation, all views of the local residents are considered and respected as resource owners, users and partners in all aspects of project planning and implementation. "Local participation ensures avoidance of developments and decisions that would conflict with the people. The tactic fosters better planning and educates people about their rights, and the purpose and benefits of a project. It is not a solution to all problems. It has intimate risks and costs and can be impossible in politically unstable or sensitive areas" (Gakahu, 1992: 122).

Finally, McArthur (1993) provides two underlying assumptions reflecting the reason for the popularity of community participation. First, if communities are given a voice, this will produce greater results in quality decision-making more closely tied to the local needs. Second, greater care and responsibility of their neighbourhood will result through local community involvement.

Degrees of Participation

In most Third World countries, tourism development is influenced by western cultural and environmental values. Very little involvement has been organized and encouraged from community projects, program designs or management of wildlife conservation. Furthermore, the unequal distribution of tourism revenues and benefits have created negative attitudes towards wildlife conservation and tourism activities in local communities. In recent years, a great amount of literature has been written on the efficiency of local community participation in wildlife conservation and tourism development. However most suggested methods in community-based participatory programmes have failed to achieve positive results (Akama, 1996; Little 1994;

Pleuramon, 1994).

According to Akama (1996), for successful citizen participation community tourism development, local peasants “need sanctioned authority to enable them to implement programme responsibility” (Akama, 1996: 573). He suggests a decentralization of authority and decision-making from the powerful stakeholders to elected regional and grass-roots institutions and organizations such as local charitable organizations, indigenous institutions and women’s groups. Thus, small-scale, locally controlled tourism projects could be fostered respecting indigenous cultures and the local environment.

McArthur (1993) argues that organizing community alliances often tend to rely on formal structures. The advantage is that for most public as well as larger community organizations this form of association based on a hierarchy and bureaucratic decision-making system is familiar to them. However, for local community members, this process is somewhat alien. Which means, a loss of confidence and limited contribution from key community participants. He recommends that planning with a decentralized approach may avoid redundancy and encourage linkages between different types of community organizations.

Brant (1995:32) suggests a rational for community-level involvement:

- a. The search for coherency to avoid redundancy, reduce conflict, reduce incompatibilities and increase potential for development by building on linkages
- b. Ensure broad participation
- c. Encourage transfer of ideas and experiences within the community
- d. Participation where appropriate regarding decisions and priorities on community infrastructure.

These points must be encouraged in community-based planning and must be viewed and understood by each participant.

While community participation is currently in the spotlight in the 1990's as a fashionable idea for tourism development, few have actually occurred. In the 1960's and 1970's, citizen

participation was regarded as simply “informing, consulting and locating communities” (McArthur, 1993: 314) with development information. Now, participation initiatives centre on promoting balanced partnerships in the decision-making process among all various stakeholders. However, McArthur concludes that, “if a genuine desire to involve communities as partners in the decision-making process exists, current approaches will require proper evaluation to determine what, if any, impact community participation is having on the decisions that are made, the capacity of local communities and on the attitudes and practices of all participants involved” (McArthur, 1993: 314).

Models for Evaluating Citizen Participation

The purpose of this section is to review the different models which could be employed in determining the most appropriate levels of citizen participation in the planning process for community tourism development.

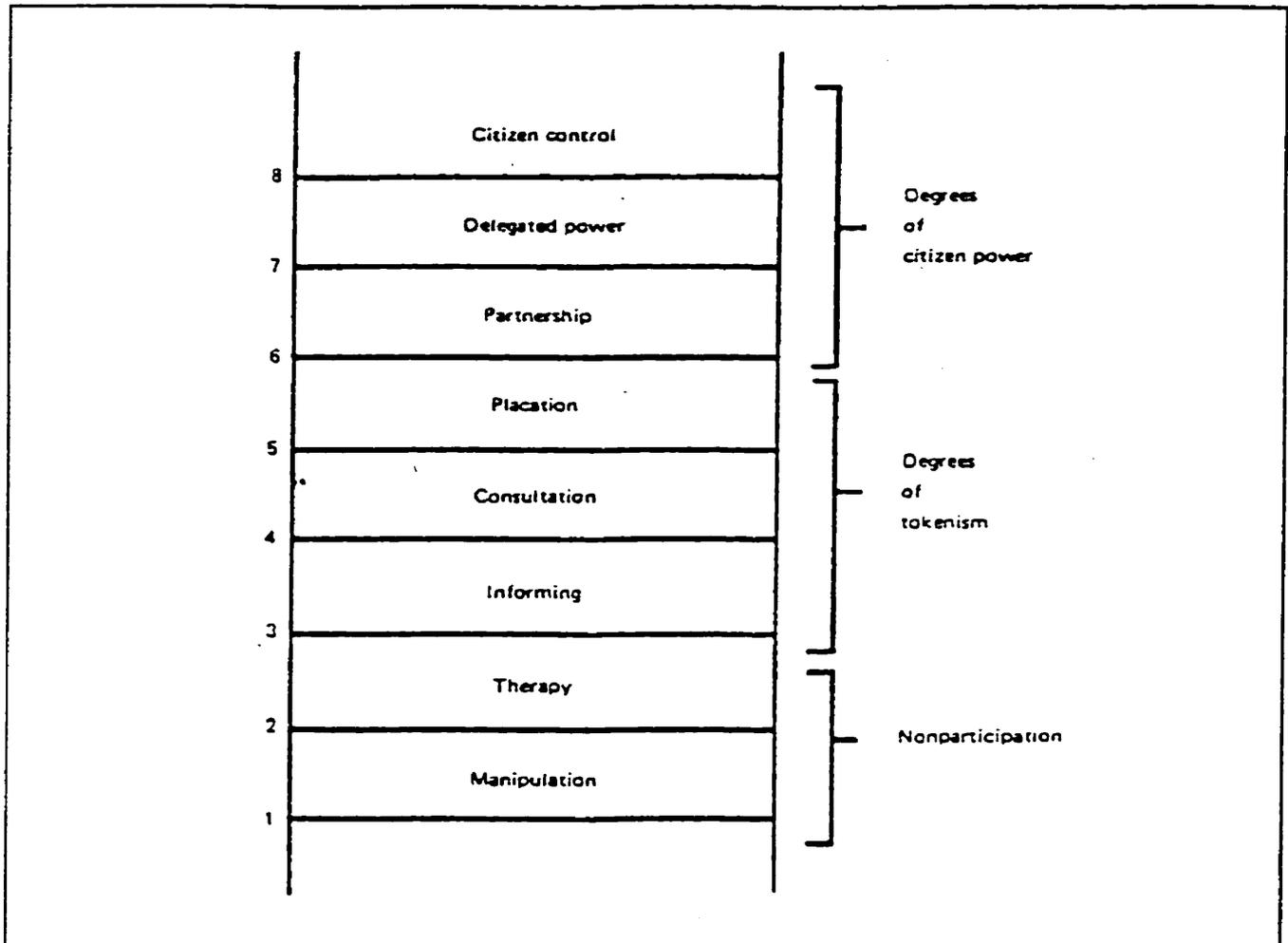
The concept of citizen participation (also referred to as involvement in the planning process) has been fundamentally described by S. Arnstein (1969) in her eight levels of participation referred to as the *Ladder of Citizen Participation* shown in figure 2.2.

The eight steps or “rungs” of the ladder correspond to the three principal degrees of participation: non-participation, tokenism and citizen power. *Manipulation* (rung 1), the non-participation bottom rung emphasizes a clear “information-gathering sessions with officials who promote their plan and ideas by educating, persuading and advising” the citizens (Arnstein, 1969: 218). The power holders are convinced that the “grassroots people” are involved in the program. *Therapy* (rung 2) refers to “curing” the powerless by engaging in extensive group therapy masquerading as citizen participation.

Informing (rung 3) is the first concrete step in citizen participation although it emphasizes a “one-way flow between officials to citizens” (Arnstein, 1969: 218). The methods of communicating with local citizens are through pamphlets, posters or documents. Questions

and opportunities to discussed issues are discouraged in order to restrain the possible influence of the program design.

Figure 2.2 Ladder of Citizen Participation



(Arnstein, 1969)

Consultation (rung 4) is the first step towards full participation by inviting citizens' opinions collected in surveys, neighbourhood meetings, and public hearings. However citizen concerns and ideas are not guaranteed to be considered in the final plan. The citizens are perceived as "statistical abstractions having participated in participation" (Arnstein, 1969: 219).

The last step in the level of tokenism is *Placation* (rung 5). At this level, citizens are “hand-picked” and placed on community boards acting as advisers and planners but most often are outvoted by the traditional power elite holding seat majority. These citizens are regarded as “watchdogs” of the actual planning process but must provide the “rubber stamp” when a plan is generated. They are not provided with adequate technical expertise or resources and their approaches to problem-solving remains simple and traditional.

The last two levels, included in the degrees of citizen power, engage the citizen in negotiating with power holders and obtaining the majority of decision-making seats or managerial positions. *Partnership* (rung 6) includes a sharing planning and decision-making process among the citizens and power holders. When citizens achieve dominant decision-making authority for a plan or program, they have reached the *Delegated Power* (rung 7) level in the ladder. The citizens obtain a majority of seats over the public officials. Power holders must negotiate with the citizens to resolve differences for the proposed plan or program.

Finally the last step is the *Citizen Control* (rung 8). People are demanding a degree of power (or control) to govern their own community projects and programs as well as policies which ‘outsiders’ might change them. Although citizen groups might reach control over the planning and the organization aspects of a project or program however, the final approval of most plans must be approved by a decision-making body before they are fully accepted.

Arnstein’s Ladder (1969) is used as a tool to measure the type of local involvement among participation in community tourism development. Numerous planners, researchers and scholars have referred to Arnstein’s concept of citizen’s power in decision-making although with certain modifications to her framework. Modifications include taking into account having a clear understanding of the local customs and traditions, providing greater value to the ecological knowledge-based beliefs and customs, and respecting elderly leader’s traditional views.

Glass (1979) argues that although an increasing understanding of citizen participation can be found among researchers and practitioners, little attention has been giving to “the objectives

that one hopes to accomplish by implementing a program of citizen participation” (Glass, 1979: 180). Glass developed a categorization of objectives and a topology of participatory techniques shown in table 2.1.

Table 2.1 The objectives, techniques, and purposes of citizen participation

Objectives				
	Information Exchange	Education & Support Building	Decision-Making Supplement	Representational Input
Technique categories	Unstructured	Structured	Active process	Passive process
Techniques	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Drop-in centres 2. Neighbourhood meetings 3. Agency info meetings 4. Public hearings 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Citizen advisory committee 2. Citizen review boards 3. Citizen task forces 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Nominal group process 2. Analysis of judgement 3. Value analysis 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Citizen survey 2. Delphi process
Administrative perspective			Citizen perspective	
Purposes				

(Glass, 1979)

Five objectives of citizen participation are identified by Glass (1979):

- information making,
- education,
- support building,
- supplemental decision-making, and
- representational input.

He further distinguishes each objective with its purpose for citizen participation as an administrative perspective involving citizens in planning and governmental process or a citizen perspective which provides citizens with a distinct voice in planning and decision-making. Each objective is associated with specific participatory techniques. For example, to illustrate the relationship between objectives and techniques, a popular technique that has been used to obtain citizen input is citizen advisory committees. According to Glass (1979), this technique has been used to provide advice on plans, to aid in goal identification, and to assist in needs assessment for

planners working at the local government level which is directly linked to the educational and support for building objectives. Glass emphasizes that this method of matching objectives to a technique should be implemented prior to developing a citizen participation program.

Jusoff (1995) discusses the involvement of local people in an integrated strategy for combining the needs of the local population and the economic use of forest land and to limit forest encroachment in conserving biodiversity. A workable methodology was developed which could be applied in a case study. The model includes nine action strategies to encourage local involvement to conserve forest resources. These include:

- 1) Improvement of village education
- 2) Define interdepartmental relationships and responsibilities within the State
- 3) Priority sites
- 4) Strict protection laws
- 5) Involvement of local people in decision-making
- 6) Provision of incentives
- 7) Provision of marketing facilities
- 8) Increased forest extension programmes
- 9) Identification and quantification of encroached lands through remotely sensed data.

The management plan for conserving biodiversity was designed to integrate the needs of local people in the national strategy of the State. Both the nation and the local communities are responsible for conserving the forest resources in order to enjoy future benefits of the land.

According to Vindasius, the 'process' of participation was defined as "the impact of clear objectives, adequate budget and staff, communication and accountability relationships, and compatibility between the planning process and the public involvement programme" (Vindasius, 1965: 339). Vindasius's model of evaluating public participation is based on the perceptions of key actors (agency staff, programme personnel or community leaders) involved in the programme. Three specific objectives were identified (Vindasius, 1965: 23):

- 1) the provision of information to the citizenry (*information out*)
- 2) the receipt of information from the citizenry (*information in*)
- 3) incorporation of the inputs into the planning process

These goals were evaluated in terms of their *effectiveness* of accomplishing the objective and in terms of *efficiency* of cost to pursue an objective. Although this evaluation of community participation approach is somewhat biased toward the “agency’s view of the objectives for public involvement, this method offers a model which is less time consuming and requires a limited amount of resource to carry out the evaluation which makes it attractive to agencies than others.

A second model of evaluation and of public participation has been presented by Farrell, Melin and Stacey (1976). They define public participation from an agency viewpoint as:

- 1) enhancement of public acceptance of planning decisions;
- 2) provide a source of data for planning activities; and
- 3) education of the public so that they will acquire skills that can be used to deal with planning problems in their own communities.

Seven types of involvement are identified in the model presented in Figure 2.3.

- persuasion
- education
- information-feedback
- consultation
- joint planning
- delegated authority
- self-determination

Each programme is evaluated according to the type of involvement they employ (techniques) with the help of the potential indicators. The evaluation is based on the programme ‘outcome’ (how objectives were achieved), ‘the process’ (if objectives were achieved) and the ‘attitude’ (participants attitudes towards their degree of involvement). Limitations of this evaluation method include, difficulties towards agency satisfaction, large amount of information required as well as time.

Figure 2.3 Framework for Evaluation

	PERSUASION	EDUCATION	INFORMATION - FEEDBACK	CONSULTATION	JOINT PLANNING	DELEGATED AUTHORITY	SELF- DETERMINISM
Techniques	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The use of public involvement techniques in legitimate endeavours to change attitudes without raising public expectations of participating in the planning process. OBJECTIVES - To convince the public of the desirability of a preconceived program or policy through positive attitude development. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The use of information dissemination and general instruction to create an awareness of programs and issues. OBJECTIVES - To enhance effectiveness of existing governmental programmes - To create a foundation for future public involvement. - To strengthen environmental consciousness and to effect behavioural changes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The distribution by the authority, of information on a policy planning situation on which the authority has a stated position and the request for public feedback on that position. OBJECTIVES - To allow individual to react in a formative - evaluative manner to a presented management scheme. - To disseminate effectively relevant information. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Uses of formal dialogue between authorities and public based on initially established mutually accepted objectives. OBJECTIVES - To facilitate development of the initial frame of reference, and selection of involvement techniques by the public. - To allow individuals to present local information and react to management alternatives. - to demonstrate how public inputs affect alternatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Shared decision-making. The public is represented on departmental planning boards, is given voting, and decision-making authority. Issues should be geographically specific and understandable by local participants. OBJECTIVES - To evaluate a policy. - To develop a management plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The transfer of responsibilities, normally associated with the authority, to the public or other levels of government possessing the necessary expertise. OBJECTIVES - To utilize an existing element of self-help or mutual aid within a community to achieve authority goals. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The undertaking of the planning process by the public. OBJECTIVES - To shift or diffuse the responsibilities for the planning process from the authority to the public. - To strengthen, at the community level, development skills
Evaluation Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Amount of resistance experienced towards program development and program results. - Number of participants reached in relation to the total population the program is attempting to affect. - Number of people who have a positive attitude toward the program. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Amount of time spent participating in some educational activity (e.g. reading, lectures, interviews). - The extent of behavioural change which occurs as a direct result of public education on environmental issues (e.g. litter on road side). - Increase in utilization of community resources relative to the planning process, e.g. libraries, community agencies, indigenous expertise, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Changes in the program caused by citizen feedback. - Frequency of contact between the public and the authority as measured by meetings, letters, telephone calls. - Participants' attitudes toward perceived influence over policy. - Acceptance of final decisions (successful programs generate acceptance). - Extent to which ideas generated by the information feedback process contribute to management decisions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Changes in the program caused by citizen feedback and consultation. - Frequency of contact between the public and the authority as measured by meetings, letters, telephone calls. - Participants' attitude toward perceived influence over policy. - Output of the consultative process. - The extent to which polarization of public opinion was prevented. - Acceptance of final decision (successful programs generate acceptance). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The degrees to which public representatives actually influenced the group decision-making process. - The degree to which the public perceives it has had a voice via its representatives. - Frequency of examples given which indicate changed self-perception of committee representatives, e.g. new leaders in groups, previously inarticulate individuals speaking out, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Whether the program meets its objectives. - Public reaction to projects. - The increase in the public's communication and problem solving skills. - Frequency of initiatives, and acceptance of responsibility for problem resolution by public. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number of programs initiated by the public and number of people participating. - Perceived control over environment by the public. - Increased group formation and use of community resources for involvement purposes. - Indications of constructive interaction between groups. - Frequency of travel to outside areas by individuals to act as resources personnel in other communities on similar issues.

(Farrell, Melin and Stacey, 1976)

Another method of evaluating participation was introduced by Sewell and Phillips (1979). According to the authors, “different participants in the public involvement process have different perceptions of the objectives of participation and different perceptions of the objectives of participation and the criteria to be used and, thus they draw differing conclusions about their experience” (Sewell and Phillips, 1979:346). Following a review of selected case studies, Sewell and Phillips argue that three basic parameters are required in the design and implementation process of a public involvement programme. These include:

- 1) **A high degree of citizen involvement:** which includes first the numbers of citizen and second the degree of individual participation. Although the level of participation will depend on the techniques used, the nature of the problem, attitudes or the public contact and various power relationship often, a high degree of participation is not achieved by a large number of participants because most techniques cannot facilitate both (Simmons, 1994).
- 2) **A high degree of equity:** which is defined as “the relative degree of representation, that is, the extent to which all potential opinions and values were heard” (Sewell and Phillips, 1979: 354).
- 3) **A high cost and time efficiency:** which represents the amount of time and resources required to reach a decision.

These three elements may not be achievable simultaneously, some trade-offs may be required depending on the planning objectives, techniques and processes. In Canada, many public involvement programmes with mounting costs and lengthy delays in decision-making have been reevaluated for a more efficient and equitable degree of involvement. Simmons adds that: “No technique can fulfil alone all the requirements of participation and a ‘staged approach’, using a variety of techniques, will be required as planning moves from normative (policy) to an operational context” (Simmons, 1994: 100).

In the late 1960's, Hersey and Blanchard developed a practical model for managers and leaders to develop their diagnostic skills to effectively adapt their leadership style to meet the needs of their environment. “He must have the personal flexibility and range of skills necessary

to vary his own behaviour. If the needs and motives of his [followers] are different, they must be treated differently” (Hersey and Blanchard, 1996: 188). The model, called *Situational Leadership* (figure 2.4) provides an understanding of the relationship between an effective style of leadership and the level of readiness of their followers” (Hersey, Blanchard and Johnson, 1996: 189). There are three principal components of the model:

- **Task Behaviour:** the amount of guidance and direction a leader gives to each follower;
- **Relationship Behaviour:** the amount of socio-emotional support a leader provides; and
- **Level of Readiness:** the level of confidence and the amount of ability and willingness the follower has to perform a given task.

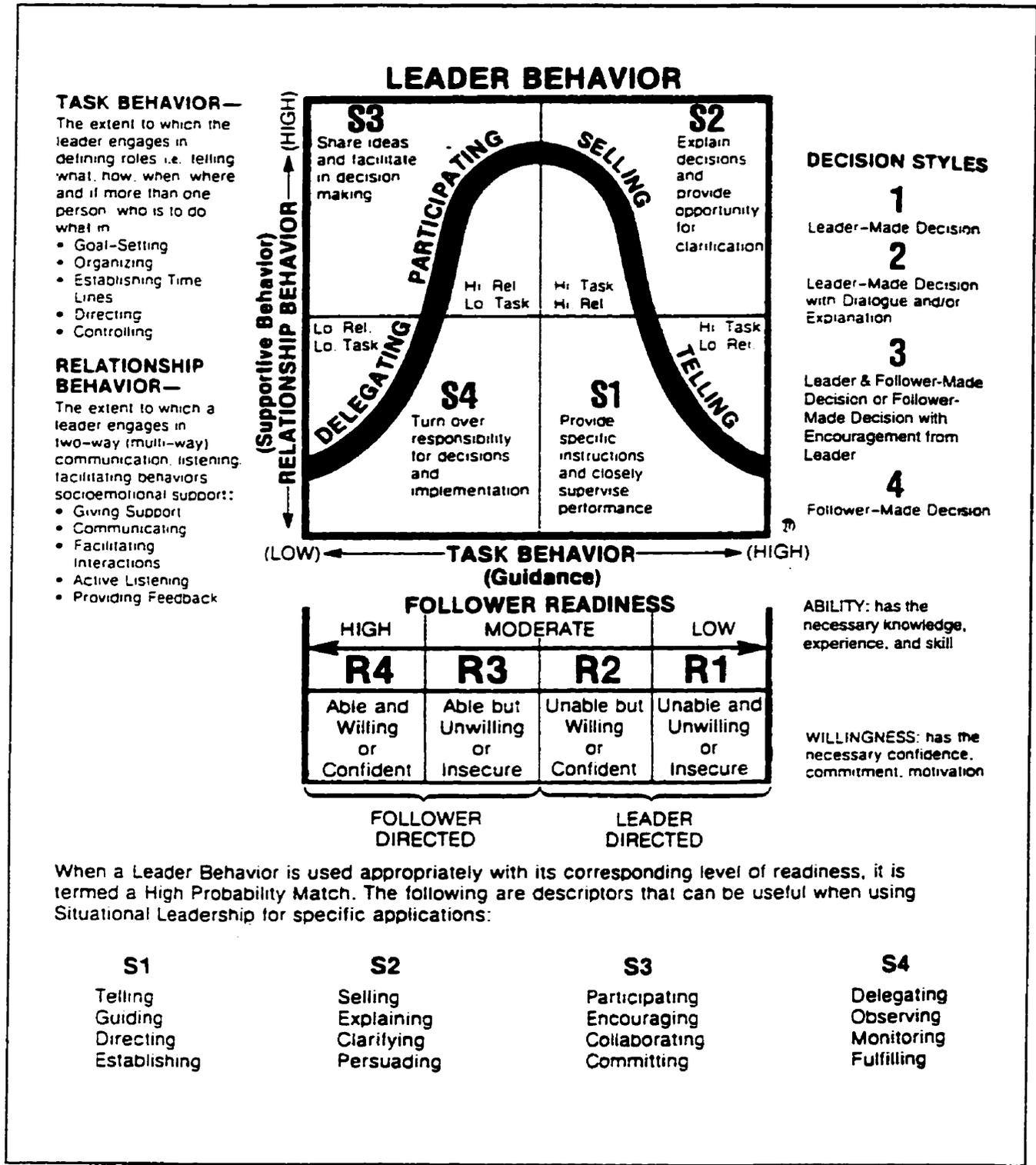
The emphasis in this model is placed on the leader’s behaviour in relation to his/her followers. Hersey, Blanchard and Johnson explained the importance for leaders to continuously balance their style of leadership by adapting to the ever changing abilities and demands of their staff or public. The followers are the most critical part in leading the completion of a task. “Followers in any situation are vital, not only because individually they accept or reject the leader, but because as a group they actually determine whatever personal power the leader may have” (Hersey, Blanchard and Johnson, 1996: 190).

The model is divided into four quadrants showing the different leadership styles (S) which are based on the connection between the amount of direction given by a leader (task behaviour) and the amount of socio-emotional support a leader provides (relationship behaviour).

The leadership styles are represented by S1 to S4 as follows:

- S1: high task - low relationship
- S2: high task - high relationship
- S3: high relationship - low task
- S4: low relationship - low task

Figure 2.4 The Situational Leadership Model



Below the four quadrants is a continuum of followers' readiness levels to perform a given task. Hersey and Blanchard (1996: 193) define *readiness* as the extent to which a follower demonstrates the ability and willingness to accomplish a specific task. Depending on the task given, followers will be at a different level of readiness either R1 through R4.

- R1: Unable and unwilling or insecure
- R2: Unable but willing or confident
- R3: Able but unwilling or insecure
- R4: Able and willing or confident

The purpose of Hersey and Blanchard's model is to provide a tool for determining the level of leadership style required by a manager/leader when responding to the level of readiness of his subordinate, employee (or as followers in the model). A bell-shape curve in the task behaviour/relationship behaviour quadrants represents the level of readiness the followers develops along the continuum in relation with the appropriate style of leadership found along the curvilinear function. For example, if a community demonstrates difficulties in the initial steps of a programme design, the governmental staff would provide the community with direction with their new responsibilities (high task) while continuing to provide guidance and encouragement (high relationship) when needed or requested. This style 2 (S2) represents a follower (the community) willing but unable to perform the required task perhaps because of lack of experience or knowledge. Thus, the leader's responsibility is to diagnosis this situation and to act by teaching the employee the proper skill required to complete the task successfully.

The participation level in the S3 style of leadership focuses on encouraging and communicating with the follower. R3 corresponds to the follower who is able but unwilling or unsecured to accomplish a given task. The leader's behaviour would include (Hersey, Blanchard and Johnson, 1996: 204):

- share responsibility for decision-making with follower
- feed follower's "need to know"
- focus on results
- involve follower in consequences of task to increase commitment and motivation

- combine leader-follower decision-making
- determine next step
- encourage and support
- discuss apprehension

This model has great implications for government of developing countries who want to promote partnerships with communities in tourism development. Hersey and Blanchard (1996)'s model can be used in diagnosing the communities' behaviour by adapting a leadership style (used by the governmental officials) appropriate to effectively influence the communities' behaviour in accomplishing a task successfully. Hersey, Blanchard and Johnson (1996: 209) add that: "leaders should help followers grow in readiness as far as they are able and willing to go" and to adjust their style of behaviour along the leadership bell-shape curve.

2.4 PLANNING PARTNERSHIPS FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

It is thought that if tourism development is going to be beneficial to local communities, in strengthening community linkages, this means that partnerships between local citizens and professionals will be necessary to achieve the challenge. The objective of this section is to discuss and review the importance of partnerships in the planning process. While this concept is rapidly growing in the planning field, focus will be given on providing strategies relevant for developing community-based tourism. Today as we advocate a more pluralistic and participatory approach to planning, state agencies are starting to function more in partnerships with NGOs and community organizations (Campfens, 1997). Community development recognizes the richness brought from diverse stakeholders in knowledge, experience and abilities and encourage their participation and responsibility in the planning process in order to build stronger and healthier communities.

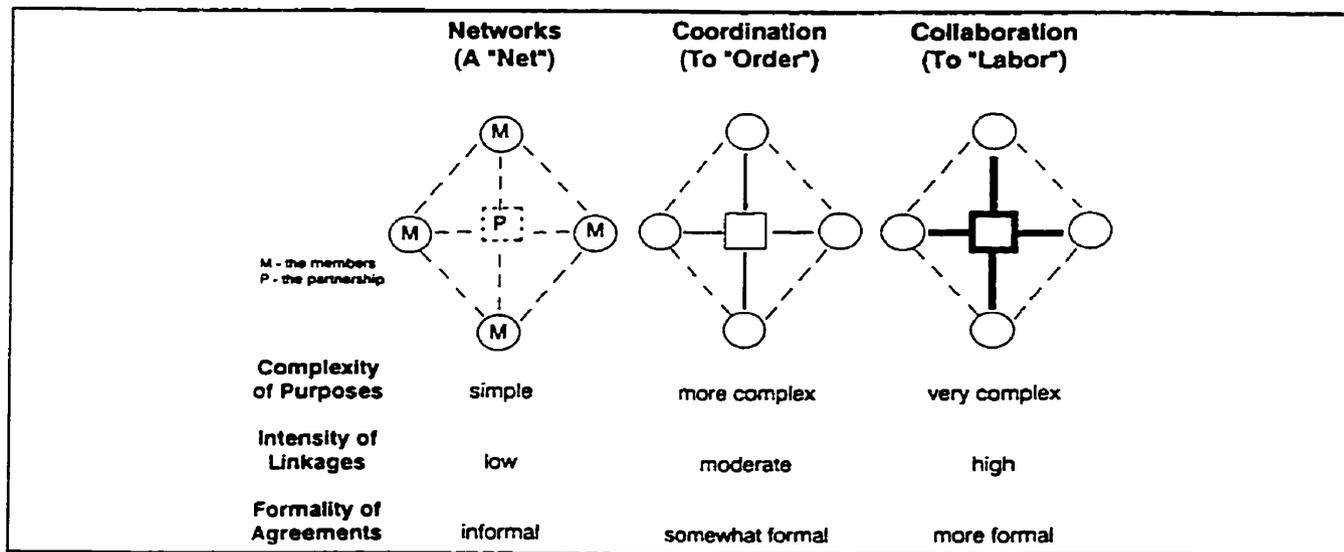
Partnerships for sustainable tourism development

The term partnership may be defined in a variety of ways. Level (1994) describes

partnership as a form of cooperation or collaboration among voluntary agencies, the public sector, the government and the local community. He (ibid, 1994) refers to collaboration as joint planning originating from the search for rational comprehensive planning in pursuit of collaboration. While Freshwater, Thurston and Ehrensaft (1993) suggest that: “a partnership whether it is a business relationship or a community development agreement, entails that at least two parties recognize that they have some mutual goals that can be best achieved through coordinated systematic action and can form an agreement on how to act to reach those goals” (Freshwater, Thurston and Ehrensaft, 1993:6). Gray (1989) refers to a partnership as a process of collaboration “which parties who see different aspects of a problem can constructively explore their differences and search for solutions that go beyond their own limited vision of what is possible” (Gray, 1989:5).

Partnerships require a commitment of resources from organizations in the coalition-building. Habana-Hafner, Reed and Associates (1989) outline three different types of partnerships: *networks*, *coordination* and *collaboration*. The following figure 2.5 demonstrates the purpose of partnership, the intensity of linkage and the terms of agreement.

Figure 2.5 Types of Partnerships



(Habana-Hafner, Reed & Associates, 1989)

The first type of partnership, the *Network*, uses a simple low intensity and informal working agreement and is applicable to this study especially in community development. This partnership requires that all parties have a desire to achieve a similar goal and can then share ideas and resources in the process. The other two types of partnership offer a more strict and formal form of agreement which are applicable to a business partnership.

Partnerships are formed to meet the compelling needs of their communities by motivating organizations to work together to become more effective and provide new perspectives for joint solutions to problems. According to Freshwater, Thurston and Ehrensaft (1993), partnerships are described as being “the primary vehicle for bringing about community development” (Freshwater, Thurston and Ehrensaft, 1993: 3). The following reasons explain why partnerships would be formed and why they are essential for the development and well-being of communities (Habana-Hafner, Reed and Associates, 1989:3):

- complex community problems such as unemployment, lack of infrastructure must be addressed with a pool of resources;
- old problems need fresh solutions: provide new perspective for a persisting problem;
- mandates from founders: often external founders require a partnership arrangement among service providers to avoid duplication of effort and to maximize the use of existing resources;
- personal desire for new relationships: friendship outside the community-based organization provides a form of professional networking using the work-place for a meeting setting;
- public relations strategies: obtaining a public image such as media attention is often essential for private industries to gaining credibility from consumers and cooperation from communities;
- reduction in resource allocations: sharing costs and resources for programs among organizations;
- social, economic, and political agendas: to strengthen and broaden their support base by establishing a coalition for a common vision.

Hutchison (1998) also adds that: “one of the most important ways to build stronger communities is through formal partnerships - partnerships between citizens and professionals, and partnerships between different professions. Formal partnerships are one way to acknowledge

the involvement of major stakeholders, clarify their roles, and strengthen community linkages” (Hutchison, 1998: 6).

An interdisciplinary involvement and coordination of different parties with effective communication, strong internal agreement and leadership are key for a partnership to succeed. Many authors have commented on the characteristics of an effective partnership during the formation and the operation of this service. Depending on the context and environment, these characteristics may vary and some might become more complex . Table 2.2 presents a list of characteristics which are required for a successful partnership.

Table 2.2 Characteristics for a Successful Partnership

PARTNERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS	
•	rests upon its community actions and not an external force
•	jointly consolidate scarce financial and organizational resources, share cost or information - intensive investments into a multi-sectoral interdisciplinary effort to improve conditions of the community
•	share common goals with concrete meanings
•	sequencing projects and programs to demonstrate progress
•	to withstand withdrawals form groups and individuals by including new groups and concepts into a larger program
•	assemble resources form various partners (government, local groups, businesses and individuals)

(Adapted from Fitzgerald, 1992; Bryant, 1993; MacNeil, 1993; Kickbusch, 1989; and Shaffer, 1988)

Stakeholders involvement in the planning process

The involvement of partners reflects a willingness to cooperate, coordinate and to collaborate together towards the improvement of the local environment. According to the partnership definition by the Agriculture and Rural Restructuring Group Conference (ARRG) in 1993, a true partnership requires the involvement of various levels of government, local community groups, businesses and non-governmental organizations. All partners commonly referred to as ‘stakeholders’ have a common interest or ‘stake’ in the quality, distribution and delivery of the development plan. There are major differences between the perspectives and

requirements of the various stakeholders that must be appreciated if community development is to be successful (O’Looney, 1992; Rubbin, 1990; Edwards and Mulder, 1992; Bryant, 1993). Stakeholders motivations to join a community partnership must be based on common goals, new decision rules, shared tasks, joint actions, and opportunities for their community (Habana-Hafner, Reed and Associates, 1989).

It is important to choose the critical stakeholders required in the partnership and to encourage them to become involved. Too many partners might create chaos and disillusionment in the overall planning process although a facilitator might help strengthen the participation in the partnership process. Furthermore, Bryant (1995) stressed that “it is important that a player who is to take a lead role in initiating or managing a community-wide process have a high level of credibility and respect in the community” (Bryant, 1995:34). The task of building the partnership and encouraging participation of members towards a common interest takes time and flexibility. McArthur (1993) adds that giving communities an opportunity to shape the strategy at an early stage will help them build trust and good relations between the partners, and will provide a positive reason for communities to participate.

Once the partnership structure has been established and members have been identified, terms of reference should be developed defining the role and responsibilities of each participant. “The proper selection of participants for the Stakeholder Group is perhaps the most critical step in establishing a partnership planning process” (International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives, 1996: 20). Table 2.3 presents a sample of key points to include in the terms of references which will provide partners with a clear understanding of their roles, and expectations as members of the partnership.

Table 2.3 Terms of Reference for Stakeholders in the Partnership Process

<p>TERMS OF REFERENCE SHOULD INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING KEY POINTS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• the activities to be jointly undertaken in the planning process• the roles of the different participants in the planning process, including the specific activities to be performed, information to be provided, and schedules for their input and contribution;• standards for the sharing of information to be used in the process, including agreements on confidentiality;• methods of decision making, including dispute resolution and review;• resources to be provided by each partner; and• agreements on how the outcomes of the planning process will be integrated into statutory planning activities of the municipality.

(International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives, 1996)

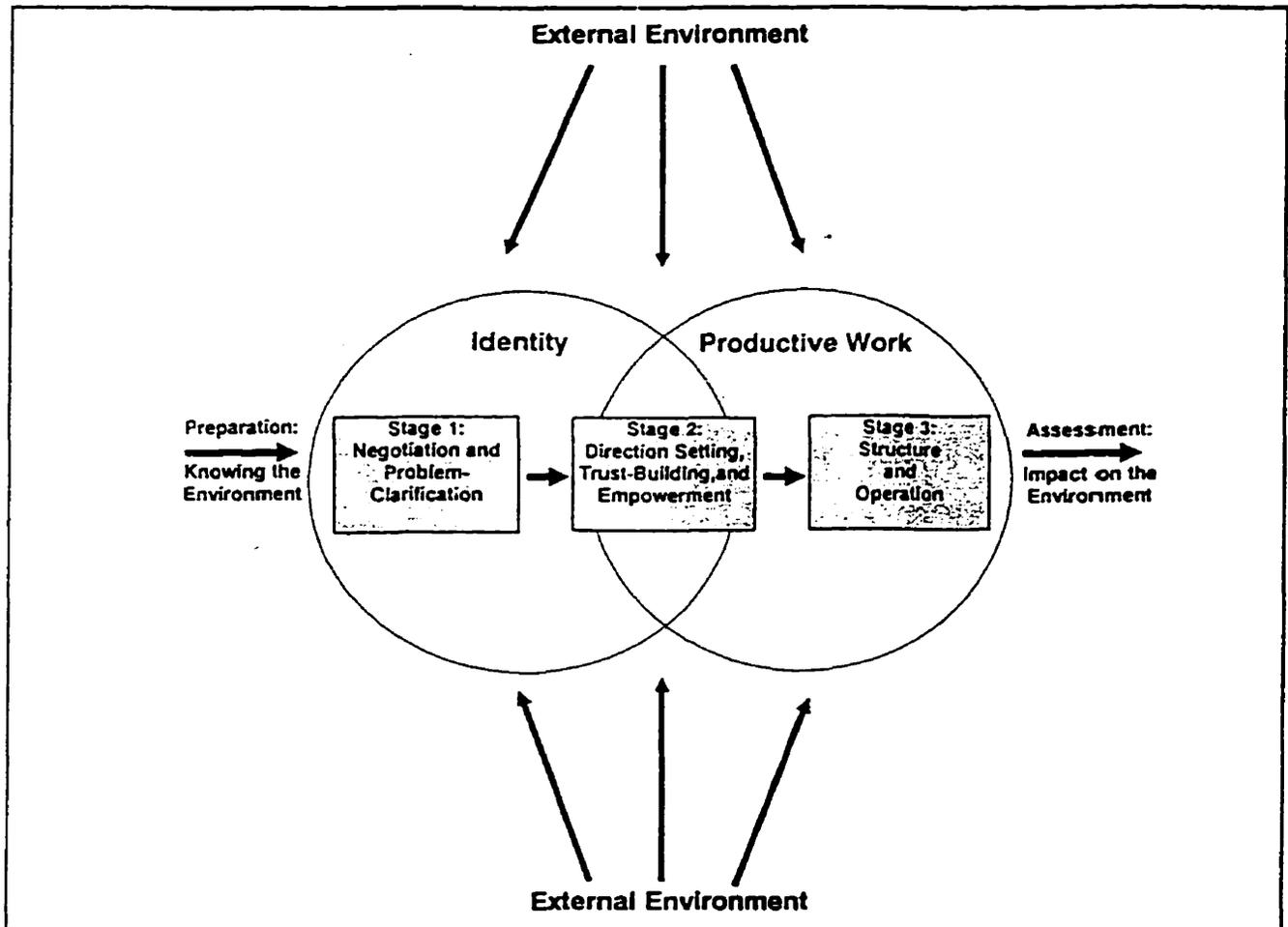
Partnership strategies

Several frameworks for partnerships exist in today's literature. Different frameworks will be presented in this section to help understand the dynamics of developing in a community partnership. Habana-Hafner, Reed et Associates (1989) present a partnership framework which includes two distinctive perspective involving **abstract** and **concrete** issues. This framework is displayed in figure 2.6. The abstract issues provide an outlook on the identity, productive work and the external environment of partnership development while the concrete issues focus on the three stages of the partnership framework.

The components of the **abstract** concepts include:

- **Developing Identity:** membership, common goals, shared sense of meaning, members' values and cultures, interpersonal relations, shared resources;
- **Doing Productive Work:** power dynamics, leadership styles, decision-making, communication, policies and rules, roles, evaluation, organizational structure, group dynamics;
- **External Environment:** physical setting and demographics, traditions, political situation, economic conditions, sources of power and leadership, ethnic and other cultural diversity, current social problems, variety or organizations.

Figure 2.6 Partnership Framework with Abstract and Concrete Components



(Habana-Hafner, Reed et Associations, 1989)

The three *concrete* stages of the framework represent the sequence at various periods in the partnerships' developmental continuum. The stages include:

- negotiation and problem-clarification;
- direction-setting;
- empowerment and structure and operation.

The goal of the framework is to define 'identity' by 'productive work' where the partners can successfully achieve their objectives. This framework demonstrates a linear process from the preparation of developing a project to the final assessment and its impact on the environment. To be effective, this type of partnership requires full collaboration and cooperation from all

players in the partnership. Consequently, this framework does not provide a simple process for the partners to follow. It simply demonstrates the relationship between the external environmental and the two goals of developing an identity and doing productive work.

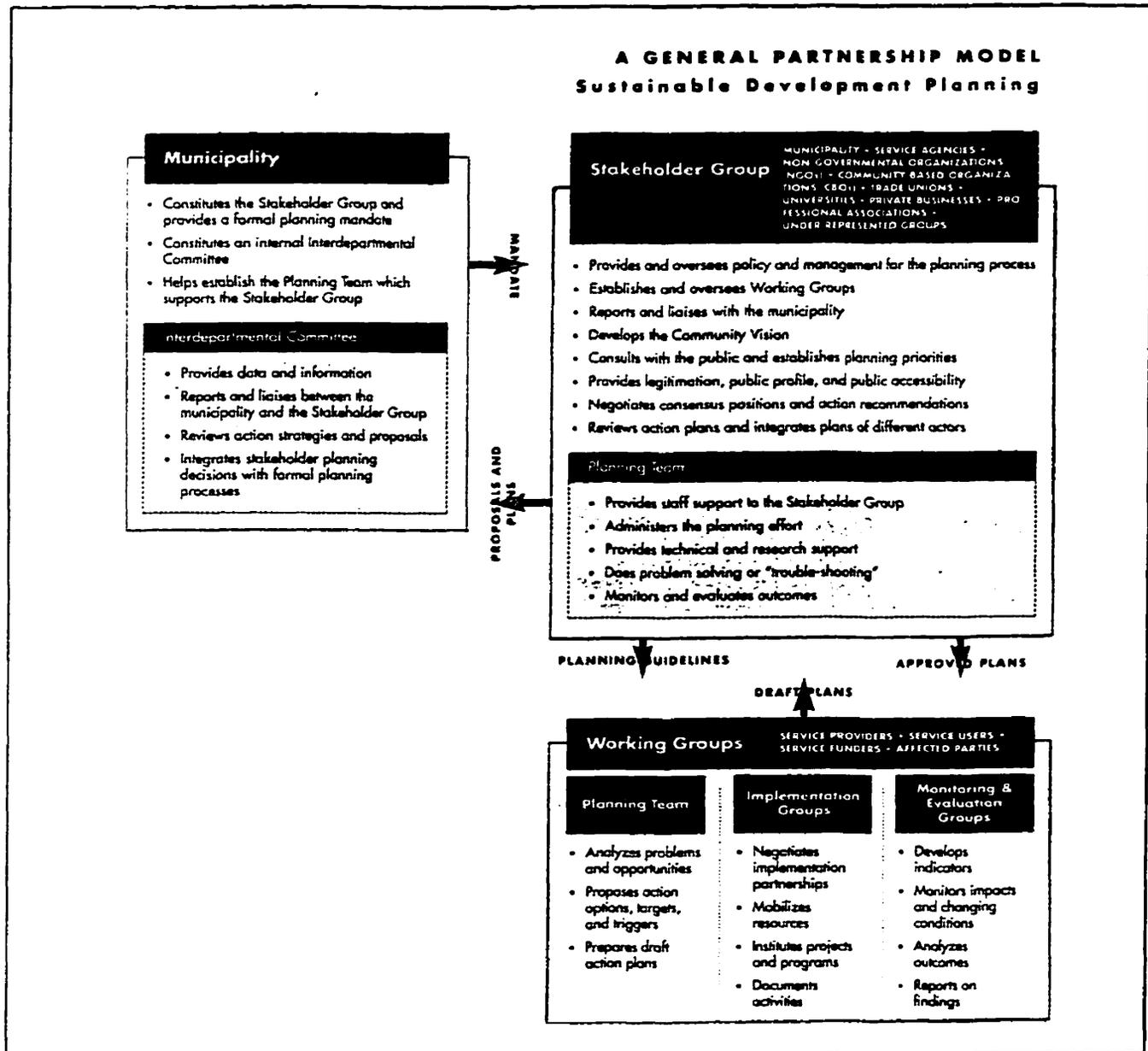
Another partnership model has been used by the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (1996) for sustainable development planning in The Local Agenda 21 Planning Guide (1996). This model has been applied by various organizations or programs such as the Lancashire Local Environmental Action Programme (L.E.A.P.) in Lancashire, United Kingdom; the Inter-Institutional Consensus-Building for a Sustainable Development Plan in Cajamarca, Peru; the Popular Democratic Administration program in Santos, Brazil; and the Johnson Plan located in Australia as a partnership tool for sustainable development planning. All programs have used the Local Agenda 21 Partnership Model as a foundation to develop a partnership process to suit their own specific needs. Figure 2.7 displays the General Partnership Model which focuses on establishing 'stakeholders groups' in addressing community problems and developing new service approaches.

According to the case studies using this model, six key objectives are highlighted for involving stakeholders in sustainable development planning:

- to create a shared community vision of the future;
- to identify and prioritize key issues, thereby facilitating immediate measures to alleviate urgent problems;
- to support community-based analysis of local issues, including the comprehensive review of long-term, systemic problems that confront particular service systems and the need to integrate different service strategies so that they are mutually supportive;
- to develop action plans for addressing key issues, drawing from the experiences and innovations of diverse local groups;
- to mobilize community-wide resources to meet service needs, including the joint implementation of sustainable development projects; and
- to increase public support for municipal activities and local understanding of municipal development needs and constraints.

(Habana-Hafner, Reed & Associates, 1989)

Figure 2.7 Partnership Model for Sustainable Development Planning



(International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives, 1996)

In this model, the stakeholder group serves as a coordinating body and receives the title of board of directors for the planning efforts. Their involvement is facilitated through an organized mechanism (either external or internal to the community) to oversee the planning process. The governing stakeholders group must be a given direct mandate from their community defining what planning is to be taken and how results and recommendations will be reviewed, such as the annual budgeting and development structure plans (International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives, 1996). The stakeholders group will therefore form partner-based organizational structures involving the participation of people from different disciplines, backgrounds, sectors and levels of expertise from the community. These people, referred to as working groups, are subdivided into three sections:

- the planning team which identifies the issues and prepares action plans,
- the implementations group which negotiates the partnership, mobilizes resources for the projects and programs, and
- the monitoring and evaluation group which use performance indicators and evaluate the progress in achieving targeted goals.

This model provides a clear planning process with delegated responsibilities to its partners. In creating such a partnership, an effective and attainable plan and strategies to achieve that plan must be created. But most importantly, partners must be adequately involved. They must have an assigned task which will avoid any duplication of work and which will ensure the efficiency and the effectiveness of achieving the project development objectives. The Local Agenda 21 Planning Guide model provides a useful framework to be applied in developing countries because it proposes an organizational structure which can be adapted to local communities depending on the cultural and traditional.

2.5 LITERATURE REVIEW SUMMARY

The growing interest in sustainable tourism development as a form of community development has focussed on promoting citizen involvement in decision-making for a successful and healthier community. To plan for tourism development in a community, local resources such as community, government, organizations and business support must be coordinated using balanced partnership approaches if all stakeholders are to benefit from the development.

Arnstein's (1969) *Ladder of Citizen Participation* acknowledges society's divided need for power among the 'have-nots' and the power holders. Although her topology uses a simplistic abstraction, it provides a framework which can be used to examine the various levels of participation of local citizens involved in the process of decision-making regardless of their class. Once an optimal level of participation is determined, Hersey and Blanchard (1996) practical *Situational Leadership* model provides a method of understanding the relationship between the leader and the follower in terms of leadership style of the leader and level of readiness of those who are to be led. This process allows the leader to 1) diagnose the level of readiness of the follower, 2) adapt an appropriate style of leadership and, 3) communicate the style of leadership to influence the follower. Together these two frameworks provide diagnosis skills necessary to maximize the determined level of participation in the decision-making process.

The final section focussed on examining partnership approaches and frameworks. These frameworks were presented as a structure for linking stakeholders working cooperatively towards a common goal. Once a desired level of participation has been determined, stakeholders will be able to work together in a partnership to turn development plans into action. Horwich et. al. (1993) concludes that by "empowering existing local groups to control and manage valuable resources in ways that not only sustain the resources but also meet the social, cultural, and economic needs of the group" (1993: 152-153), the foundations for a sustainable and equitable community-based tourism industry will be met.

CHAPTER 3 - METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This study has been developed from data collected during a research project entitled “Community Participation in Tourism in Kenya” funded by Environmental Capacity Enhancement Project (ECEP). Institutional support was provided by the University of Guelph, Canada and Egerton University, Kisii Campus, Kenya.

3.2 PURPOSE OF METHODOLOGY

This study was organized to evaluate the perceived levels of local community involvement in tourism planning by first, examining at which stage on the citizen participation spectrum the local people were involved in the planning process; second, to determine the government’s perceptive of citizen participation in the planning process; and third, to examine the partnership programme introduced to facilitate the involvement of local people in planning for tourism development projects. The study also seeks to determine whether the partnership between local communities and the government is strengthened by involving the local people in decision-making in order to achieve sustainable community tourism development.

The field research attempted to define the new tourism approach of community involvement and to chart a way which would facilitate its long-term sustainability for the generations to come.

Partnership efforts for tourism development

In July 1996, the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) launched the new Partnership Department. This department replaced the Community Wildlife Service which had been founded by USAID’s COBRA (Conservation of Biodiverse Resource Areas) project. The goal of the

partnership programme is to provide an integrated approach to conservation and development based on coordinated land-use planning and collaborative ventures such as tourism development projects in local communities. Currently based at KWS headquarters in Nairobi, the Partnership Department is governed by four staff members which are involved in partnering with all stakeholders interested in community-based projects focussed on biodiversity conservation. *Biological diversity* (now referred to as *biodiversity* has the role of sustaining planetary processes, ecological cycles and natural resource production). Biodiversity conservation has become a strategic national asset as its economic use increases especially in terms of nature tourism which is an important foreign earner for Kenya (KWS Wildlife Policy, 1996).

The function of the KWS Partnership Programme is to work with:

- communities adjacent to parks and protected areas,
- landowners involved in wildlife management activities,
- associations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) involved in wildlife conservation, and
- private tourism business based in the area.

Programmes are developed to involve local communities in contributing their efforts in conservation as a form of economic enterprise. Focus is placed on mobilizing and educating communities and other parties affected by wildlife and encouraging 'capacity building' to minimize the dependency syndrome. The KWS Programme is also involved in a partnership with the private sector by establishing an institutional framework of eight tourist offices promoting tourism marketing campaigns overseas (Mbova, 1996). Finally, the department provides management skills through lectures and seminars and adopts a new attitude towards ownership equity, responsibility and accountability regarding conservation, and utilisation of wildlife resources.

Case Study Approach

To fully understand the KWS efforts of developing a partnership and to explore in-depth the government and the community's perspectives regarding their involvement in the planning and decision-making, a *case study approach* was adopted. The case study method allowed the researcher to become familiar with the physical setting and to gain an understanding of the cultural aspects including the traditional beliefs and values of the local community. Patton (1987) stated that: "case studies are particularly valuable when the evaluation aims to capture individual differences or unique variations from one program setting to another, or from one program experience to another" (Patton, 1987: 19). Thus, this approach seeks to describe in detail a holistic picture of the research question.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

Analytical Approach

The research is *exploratory* using a *naturalistic inquiry* with an *inductive approach* by studying the participants experiences and exploring the different processes naturally occurring. The research was exploratory in nature because of the quest for understanding and discovering the participant's perspectives and the different processes in planning and decision-making. A naturalistic inquiry approach was also employed. The researcher went into the participant's physical setting and observed and studied the occurring activities and processes. They were not planned or manipulated to fit the study as in the case of an experiment. Finally, an inductive analysis was used to evaluate the existing themes and patterns with open-ended observations and in-depth interviews of participants without predetermined goals and predictions.

The information which will be collected in this research will be qualitative in nature. The qualitative data allows the researcher to capture an in-depth understanding of the respondent's perceptions, experiences and thoughts of community participation.

According to Patton (1980: 22), the qualitative data provide:

- a detailed description of situations, events, people, interactions and observed behaviours
- direct quotations from people about their experiences, attitudes, beliefs, and thoughts
- case documentation or correspondences and case histories.

Patton (1987) also adds that: “qualitative approaches emphasizes the importance of getting close to the people and situations being studied in order to understand personally the realities and minutia of daily program life” (Patton, 1987: 16). This method allowed the research to describe an in-depth and meaningful understanding of the patterns which emerged from the study.

The advantage of using qualitative data for this research was to uncover the amount of information that was discovered during the interview process. Often the quantity of information was overwhelming and it provided a flavour and feelings towards the issues which could not have been discovered by using a quantitative data collection method. Most respondents would add additional information to their answer which provided a broader vision of the issues and problems at hand.

Finally, the researcher also used a phenomenological approach to try and uncover how the participants engaged in certain actions such as planning for activities or projects and how they view certain features of their own society. As Rothe (1988) acknowledges, ‘phenomenologist researchers must put aside their worn biases and beliefs to try and understand the individual’s world’ (Rothe, 1988: 43). The phenomenological research procedures used in this study were:

- the document analysis
- participants observations
- long in-depth interviews

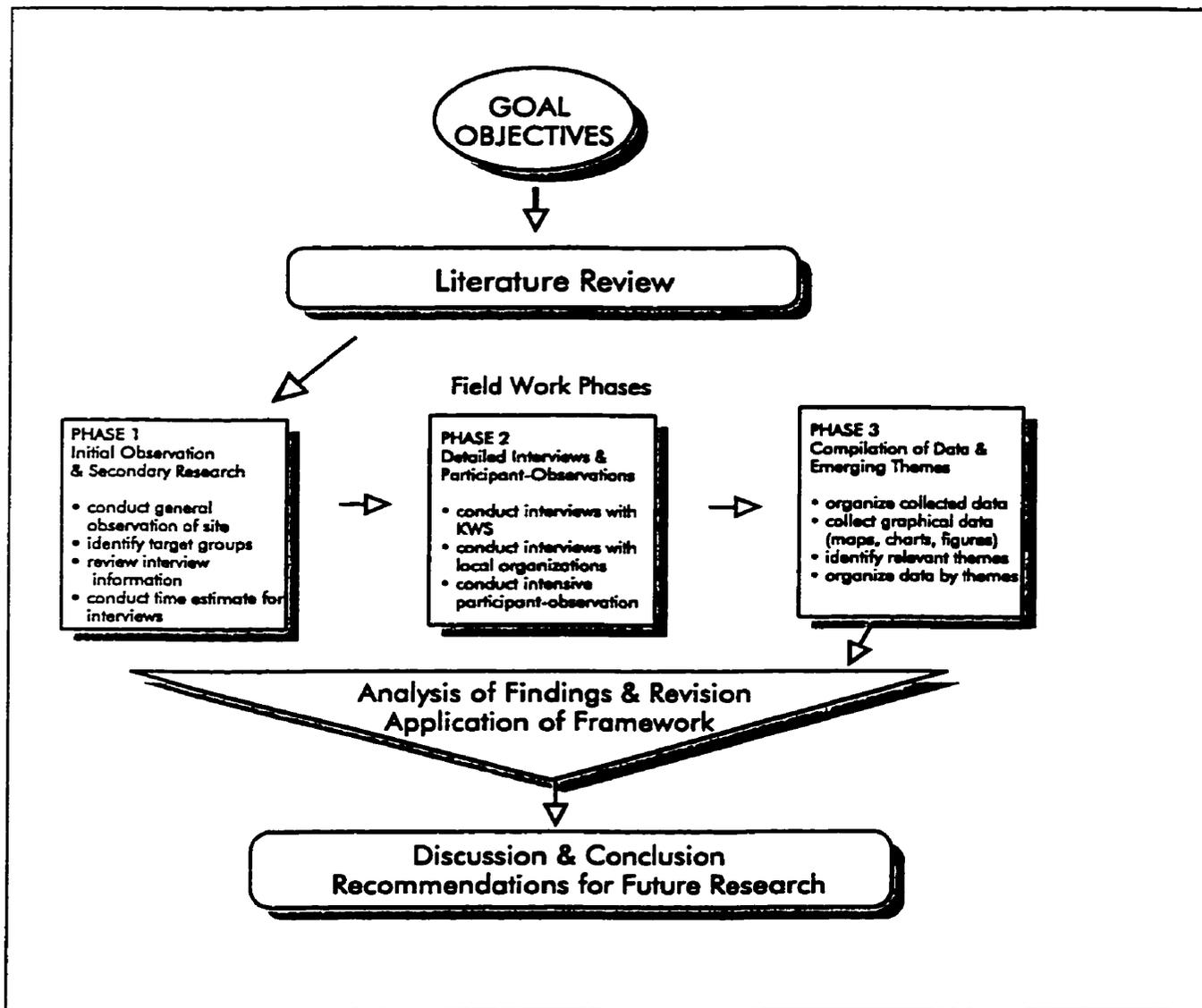
It was decided that this approach was best suited for studying people’s actions and interpretation of a typical situation and the perspective they had towards ‘something’ - a phenomenon.

Research Process

This research has been divided into five phases which is presented in figure 3.1.

- **Phase 1:** Initial Observation and Secondary Research of Literature
- **Phase 2:** Detailed Interviews and Participant-Observation
- **Phase 3:** Compilation of Data and Emerging Themes
- **Phase 4:** Analysis of Findings and Revision
- **Phase 5:** Discussion and Conclusion, Recommendations

Figure 3.1 Research Process



Prior to starting the field work, a detailed literature review was performed in Canada several months before departing for Africa. This review of key studies and authors was completed using material and documents from the University of Guelph and various other materials found in Canada.

Phase one of the field work portion called the Initial Observation and Secondary Research was conducted in Kenya. Preparation and orientation was initiated during a one week stay at Egerton University on the Kisii College Campus. With the help of the College principal and a lecturer from the Department of Tourism at Moi University, a familiarization of the social context of the study site was made possible. The customs and traditions of the local tribe (The Maasai) living in the research area was studied as well as the national (Swahili) and the tribal (Mai) language which also help in understanding the ethnic composition of the country. In addition, interview guidelines were prepared (see Appendix I) as well as a list of key informants was identified for prospective meetings (see figure 3.2).

Phase two: Detailed Interviews and Participant-Observation, was conducted in Nairobi as well as in Kajiado District located 220 km from Nairobi. The initial portion of the field work was conducted in Nairobi, primarily at the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) headquarters where numerous long interviews were conducted. Key informants included personnel employed in the partnership department and in the tourism department. Certain representatives of NGOs located at KWS headquarters were also interviewed providing an overview of the decision-making process for tourism development in the area.

Once in Kajiado District, interviews were conducted with key representatives such as local politicians, park officers and administrators, local Maasai people and representatives from local NGOs in the group ranches adjacent to the Amboseli National Park. Furthermore, participant-observations were performed with the purpose of examining the current planning process as well as the partnership activities of tourism initiatives within the community.

Phase three: Compilation of Data and Emerging Themes. This phase included compiling the collected data and organizing them by relevant themes. Fortunately, during phase two of the research process, the researcher had access to a computer which facilitated the entry of interview data and organising relevant information collected throughout the process notably at the KWS library.

Phase four: Analysis of Findings and Revision was performed partly at Egerton University Kisii College Campus, located 355 km from Nairobi, where the researcher returned for a short stay. A second visit to the field site in Kajiado was conducted with the objective of reconfirming certain notions encountered as well as to verify certain participant-observations. In addition, the researcher attended an intensive Ecotourism Workshop, Regional Forum and Field Seminar, the first East, Central and Southern African Ecotourism Conference held in Nairobi sponsored by The Ecotourism Society. Experts gathered from around the world to share ideas, experiences and strategies to continue Kenya's progress as a pioneer country in local involvement for biodiversity conservation and nature tourism.

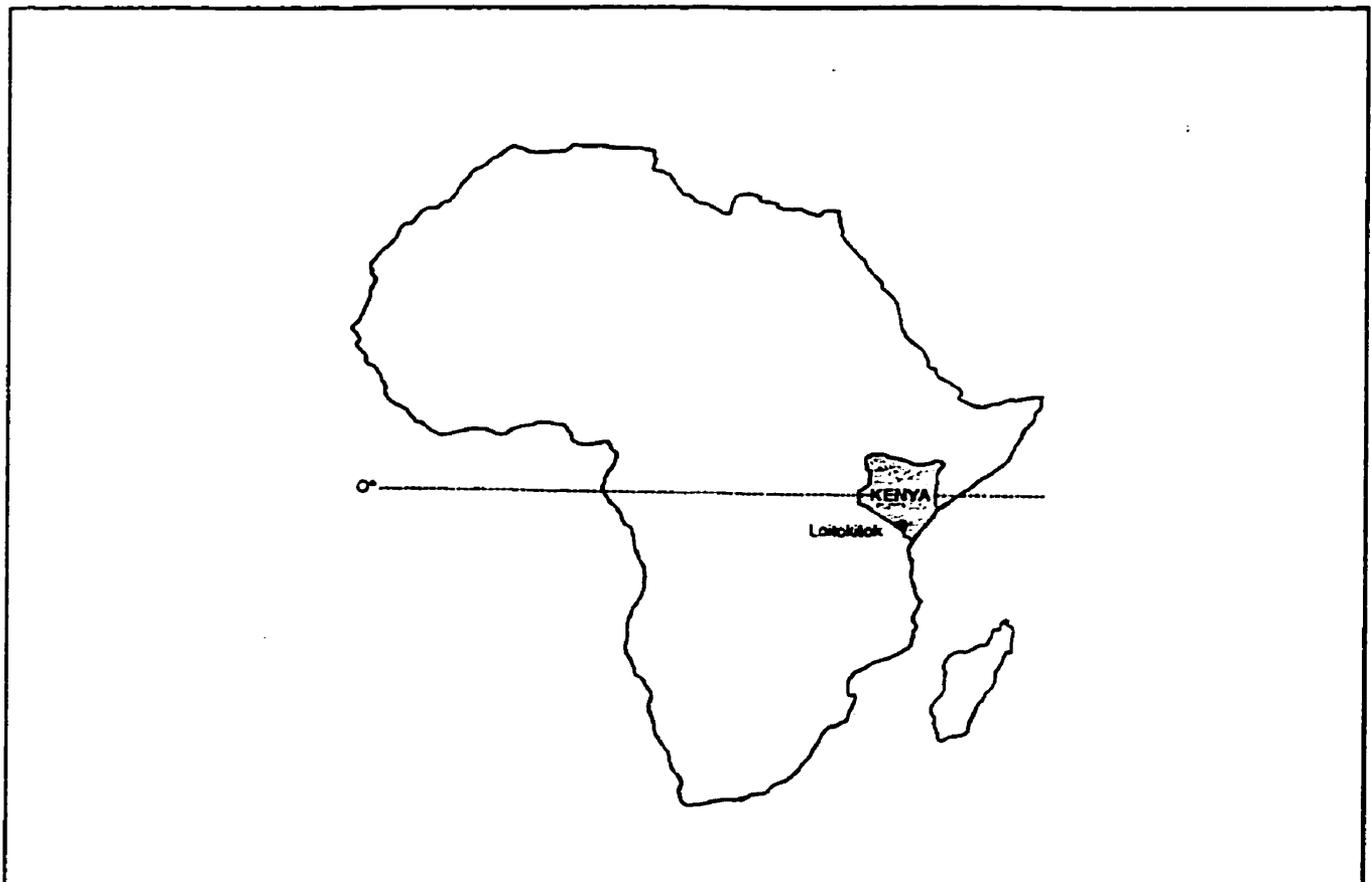
Finally the **fifth phase: Discussion and Conclusion and Recommendations** was completed in Canada where facilities such as printing and photocopying machines were more accessible. A conclusion and recommendations were then presented with a model developed from the research findings. This model is to be applied by all stakeholders involved in tourism planning and development.

3.4 RATIONALE FOR SITE SELECTION

The research site for this study was the same site used for the ECEP project mentioned earlier in the chapter. The field portion of this research was conducted on Maasai territory in Loitokitok Division of Kajiado District in the Rift Valley Province of Kenya (see Map 3.1). This site has been the home of the pastoral Maasai since before colonial times. It is one of the richest

wildlife areas because of its diverse species, the extraordinary view of Mount Kilimanjaro and the Amboseli National Park. The primary reason why this site was selected as an ideal location to conduct field research is because this location is one of Kenya's most successful tourist destinations hosting over 100,000 visitors each year. This community is also very involved in a partnership project with the KWS which encourages local Maasai to organize themselves to develop and manage their own tourism activities such as the Kimana Wildlife Sanctuary. Consequently it was found that this location would provide the best opportunity to evaluate current performances of the local community members involved in tourism development projects.

Map 3.1 Study site: Loitokitok Division, Kajiado District



(Berger, 1993)

3.5 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

Long Interview

The research relied on a qualitative measurement techniques as the primary method of data collection: the long-interview. McCracken (1988) states that: “the purpose of qualitative interview is to gain access to the cultural categories and assumptions according to which culture construes the world” (McCracken, 1988: 17). The long-interview was found to be the best instrument to investigate and discover participants’ perspectives in their social and cultural context because of it’s detailed open-ended analytical format. According to McCracken (1988), “it can also take us into the lifeworld of the individual, to see the content and pattern of daily experience. The long interview gives us the opportunity to step into the mind of another person, to see and experience the world as they do themselves”(McCracken, 1988: 9).

The Interview Guide is presented in Appendix I and consisted of the following sections:

- the planning process
- local involvement in the planning process
- the partnership approach

The Interview Guide was initially drafted in Canada prior to departure. However once in Kenya and after consulting with many people, the guide was modified to reflect the tribal setting and culture.

The research team was fortunate to have one of its members speaking Swahili fluently. This helped tremendously during the interview process. However, when conducting interviews with the local Maasai people, an interpreter was required to translate questions from Swahili or English to the Maa language (the Maasai tribal language). Using this process was not always the most effective given the many translated dialogues from Maa to Swahili and then to English. It was assumed that most information was adequately translated, however, one can assume that differences in interpretation could have occurred. In some circumstances, group discussions often replaced individual interviews simply because of the comfort level of the respondents.

Consequently, these discussions were in the local language restricting the interviewer in recording any of the comments being said. Another obstacle was the presence of gender in local communities. If the interviewee was a female, males were often reluctant to disclose important information. Therefore, to overcome this problem, during an interview sessions, both interviewers were present to conduct the interview.

Participant-Observation

The second research technique used was participant-observation. Initial observation was performed during phase one of the project. The sociocultural context of the research site (the overall 'Big Picture' involving physical and social characteristics and demographics) was examined and studied with the aim of becoming familiar with the research setting. In phase two, focussed observations were performed and geared towards recording daily events and activities of the local Maasai community. The observation data was later used and transcribed in the background research (see chapter 4). The information was recorded using a point-form format. Photographs were also taken which were used to report on current tourism activities or social events occurring in the group ranches.

Target Groups

The target groups which were interviewed and observed were divided into two categories:

- **Governmental Agencies:** included employees at the Kenya Wildlife Service in both the tourism and the partnership department, field officers at the research site, councillors and political leaders, Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife employees and University professors.
- **Local Community Members and Representatives:** included group ranches executive committee members, local group ranch members, women's group representatives, local professionals working in the community and Maasai elders

Although some NGOs, tourist associations and private business owners were also

interviewed, their answers were compiled with the local community data because the majority were located in Kajiado District. If an organization was located in Nairobi or was associated and/or worked with the governmental agencies, then the information was compiled with the government data. Figure 3.2 provides a list of key informants by sectors. The NGOs and private businesses interviews included:

- Non-Governmental Organizations and Tourist Associations: included the US Peace Corps based in Loitokitok, Community-Based Integrated Rural Development Services (CBIRDS) and Pastoralist Development Education Program (PADEP) also based in Loitokitok and the Kenya Ecotourism Society.
- Private businesses: such as hotel owners located in the research area, Kenya Utalii College in Nairobi, employees at tourism facilities and tourism employees at hotels (travel agent).

All categories of informants are involved in the tourism field. A total of 26 interviews were conducted during the field research. The target groups were identified during phase one of the field research process upon arrival in the country. Key individuals especially at the government level were formally approached by letter or by phone for an interview-meeting. Once in the field, interviews were organized and conducted often with no prior arrangements. The research team would locate themselves in a public area and wait to see if prospective informants would eventually enter the facility for an interview. Likewise, a successful method was also to 'drop-in' to the group ranches communities and try to meet with some of the local people. This method is consistent with Maasai nomadic lifestyles.

Figure 3.2 List of Key Informants by Sectors

Sectors	Interviewed
GOVERNMENT <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government employee • Political leaders / Councillor • KWS employees 	 1 1 5
LOCAL COMMUNITY <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism association • Women's groups • Employee of tourism facility • Group ranch executive committee members • Group ranch local community members 	 1 3 3 2 4
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wildlife-based NGOs located in Kajiado District 	 3
PRIVATE SECTOR <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hotel owners located in Kajiado District 	 3
Total	26

Scheduling a meeting time for the Maasai people had no meaning, therefore the research team had to be very flexible and adaptive to the situation. It was much easier when the research team was accompanied by a group ranch official such as a councillor or an executive committee member. Another dilemma occurred when the research team wanted to interview women. In most cases, a man had to be present during the interview session. The Maasai culture is a very patriarchal society and the women are not allowed to discuss issues freely with strangers. For example, during one specific interview, a question was addressed to the first wife of the household. The question was first translated from the researcher (English) by the research partner into Swahili, the question was further translated by the interpreter (a community representative) into Maa. Then the question was addressed to the husband of the household, then

the uncle, the grandfather and finally to the first wife. When the wife answered, she spoke to her husband who then discussed with the other men sitting beside him (uncle, grandfather) and then all spoke to the interpreter. The interpreter translated one answer into Swahili and then into English. Furthermore, the researcher was not able to sit beside the first wife, let alone speak to her directly. Although this process was very lengthy in time (one interview would often take the entire day), key informants were generally very responsive to the interview questions and demonstrated a keen interest in the research findings.

During the interviews in local communities, often the process turned into a formal visit. The research team were always offered tea, snacks or a full meal and a tour to local sites of concern to the local community members. Only men would sit with us while the women would be working inside the house. We discovered that the only successfully way to approach the women of the community was during market day (which occurred twice a month) or when they were washing clothes at a local river. The women tend to travel together to fetch water or to wash clothes.

Analytical Tool

The analytical tool used in the research process was Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation which was reproduced and attached to the interview guide to facilitate the researcher to question the respondents. This model is used to determine what is the perceived level by either the governmental employees or by the local community and to determine if there is a critical success level of citizen participation which would be appropriate for a community tourism development projects. Certain key words with a brief explanations describing each rung were added to the framework which is displayed in figure 3.3.

Using the framework, key informants were asked specific questions regarding their participation in the planning process. Their levels of involvement were then assessed using Arnstein's model and key words such as info-gathering, curing, one-way flow, statistical

Secondary data collection was performed during the field research in Kenya. The secondary information collected was primarily books, articles, documents and reports found at the KWS library, at the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Nairobi, at

Secondary Data Collection

(Arnstein, 1969)

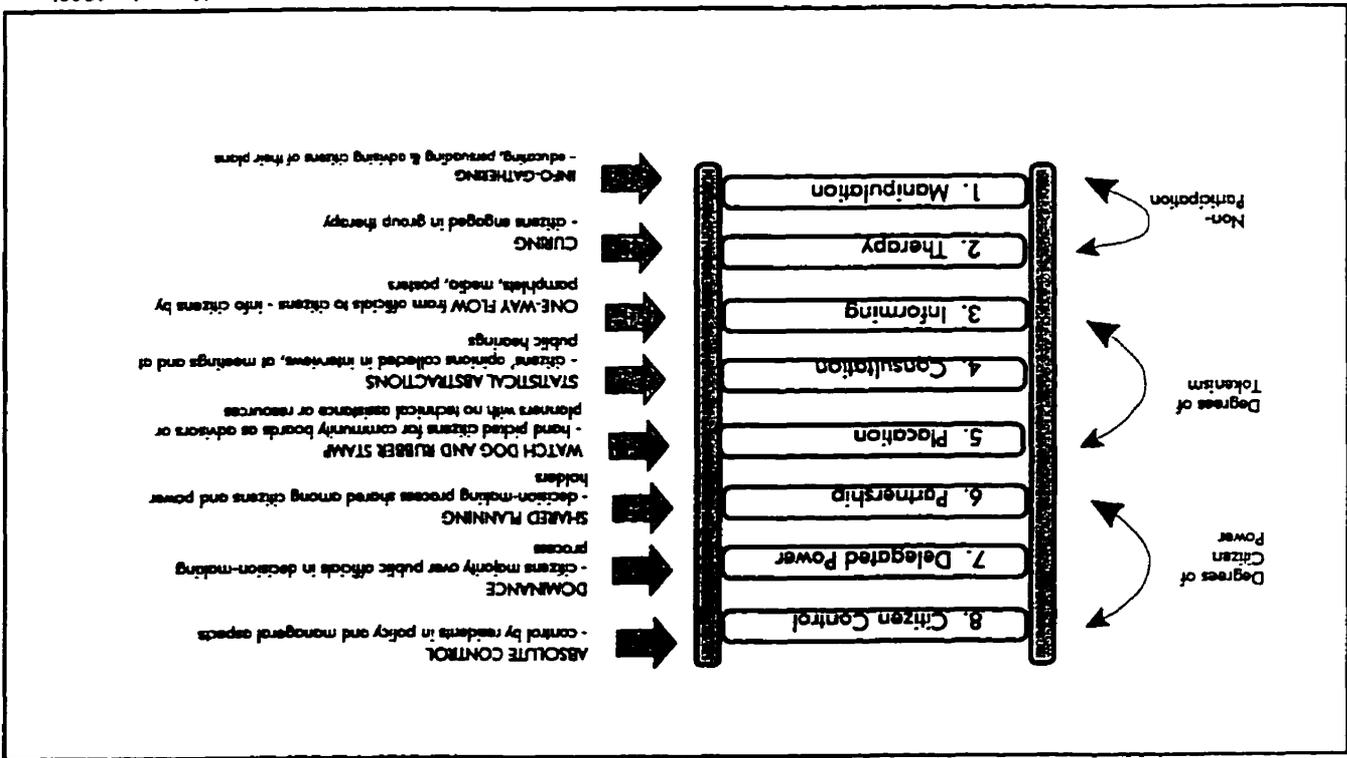


Figure 3.3 Analytical Tool - Ladder of Citizen Participation

tourism planning for their communities. In certain circumstances, the framework was shown and explained to the interviewee to help clarify the questions. Key informants were asked to describe in their own words how they perceived their own participation in the process and if they thought they played an important role. Finally, they were requested to list any difficulties local community members had when participating in tourism planning for their communities.

Egerton University Kisii Campus (located 355 km from Nairobi) and during an Ecotourism conference held in Nairobi. This additional data provided a supplement to the information collected during the long qualitative interview process which was conducted in Loitokitok Division located 220 km from Nairobi. Subsequently, a document analysis was performed and divided into the following categories:

- planning and policy documents
- partnership documents
- special reports
- charts and maps
- Amboseli background
- tourism information

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

The data which is presented in Chapter 5 'Research Findings' was compiled during all initial stages of the field research portion of this study. During this process, the researcher worked at Egerton University Kisii Campus to compile all the collected information under the supervision of one of the project leaders. The amount of qualitative data collected was overwhelming at first. A good organizational process had to be followed to successfully complete the data analysis section. The author was inspired with the process used by Rothe (1994) "The First-Road Analysis Design" presented in Chapter 10: 131 in the book in titled Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide. Also The Four-Step Method of Inquiry by McCracken (1988:29-48) found in Chapter 3 of the book The Long Interview provided a workable framework especially during the last step of organizing the data into analytical categories. These two publications gave a systematic and practical guide to analysing the qualitative data which at first seemed very lengthy and unpleasant process to tackle!

The following outlines the process used in the compiling and organizing the qualitative data collected from the research site (table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Data Compilation Process

Interview Data	
1.	Type all interviews into a data bank in a computer file in titled 'Raw Data'(make sure the pages are numbered);
2.	Extract major themes from the data (following the interview guide). Write them on a separate piece of paper;
3.	Sort the data information into these major themes indicating the page number into a 'Data Analysis' file (use cut and paste on the computer);
4.	Synthesis the interview data by regrouping respondents comments and points in two categories for each theme: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• government's views• local communities' views
5.	A synthesis of the data is presented in a matrix format (Chapter 5) highlighting the major issues discovered during the long-interview process.
Document Data	
6.	Extract major categories from documents collected list (ie: planning documents, tourism information, maps);
7.	Summarize each document collected (similar to an annotated bibliography) and place them under the major categories stated above (#6);
8.	Using the same themes in the interview data(#2), sort out the documents information according to these themes in a text format.
9.	Synthesis and then amalgamate the document data with the interview data in the two categories (government and local community) mentioned in #4 for each theme.
10.	Both interview and document analysis are presented in Chapter 5.

During the process of sorting out the data, a preliminary list of categories was identified based on the interview guide. The interview responses were transcribed according to the categories displayed in table 3.2. Following the initial data compilation, the preliminary categories were refined and described in greater detail using a series of indicators and which are presented in Chapter 5.

Table 3.2 Preliminary Data Analysis Categories

Part 1:	<p><i>TOURISM DEVELOPMENT PLAN - PLANNING</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the tourism development organizational structure • planning departments • the planning process and its role • partners in the planning process • a future tourism master plan • barriers to tourism development • success stories of Ecotourism development in Kenya
Part 2:	<p><i>COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN TOURISM PLANNING & DEVELOPMENT</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • definition of citizen participation • main barriers to community participation and how they can be resolved • community associations • education level of community members • community tourism planning organization • communication • attitude and perception of community participation • community organizations (group ranches) towards a professional status
Part 3:	<p><i>ARNSTEIN'S LADDER OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION (TOURISM INVOLVEMENT)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • how to get involved • tourism activities • levels of involvement • responsibilities • how to initiate the decision-making process

The findings were linked with relevant theoretical concepts and explained in greater detailed in the analysis section. Finally, Chapter 6 presents recommendations for achieving an optimal level of citizen participation. A process is suggested involving all key stakeholders working in collaboration as a means of achieving sustainable community-based tourism.

3.7 SUMMARY

The research conducted for this study was performed by the ECEP project team using an in-depth qualitative approach. A large numbers of participants were approached with great response and interest. Because of the limited time frame in the field research site, only specific key informants representing key positions were selected to partake in long-interviews. Participant-observations were also used such as daily record-keeping and photographs. Finally, the purpose of using a qualitative methodology gained greater understanding of people's perspective and views of planning for tourism development in a rural environment.

CHAPTER 4 - CASE STUDY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to outline and define the study area. A small rural African community located in southern Kenya, near the Tanzanian border was selected as the research field station. A background of the area and an overview of the tourism industry and structure are outlined.

4.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA

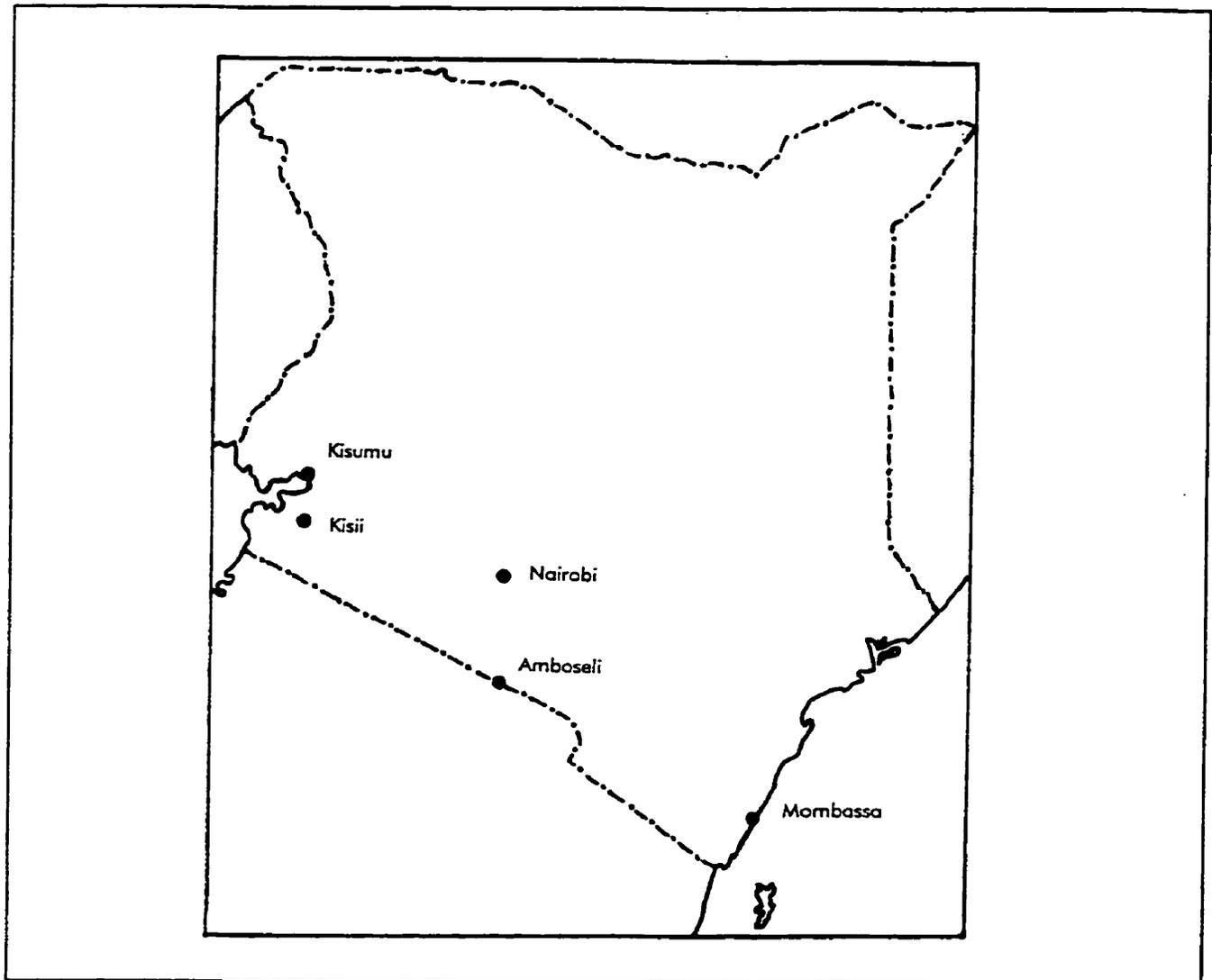
Location and political organization

Kenya is located (4°21'N and 4°28'S) in Eastern Africa, bordering the Indian Ocean and bisected by the Equator. It shares boundaries with Somalia in the East, Tanzania to the South, Uganda to the West, Ethiopia and Sudan in the North (see Map 4.1). The country covers an area of 582,650 km² with a population of 28,817 227 million. The country is divided into seven provinces and one area: Central, Coast, Eastern, North Eastern, Nyanza, Rift Valley, Western and the Nairobi area. Kenya is well known for its varying terrain with low plains rising to the central highlands bisected by the great Rift Valley with a fertile plateau in the west. The climate in Kenya varies from tropical along the coast to arid in the interior to cool in the highlands. Kenya is renowned for its diverse ecosystem, with an abundance of flora and fauna, its breathtaking scenery and for its marvellous wildlife. The country has two official languages: English and Kiswahili and over 40 tribal groups each with their own distinctive tribal language.

The research site was located in Loitokitok Division of Kajiado District in the Rift Valley Province of Kenya. This site is located in the heartland of Maasailand and is known as one of the richest wildlife-based tourism areas in the country. Loitokitok is situated along the Tanzanian border across the lower-northern slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro (between 38 and 36.45° east and between 2.2 and 2.7° south of the Equator). Loitokitok is one of three divisions in Kajiado

District, covers an area of 5,726 km² and is adjacent to the Amboseli ecosystem.

Map 4.1 Kenya, Africa



Kenya, formerly a British colony, gained independence in December 1963. The current ruling party in a multiparty state is the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Chief of State and Head of Government is President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi who has been in power since 14 October 1978. Nairobi is the capital and home to the KANU party. It is also the

largest cosmopolitan city in the country and a centre for international agencies for Eastern Africa. The goal of Kenya's government is to improve the standard of living and to achieve increasing per capita income equitably distributed among citizens (Kenya National Development Plan, 1997).

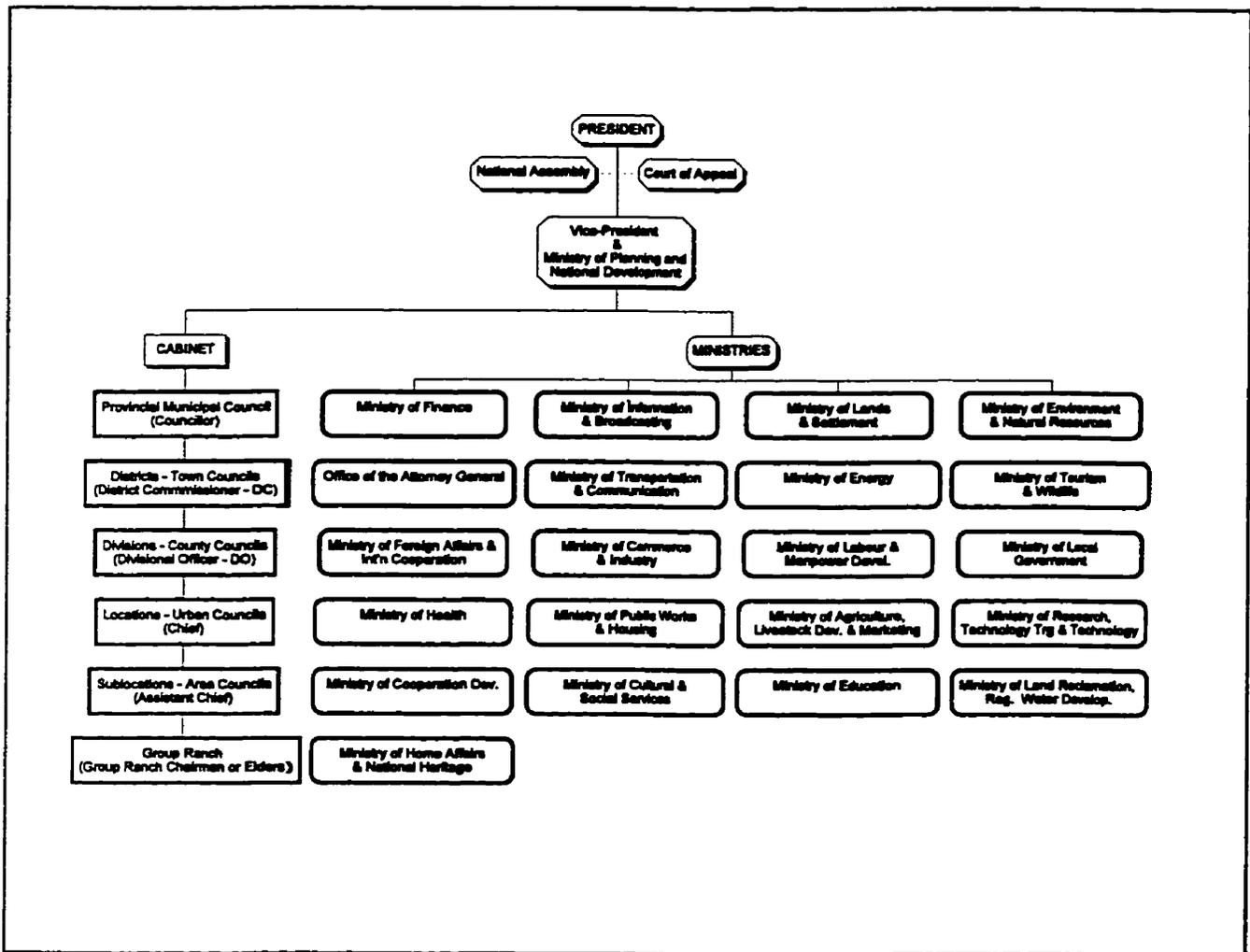
The government constitutes the president, who exercises executive power, and 188 members (176 elected and 12 nominated by the president) in a single legislative assembly. "There's a high degree of political patronage" state Finlay and Crowther (1994: 31), in the country. The Kenyan government is organized into twenty-one ministries under strict direction of the vice-president which works jointly with the Ministry of Planning and National Development. Kenya's governmental structure is presented in figure 4.1. There are five levels of administration below the central government, each with a key representative (an additional level is added for the Maasai group ranch system):

- municipal council (municipal councilor)
- districts council (district commissioner)
- divisions council (divisional officer)
- locations council (chief)
- sublocations council (assistant chief)
- group ranch executive committee (group ranch chairman and/or villages elders)

Members are elected at each level directly. The District Commissioner is the President's key representative at the local level. He oversees the administration of government policies and is chairman of the District Development Committee. The District Commissioner through the Divisional Officer and the Chief (also referred to as 'the Administration'), has considerable amount of political and administrative power over the decisions of the development committees which are to reach the sublocational levels. The Administration has been involved in numerous local developmental and conservation changes for the Maasai communities such as the subdivisions of the group ranches, the abolishment of Warriorhood and the promotion of education. Kajiado Council which is comprised of the District Commissioner, and the

Administration are located at the District headquarters in Namanga 200 km away from Loitokitok. The Divisional Officer is located in Loitokitok. The only access is to traverse the Amboseli National Park on a very damaged dusty road. The trip takes approximately 5 hours by road. This explains the unfrequent visits between governmental staff and to local communities.

Figure 4.1 Government Structure of Kenya



(Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife, 1993)

People, culture and education

The Maasai are the people of the Great Rift Valley region of Kenya also known as Maasailand. This tribe has been described as being of 'Nilotic origin' because of its language similarities with other tribes in the Nile region. There are approximately 72,622 Maasai living in

Kajiado district and speaking the tribal language *Maa*. Other people speak a similar language such as the Samburu, Rendille, Njemps, Turkana, Borana, Orma and Samali tribes but do not base their lifestyle on herding as the nomadic pastoralist Maasai. (Berger, 1993). The Maasai are divided into sections (or *iloshon*) depending on their geographical location. In each sections, the tribe is divided into clans (or *ilgelat*) and further subdivided into families.

The Maasai tribe is based on an age group system. This tribal regimental system defines the organizational and decision-making structure for their community members and it is here, possibly, where their reputation as 'fierce warriors' originates. The current pressures and competition for land are constantly a conflict and as a result, some of the ceremonial traditions can no longer be fulfilled. The male child becomes a boy (*olaiyoni*), a warrior (*olmurani*) and finally an elder (*olmoruo*) after a series of ceremonies which mark the graduation of each stage. Between the ages of 14 to 17 years, the circumcision ceremony is performed which marks the graduation stage from boy to warrior. One age group comprises a generation of young boys. Having attained the status of 'warrior' which usually last a period of seven to eight years, the young men band together and live in a small traditional maasai village called *manyatta*. The final ceremony known as the *olgesher* is held for the warriors when they receive their new name identifying them to their new age grade referred to as the 'ruling age' or senior elders of the tribe. Female Maasai do not follow a strict organizational structure. The circumcision ceremony is considered the first significant event in a girl's life. This event takes place at puberty rather than according to age group as with boys. Once she has recovered from the operation, she may be courted by a prospective husband until the wedding day. Girl children in a family are regarded as great means of acquiring more livestock in the form of marriage dowry on their wedding day.

The nomadic pastoralist lifestyle of the Maasai tribe is based traditionally, on herd and family movements to areas of dry-season pastures with permanent water sources to temporary wet-season grazing near temporary water supplies. Until the late 1960's, the importance of cattle to meet family needs and social obligations by supplying enough milk was their strategic form of

livelihood. Sheep and goats were also kept for trading and transportation. In the 1940 and 1950's, "the Maasai were perceived by the government to be overstocking. Herd size increase and overgrazing were considered to be the major causes of rangeland degradation and desertification" (ALDEV, 1972; Western, 1973; Brown 1963; and Lamprey, 1983). Following the drought of the 1960's, the conservationists pressured the government to ban the Maasai from the reserve land. In 1974, the Amboseli reserve was declared a park restricting the Maasai from using the territory as grazing land. In return, the government promised to provide them with permanent water sites located outside the park and to help them develop tourism on their land.

Education in Maasailand remains a great concern because of the high illiteracy rate in the area. The current population of Kajiado District is 258,659 (Census, 1989). A total of 55.2% of the district population is literate while 41.2% cannot read or write. According to a hotel owner interviewed in the district, many of the problems facing the Maasai communities are a result of the large illiteracy rate, and until that is overcome, major progress will not be made. Some efforts are currently being made to encourage the Maasai to send their children to school as "school education is said to be a means to modernize the Maasai" (Berger, 1993: 22). Certain schools have been sponsored by NGOs such as World Vision and Arid and Semi-Arid Land Project (ASAL). These NGOs are trying to encourage the Maasai people especially young girls and women to go to school. A great emphasis is also being placed on job-related training such as accounting or typing skills. Although, without proper government support, the lack of education will, hence continue to limit the development in the District. Education is meant to empower people. One NGO worker stated that: "people might say that the Maasai have been resistant to education, not just girls but also boys, that's true... there are few facilities and little encouragement from the government..." This lack of basic education in the region remains a constant struggle to overcome and achieve development. In Loitokitok, those who are educated are mostly the elites in the community. The group ranches are being run by a few educated people which wind up benefiting economically to the exclusion of the majority of the Maasai. A

hotel manager located in the area observed that there is also a problem that the educated Maasai send their children out of the district for secondary school. He adds: "I don't agree with some of the community money being used for sending students to secondary school education in other communities". He sees this as reinforcing the division between the elite Maasai who are more likely to get primary education than the poor who can not afford to.

On the other hand, most Maasai elders will argue that all their community is highly educated, in regard to the wildlife and the natural world which surrounds them. Their traditional education is based on experiences and observing the natural processes such as the climate and wildlife patterns. According to Sarone and Hazel, one Maasai warrior stated that:

"Our education is acquired out there on the grazing grounds. We spend our days, months and years exploring the brown plains which extend to *Siringet* (Serengeti). Instead of passing *intemat* (tests) about things that are foreign, we test our knowledge of our environment by actually getting into thorny bushes, the home of many wildlife animals. Instead of playing *empira onkejek* (football), we chase after colourful birds and hunt small animals in the open woodlands. Instead of *dansi oo nkeresa* (English dance) we have our *enkipaata* and *emowua olkiteng* (boy's ceremonial dances which mark the formulation of new age-sets)" (Sarone and Hazel, 1985).

Women in the Maasai culture are traditionally considered as house property, therefore do not participate in family or community decision-making. The daily work of a traditional Maasai women include: fetching water, usually building houses, collecting house materials, working in the cultural centre, milking the cows, fetching fire wood, cooking, cleaning and, making bead ornaments. However the situation is changing; the gender barrier is slowly being broken down. Some women are becoming Christians and they are breaking away from cultural traditions by working outside the household and wearing western clothes. A woman added that: "now many women go to school and will select their husband even some succeed to university". Women are now encouraged to form committees such as Women's Groups for business opportunities to sell

local cultural items to tourists. This is an incentive to encourage women to pursue their education and to acquire specialist skills. Many traditional women see their lifestyle changing, although the importance of culture remains strong.

Few Maasai children have received a general education because according to custom, a young boy is considered a great asset as herder or Shepard for the family instead of being in school while the young girls help their mothers carry out daily activities (firewood, fetching water, etc) and then they are married at an early age. Thus, there is no incentive for their families to send them to school.

Land use and wildlife conservation in Maasailand

The current land use in Loitokitok Division is divided in five subsystems of land and natural resource use:

- a smallholding zone
- individual ranches
- irrigation in swamps
- group ranches
- national park

The smallholding zone is very fertile farm land located on the Northern slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro which was originally subdivided for the Maasai. These small farms produce maize and beans but are now being cultivated by Non-Maasai people. Individual ranches combine cattle raising with farming. Some of this land is also leased to private companies or individual entrepreneurs based outside Loitokitok division. The irrigation schemes initiative occurred after the 1970's drought in the lower rangelands where well-watered lands were created by springs at Rombo, Inkisanjani, Kimana, Namelok and Amboseli (see map 4.3). There are 628 *shambas* (plot of land inside the group ranches allocated by the group ranch committee) which are currently being irrigated. 75% of these lands are owned by Maasai and 25% by non-Maasai people or non members of a ranch. The Maasai tend to rent their land for farming as a source of

income although many are starting to cultivate it themselves.

The largest area of Loitokitok Division (542,222 hectares) is subdivided into seven Maasai group ranches with a population of 27,000 (see map 4.2). The group ranches are:

- Kimana
- Imbirikani
- Olgulului
- Selengei
- Rombo
- Kuku A
- Kuku B

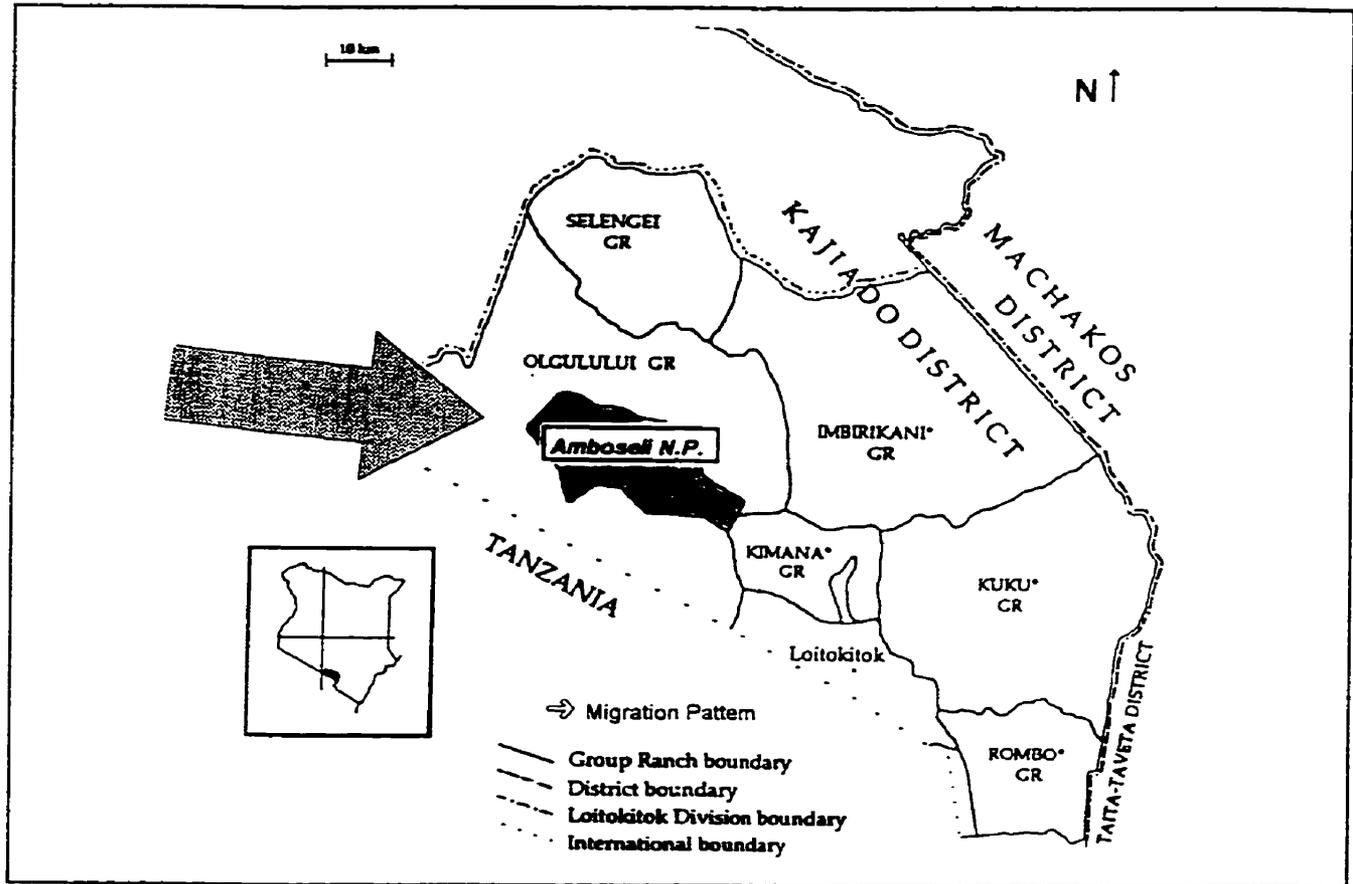
Group ranches are official boundaries aimed at converting pastoralist milk production into beef ranching with the concept of individual ownership. This program was established in 1968. This system is referred to as the 'Maasai pastoral system' defined as the movements of wildlife and the people living in the area (Berger, 1993). The Maasai continue to hold large quantity of livestock as an important source of livelihood for its people living on the ranches. Approximately 90,000 to 100,000 cattle (Berger, 1993) are currently found on individual or group ranches. This amount is estimated to be lower than a decade ago.

Every cattle owner may become a group ranch member and can be elected to the committee from within the membership. Non-Maasai people are generally not registered as group ranch members. The group ranch system is run by a group ranch executive committee with a chairman, secretary and treasurer who schedule general meetings on a quarterly basis for members of the group ranch. They also meet with Kajiado County Council on a regular basis although, as stated earlier the District headquarters is located 200 km away from Loitokitok. This is one of the causes' of miscommunication among government staff and local community representatives.

Since the establishment of rigid ranch boundaries, many changes have occurred for group ranchers which have created problems in their way of living. The major problem is their

traditional Maasai age-set and clan system which has been weakened and practically forced to adapt to the modernize/western way of living. In addition, their grazing rights have been altered; the old dry season grazing refuges have now been replaced by cultivated land. Therefore, there is less room for grazing especially during hard times (drought periods).

Map 4.2 Group Ranches in Loitokitok Division and the Migration Pattern of Wildlife



(Berger, 1993)

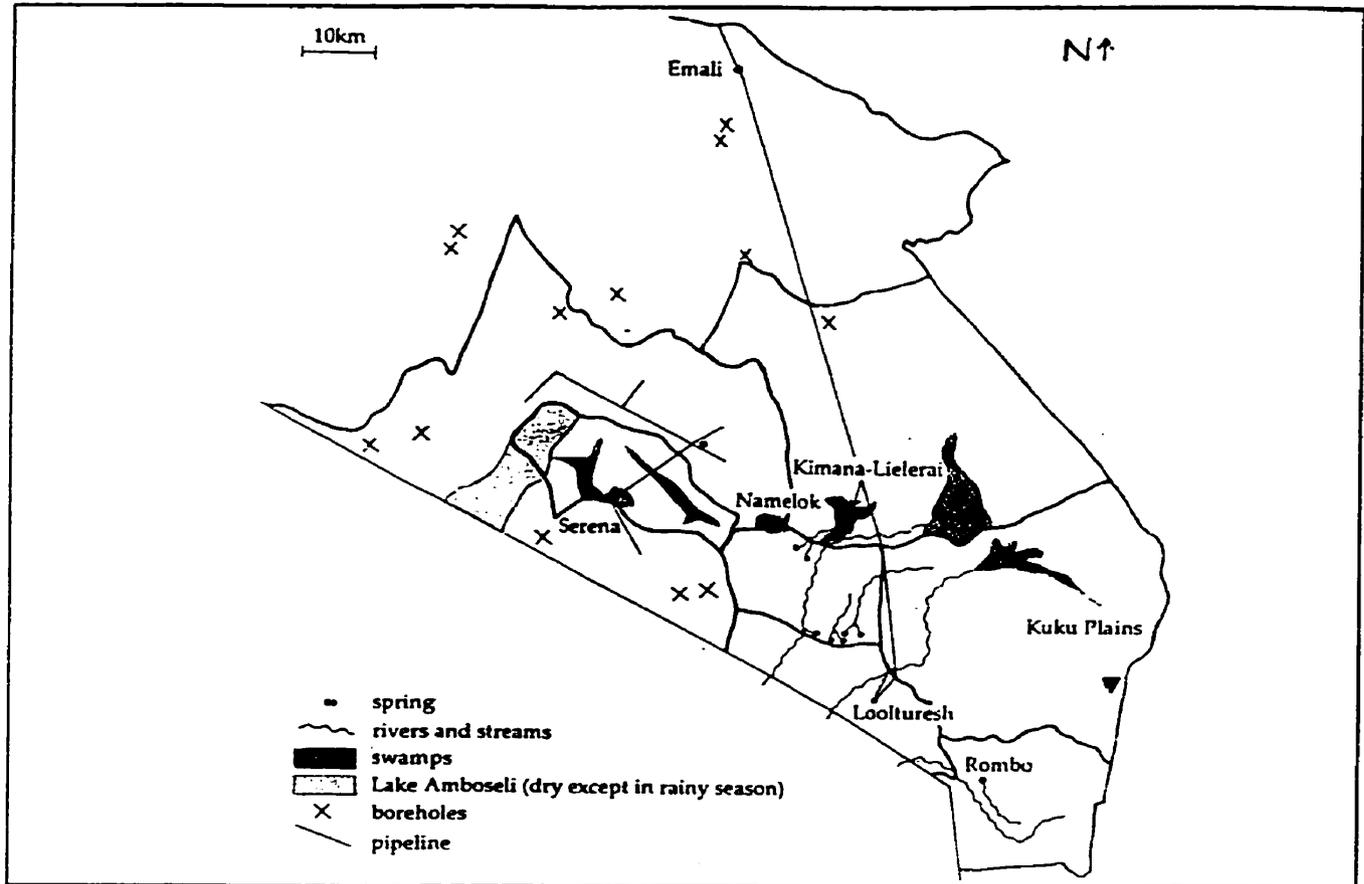
There is one national park in Kajiado District called Amboseli which was established in 1948 and situated at 220 km south of Nairobi. Amboseli is one of the most accessible and thus, highly visited parks in Kenya. It has picturesque scenery from the arid savanna plains to the ice-crowned summit of Mount Kilimanjaro. The park receives approximately 121,000 visitors per year generates 43% of Kenya foreign exchange. The Amboseli has been recognized as “an

ecosystem of international importance by its status as a Biosphere Reserve under UNESCO's Man and Biosphere programme" (Amboseli National Park - Management Plan 1991-1996).

The water distribution in the District is actually greater than what one might expect although only during certain months of the years. However between human habitants and the wildlife living in the region, obtaining water has generated a fierce competition. Permanent surface water, such as swamps, are located in scattered areas throughout the district. The Amboseli lake is usually dry except during the rainy season which occurs from March to May and November to December. Rivers and streams are the dominant source of surface water for both the wildlife and the Maasai livestock and are primarily based on seasonal rainfall. Map 4.3 displays the water distribution in the District.

Boreholes are also found mainly outside Amboseli National Park and in the northern group ranches: Selengei and Olgulului. A number of pipelines have been constructed notably the Serena pipeline which provides an essential water point for the Maasai livestock. The major pipeline runs from the Loitokitok all the way to Nairobi by passing Kimana and Imbirikani group ranches. However, the pipeline does not provide water points for the local residents. This issue has been an ongoing conflict with the Kenyan government and the local group ranches. In the early 1970's, after the Amboseli was designated a National Park, the government promised them permanent water sites outside the park. This promise was never fulfilled, thus during the dry season, the Maasai people started tapping the pipeline (which was crossing their lands) for water.

Map 4.3 Water distribution in Kajiado district



(Berger, 1993)

The Maasai people have always lived close and harmoniously with wildlife. “Seasonal migration patterns and foraging strategies of Maasai livestock and wildlife species are so similar that their niches are intermingled and inseparable” (Western, 1976). The Amboseli National Park attracts a large diversity of wild animals and birdlife due to its verdant swamps located in the centre of the park. The migration patterns (see map 4.2) demonstrate that they are not contained within the park boundaries. During the dry seasons, the water dependent species (zebras and wildebeests) will migrate to swamps or permanent water points inside the park, while during the wet seasons, they will disperse outside the park boundaries onto the group ranches. The pastoralists Maasai also follow this pattern with their livestock. This movement behaviour

and flexible resource use has created numerous human-wildlife conflicts especially since the government introduced strategic measures for wildlife conservation and preservation when redesignating the Amboseli as a National Park. While interviewing the Area Partnership Officer in the Amboseli National Park headquarters, an incident occurred involving a local Maasai man and an elephant. The man was walking through the park at night when an elephant attacked and killed him. The elephant disappeared in the park while the man laid there. No one in the park had heard or seen anything. Hyenas discovered the man and ate his body except for both his legs. Later the man was reported missing by his family and a report was filed with the Park warden. The elephant was later found that day and killed. The remains of the man's body were given to the family. Apparently the elephant had smelled the man from a distance and charged him. Now the family are requesting compensation for the loss of the man's life. This is not the first time such an incident occurred. The Area Partnership Officer admittedly said that there is nothing the government can really do. A compensation process will be started, however, it may take years before any resolution and monetary compensation is provided.

The government's major wildlife conservation efforts are found in the national parks and reserves of the country. Approximately, eight percent of the Kenyan land is occupied by a park or reserve. The attitudes of the communities are slowly changing. The current policies regarding wildlife preservation are outlined in Kenya Wildlife Service Wildlife Policy, 1996. Biodiversity conservation and local development are the primary goals of the government while trying to preserve the economical, cultural, recreational, aesthetic, scientific and environmental security of the communities. Different approaches are used to reduce the conflicting interests of those affected by wildlife : arbitration, education, direct incentives to conserve wildlife, problem species control and benefit-sharing. Great emphasis is placed on resolving national conflicts in order to obtain local support from the communities. A locally-driven grass roots approach encouraging the formation of partnerships among stakeholders is currently being adopted to replace the previous top-down preservationist approach to conservation.

The Maasai have coexisted for many decades with wildlife because they do not use wildlife for their livelihood. Their intimate knowledge of the environment has permitted them to observe the processes of nature such as the change in season, weather and in wildlife habitats. They live with the wildlife surrounding them and honouring them in cultural beliefs and practices. The lion when hunted (olamayio) represented honour and bravery. The hedgehog, antbear and mole are associated with good luck, while the duiker, jackal and cape hare bring bad luck. During ceremonies (Eunoto), ostrich feathers are worn. Since the redesignation of Amboseli as a National Park restricting the Maasai from grazing their livestock and using important water sources in the park, numerous conflicts of interests have occurred. "It is not surprising that they (the Maasai) increasingly view wildlife as a competitor" (Berger, 1993: 25). Through the growth of tourism in the area, attracting visitors interested in viewing wildlife and discovering the local culture, perhaps competing for land and resources will change to preserving and conserving the wildlife. In this way, resources and traditions developed as a product will provide a better livelihood for the local communities.

4.3 THE TOURISM INDUSTRY IN KENYA

Overview

The tourism sector in Kenya has been a growing industry over the last few decades. Tourism has played an important role in the country's economy. Kenya tourism depends on its excellent wildlife resources, exquisite scenery, beautiful climate and attractive beaches. Tourists will also be drawn to prehistorical sites and by the rich and colourful tribal culture. The dominant attraction is the variety of wild animals and birds in the National Park and Reserves (see map 4.4) which can be viewed on a safari tour offered by numerous companies. The most popular locations for safaris are the Masa Mara Game Reserve and the Amboseli National Park. The Marine Parks and Reserve also offer an abundance of marine life as well as

as excellent diving possibilities especially in Malindi and Watamu, off the central coast. The competition among safari companies to attract travellers is intense. There are many opportunities from camping safaris for the budget travellers to the high end of the scale in tented camps or superb lodges in the middle of the park.

Three dominant types of tourists exist in Kenya: the holiday tourist who comes for pleasure and recreation, the business tourist who also visits for pleasure and recreation but on a restrictive schedule, and the local (domestic) tourist who visits other parts of the country for recreation purposes (Nyeki, 1993 and Irandu, 1995). The majority of travellers originate from a small number of countries including Germany, England, France, Italy and Japan. Kenya is currently trying to diversify its demand to a wider range of destinations.

In Kajiado District, tourists are primarily drawn to the Amboseli National Park. The park offers a wide variety of facilities situated within the centre of the park and catering dominantly to the foreign tourist. A detail road map (see map 4.5) indicates the tourist accommodation in the area. The lodges which are located within the park include:

- Kimana Safari Lodge
- New Amboseli Lodge
- Amboseli Serena Lodge

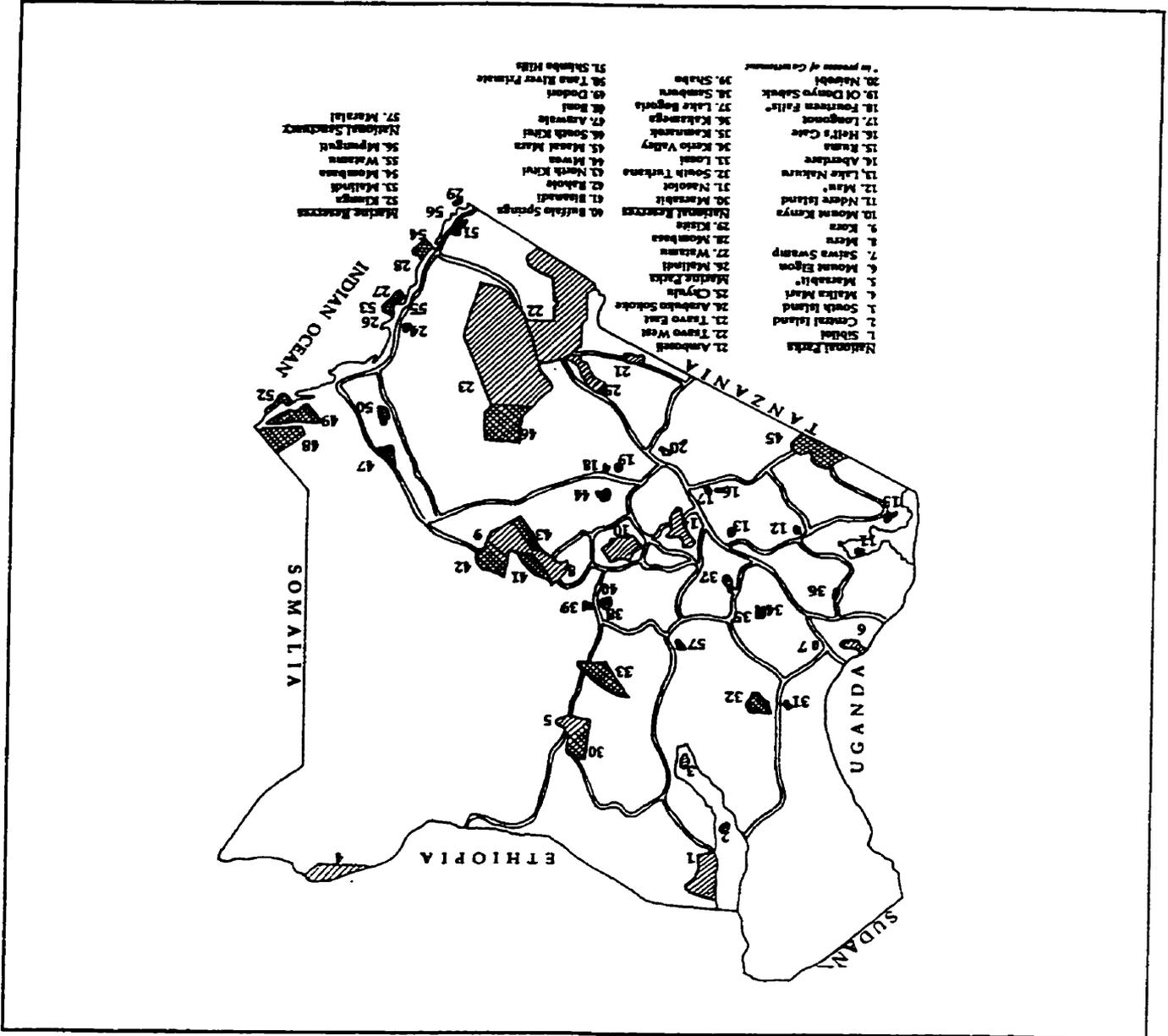
Lodges which are located outside the park, near the eastern park gate include:

- Buffalo Safari Lodge
- Kimana Safari Lodge
- Kibo Slopes Cottages

A safari to the Amboseli would include a number of visits to the different section of the park viewing different types of animals and bird life. Then another day is spent visiting a cultural boma which is a traditional village where local people live. Finally, some tour safaris try to encourage community tourism participation by bringing their guests to a new Wildlife Sanctuary on the Kimana group ranch which is run entirely by local people. Kibo Slopes

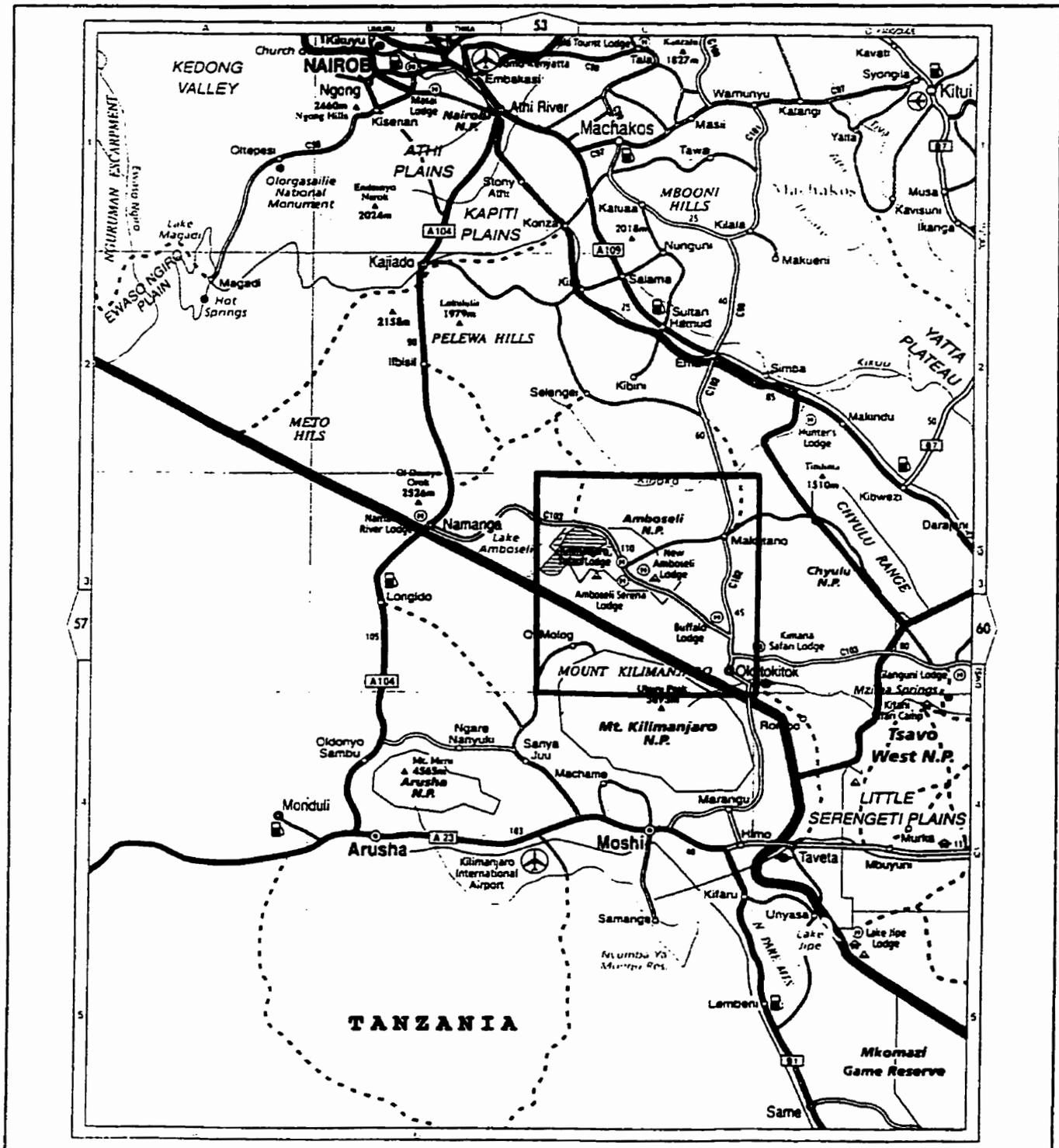
Cottages caters to the local community by taking their guests out to visit the Maasai communities.

Map 4.4 National and Marine Parks and Reserves in Kenya



(Nyeki, 1993)

Map 4.5 Amboseli region with tourist accommodation



(Kenya Road Atlas, 1995)

The tourism structure

The organizational structure of Kenyan tourism sector is quite complex. Both the public and the private sector play an important role in the industry. The private sector, although gaining direct monetary benefits through tourist facilities and services, provides indirect contributions to the country's economic development by employment creation and increase in the balance of payments. Popular private tourist companies which provide safaris to National Parks and Reserves and to local communities include: Abercrombie & Kent Ltd, Pollman's Tour & Travel Ltd., Bushbuck Adventures and Safari Seekers.

The role of the public sector in tourism development is to develop and conserve tourism resources, promote tourism, support the tourism sector's activities and maintain fair practice in businesses operating in the tourism sector. The principal public, state corporation and parastatal organizations are controlled by the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife (MOTW).

The **Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife (MOTW)** in Kenya has jurisdiction over tourism and conservation in the country. Its major responsibilities are:

- planning of tourism and personnel training for the tourism sector;
- management and conservation of wildlife and cultural heritages, which form the base for tourism; and
- promotion of international and domestic tourism aimed at earning foreign exchange and generating employment.

The Ministry has three principal departments: Tourism, Fisheries and Administration. Under command of the permanent secretary are the parastatal organizations such as: Kenya Tourist Development Corporation (KTDC), Kenya Utalii College, and Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS). The MOTW has had very little coordination with the Ministry of Planning and Development and National Development even though tourism is the largest foreign exchange earner for the country. According to a World Tourism Organization Mission Report (January 1992), lack of coordination among ministries was observed especially when, for example,

infrastructure development projects related to the tourism sector were rarely presented to the MOTW for consultation.

The **Kenya Tourist Development Corporation (KTDC)** is an organization which is responsible for promoting tourism by joint tourist hotels ventures or by providing financial assistance in tourism related enterprise. The aim is to promote more participation in local tourism businesses with the objectives of carrying out projects or activities related to the tourism sector which aim to improve and preserve Kenya's wildlife and natural resources. **Kenya Utalii College** is a hotel and tourism training institute established in 1975. The mission of the college is to enhance professionalism and improve standards in the field of hospitality through training, consultancy services and innovation.

The **Kenya Wildlife Services (KWS)** established in 1990 under the Wildlife Conservation and Management (Amendment) Act is a parastatal organization attached to the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife. Its mission includes:

“The Government of Kenya through the Kenya Wildlife Service holds in trust for present and future generations nationally and globally the biological diversity represented by its extraordinary variety of animals, plants and ecosystems ranging from coral reefs to alpine moorlands and from deserts to forests. Special emphasis is placed on conserving Kenya's unique assemblage of large mammals found in few other places on earth.”

(KWS Concept Paper, 1997: 1)

The legal mandate of the KWS is to conserve wild animals and to enforce wildlife laws and regulations. It's jurisdiction is over national parks, reserves and wildlife sanctuaries. The KWS policy framework includes: setting conservation priorities, establishing and mobilizing partnerships, identifying the threats to Biodiversity and incentives to conserve. The 1996 Wildlife Policy states that “KWS will focus on mobilizing the competent authorities and stakeholders, educating them on the importance of Biodiversity, on user-rights policy and in providing the skills needed to participate in such programmes” (Wildlife Policy, 1996: 25).

KWS is organized in three distinctive directorates:

- **Biodiversity Programme:** is a scientific approach used in identifying priorities and threats and management strategies to Biodiversity conservation.
- **Partnership Programme:** focuses on reducing the threats to Biodiversity, resolving human-wildlife conflicts and implementing user-rights projects
- **Tourism Programme:** coordinates nature tourism activities within parks, reserves, private sanctuaries and other areas. It also includes: identification of the tourist destinations, planning, coordinating, market research, the establishment of standards, fee structures, licensing, franchising and tourist promotion in collaboration with the MOTW.

The KWS's new approach is to promote "sustainable wildlife management by and for people on their land, not in spite of them" (Wildlife Policy, 1996: 7). This approach is being implemented by the Biodiversity department. The goal of the department is "to conserve Biodiversity by emphasizing the need to define conservation priorities using clear-cut biological, economic and social criteria rather than trying to do everything everywhere" (KWS Concept Paper, 1997: 4).

In 1992, the Conservation of Biodiverse Resource Areas (COBRA) project was developed. COBRA was a US \$ 7 million funded project by the Development Fund for Africa (DFA). The purpose of the project was to promote the socio-economic development of communities living adjacent to national parks and reserves through conservation and sustainable management of Kenya's natural resources. The primary objective of the COBRA project was to assist KWS in implementing its community conservation approach by helping to reduce the costs which individuals and communities bear as a consequence of the continued presence of wildlife on their land, and to increase the socio-economic benefits they derive from it. COBRA has been successful in establishing support and assistance to community-based projects such as the Mwaluganje Elephant Sanctuary, the Il Ngwesi and the Kimana Wildlife Sanctuary. These have provided employment opportunities and revenues to the local communities by employing local

residents as game scouts, wardens and tour guides to name a few.

The goal of the tourism department at KWS is “to promote sustainable nature tourism on high priority areas both within and outside the parks” (KWS, 1997: 9). The high priority areas are determined by KWS and various stakeholders. The department is divided into five sections which report to the deputy director:

- product development
- accommodation facility management
- marketing, advertising and promotion
- customer services
- retailing development

The department has placed emphasis on the following objectives in promoting the development of nature tourism development (KWS, 1997:9):

- to diversify tourism to new parks hitherto not visited
- to diversify tourism activities beyond parks
- to maximise economic benefits of tourism to KWS, communities and Kenya as a whole
- to minimize negative environmental impact from tourist activities

KWS through the tourism department is focussing on reversing demand trends, improving product and attractiveness of Kenya and promoting Biodiversity conservation through responsible tourism. Six key activities have been determined which will help achieve its objectives (KWS, 1997:9):

- improvements in pricing and gate management
- improvement of visitor satisfaction as a whole by opening new circuits
- enhancement of visitor satisfaction through better customer service, interpretive facilities and provision of adequate information
- increase visitor numbers to through aggressive marketing activities both internationally and locally
- provision of accommodation in the new circuits by offering sites to private developers as well as developing KWS owned sites

- development of retailing outlets at selected gates.

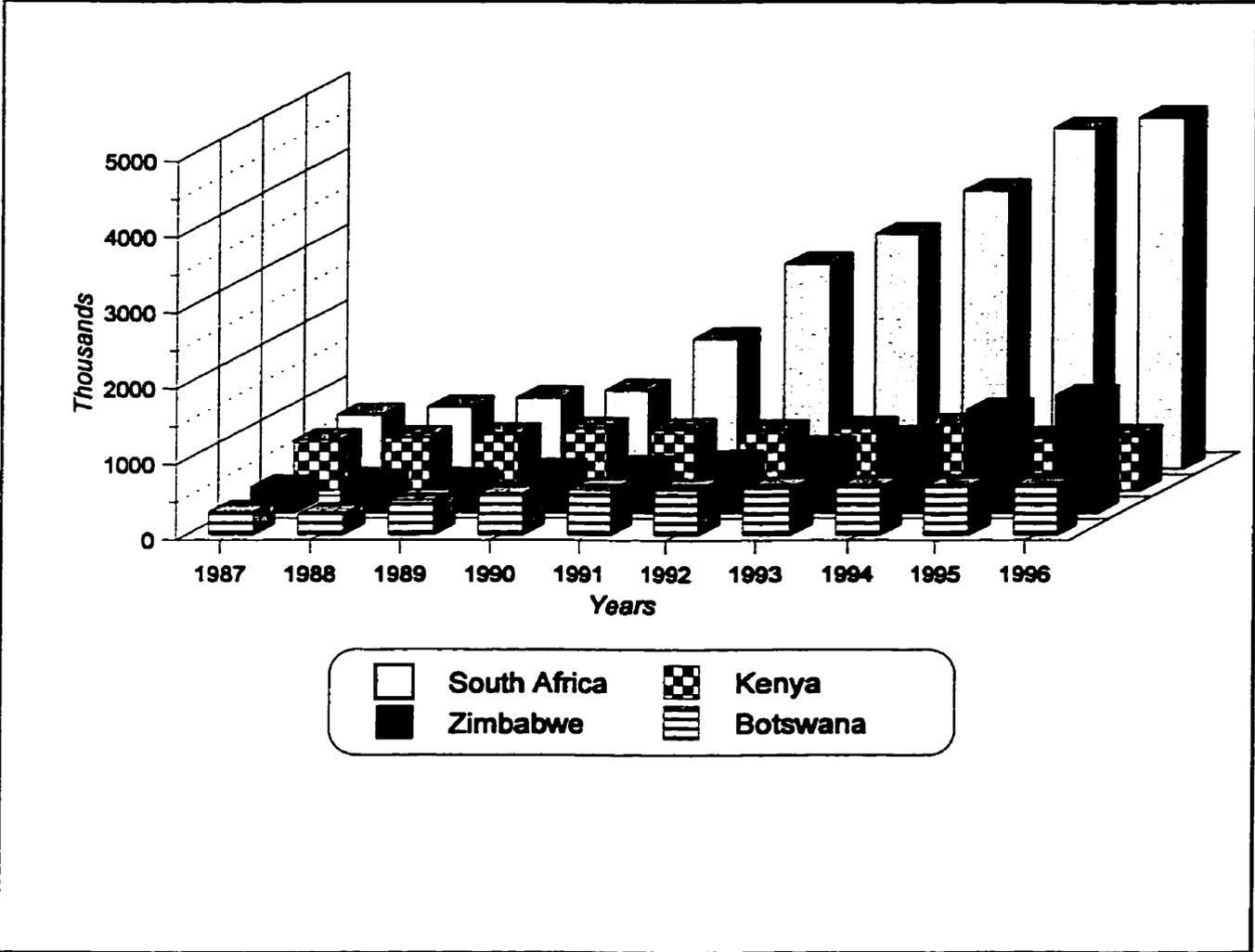
Importance of tourism in Kenya's economy

Agriculture is the largest export earner of the country. The principal cash crops are coffee, tea, cotton, sisal, pyrethrum and tobacco and the food crops are maize, sorghum, cassava, beans and fruit. However, the Economic Survey (1997) shows that Kenya experienced a decrease of 4.6% in GDP in 1996 compared to a recorded growth of 4.8% in 1995. The main cause was due to poor rainfall which caused rationing and reduced agriculture output. The National Development Plan (NDP) policy in the next five years will: "emphasis the expansion and modernization of existing industries and on the attraction of new investments in light manufacturing and resources-based industries" (8th NDP, 1997: 13) to offset Kenya's declining agricultural market exports. The National Development Plan outlines Kenya's development objectives, policies and programmes since her independence in 1963. The plans usually cover a five year period, the latest being from 1997 to 2001 named the 8th National Development Plan. The theme adopted in the NDP (1997) was *Rapid Industrialization for Sustained Development*.

Tourism development continues to be the second largest foreign earner in the country after agriculture. Gross earnings experienced a decline from Ksh 28.1 billion (\$501 million) to Ksh 25 billion in 1996. In 1997, there were 728,000 tourists arrivals from abroad compared to 691,000 in 1995. The Kenya tourism industry is now experiencing intense competition led by South Africa (see figure 4.2). South Africa reported 4,640,000 tourists arrivals from abroad, a sharp increase of 3.4%. Tribal clashes, poor media coverage and infrastructure weaknesses have contributed to a gradual decline in tourists arrivals over the last ten years. There is a need for concentrated efforts to promote and market Kenya as a key tourism destination and to focus on different strategies such as quality of service rather than quantity in order to regain Kenya's previous image as the provider of the original wilderness Safari. According to the NDP (1997), efforts will be made in the tourism sector to "improve the conservation of natural and cultural

resources which are attractions to the tourists; diversify tourism products and market segments; promote the country as a travel destination for foreign and domestic tourists, and the providing of high service standards for tourists” (8th NDP, 1997: 201).

Figure 4.2 Arrivals of Tourists from Abroad



(World Tourism Organization, 1997)

The Kenyan government has established the Kenya Tourism Board (KTB) to address these important issues. The NDP states that KTB should focus on: “intensifying effort towards diversification of tourist products and market segments, supporting and encouraging community

participation in tourism activities, and intensifying public relations services to restore the country's image as a travel destination" (8th NDP, 1997: 202). The Kenyan government hopes that the Tourism Board strategies will improve the current tourism situation.

At the local level, the government is spending great effort to encourage local Maasai to engage in other forms of livelihood to supplement pastoralist practices such as in farming crops or to become involved in the tourism industry. Studies show that the Maasai have a tendency to move towards a cash economy as their per capita livestock holdings have fallen (Western, 1994). This change in conventional social and economic practices is altering the cultural way of life of the Maasai communities and influencing a new relationship with wildlife and the environment.

Finally, the Amboseli National Park is an important source to the national economy because of its richness in wildlife-based tourism. The Amboseli, 'a place of water' in the Maasai language, is one of Kenya's smallest parks but one of the highest revenue earners. It was first established in October 1974 under the authority of the National Park Trustees. The principal reasons for its popularity are: the ability for visitors to see a variety of large animals in a short period of time, the scenic backdrop of Mount Kilimanjaro, unusual combination of habitats from barren plains to Acacia woodlands to papyrus swamps, easy access from Nairobi and Mombasa, and its large elephant population.

Partnership efforts for tourism development

In July 1996, KWS launched the new Partnership department which formed one of KWS three goals. This department replaced the Community Wildlife Service which had been founded by USAID's COBRA (Conservation of Biodiverse Resource Areas) Project. The Partnership Department goal is to provide an integrated approach to conservation and development based on coordinated land-use planning and collaborative ventures. Currently based at KWS headquarters in Nairobi, the Partnership Department is governed by only four staff members which are field-oriented and involved in partnering with all stakeholders rather than only communities.

Following the 1994, Independent Review on human-wildlife conflict which stated that: “75% of Kenya’s wildlife lives outside protected areas on private land devoted to farming, ranching and other activities”, the new partnership approach to Biodiversity conservation was initiated. The department focussed on the human side of the conflict. The following are the objectives adopted to address the key issues:

- Formation of partnership with appropriate stakeholders/ partners for Biodiversity conservation and management.
- Development of meaningful incentive programmes for relevant stakeholders and,
- Protection of people and property form wildlife

The function of the partnership programme is to work with communities adjacent to parks and protected areas, landowners involved in wildlife management activities, associations and NGOs involving in wildlife conservation, and private tourism businesses based in the area. Programmes are developed to involve local communities in contributing their efforts in conservation as a form of economic enterprise. Focus is placed on mobilizing and educating communities and other parties affected by conservation activities and by encouraging ‘capacity building’ to minimize the dependency syndrome. Finally, the department provides management skills through lectures and seminars and adopts a new attitude towards: ownership equity, responsibility and accountability regarding conservation, and utilisation of wildlife resources. KWS is also involved in a partnership with the private sector by establishing an institutional framework of eight tourist offices promoting tourism marketing campaigns overseas (Mbova, 1996).

One of the most successful projects developed through the partnership Programme is the Kimana Community Wildlife Sanctuary which won the Silver Otter Award in 1996 for being the best international tourism project. Forty acres of land have been transformed into a sanctuary. The land is an important animal migration corridor from the Amboseli to Tsavo National Park which is located east of the Amboseli. Except during severe draught, the land is now off limits to

Maasai cattle. The idea of the sanctuary dates back to 1977 when the Amboseli was designated as a National Park and the Maasai living adjacent to the Park lost their best grazing land during dry-seasons. The Kimana project was proposed in 1992 and finally was approved by the Kimana/Tikondo Group Ranch elders in 1995.

Community tourism initiatives

In Kenya, the Maasai generally have stayed outside the main stream of development for many decades by maintaining their herds of cattle (Finlay and Crowther, 1994). Now some are turning towards tourism as an income provider by selling everyday items (gourds, necklaces, bracelets and spears) or by performing traditional dances for the tourists. In recent years, many other ethnic tribal groups have taken residency and started other forms of income-generating activities in the area such as markets, businesses or simply practising agriculture. These groups include Kikuyu (23%), Luo (3%), Luhya (2%) and Tanzanians (1.7%) (Kenya Census, 1994).

Other community initiatives include cultural bomas (villages). There are two Maasai cultural bomas located near the Amboseli National Park on the Kimana group ranch. They are both organized and managed by the local group ranch committee. The principal attractions at the bomas are traditional dance performances and tours into local *manyattas* (Maasai households). Traditional arts and crafts are also found to attract tourists and are usually made and sold by Maasai women living in the area. Although, over the years, this form of tourism enterprise has been abused and not properly planned. It said to be intrusive to people privacy when tourists enter a Maasai home and take a picture. The Maasai demand money or a copy of the picture which in turn aggravates the tourist. A hotel manager interviewed suggested that tourists who want to learn about the Maasai culture need to be given a museum like setting and pay for it. The money would then be filtered down to those Maasai who have contributed to the tourist experience. Furthermore, the curios could be sold in a less aggressive environment (perhaps through a cooperative) and the proceeds distributed to the curio makers. It's a matter of

management again and which is a current problem in the group ranches. A good example of a successful cultural bomas is located at Hell's Gate National Park near Lake Naivasha. According to a Programme Officer from a local NGO, "cultural bomas get a lot of income...". The Maasai people live away from the 'tourist cultural bomas' and view this set-up as a business enterprise. With adequate knowledge and support in management skills, it will become a model for future cultural bomas to be set-up and implemented as prosperous tourism developments.

There are several Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) located in Kajiado District which are interested in involving the local people in community-based projects. The principal tourism NGO in Kenya is the "Ecotourism Society of Kenya (ESOK) located in Nairobi. The society actively supports ecotourism development ventures in the country by creating partnerships between communities, the conservation interests groups and the private sector operators. Recently, this society formed 'The Ecotourism Partnership Ltd' as a commercial agency for promoting and implementing community-based wildlife tourism projects in Kenya. Three initial projects are currently being developed as unique tourism sites: Northern Mara Conservation Area, Shaba National Reserve and Magadi Conservation Area.

Other NGOs located in Loitokitok area include:

- PADEP (Pastoralists Development and Education Programme) formerly known as GREP (Group Ranches Development Programme) tries to sensitize people on developmental issues especially relating to pastoralist issues.
- CBIRDS (Community Based Integrated Rural Development Service) focuses on educating and helping communities design and submit project proposals to different organizations for funding.
- Peace Corps, although associated with a governmental ministry, use a community outreach approach by involving local people in different projects various sectors (forestry, public and health)

NGOs are greatly involved in community-related matters. Often they provide the bridge between local governmental officials and the community members acting as a moderator or a

catalyst in encouraging developmental projects. However, local people are being encouraged to form community-based associations to respond to their community needs and issues.

One of the principle local initiated associations is the Kenya National Wildlife Association (KNWA) called the Amboseli/Tsavo Group Ranch Conservation Association which was established in 1995. It is a community-based organization which acts as a network for group ranches and provides a forum that can bring all bodies, developmental and conservation, and organized groups who are their members, including youth and women's groups to address common issues. The goal of this organization is to get all members of the group ranch community involved and participating in the planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating projects. The Association conducts discussions and seminars bringing together all stakeholders, NGO's, government technical support units, other organized community groups, and interested private sector entities, to develop and implement strategies for the protection and conservation of the Amboseli/Tsavo ecosystem. The Association hopes that this will avoid duplication of effort and elimination of conflicting activities and programs, and enhancing efficiencies.

Rising government-community conflicts

The tourism industry has been for decades an important foreign exchange earner to the national economy. In Kenya, "tourism may bring in 'hard' currency and help a nation to balance its accounts however, the local consequences of tourism development are often neglected" (Sindiga, 1995: 46). The development of tourism brings the incentive "to rural communities to conserve wildlife while at the same time supporting their economic development" (The Ecotourism Society of Kenya, 1997: note 2). Conflicts between government officials and local communities shadow the potential for community-based tourism development in Kajiado District. These obstacles are primarily related to resource use in the area for which solutions need to be found.

Difficulties have been encountered with the group ranches system, which aimed at converting pastoralist producing cattle for milk into beef ranching. Problems with the concept of individual ownership with rigid boundaries have risen because of the unpredictable rainfalls. In certain years, insufficient amount of water and inadequate grazing areas have resulted in the Maasai people moving their animals onto new surrounding rangelands or into Tanzania. Another conflict is that cattle herds are still mostly individually owned rather than collectively owned. This is in conflict with the government which has been persuading Maasai herders to combine their cattle into ranch cooperatives. There are no incentives because according to Berger (1993), group ranches have not collected income from the livestock only from natural products (firewood, charcoal) and from wildlife-based tourism. Furthermore, traditional rites dictate that: "riches and prestige are still believed by many to be in the numbers of livestock owned" (Berger, 1993: 37). Lack of management and leadership, mis-management of financial assets, unfair distribution of earnings to members and ignored ranch committee roles failed to provide guidance and support for the ranch members.

This new form of social organization has further failed to encourage wildlife conservation. The pastoralist system is much more tolerant to wildlife than the modern cattle raising which encourage exotic breeds and fencing. Designating the Amboseli as a National Park has brought conflict for the adjacent communities because of traditional resources management practices such as grazing. Since the beginning of the colonial era, the Maasai people have always been involved in conservation of wildlife. However, since being excluded from a key grazing area (such as the Amboseli National Park) greater demand and pressures have been placed for grazing and land use on areas around the park because of an increase in human and animal populations in the surrounding areas.

Multiple land usages has caused substantial conflicts between Maasai pastoralists and the government representatives. The population in Maasailand has increased. Most of the community members come together during the dry season to graze their livestock. Because of

the shortage of water, the Maasai are often forced to go in the Amboseli park to graze their animals. Once on their group ranches, wild animals often graze onto their group ranches during the wet seasons and kill livestock, crops or people. A compensation should be awarded for the losses however, the process is very lengthy and bureaucratic. Other faster means for the families must be developed to compensate the lost ones.

The Wildlife for Development Fund (WDF) established by the KWS includes a wide range of benefit-sharing programmes. The fund includes sharing gate income and in-kind services with communities, wildlife associations funds, capacity building, and enterprise development funds. The KWS decides who will receive the revenue and the amount. Local community members have criticized KWS method in deciding who would receive revenues or income benefits. According to local Maasai residents, many submitted claims for human or animals losses are never processed. "This has caused much resentment against wildlife...and tourism" (Sindiga, 1995: 51) from the local Maasai people. This revenue sharing among local Maasai members would provide evidence that KWS is working towards compensating local group ranch members from their losses.

Finally, the shortage of water is one of the biggest problems for communities in the district. There is water located in the area, however, it is not distributed locally rather it is rerouted towards Nairobi and other major cities. Currently, there are 6 boreholes adjacent to the park which are solely and fully maintained by Kenya Wildlife Service. These boreholes accommodate only two or three group ranches. In 1987, the Kilimanjaro-Machakos-Kajiado-Athi River project was founded. The water was to be distributed by an expensive pipeline system to Nairobi and surrounding areas which meant no service the local communities. This resulted in pipelines located on Maasai land being punctured so the Maasai would gain access to water.

4.4 CASE STUDY SUMMARY

This section has presented an overview of the research site and the many issues which affect its development. Such an overview of information provides the reader with a general context on which the research results can be applied. Kenya is a beautiful country with a diverse wildlife and magnificent valleys and warm ethnic tribal groups waiting to be discovered by travellers. The tourism sector has been developed for great number of years. Government policies are now placing great effort on wildlife conservation with the help of participating local community members in the process.

The Maasai tribal people living in the district feel the pressure of modernization and development. They are caught between two systems; the traditional age-set form of decision-making, the new democratic top-down political approach brought forward by wealthy educated Maasai and the central government in Nairobi.

Conflicts between both the government and local Maasai communities are becoming obstacles to tourism development and are placing great pressure on planners and developers to find sustainable solutions to the problems. These difficulties present a major challenge in developing tourism and encouraging wildlife conservation in local Maasai communities to a level which can be sustained for generations to come.

CHAPTER 5 - RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the research findings will be presented using the process outlined in the methodology (chapter 3). The goal of this chapter is to fulfil the first two objectives of the study:

- to identify measurement indicators for evaluating the levels of involvement of the citizen when planning for tourism development
- to determine the actual level of citizen involvement in the planning process for tourism development and match this level with the expectations of the partners in the system by applying the ladder of citizen participation

The analysis chapter has been subdivided into four themes to facilitate the interpretation of the data. These themes include:

- Theme 1: The current planning and decision-making process
- Theme 2: The current level of community involvement
- Theme 3: The perceived level of participation among stakeholders
- Theme 4: Constraints to and facilitation of community participation

An attempt was made in Theme 1 to gain a better understanding of the government and the community's awareness of the current planning and decision-making structure in place for developing tourism in the study region. Respondents told us in their own words if the process was adequate to meet their needs. It was quite interesting to obtain such a wide variety of answers. Data was collected over many days in governmental establishments by researching current planning approaches used as well as examining key planning documents. Also when

visiting local communities, observation techniques were used to examine what type of information and documents the local people had access to for tourism planning. These visual observations were actually aware of any planning documents and of any planning decisions which were taking place around them.

Theme 2 presents the current involvement levels of participation which were determined mainly by observing what was currently happening in regards to respondents' participation and involvement. The research wanted to see first hand if meetings were actually held or if local planning associations actually existed. Therefore a considerable amount of data was compiled by questioning other groups such as private owners and/or non-governmental organizations.

Theme 3 provides a clear understanding of the perceived level of community participation determined by respondents' comments. The researcher used the comments, feelings, opinions of both the governmental officials and the local community representatives.

Finally, Theme 4 identifies elements which obstruct or cause difficulties for participants to adequately and effectively partake in the planning process. This final section of the chapter also provides a purpose for encouraging an adequate level of participation in order to sustain tourism development.

Method of Analysis

The Kajiado District of Loitokitok Division in Southern Kenya was selected as the study area for this research. The emphasis has been placed on examining the levels of participation which are currently being experienced in the local communities and to gain a better understanding of the *desired* level of participation which communities would like to achieve in the future. To adequately answer the first two objectives mentioned above, data was collected using two distinctive techniques: observation and interviews with key informants. Both methods, using a qualitative approach and played an important role in discovering important differences and similarities in the participation level of the government officials and the local community

members.

The research analysis is an interpretation of the observations and respondents' comments placed in the research context. Indicators were used for each theme as measurement tools to gather the proper information from the various target groups. Several items are associated with each indicator to allow the data to be more manageable. These indicators are described in table 5.1 and were then used in the data analysis of each theme.

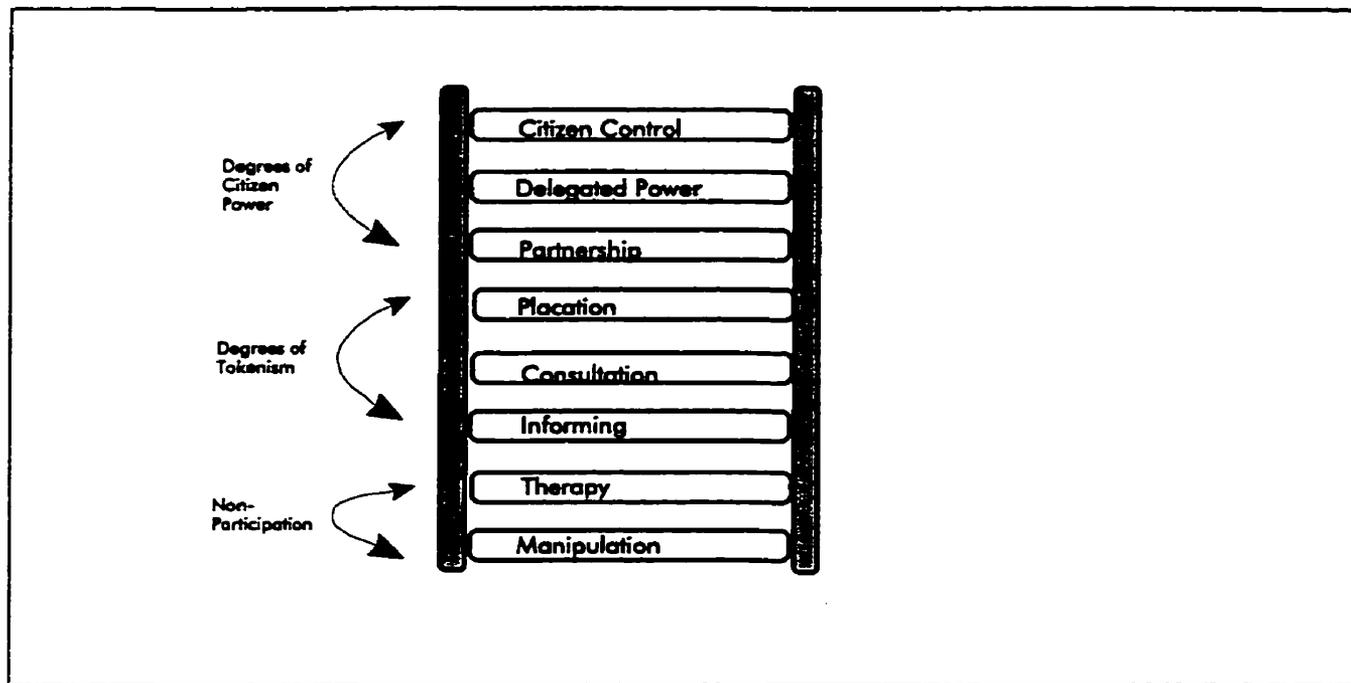
Table 5.1 Research Findings Indicators

INDICATORS	
Knowledge and Awareness of planning documents and process	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Current tourism plans or documents for the local region? 2. Evidence of a Master Tourism Plan for the Amboseli National Park? 3. Process for Planning decisions (when and where and by whom)?
Representation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The composition of the planning committee? 2. Initiation of a planning process (by whom?) 3. Evidence of local participation in the planning process? 4. Evidence of local representation in the tourism planning committees in the region?
Accessibility for involvement	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Evidence of local contribution of the community in the planning process? 2. Evidence that tourism activities encourage local community participation? 3. Evidence of local community members getting involved? 4. What community members are involved in the decision-making process?
Communication	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Evidence that local tourism planning issues are communicated to citizens? 2. Evidence that local members voice their opinions, concerns, ideas for tourism development? 3. Adequate process for voicing individual opinions, concerns and ideas?
Interaction	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Evidence that the KWS partnership programme is handling the key tourism issues? 2. Placement of each organization on Arnstein (1969) Ladder of Participation 3. At what level would you like to see your organization located on this scale in the future?
Attitude towards community participation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Identification of main barriers to community participation in tourism planning? 2. Definition of community participation? 3. Favouring community participation in tourism development?

Each indicator was well defined using interview responses from both the government officials (the KWS) and the local community members. The indicators were then analysed using Arnstein's eight levels of Citizen Participation. The eight levels of Citizen Participation

presented in Arnstein's Model (Arnstein, 1969) represent a ladder where the 'Manipulation' level is located at the lower rung of the ladder while 'Citizen Control' is located at the top.

Figure 5.1 Arnstein's Eight Levels of Citizen Participation



(Adapted from Arnstein, 1969)

Finally, an overall level of participation is determined and suggested for each theme (for both the government and the local community). These participation levels are then graphically positioned on Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation. One must note that only the first three themes were located on Arnstein's Ladder. The fourth theme did not directly evaluate the levels of participation because of the each respondents could influence their participation. Therefore, it was decided that no positioning on the Participation Level model was required or appropriate in the analysis

The use of indicators was suggested as an efficient data analysis method in Rothe (1994:131) Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide. He mentioned that "the general goal for the

data analysis is to locate patterns or themes that are embedded in the data. Themes, which are present in the data, become the first line of analysis". Another source of inspiration was Knowles (1996:82) research paper entitled The Public Advisory Committee as a Mechanism for fostering Public Participation in Environmental Decision-Making. Knowles compared her field data to the following indicators: education, multi-directional communication, representativeness, acceptability, accessibility and accountability. Her indicators corresponded to eight common themes which were further analysed. Both these sources allowed the research to list six indicators which would then be compared with the respondents comments from the government officials and the local community members.

Then, each theme was positioned on the Arnstein Ladder of Citizen Participation (1969) to determine the level of current and perceived involvement among each group of respondents (government and the community).

5.2 ANALYSIS BY THEME

In each theme, the research findings are a summary of the observations and respondents comments collected during the field portion of the study. Each section describes the research indicators described in table 5.1. Based on the collected data, each government and community perspective can then be displayed using Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation at the end of each section.

THEME 1: THE CURRENT PLANNING AND DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

The objectives of the first part of the data collection were:

- to examine the current situation in terms of the planning process for tourism,
- to determine if a procedure existed and
- to determine if everyone was aware and understood the process and the importance of planning guidelines for tourism development.

Information was sought by various means; primarily through interviews at the governmental level with KWS employees and by a literature review at various libraries in the field research area. The researcher was particularly interested in discovering the overall planning and policies approaches used by the stakeholders in developing a tourism site.

KNOWLEDGE OF PLANNING POLICIES AND DOCUMENTS

The structure of the tourism industry in Kenya has been expanding over the last few years. Reorganization and new programs have been introduced to reshape Kenya's tourism industry with the opportunity that tourism could become the leading foreign currency earner for the country. KWS has been divided into three directorates (Biodiversity, Tourism and Partnership) with Biodiversity being the primary goal while the Tourism and Partnership remaining subsidiary goals of the organization. The well-being of wildlife and flora in natural and protected areas constitute the KWS's goal for biodiversity conservation. The Partnership Department, only recently developed, has been organizing community-based projects focussing on involving local group ranch members in all forms of development including agriculture, forestry, culture and tourism. In the Kajiado District, several non-governmental organizations are located in the area and provide assistance to local residents in the field of biodiversity conservation. These include Kenya National Wildlife Association (KNWA), Pastoralist Development and Education (PADEP), Swedish Amboseli Association (SAA), World Vision, Community Based Integrated Rural Development Service (CBIRDS), Oxfam, Christian Child Fund (CCF), African Wildlife Fund (AWF) and World Wildlife Fund (WWF). The primary role of these organizations is to help local communities develop projects and sensitize them to conservation issues related to pastoralist traditions.

At the national level, the Kenyan National Development Plan (1997-2001) provided guidelines for country development. The emphasis is on improving the economic situation of the country. The tourism industry continues to be the second largest foreign earner in the country

after agriculture, however no national guidelines have been provided to achieve the national objectives. A draft national tourism master plan produced by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (1995) was created but not yet approved at the time of the research. It is hoped that once the Master Plan is approved, tourism planning and development will be directed towards those goals and objectives. The shortage of planning documents required in a tourism operational structure hinders the development of a region because of the lack of direction provided. Although some tourism activities have been recorded and identified as potential income generators and beneficial to local communities and to the environment, without specific guidelines to follow, these efforts are of little value.

Furthermore, there are no updated plans for the Amboseli National Park. A KWS employee concluded that: “KWS has discontinued National Parks and Reserve Master Plans because it encourages segmentation of the organization’s activities. Now the KWS relies on a Corporate Master Plan produced by the KWS rather than a series of individual Master Plans”. The purpose of this new method is to provide better guidelines on a national scale for the development of tourism.

Finally, it was noted that the industry is facing heavy competitive pressures from other African countries offering a similar tourism product. Kenya has not faced the reality of diversifying its product. KWS has placed some focus on cultural tourism creating several cultural bomas as a new market strategy to be promoted in conjunction with the original wildlife safaris. Once again, very few guidelines or objectives have been specified for this form of tourism. KWS will have to develop such guidelines in the near future and to coordinate with local community organizations, who have been implementing cultural tourism for many years.

Examining the tourism structure, policies and regulations which regulate the industry was the initial task of this study. Ceballos-Lascuráin (1993) outlined that “ecotourism requires a multi disciplinary approach, careful planning and strict guidelines and regulations that will regulate sustainable operation” (Caballos-Lascuráin, 1993: 13). Tourism is a business which, as

a result, must be organized as such and have policies to successfully deliver the product, that is, in a sustainable manner for all parties to benefit.

In Kenya, tourism guidelines and planning policies are initiated at the national level. All policies are determined by the KWS corporate planning department. A KWS employee mentioned that:

“Planning is interspersed with short and long term strategies. Initiation can be by the Director, Head of Corporate Planning and Heads of Department (for example: change in priorities of activities). The head of corporate planning and heads of departments set planning guidelines and key areas of focus and budget indicators of available resources. Departmental priorities are decided by heads of department and refined by the head of corporate planning in order to capture the total orientation of the entire organization” explained another KWS employee.

The KWS follows the 1996 Policy for planning new development in the country. The policy states that:

“the KWS will focus on mobilizing the competent authorities and stakeholders, educating them on the importance of biodiversity, on user-rights policy and in providing the skills needed to participate in such programmes”.

The KWS is currently moving in a new direction with great emphasis on the tourism department rather than biodiversity department for tourism development.

The new focus in the department will “encourage people to move into cultural tourism rather than safari which is driven by mass tourism” mentioned a government respondent.

When asked at the local level, to describe some of the planning documents or policies used by the government for community tourism development, the majority of the community members responded that they were not aware of such documents. One respondent recalled a certain planning document called ‘the KWS Strategic and Management Plan’ which was used in the development of the Amboseli National Park, however he could not elaborate on any details of the plan. Local residents would not have been aware of such documents because for the most part, they would not have access to them. To this day, there are very limited resources in terms of

books and documents in Loitokitok district. For example, you might be lucky if you can buy yesterday's newspaper at a local variety shop, that is, if you were placed on a waiting list at the store. These governmental policies would either be kept at the District headquarters which is located 200 km away from Loitokitok or at an executive group ranch members' house. In addition, there are no libraries in the community. Therefore, unless the information was transmitted during a local group ranch meeting, local community members would not be aware of any tourism planning guidelines to help guide them in developing tourism in their community because for the most part they would not have access to them.

One must note that there is little understanding of the modern form of democracy in Maasailand. Voting in a committee is a foreign concept for traditional Maasai, therefore to adopt community ideologies and approaches for development reflects a national leadership dominated by government officials and influenced by a foreign value system. In addition, very few Maasai are represented in the civil service and at the national policy making level. This means that Kenyans from other tribes and communities would set-up community development policies to be applied in Maasailand. Fortunately, the situation is changing, a younger generation of leaders is emerging which, perhaps might return to their homelands and help establish development measures for their own community people.

AWARENESS OF TOURISM PLANNING AND DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

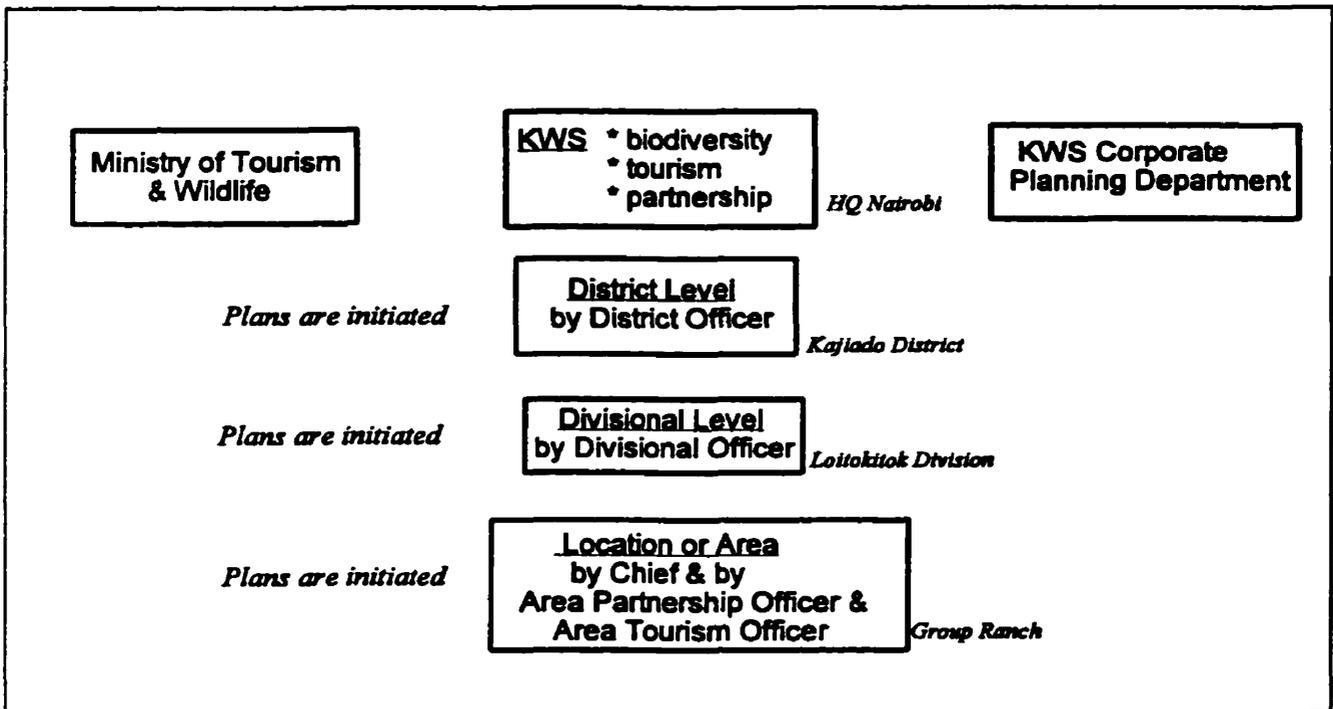
The role of the KWS planning process is to advise local communities and to provide them with guidelines for their local development plans. Often this might include financial ceilings to limit the amount of spending per project in order to spend the money allocated to projects which will benefit the community in the long run. A government employee explained how the planning process was organized at the national level. He said:

“The planning for a new development is initiated by the areas, regions and by the KWS headquarters. Each of them (the area, region and the headquarters) define

priorities, make plans and budgets. Heads of departments at the headquarters also initiate plans for their nationwide activities. The corporate planners amalgamate all plans and return draft plans to the heads of departments for ratifications. Once draft plans are completed, available funds are allocated by conforming to budget restrictions”.

Figure 5.2 describes the planning process from the national level to the local level. This process was compiled from different respondents during the research portion of this study. Comments from government officials, research colleagues and local community members were compiled and integrated into this planning framework. This figure shows the linear flow of the Kenyan planning procedure. One might note that there are arrows flowing back and forth to each stage in the process. This means that the flow can either be top-down or down-up. Which means that certain plans can be initiated from the local group ranches and brought forward through the different approving authorities until a final decision is taken by the Corporate Planning Department.

Figure 5.2 The Current Planning Process for Eco-tourism in Kenya



Although, the KWS tend to emphasis a more collaborative approach in their planning policies, local group ranch members remain sceptical about the KWS collaboration with local communities. They have not seen many successful results. One local respondent stated that:

“Some (local) people may initiate plan (projects), seek government funding. Funds may be lacking. When funds become available, politicians change (the plan), for example where a bore hole would be located”.

The tourism department at the KWS is the most influential sector in the planning process. To facilitate the KWS collaborative approach with the local communities, a KWS strategic planning process has been given to each group ranch executive committee as a guideline to facilitate group ranches to develop their own tourism activities. Table 5.2 describes these guidelines (KWS, 1996: 1-2).

Table 5.2 KWS Planning Guidelines for Amboseli Group Ranches 1997 - 2002

**KWS PLANNING GUIDELINES FOR
AMBOSELI GROUP RANCHES 1997 - 2002**

The goal to be achieved by each group ranch is: 'to achieve sound strategic plans' by:

- ✓ formulating plans that are linked to KWS area, region, annual and corporate plans (integrated plans);
- ✓ by consolidating wildlife management issues (biodiversity management);
- ✓ by strategically aiming self-reliance in managing wildlife (capacity building) and on financial sustain ability self-sufficiency)
- ✓ by developing and diversifying eco-tourism on their lands (nature tourism);

The planning stages which the group ranches must follow include:

1. **Review assets and priorities**
 - stocktaking of all activities in the area (wildlife, land for wildlife conservation, water resources, livestock improvement, etc) and then prioritizes the assets.
2. **Plan integration**
 - to integrate all KWS area, region and corporate plans, government plans (district level) and NGO plans based in the area.
3. **Integration of plans and budgets**
 - a budget plan must be produced for all planned activities. Financial resources will be combined. Funds will be provided from group ranches internal activities and KWS support and donor funds
4. **Action plans**
 - a suggested layout is provided stating the headings to be used for each plan: objectives of the plan, activity start date, end date, performance indicators and responsibility
5. **Activity Schedule**
 - provide an activity schedule which list the activities in the order to be accomplished
6. **Activity based planning**
 - planned activities must be ranked according to their financial support

In general, the objectives of these planning guidelines suggest a decentralization of development planning to the communities (or to the group ranches) by making them responsible for elaborating their own plans according to their needs and priorities. However in practice, the local participation stops once they have submitted their plan to the District Commissioner (who directly represents Kenya's President at the local level). According to these guidelines, the plans for the whole area, region or district are to be compiled at the KWS headquarters. The community members will have no say in the financial allocation or even in the activity schedule (when and if the project will be implemented). In their proposal, the community members may have suggested a time line but if another project is deemed more necessary in the region and receives greater government support for whatever reason, the community project will be delayed or even forgotten.

The KWS through the new Partnership Department is currently responsible for providing guidance and assistance in planning with local residents for new development in tourism, agriculture or education. This direction has been predominantly provided by the governmental staff thus, being linked and driven by political power rather than community's interests and need. Although occasionally some tourism development has been initiated at the community level, the majority still continues to use a top-down approach directed by the KWS in their planning and development. A strong political tie remains with planning tourism ventures, as noted in one particular group ranch, Kimana. A wildlife sanctuary was proposed, primarily by the local elites, while local group ranch members had asked for a school instead because of the growing number of children needing education in the area. According to respondents comments, a project was initially developed in the Kimana group ranch to build a new school for their children. The plan was developed through various barazas¹ and finally submitted to the District Commissioner. At the same time, the plan for a new tourism development was being developed by the group ranch executive committee as well as at the District level. Finally the tourism project was deemed more

¹

A baraza is a community meeting to execute official policy and orders run by the Chief. The baraza is replacing the elders gathering.

viable and in the long run, would generate greater revenue for the community rather than the building of a new school. Therefore, the second project was chosen.

When asked to describe the planning process for tourism development at the community level, most respondents were not aware of the existence of a process. One local member mentioned that:

“there is a secondary school student who handles our tourism and planning issues and then discusses the issues with us at a baraza”.

The community feels disadvantaged by the lack of knowledge and awareness towards this industry. One respondent stated that:

“often KWS goes through the planning process and the local people only see the implementation stage”.

Tourism knowledge at the local level remains limited for the older generations while the youth may be exposed at an early age while attending school.

Initially, if a community decides to develop a project, a proposal must be submitted to the KWS. The KWS will then approach the group ranch executive committee with funding possibilities. Often the funding will not be for the original project but for a new project designated by KWS and initiated by an external agency. The problem often, is with the donor agencies. They will come and survey the area and perceive other needs for the communities rather than perhaps the needs mentioned in the community’s proposal. A local member explains:

“they (the donors) will impose their own values and beliefs onto the local communities. Local community members often do not object to the proposed project because they could lose the opportunity of a new development in the area”. However, “once the project is completed, local people do not see any reason and importance of maintaining the new project because they were not consulted at the initial stage of the project. It often turns out to be a donor’s project, not a community-based project”.

POSITIONING AWARENESS OF PLANNING PROCESS

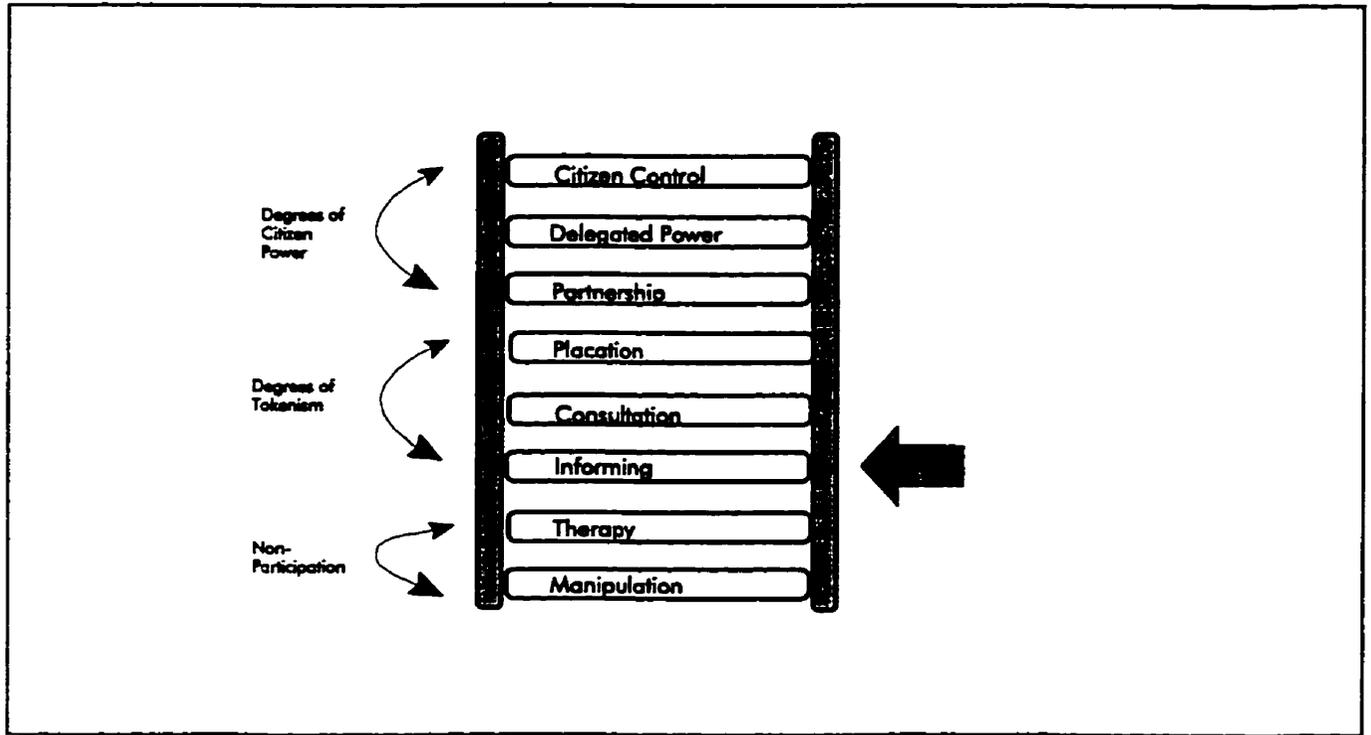
Throughout this chapter, Arnstein's Citizen Participation model (1969) will be used as a tool to locate the actual positioning of each theme on the scale (also referred as a ladder). The primary objective of this exercise is to try and discover the pattern emerging from all the themes and to finally conclude if the current observed level and the perceived level dictated by respondents comments are located at the same position on the model.

The government respondents believe that there were participatory processes in place for planning tourism development however, these processes were initiated at the national level. On the other hand, the community residents were not aware of these process for planning tourism at the local level. They knew that the group ranch executive committee was somewhat involved and informed them of any decisions taken.

The analysis of the interviews from both parties suggest that the KWS and community are working at the INFORMING level of Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation. This perception represents a 'One-way flow' of information regarding the planning process from the government officials to the local group ranch members. Community members tend to be informed of the steps to be taken regarding project development by the KWS who sets the policies and guidelines.

Finally, examining the position of both the government and the local community's understanding of the planning process for tourism development suggests that there is a minimum awareness which results in a low participation level corresponding to the first degree of tokenism in Arnstein's Ladder.

Figure 5.3 Awareness of Planning Process - Position on Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation



(Adapted from Arnstein, 1969)

5.3 THEME 2: THE CURRENT LEVEL OF COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The focus of this second section was to examine how local community members were currently participating in the planning process. The researcher obtained much of the research data through observing current governmental and local activities. The collected data was then analysed using the five indicators below (see table 5.1):

- representation
- accessibility for involvement
- communication
- interaction

“Awareness of the planning process” indicator was not used as it was already covered in Theme 1. Following the analysis of each indicator, a position was suggested for the KWS and for the local community on for each indicator allowing the researcher to locate the current level of participation on Arnstein’s Ladder of Citizen Participation. It was hoped to obtain a clear picture of the actual positioning of both the government and the local community regarding their involvement in the planning process.

REPRESENTATION

In each group ranch, there is an executive committee which represents the community at the government level. The executive committee is comprised of senior group ranch members with a chairman, secretary and a treasurer. Since the start of the group ranch system, the executive committee members are the decision-makers and organizers of the group ranch, one respondent stated. Each executive committee,

“has the right to manage their own group ranch the way they want...”

Group ranch issues are discussed at the annual general meetings (AGM) which makes resolutions using a majority vote (a quorum of 60%). According to a government official, in the Maasai culture: “everyone has a right to talk” at local meetings or at barazas. At these meetings, community members may voice their opinions on appointed matters.

The men who are members of a group ranch become involved in the tourism sector at the local level.

“In certain group ranches, men are the only members and contrary to government policy, there are no membership qualifications required to become a group ranch member and no registration fee”,

added a respondent. Young boys become members automatically (father to son) however it is not customary for women to become members. One respondent explained that:

“women are part of the property of the house, they do not participate in decision-making”.

The majority of the women interviewed were always in the presence of a man, either their husband, an uncle or a friend. Very seldom were they allowed to speak freely. Only one interview was successful in meeting with two women alone without their husband however, great planning was involved. This interview had to be conducted during an early morning market day when all the women would walk to the village square to sell their goods. Usually, meetings, assemblies or barazas are mostly attended by the men or the elders representing the community.

In addition, according to a respondent:

“The Amboseli/Tsavo Group Ranch Conservation Association was specifically created to help the group ranches plan development projects in their own communities and to represent them at the KWS (through the agreement of the local executive committee)”.

Workshops are organized by the KWS to familiarise the group ranch members with certain procedures and policies. Special guidance for plan proposals are also provided through this association. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 4, this association provides direction and expertise as a ‘catalyst’ in helping local residents effectively meet their planning goals and community needs.

ACCESSIBILITY FOR INVOLVEMENT

The Maasai are limited in their participation because of their lack of formal education. The old form of educational practice acquired during junior warriorhood, which train young Maasai men through specific ceremonies and rituals over a period of years, has been opposed by

government because it keeps young men out of school. The school curriculum has recently been organized in such a way that students now learn environmental, economic and social skills which are applicable to the real world, according to a local educator. Those students which are capable of reading and writing are taught a lot more about global markets, the local economy and how to improve their living standards. They are introduced to many new initiatives such as tourism planning which encourage community interaction. Fortunately, this younger generation is gaining knowledge on how community development can benefit them and their families. According to one respondent:

“planning workshops are organized (for us to attend at certain group ranches) but this has failed in the past with reports being shelved and no action being taken”.

Furthermore, these children have learned how to read and write which their parents could not do at their age. This explains the reason the older generation of group ranch members rely heavily on the educated youth for acquiring knowledge and information. However, the elders remain the leaders in the community by traditional respect for authority.

Only a few local Maasai work in tourism related activities such as tour guides or as wardens for the Kimana Sanctuary, or in the local manyattas which offer tours to the public, or in curio shops selling Maasai souvenirs to tourists. Essentially, the level of involvement of local members will depend on where people live. If a local member lives on a group ranch which has tourism activities, the chance of getting involved are greater than for someone who lives on one of the more remote group ranches in the district such as Mbirikani which is not often visited by foreign tourists.

COMMUNICATION

Group ranches are a new form of social organization for the Maasai which have given rise to management and leadership problems. The modern administration has brought changes in the mode of communication. Barazas run by the Chief (mentioned earlier) have replaced ‘the gathering of elders’ which has brought important changes to the decision-making system and the

methods of expressing oneself in the community. Barazas are held every three to six months. At most meetings, “tourism issues are discussed because of the growing importance to the community residents”, mentioned a group ranch member. One of the biggest difficulties in decision-making with the Maasai communities is explained by a Maasai elder:

“One must understand that the Maasai traditional culture prevents them from sharing ideas with other age groups except with their own age mates. For example, a young person must consult with members of his own age group. The Maasai culture is a very structured system”.

The elders are the decision-makers for the community and since these elders are still very traditional, these decisions might reflect a very traditional way of development. Indigenous knowledge which has been followed and communicated for generations has only recently been recognized as being an essential element to include in the process of development. Perhaps by encouraging traditional knowledge, such as biodiversity conservation which the local people have been practising for centuries, could community members be able to voice their own opinions regarding future development in their community.

The passage of information at the local level, is transmitted by a well organized traditional system called tele-Maasai which is based on transmitting information verbally to a Maasai encountered during the day. According to a government official, “this system is so effective, some say, it is even better than any form of media such as radio. Tele-maasai is a way of life for a Maasai. Maasai people especially elders are never in a hurry, they will travel long distances for several days at a time grazing their livestock. When they meet another Maasai, they talk about any occurrence which happened since their last meeting”. The most common news is either the death of an animal or the birth of a child. After the major news has been discussed, other information is transmitted such as future meetings (or *barazas*) and ceremonial events. Once both persons have exchanged information, they continue their routes talking to new people along their way. News and information are rapidly disseminated throughout Maasailand in this way.

The system used by the KWS officials to communicate with the local community is quite

lengthy and inefficient. The Area Partnership Officer is located at the Amboseli Park Headquarters which is approximately 100 km from the first group ranch boundary on rugged roads. One group ranch representative mentioned that it had been a year since they last saw the Area Partnership Officer. Another individual stated that:

“very little time and effort is made to inform and to interact with local community members for project planning”.

Others claimed that they do not even know the name and role of the Area Partnership Officer who is supposed to represent the KWS and help promote collaboration in group ranches for tourism development. Therefore a better communication system must be in place to allow both the local community and the government representative opportunities to exchange information and ideas among themselves. The travelling distance among the Amboseli Park and the group ranches is substantial. Perhaps a suggestion would be to relocate the Area Partnership Officer office in the village of Loitokitok. This would provide a central access to all group ranch members and thus, better and greater communication in the long run.

INTERACTION

Observing the interaction among the government employers and local community members proved to be quite a challenging task. Throughout the interviews, respondents continually commented that it was necessary to encourage all stakeholders to partake in the planning activities. The Kimana Sanctuary is a good example of how both the government and the group ranch members can work together in achieving a common goal. One KWS employee stated that:

“Kimana Group Ranch has a very beautiful area with the formation of a swamp area, a ravine, vegetation along Kimana river. The people wanted to cultivate the area but were advised that this would lead to the vegetation deteriorating...(they were) advised to set-up a *Mini-Amboseli* to attract tourists. Their game scouts, we attached to the Amboseli and worked with our rangers...they (the community members) could see how much money we were getting...then they asked themselves..but we have elephants, giraffes, why not also make money from them?”

Government employees stressed that they consistently made efforts to involve the local communities in the initial conception of the Kimana project. Another government official commented that:

“We occasionally hold workshops and seminars to up-to-date people on KWS policies and trends”. This allows the local community members to see all their efforts being rewarded. The positive success of the Kimana Sanctuary was rewarded by winning the Silver Otter Award for the most successful community-based tourism project of the year (in 1996).

The Kimana Sanctuary officially opened in 1996 to tourists by Dr. George Jones, director of US Agency for International Development. A government respondent explained how the Sanctuary started:

“Prior to the Sanctuary, the group ranch members did know about tourism earlier on. The KWS advised the ranch to take care of wildlife as a tourism facility. They introduced us to this kind of activity. Members and leaders were sponsored by the KWS for a trip to Olchoro Orua (near Masa Mara). In 1994, they visited other areas: Shimba Hills (Mwalaganj and the elephants) and in 1995, the sanctuary started and it opened in 1996”.

Since then, the Sanctuary has attracted many visitors. Local group ranch members are employed as wardens, gatekeepers or as guides. Currently the Kimana group ranch is trying to raise funds to build a new gateway in the North-Eastern part of the Sanctuary.

POSITIONING THE CURRENT LEVEL OF CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT ON THE SCALE

The current level of citizen involvement has been observed using four different indicators. By this method, a context has been identified in hopes of determining the position of both the government and the local community’s implication in the decision-making for tourism development.

Representation in the decision-making process was the first indicator used.

- ▶ **At the government level**, the planning process is initiated at the District Level. Hand-picked individuals from local group ranch executive committees will advise the District committee on local issues regarding the interests of all group ranch members in all planning development decisions. This indicator was located at the at the 5th level (PLACATION level) on the Citizen Participation Ladder.
- ▶ **Local communities** rely on educated youth to discuss issues relating to the tourism industry. New development concepts are presented and explained at barazas with the group ranch executive committee. The community member's presence is considered insignificant in the planning decisions. The indicator was positioned on the first level of the ladder at the MANIPULATION stage.

The second indicator was *accessibility* for involvement.

- ▶ **At the national level**, decisions regarding tourism development use a top-down approach which means that there is very little opportunity for local members to involve themselves in the process. Plans are developed at the KWS which represents the governmental level. Each plan is thoroughly analysed following input and comments from every government level starting at the local group ranch executive committee to the senior KWS officials. Therefore, the appropriate location would be at the INFORMING level.
- ▶ **The local community** feels somewhat at a disadvantage when it comes to discussing tourism issues because of their limited education in the field. Although group ranch members are consulted when KWS officials attend scheduled barazas. By voicing their complaints, the local community members feels that they are being consulted in the whole planning and decision-making process for tourism development. This indicator is positioned for the local community at the 4th level (CONSULTATION).

Communication represents the next indicator which was observed as an effective means of transmitting information.

- ▶ **Government officials** prefer the tele-maasai system although, the system remains a very traditional way of communicating. This method is not a formal process, it is very efficient in reaching many local people. By simply sitting in a café in the town of Loitokitok, a government official can transmit important information to the community however, this method is only represented on the Citizen Participation level as level 3 (CONSULTING) because there is not a two-way flow of discussing with local people. The knowledge transmitted is simply passed from one person to the next with no discussions or decisions taken.
- ▶ **In group ranches**, tourism issues are communicated and discussed in local barazas. Most local group ranch members attend this meeting therefore, the information is more likely able to reach a larger group of people. Local residents view this method has a good way of exchanging opinions however, often government officials will use this forum to inform the local community members of development issues rather than consult with them. Therefore the level would be located at the INFORMING level on the Citizen Participation Ladder.

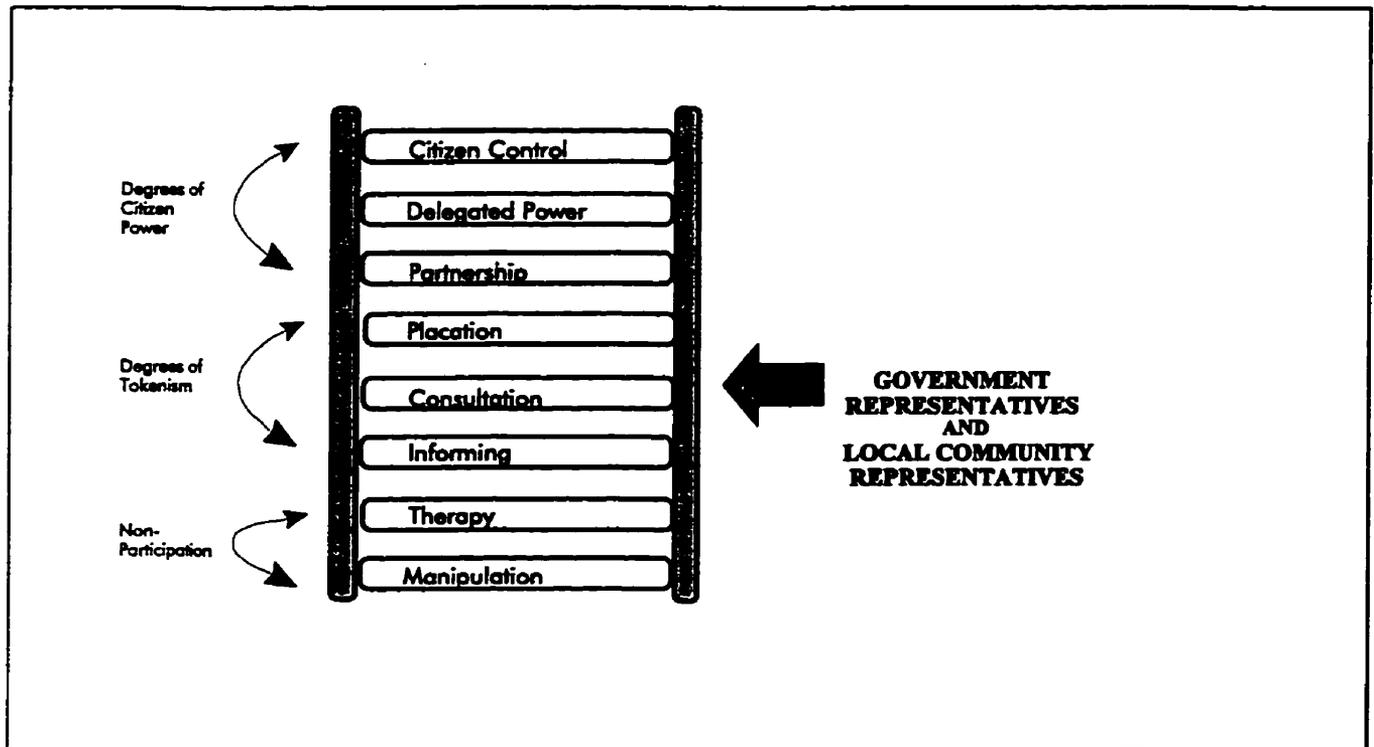
Finally, the last indicator describes the level of *interaction* among government officials and local community members.

- ▶ **The government** mentioned that although they are conscious of the community participation concept, they recognize that they have not yet reached the local people in all stages of the planning and decision-making process because of lack of formal training. They placed themselves at the MANIPULATION position which is the first participation level on the Citizen Participation Ladder.
- ▶ **As for the local community members**, it is interesting to note that they still strongly

believe that the interaction among their people and the government is a consultative one. They recognize that there are some improvements to be made however, they find that their opinions are listened to. In the Kimana project, the local community were able to discuss certain aspects which affect them. This last indicator represents the 4th level (CONSULTATION) on the Citizen Participation Ladder.

Overall, all indicators for the government and for the local community suggests the INFORMING position on Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation. Such a level indicates that both the government and the local community view the participation level of local citizens in tourism planning as minimal. This position clearly indicates that the planning and decision making process remains a top-down approach directed from the governmental officials to the local citizens. The positioning of both key informants is represented on the Arnstein Ladder in figure 5.4.

Figure 5.4 Current level of involvement located on Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation



(Adapted from Arnstein, 1969)

5.4 THEME 3: THE PERCEIVED LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION AMONG STAKEHOLDERS AND INDIVIDUAL COMMUNITY MEMBERS

In Part 3 of the research findings, the respondents were asked to evaluate how they perceived their participation level in the planning process for tourism development in their own communities. The researcher was particularly interested in people's views of their involvement; how they thought they were implicated in the whole process and what their involvement consisted of. It is important to note that comments from the respondents differed when they were

interviewed outside of their affiliated groups. Some comments also represented future desired level of involvement for the local community members.

INTERESTS REPRESENTED

As previously mentioned in section 5.3, the executive committee of each group ranch represents local community members interests in the planning process. These committees are the decision-makers, as one local member explains,

“it knows our problems, because (the problems) come from us”.

Respondents added that many local members are becoming more enlightened and have a greater awareness in tourism. Consequently, the community members expect the executive committee to report on their achievements or what they failed to achieve at the government level. They also expect the executive committee to advise them on benefits which the community could gain from developing group ranch activities. In addition, the executive committee encourages local members to voice their opinions on matters which affect them such as ideas to initiate income generating activities.

The government officials trust that the local executive committee will represent their issues at the group ranch level. At the national level, interests of the group ranches may only be represented by the executive committee members. Some local community members referred to the executive committee as an organization which would ‘take care of things’ for them. It seems that local community members want to get involved but also place a great trust in their leaders to manage the planning issues to their successful completion. This attitude reflects the Maasai traditional values where elders are the decision-makers and are not to be questioned.

PERCEPTIONS OF TOURISM INVOLVEMENT

Respondent’s comments indicated that many community members were not actively involved in the planning and decision-making process because not everyone understood or was

aware of the benefits associated with the tourism industry for their community. One member stated that Maasai people will get involved “only when concrete results are seen and experienced”. In fact, most respondents who are willing to partake in the planning process are already employed in the field and have seen the direct results such as an increase in lifestyle benefits for their families.

When asked to describe the level of involvement, the majority of residents noted that the planning structure accessible to the local community members was non-existent. Many stated that only one organization had some level of involvement in the tourism industry. The organization is called the Amboseli/Tsavo Conservation Association which provides the necessary direction required for planning tourism development in the area. As a respondent noted:

“[they] take care of us and that we follow government policies, those people can represent us to the KWS”.

Although most were aware of the tourism activities being offered in their communities, very few residents could explain how such development took place and when. Certain group ranch members talked about the cultural bomas or the curio shops which could not survive as a business. A curio shop located in Mbirikani closed its doors after five years of operation because of the losses in revenue. Many tourists did not stop at this shop along the way to the Amboseli. The local community blamed the government (KWS) for lack of financial support and leadership direction to make this curio shop successful.

OPEN COMMUNICATION

In order to achieve a successful plan, by encouraging the active involvement of all stakeholders in a planning process, an open communication process must exist between all players. There were conflicting views when respondents were asked to comment on the way the government communicated with the local communities regarding planning issues. Most

government respondents felt that the communication system between them and the local communities was adequate. They explained:

“good relationships have been established between the government and the local communities”.

According to some government officials, great efforts are being taken to improve the communication network between the various communities. Some government officials have even ‘learned the local language which is used during meetings’ to facilitate their commitment to the local community.

As for the efficiency and effectiveness of the process of information being transmitted from the government to the local community members, most respondents felt that the whole process:

“takes a lot of time. We do not know the position of the KWS, all we know is that faces change, some are efficient, others are not”.

The majority of group ranch members do not even know the name of the person responsible for the area. The local community members expressed concern that there are many KWS officers appointed to the tourism development, but it always seems to be someone different who will come and meet and discuss with them about development issues. Their does not seem to be continuation in the whole process. One KWS official will come into to a group ranch and basically inform them of the current planning process underway. The majority of the decisions have been made. One respondent added that:

“very little time and effort is made to inform and to interact with local community members for project planning”.

According to the KWS, all information is transmitted through either the Regional Tourism Coordinator or the Regional Partnership Officer. Although it was noted that these officers do not visit the group ranches on a regular basis. Improvements are needed in order to gain the respect and trust of all the group ranch members.

The local community members agreed with the importance of an open communication channel between all parties. However, they found that the process included simply informing

them of the actions to be taken not discussing the possible solutions. Therefore, according to local community members, there still remains a lack of responsibility in the initial stages of the planning process for community members.

WORKING TOGETHER

With regard to the participation of all stakeholders working together in the planning process, there were differences in opinions between the government respondents and the local community members. While the government officials thought that they actively encouraged the involvement of the local community in the industry, they also recognize the current barriers and limitations in the actual planning process. The participation of the local members is seen as an advisory role to the government. As one respondent stated:

“the government will rely on local community members to provide them with pertinent information such as ecological and traditional knowledge of certain key areas and ideas but the plan and final decisions will be performed and conducted by the KWS senior executives”.

A number of respondents suggested that, it will take some adjustments before the local community members fully accept the joint involvement in the planning process with the government. One member complained that “when the government continuously delays approval of community’s submitted proposals” local members are not encouraged to become actively involved.

Although as previously stated, many projects used a top-down approach in the planning process, community members recognized the efforts made by the KWS with the introduction of their Partnership Program. This program which started only a few years ago, reinforces the linkage between local, national and international interests. Better networking has developed between all stakeholders interested in the tourism industry. For the local members, the Partnership Program represents an important step in encouraging local participation. Evidence of this program is best illustrated by the Kimana Community Wildlife Sanctuary which used a

community-based tourism approach while planning for this tourism development. The program encouraged citizens to work together to identify needed issues which are important to their lives, to plan strategies which are attainable and to put these plans into action. This kind of citizen participation has resulted in stronger community linkages, increased local involvement and contributed in promoting a healthier and prosperous community. The Kimana project is used as a model for the other group ranches located in the district. As a Kimana group ranch member stated:

“You know, the Maasai and wildlife used to have a mutual respect for each other. When we were out grazing, we kept a healthy distance between us and the lion, but we could see him over there, admiring the cattle. This mutually is what we have lost over the years. The world is watching us very closely, especially our neighbours on the other group ranches. If we succeed and the Mbirikani and Kuku ranches follow our example, we could have a wildlife corridor that stretches all the way to the Chyulu Hills. Then we will have restored something that is important to us”.

LOCATING THE PERCEIVED LEVEL OF LOCAL PARTICIPATION

During the interview process, each respondent was asked to locate their perceived level of involvement in the planning process for tourism development on Arnstein’s (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation. The following indicators were used were once again used as measuring tools for determining the overall level of perceived participation by the government and the local community members.

- representation
- accessibility for involvement
- communication
- interaction

The government and the local community mentioned that the local group ranch members were being *represented* in the planning process by the executive committee.

- ▶ The committee would advise the local community members of any planning decisions taken by the government and/or the executive committee. Both the **local community** and the **government** identified their representation in the planning process as being **INFORMING** which placed them on the 3rd level of the Citizen Participation Ladder.

As for the perceived level of *involvement* in the whole tourism planning and decision-making process;

- ▶ the **government** stated that they strongly encouraged the involvement of the local people in the whole planning process. They believed that they were located at the 4th level; **CONSULTATION**.

- ▶ The **local community** concluded that their chances of involvement are minimal. The local community recognizes the efforts made by the KWS to encourage the involvement of local people in the process with the introduction of the Partnership programme, however, very little evidence can support the philosophy of this new programme. As one local member stated:

“we simply follow what the government tells us to do and only contribute by voicing our complaints”.

According to respondents,

“the government will rely on local community members to provide them with pertinent information...”

while another added:

“they (the local community) act as our advisors to coordinate decisions and development plans”.

The local community members did not feel that they were actively involved in any of the processes for tourism development. The government officials would tend to educate, persuade and advise citizens of the future plans but the local residents were never consulted to find out if they have any objections or concerns as a community as a whole. When asked to locate their perceived level of involvement in the tourism planning process, the local community members responded by saying that they were still located at the 1st rung: **MANIPULATION**.

The third indicator, *communication* has been described differently by the government officials and the local community members.

- ▶ According to the **government** officials, there exists a good interaction among the government and the local community members. Government officials will visit their community and even make efforts to speak their language. They strongly believe that this indicator is located at the 4th level: CONSULTATION.
- While the **local community** members have a different view regarding the effectiveness of communication methods in their community. They have mentioned that the process is still slow when they must be informed of a decision taken or for approval, for example, a development plan, etc. Very little efforts are made to inform the local communities, for which they will eventually bear the brunt of the project development, in an efficient and collective manner. Most people find out about important issues, a few days, weeks or even years later that perhaps a new development is going to be built in the surrounding area. Therefore, the local community indicates the level of communication at the lowest level: MANIPULATION for the above reasons.

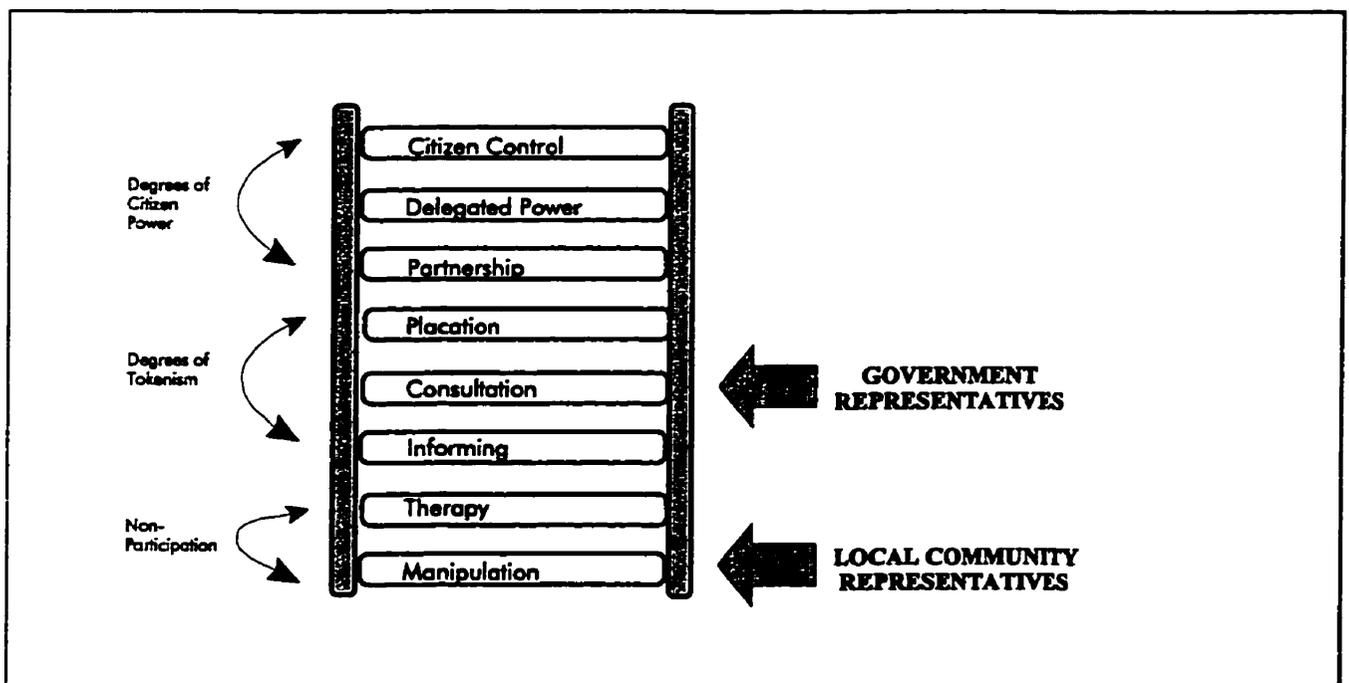
Finally, the last level of evaluation is the *interaction* found among government officials and the local community members; how they participate together in the planning and decision-making process.

- Overall, the **government** respondents felt that because of the lack of local management of tourism activities located at the group ranch level, many local members tend not to be actively involved in tourism activities, they still require guidance in their involvement. Only certain hand-picked local members will be directly involved as either an executive member or an employee of a tourism activity on a group ranch. This explains the reasoning behind the government's perception of choosing to locate the local community's participation at the 5th level: PLACATION.
- As for the **community members**, they do not believe that there is little interaction

between them and the governmental representatives. As it was mentioned earlier, the only type of interaction the local members do participate in are during barazas when government officials might be present discussing issues, but not on a regular basis. Therefore, the local community do not see any type of active participation from the local community members. They perceive the involvement level at the first stage: the **MANIPULATION** level. They are basically told what to do and what to expect in terms of development.

Summarizing the government respondents perceived their level of community participation to be at the 4th rung which means at the **CONSULTATIVE** level while the local community representatives responded that their participation was minimal and therefore was located at the 1st level; **MANIPULATION** on Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation. These indicators are both displayed in figure 5.5 below.

Figure 5.5 Perceived Level of Citizen Involvement using Arnstein's Ladder of Participation



(Adapted from Arnstein, 1969)

Explaining the perceived behaviour levels of both the government and the local community

To help explain the government and local community's perceived behaviour in community participation, Hersey, Blanchard and Johnson (1990)'s Situational Leadership model was applied in figure 5.6. This model, presented and explained in greater detail in chapter 2, provides the reader with a graphical understanding of the perceived participation behaviour level of both the government and the local community. In the model, the style of management (or leadership) as well as the level of readiness involvement level among each participants are represented with a ● symbol. The reason behind using this model, allows managers or leaders (in this case, government officials who would determine policies and planning processes) to recognize a situation (such as lack of participation by the local community in a given project) and to adapt their behaviour to meet the demands of the situation. This theory is based on three critical patterns;

- the amount of direction (task behaviour) given by a leader,
- the amount of socio-emotional support (relationship behaviour) a leader provides,
- the 'maturity' level a follower² exhibits on a specific task.

(Hersey and Blanchard, 1976, p.1).

After analysing the collected data and presenting it graphically in figure 5.6, it was interesting to discover where the government leadership style was located in response to the local community participation behaviour expectation level located on the readiness continuum level.

First the level of leadership style used by the government was determined on the graph using the pre-determined level of participation level of the local community. According to government respondents and displayed in figure 5.5, the government perceived participation level in the planning process is located at the *Consultation* stage using Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation (figure 5.5). This level was then located on the S2 quadrant of the bell shape curve

²

The term 'follower' here simply represents the local community while the term 'leader' represents the government officials.

on Hersey, Blanchard and Johnson's Behaviour Model using the symbol ●. The S2 quadrant signifies that the leader would explain decisions and provide opportunities for the local community members to provide clarification, thus in a *consulting manner*. Government respondents mentioned that:

"local community members acted as advisors for government officials".

When associating the level of participation of the government officials with the behaviour level of the local community members, a straight line was drawn from S2 down to the readiness continuum, to the R2 level. The R2 level would mean that the local community members would be unable but willing and confident to participate in the planning process for tourism development. Therefore, according to government officials and also shown in this model, in order to help the local community members to achieve a sustainable level of participation, the government officials were using the corresponding leadership style for the current behavioural level.

On the other hand, the level of participation behaviour by the local community members when involved in the planning process is located at R2 of the continuum shown by this ● symbol. Using the Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation, the local community determined that they were 'Manipulated' when involved with the government officials in any kind of planning process. It was mentioned that local group ranch members have been taking a limited amount of responsibilities in the planning process. Many of them are willing but lack the confidence and/or the specialized skills to achieve the activities. The local community members while attending a local meeting with KWS delegates would listen to the proposed plans and only voice their opinions if there was a complaint to be made concerning the plan. According to community respondents, KWS officials would rarely seek input from the local community in their planning process for project development. In figure 5.6, the local community's perceived government's style of leadership would then be located at the S1 level. Which would mean that the government would tend to spend more time telling them what to do, how to do rather than actively sharing their ideas in the decision-making.

By examining figure 5.6, a clear difference can be observed by examining the two lines

drawn. On one hand, the government feels that their level of leadership with the local community is at the appropriate level for their participation behaviour level, that is at the S2. While the local community perception of the government's leadership style is at S1. The difference between both lines represents the tension between both parties currently in the planning processes. This discrepancy must be rectified in order to achieve a strong level of partnership among both the government officials and the local community members.

In the Situation Leadership Model, a medium level of participation is located at R2 on the readiness continuum. At the R2 level, the emphasis is on the how to while encouraging opinions and skill development. According to the local community members, the leadership style used by the government officials is at S1 which is labelled as TELLING. Hersey, Blanchard and Johnson (1996: 202) associates describe the S1 style of leadership behaviour with the following indicators:

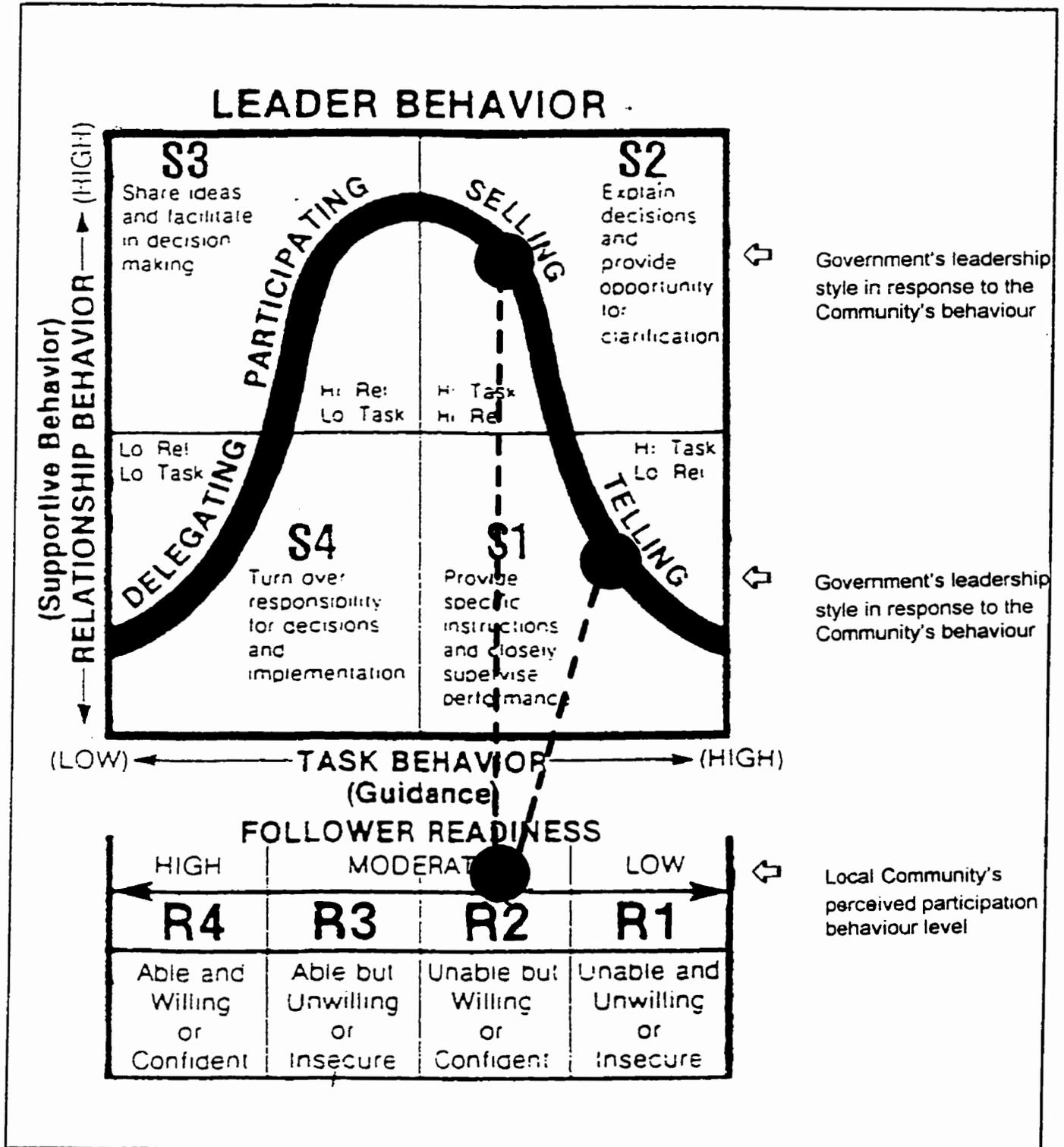
- provide task information in digestible amounts
- be sure not to overwhelm follower
- reduce fear of mistake
- help step by step
- focus on instruction

The S1 style of leadership means that greater supervision is given to the local community members in planning for tourism projects. Therefore, explaining the local community members what to do and how to do it (such as providing them with proper guidelines in developing a tourism proposal, already submitted by the KWS, etc) is not seen here as dictatorship but as providing proper guidance and socio-emotional support and reinforcement in order to handle a given task regarding the planning and development of a tourism project for their own benefits.

The discrepancy in figure 5.6 occurred between the perceived level of leadership style of the government and the perceived level of participation behaviour from the local community. Once the government officials and the local community members agreed that in order to change the current leadership style to match the level of participation behaviour, a right angle line can be drawn from the ● symbol of the Readiness Continuum to a point where it intersects the bell-

shape curve in the S quadrants.

Figure 5.6 The Perceived Behaviour Levels for the Government and the Local Community



(Hersey, Blanchard and Johnson, 1996)

The intersection occurs in the S2 quadrant which suggests that the government officials should use an S2 style of leadership style labelled as SELLING (with high task and high relationship) . The S2 style of leadership means that government officials provides socio-emotional support and increasing the direction and supervision of their activities (such as providing them with guidelines for submitting a tourism proposal, etc).

According to Hersey and Blanchard, 1976, “this high task-high relationship style should continue until the person is able to grasp the new responsibilities”. They also mentioned the leader, in this case, the government officials must know and recognize the abilities of the local community members and to plan for gradual changes in leadership styles which is “a result of planned growth and the creation of mutual trust and respect” (Hersey and Blanchard, 1976) among all stakeholders.

Finally, the optimal goal is to gradually move the follower to a readiness level of confidence to accomplish a given task and to encourage full co-operation among stakeholders in community-based tourism development. The method of achieving this optimal level, the S3 leadership style in the Situational Model will be further developed and discussed in the final chapter of this study.

5.5 THEME 4: CONSTRAINTS AND FACILITATION TO COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

The final section of the research findings focuses on the respondents' views of community participation and its barriers. The future role of community participation in tourism planning over the next five to ten years is also a topic of discussion.

BARRIERS TO COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Most respondents agreed that although the concept of community participation is a positive step toward integrating local needs and interests into the planning process, some barriers still remain and need to be addressed if the objective of participation is to be realized. Local community residents stated that the main barriers to community participation were:

- **poverty and lack of employment**: the hardship in the area due to the limited amount of work found in the local group ranches and because of the recurring droughts. Local residents are unwilling to partake in an activity where they feel there are no immediate benefits to them.
- **limited education**: the level of education in Maasailand is very limited. Many respondents were not capable of reading or writing. The Maasai culture does not encourage their children to attend school especially not the girls. They feel that children should be helping the family with their daily chores (you can see young Maasai boys grazing herds of cattle along major roads).
- **lack of proper training in tourism and in community development**: There is the Tourism and Hotel College (Utalii College) located in Nairobi which provides classes in tourism and hotel development. However, no courses or special training are being offered in Maasailand. Therefore, there is a shortage of skilled residents in the field of accounting, marketing and administration who could eventually teach and train others in the community. The advantage of offering these courses on location is the accessibility the program could have for the local community.
- **lack of funds** to group ranches: group ranches receive very little share of the tourist generated income collected for example, from the Amboseli National Park.

On the other hand, government respondents had a list of their own. They believed that the main problems with citizen participation at the local level was generated by the following points:

- lack of management skills and accessibility: it is very hard for local members to manage an activity without the proper skills. The key issue is that these management skills are not offered anywhere on the group ranches, only in Nairobi which is not accessible to the most Maasai. If these skills were offered on site, would local residents benefit from the additional knowledge and apply it to benefit the community.
- no structure for decision-making channels: there are too many decision-making levels which the community has to go through before a project proposal gets accepted. These levels are: the group ranch executive committee, the locational development committee followed by the district development committee, before it reaches the government levels. According to a local group ranch member:

“The youth are not considered to be opinion leaders, they are *animators*. Women are *silent decision-makers*. We try to mix them, to brake the resistance. We are not taking the youth as opinion leaders but we want to use them as animators also...to be educators at a certain level...if they sensitize their age mates then that is fine with us...”

- political interference: political interference may result when more than one tribe is involved in a community-based project. Some favouritism might occur especially if the governing body or decision-maker happens to come from one of the two tribes.
- lack of transparency: a local respondent mentioned that “no one knows where the money goes” when he was referring to the money generated by one of the local tourism activities. Transparency is definitely needed as well as proper accountability. All transactions must be recorded and audited on an annual basis. Reports of the monetary situation should be published on a regular basis so that the local community are aware and can become better involved in the activities.

All these barriers require some trade-offs to the whole planning process in terms of time, energy and increased organizational skills. The government believes that linking up with private corporations could alleviate some barriers which limit local people’s involvement. Suggestions were given to provide proper tourism training and management skills provided by the private sector or by local NGOs located in the rural area.

Overall, local people are currently becoming involved in the industry as employees. Some seminars were organized on various new concepts such as a new agriculture techniques or veterinarian methods for local community members although not for community development. One respondent mentioned that:

“It is just a matter of time and proper leadership that tourism projects will soon be developed, planned and implemented exclusively by the local communities”.

Such training would include seminars to inform local residents of the benefits of tourism, and training on how to become involved in planning a tourism project. However since community-based tourism is a new process being implemented in communities, very little has been provided by the experts in the field.

DEFINING PARTICIPATION

Perhaps the section which characterises this study the most is the uncertainty which is found in defining the term ‘community participation’ (also referred as citizen participation). Government respondents stated that community participation in the tourism field is a new concept. It has not yet reached the anticipated level, that is, to have a shared planning process between all stakeholders.

When asked to define community participation, a respondent answered:

“to own resources, to develop the area and to manage the plan”.

Another individual, working on a local project, defined citizen participation as a:

“four step process which includes: to conceptualize the project, to plan the process, to implement the phases and finally, to monitor and evaluate all phases of the project”.

However, some respondents also mentioned that the concept of community participation only came into force three years ago with the establishment of the KWS Partnership Program.

Another concern was when respondents were asked how to achieve community participation in their communities. The majority of respondents were quite sceptical of the whole concept. It was felt that one respondent commented that, although the Maasai culture depends on livestock, by introducing community participation, we can teach them other methods of livelihood

such as being involved in a sector such as tourism which is an income generating activity. A respondent felt the need to get people to say what they want by sharing their views and community interests. The problem which was noted is that once the funding is delivered for a community project, often the project does not survive because local members argue that they should not be responsible for a project which they did not want initially.

Finally, it was interesting to discover the mix of opinions and views when asking respondents to define or explain community participation in their own words. Not everyone understood the term or even had heard about it. The most surprising answer was by a local respondent who mentioned that citizen participation:

“remains a foreign landscape being forced into the Kenyan System”.

This is perhaps a prime example of the differing views and /or perceptions concerning the subject. This local member was quite disturbed by the amount of questions which were being asked regarding the involvement of community members in development. He stated that often local people are consistently faced with new procedures and foreign methods by which to act. Most of them are developed outside the community, either by westerners or by sponsored groups. This unfortunately makes it very difficult for local people to understand and to adjust to these new proposed policies and to encourage them to actively partake in developing their own community.

THE FUTURE OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Most respondents were in favour of community participation in the planning process for tourism development because as Cernea (1991) mentioned, it empowers people to use their own abilities, manage their own resources, make decisions and control the activities that will eventually affect their lives. Local community members mentioned that by encouraging community participation in tourism planning, the significant benefits can emerge and have a positive impact on the local community. These benefits include:

- economic benefits to the community residents such as income from employment generated by the tourism sector or by local viewing areas and food and crafts stands located on group

ranch which cater to tour groups.

- wildlife preservation awareness; this provides an incentive for local members to manage their own wildlife in a sustainable way. Local members would become more aware of the importance of preserving wildlife in their environment. For example, with the introduction of the Kimana Wildlife Sanctuary, group ranch members had a better appreciation for the wildlife beauty which they had in their community and they became more knowledgeable of the possibilities of developing such an asset as a marketable commodity.
- encourages the sharing of ideas from different people in the community. This encourages the community to work together in increasing their ability to access resources, strengthen their influence in decision-making and make the people have pride in their community.

The tourism product is rapidly changing. One resident noted that local group ranch members must realize that:

“tourists are now becoming very interested in discovering the Maasai culture. Most tourists do not just want to see the animals but to experience a different culture”...

Tourists are slowly expanding and combining their interests in both wildlife tourism and in cultural tourism by visiting local communities and discovering their traditional customs. As a result, government respondents suggested that local communities need to strengthen their organization and to manage or operate tourism ventures to provide adequate services to future clients. Furthermore, the government, believes, that to rectify certain ongoing difficulties of community participation in tourism development, proper training should be provided by either the private sector or a non-governmental organization such as the Amboseli/Tsavo Conservation Association. Even certain donor agencies are requesting that the private sector becomes involved in the training process. Others suggest that studies should be undertaken in social sciences (ie: cultural integration) rather than concentrating all efforts in ecological and scientific (ie: biodiversity conservation) research for tourism development.

Finally, respondents agree that the government and the local communities, together, must

look for new and innovative ways to encourage community participation for planning tourism development. Ideas might include organizing local educational tours to similar communities where local people have benefited by developing tourism in their own community (such as communities near Masa Mara; Loita Hills, etc) and using these location as models for developing similar projects in other similar communities. As Pigram (1992) stated, “community involvement in tourism planning and development is not merely good relations, it can also play a role in facilitating the policy implementation process” (Pigram, 1992: 85). A partnership must be organized between each stakeholder to create a balanced commitment towards tourism development. The intricacy of how government and local community achieve an optimal level of involvement will be explained in the next chapter by using the Hersey and Blanchard model of Situational Leadership (1996).

5.6 SUMMARY

Facing up to the stiff competition around the world, Kenya’s tourism industry has been developing new approaches which will stimulate and respond to the shifts in the tourism industry. Kenya is moving away from the typical mini-bus safaris to genuine ecotourism and conservation of wildlife. Every effort is being made to encourage linkage between local and national interests for a positive force to achieve sustainable local tourism development.

Evaluating the levels of participation is perhaps the most crucial process in understanding the reason behind the limited level of involvement of community members in the decision-making process. Joppe (1996) mentioned that community-based tourism planning is still a relatively new field of study and is mostly seen as a response to an opportunity that presents itself, in the form of government assistance or development priority. Often, supporting a development project in a local community will be overshadowed by the opportunities of local elites to gain ‘community support’ by rallying themselves to the right support groups (Joppe, 1996).

Table 5.3 presents a summary of the research findings. This synthesizes format allows the reader to review each indicator in relation with each key respondent (the government officials or

the local community members). This table allowed the researcher to generate the finding conclusion which you will discover in the final page of this chapter. The numbers in the brackets represents a median given to each respondents comments for each indicator.

Table 5.3 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

No	Indicators	Government	Community
1. CURRENT PLANNING AND DECISION-MAKING PROCESS			
	Knowledge of planning documents and policies	Determined and set by KWS corporate planning and all heads of departments No national master tourism plan in Kenya	Not aware of any planning documents used in tourism planning for their area
	Awareness of tourism planning	Coordinated and directed by KWS corporate planning unit	Coordinated through the group ranches committees and Amboseli/Tsavo Conservation Association
2. CURRENT LEVEL OF CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT			
	Representation	Planning process initiated by the areas, regions and by the KWS	Rely on a secondary school student who handles all tourism related issues and then they are discussed
	Accessibility for involvement	Mostly done at the community level using a top-down approach	Limited because lack of education in tourism among community members
	Communication	Uses tele-Maasai system : very effective and efficient	Barazas run by Chief which has replaced elders gathering
	Interaction	Conscious of the concept (community participation) but has not yet reach rural communities because of lack of formal training	Defined as 'consultative' between KWS and local community
3. PERCEIVED LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION AMONG STAKEHOLDERS AND INDIVIDUAL COMMUNITY MEMBERS			
	Representation	The executive group ranch committee is the decision-makers and organizers for the group ranches	Planning decisions originates during barazas and done by the group ranch executive committee members
	Accessibility for involvement	Encouraged to be involved however right now they act as our advisors to the government officials	Simply follow what the government tells them only contribute to the planning process by voicing their complaints
	Communication	Adequate system and good interaction with communities: learned the language	Process is slow and not efficient. No efforts made to inform local residents of project planning and development
	Interaction	Lack of management for tourism activities: no sufficient involvement by community	Not aware of the role and objectives of any programmes for tourism development
4. CONSTRAINTS TO COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION			
	Barriers to community participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - lack of management skills - diverse decision-making channels - different priorities - political interference 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - hardship in the area: poverty and no jobs - lack of basic education - lack of training in tourism planning - lack of tourism coordination in the area
	Defining community participation	Clear understanding of the partnership programme; its role and objectives	A term used to penetrate into the community
	Future for community participation	Must find innovative ways to encourage community participation: guided educational tours to other communities	In favour of participation in the planning process but do not understand how they can gain benefits from the tourism industry

The findings discovered during the data collection provided a greater understanding of the degrees of participation of each stakeholder involved in a decision-making process for tourism development. A summary of the key findings has been provided below.

Key findings

- The current planning structure for tourism development used in Kajiado District is a top-down approach coordinated and directed by KWS corporate planning unit. The group ranch executives committee assist KWS officials in decision-making by voicing local people complaints and concerns. No National Master Tourism Plan or regional tourism policies have been developed providing direction for local communities in tourism development.
- The level of involvement by local community members is very minimal in the decision-making process for tourism development. Most of the local residents participate in the tourism industry by being employed as tour guides, park wardens or selling bead work. The government states that local people are involved in a consulting manner by acting as advisors to KWS officials. The community members noted that they participated in a passive role in the planning process because of lack of training and general education.
- The local community and KWS jointly support the concept of citizen participation in the planning process however both mentioned that there are numerous barriers which must be resolved if this concept is to succeed. Barriers include: lack of tourism training and management skills, too many diverse communication channels, different priorities, political interferences, lack of basic education and lack of funding. The interest exists among community members to increase their implication in the whole planning operations, however these key difficulties will have to be resolved.
- Both the KWS and the local community stated their desired level of participation was to

attain better interaction among all stakeholders involved in developing tourism. KWS had a clear understanding of the concept and supported the goal set out by the new partnership department. The local community also had a desire in working together with other organizations however, they felt they still did not quite understand the benefits in creating a partnership for developing tourism in their community. According to one local respondent, a partnership is seen as “a term used to penetrate into the community”.

The last research objective of this study was to provide a method of evaluating an effective level of citizen participation in planning for tourism development. This method is presented in the next chapter (Chapter 6) with a detailed explanation of each required component.

CHAPTER 6 - CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to present a model which will be useful in first assessing the level of participation between stakeholders and then providing a process for implementing this framework when planning for tourism development in a particular community. The notion of citizen participation has become an essential requirement in community-based planning effort for tourism activities. The literature review chapter supports the importance of local involvement in tourism development in addition, to cooperate efforts among communities with other tourism stakeholders. Brandon (1993) mentioned that: "if local people are not involved, it is likely that over time, the resources will be destroyed and the investment will be lost. It is preferable that local people manage their own destiny rather than be buffeted by outside forces" (Brandon, 1993: 149). The goal of this research was to examine the different levels of local involvement and to provide a process for achieving an optimal level of participation which would benefit the local community as well as all parties involved in planning for tourism development. This model will first examine an optimal level and second, explore how such a level can be achieved. Recommendations are suggested in the last section of this chapter on the adaptability of the model to other developing countries.

6.2 PARTNERSHIP BEHAVIOUR FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Understanding a partnership approach

The partnership approach described in the literature review (Chapter 2) was considered the optimal objective of citizen participation for planning and developing successful tourism projects. Freshwater, Thurston and Ehrensaft (1993) referred to a partnership as, an agreement with a common goal which can be achieved through coordinated efforts. The KWS Partnership

Department is currently striving to achieve cooperation among all stakeholders. At the community level in tourism development, great efforts have been placed on improving the ecotourism product in the local regions. Therefore, in Loitokitok District, the KWS with the group ranch executive committee and local NGO are working together to integrate all key players toward a participatory decision-making system for a common goal which is to increase the tourism industry at the local community level.

Several types of partnerships have been presented in the literature review (Chapter 2) by various authors. The type which can most likely be applied to this research is the 'network' partnership described by Haban-Hafner, Reed (1989). This partnership requires that all participants in a development project have a desire to achieve a similar goal and can share ideas and resource in the process. According to Hutchinson (1998), a formal partnership is the most important way to build stronger communities by acknowledging the involvement of major stakeholders and by clarifying their roles in the process. Recent attempts to involve community leaders as part of the planning process has been successful for the Kimana Sanctuary located adjacent to the Amboseli National Park. The project was based on a community-based approach including all key stakeholders such as the group ranch Executive Committee, the Amboseli/Tsavo Group Ranch Conservation Association and the KWS Partnership Department. Workers employed at the Kimana Wildlife Sanctuary are members of the Kimana group ranch. They hold positions as game wardens, gate keepers or as tour guides for the visitors. The KWS Partnership Department maintains close contact with the group ranch executive committee in providing guidance and direction when needed while administering the Kimana Wildlife Sanctuary. For this reason, the KWS is now placing great effort in identifying stakeholders in the tourism environment as a measure to encourage collaboration of resources and expertise in the field of tourism for future overall benefits for the community. The close relationship among all key stakeholders in the planning process is crucial in strengthening community linkages.

Components of a successful partnership strategy for effective participation

Developing a framework to demonstrate the relationship between each partner in full collaboration by addressing community problems and needs is essential to the success of a partnership. Although most frameworks presented in the literature review do not provide processes to achieve a partnership, instead some authors suggested some components to be applied or used in forming a partnership. As stated earlier, it is important that organizations form collaborative working agreements to share ideas, resources and benefits. However, a few basic components need first to be reached before the initial partnership agreement is made. Six components have been developed following the analysis of respondents comments and observations presented earlier in Chapter 5. It is suggested that these components (presented below) should be properly defined and included in terms of reference of each participant as part of the initial step in developing a partnership. The components include:

- ***Activities*** : Activities which are to be jointly planned and undertaken in the planning process. The KW has recently developed Planning Guidelines for each of the seven group ranches to achieve sound strategic plans according to the Corporate Planning Department.
- ***Participant's Role*** : Each participant's role is to be specified. This must be developed jointly, perhaps with an external party to monitor the contribution between each partner (just as a lawyer would do in drafting a business agreement).
- ***Information Sharing Standards*** :
A guideline should once again be drafted outlining the process of delivery for each participant such as the decision-making process and dispute resolutions.
- ***Resources*** : Resources provided by each participant must be outlined. These resources might include experts, equipment or personnel.
- ***Outline of the Planning Process*** :
An outline will be integrated into the overall planning activities of the region and a detailed proposal developed by each stakeholder identifying their needs and objectives

- **Training :** A training process for each of the parties involved in the partnership. Such training would include community development skills, communication and decision-making techniques.

Finally, only when all these partnership requirements are outlined, may a successful cooperation process be developed. A partnership must be the need of all stakeholders and must be a firm and organized relationship based on mutual goals and objectives. Bryant (1995) added that the task of building a partnership and encouraging participation of all members toward a common goal takes time and flexibility. If crucial components of the partnership are not addressed, the relationship will not stand and the process will not be sustained at all levels.

6.3 PARTICIPATORY BEHAVIOUR MODEL

The Participatory Behaviour Model presented in this section has been created after reviewing and analysing participation models presented in the Literature Review of Chapter 2 and as a result of the current research. This model integrates two models; the first model is by Arnstein (1969), *The Ladder of Citizen Participation* and the second is by Hersey and Blanchard (1996), *Situational Leadership*. This unique integrated framework provides a tool which can be used in evaluating the current level of participation used by stakeholders in a planning process and compare it to an optimal involvement level necessary to achieve effective and efficient community participation. By using Arnstein's (1969) *Ladder of Citizen Participation*, the optimal level of participation was determined in Chapter 4 of the Data Analysis and was situated at the *Partnership* level. This model, shown in figure 6.1, can be used by either an individual or a group of stakeholders (ie: an NGO organization, a group ranch committee, government officials or by a private tourism agency) when working in collaboration with other key interest groups towards a development process. The Participatory Behaviour Model reflects three distinctive research strategies. These three strategies are:

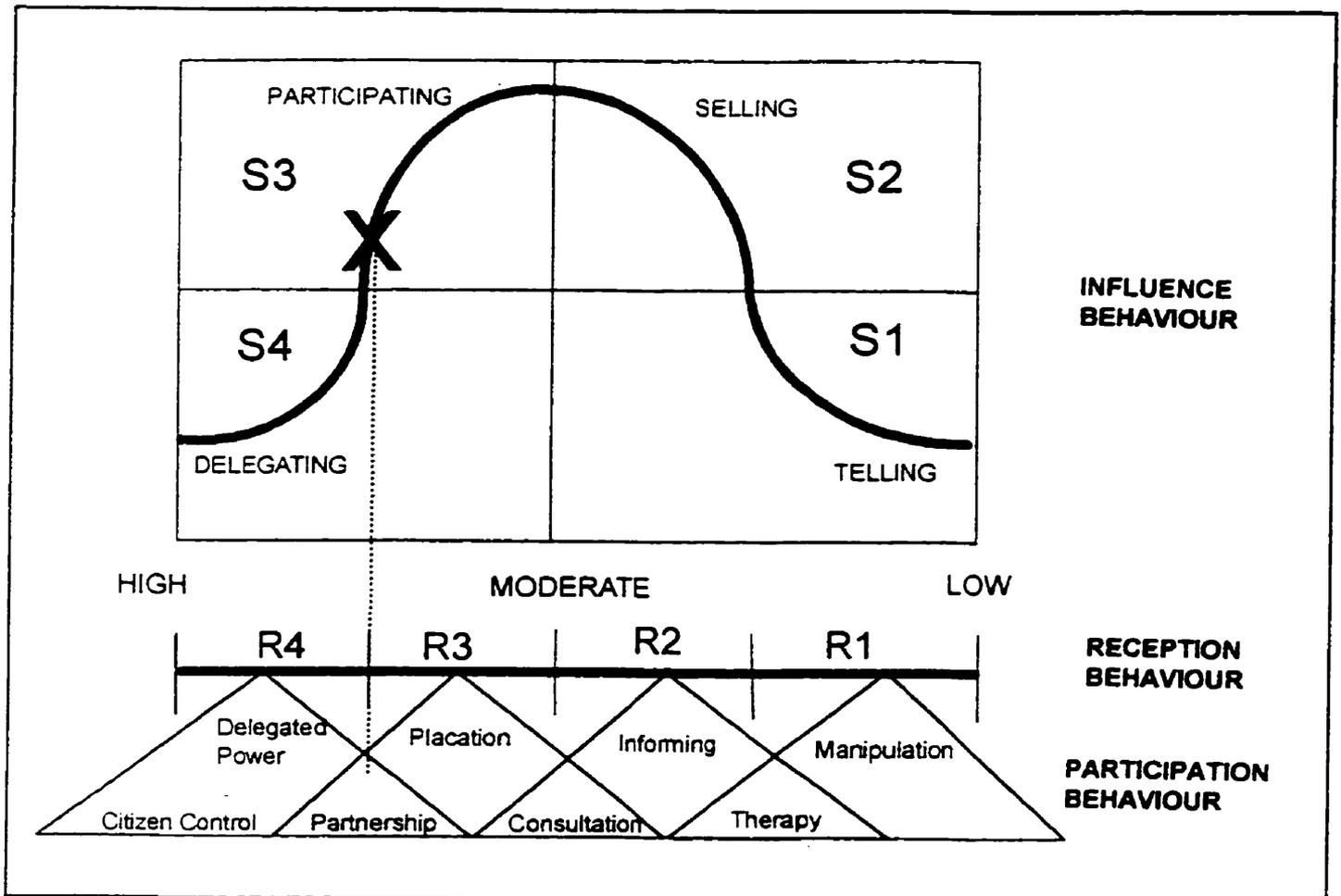
- **descriptive**
- **explanatory**
- **predictive**

This model allows the researcher to follow a simple sequence in order to determine the appropriate level of community participation in stimulating successful tourism development.

First, the model is a descriptive framework allowing analysed information to be plotted on the graph defining a specific behaviour, attitude or belief. Once plotted, the model is explanatory by further defining and explaining the behaviour by using other related factors. For example, in a situation where a local leader dictates the community's response, the model illustrates that it is likely that the community suffers from low self esteem, is unmotivated and is less prone to participate in the decision-making process. Furthermore, the model is predictive by forecasting the event resulting from the phenomenon. In the above example, the development of tourism in the local community would be planned and directed by the local leader with very little or no input from the community members.

Finally, the model provides a tool for the local communities in reestablishing their confidence and trust in the decision-making process. As for leaders, this model helps them diagnose a 'best' style of leadership to use for a given type of behaviour. According to Hersey and Blanchard (1996), "successful leaders are those who can adapt their behaviour to meet the demands of their own unique situation". By effectively determining that change in the leadership style must occur if the level of participation is to improve, resolving conflict management in the decision-making process when planning for tourism development can be sustained

Figure 6.1 Participatory Behaviour Model



(Adapted from Amstein, 1969 and Hersey and Blanchard, 1996)

Legend

Influence Behaviour

- S1: Telling
- S2: Selling
- S3: Participating
- S4: Delegating

Reception Behaviour

- R1: Unable and unwilling or insecure
- R2: Unable but willing or confident
- R3: Able but unwilling or insecure
- R4: Able and willing and confident

Participation Behaviour

- Manipulation: info gathering
- Therapy: engaged in group therapy
- Informing: one-way flow of information
- Consultation: statistical collection of information
- Placation: citizens as advisers
- Partnership: shared planning
- Delegated Power: dominance
- Citizen Control: absolute control

Model Objectives

The objectives for the model consist of the following:

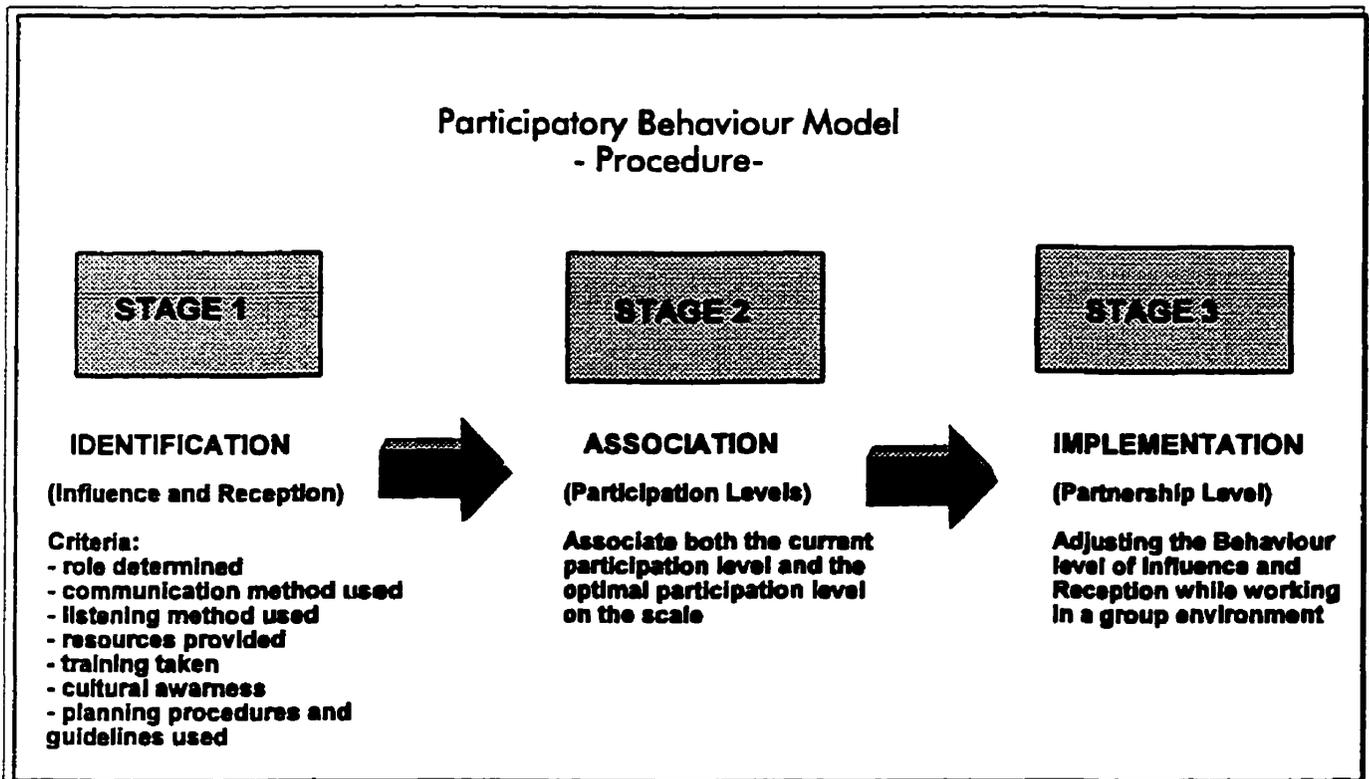
1. *To examine the stakeholder's current level of participation in the planning process*
2. *To determine an appropriate style of behaviour necessary to achieve the optimal level of participation determined by the stakeholders*

Model Procedure

To facilitate the implementation, this model has been divided into three stages represented in figure 6.2 and which will be described in greater detail in the following section.

- Stage 1: Identification and Notification (stakeholders' influence and reception)
- Stage 2: Association (current level with optimal level)
- Stage 3: Implementation (adjusting behaviour level)

Figure 6.2 The Participatory Behaviour Model Procedure



STAGE 1: IDENTIFICATION

Similar to Hersey and Blanchard’s (1996) Situation Leadership model, the first stage of the Participatory Behaviour Model is *Identification*. In this stage, the level of Influence and Reception¹ of stakeholders while involved in a planning process are examined. As a result of the diversity of partners involved in planning a community project, there are always different ways that people proceed. Some people tend to listen to others more often and offer limited suggestions while others play a more authoritative role in influencing the whole planning process. Thus, this first stage of the model process will attempt to identify such participation methods.

¹

Influence refers to the method of leadership and persuasion used by the stakeholder
Reception refers to the listening abilities of the stakeholders while participating in a planning process

In order to adequately examine the current level of influence and reception, profiles of stakeholders must be developed using identification factors. Based on the components presented earlier in the Chapter, the following indicators associated with questions (presented in table 6.1) have been specifically tailored to this model. These factors (also referred to as partnership components) are used in identifying the levels of influence and reception of both the government officials and the local community members. They include:

- role determined
- communication methods (of influencing and listening)
- resources provided
- training taken
- cultural awareness
- planning procedures and guidelines used

Table 6.1 Components and identifying questions

COMPONENTS	QUESTIONS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Role determined 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who attend meetings? • How do stakeholders participate in meetings? • Who initiates and decides on priorities at meetings? • Who acts as the mediator at meetings?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication methods 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do stakeholders voice their priorities and concerns? • How do stakeholders communicate among themselves? • Is there a mediator which is assigned from an external source to all planning meetings?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resources provided 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do stakeholders share their ideas among themselves? • What kind of resources are provided from each stakeholder? • Did all stakeholder provide resources beneficial to all in the planning process?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training taken 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What kind of tourism training is being offered to stakeholders? • What kind of community development skills are being taught to stakeholders? • Is it possible for stakeholders to obtain the adequate training and education? • Where can proper tourism and community development training be taken?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural Awareness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is the tourism project respecting the traditional customs of the region? • Is the local language used during planning meetings? • Are all stakeholders aware of cultural differences in the local community?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning Procedure and Guidelines used 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is there a national and/or local tourism plan followed for developing tourism? • What planning process is followed to achieve a sound sustainable tourism development project? • Is there any differences of opinions among stakeholders on the importance of following planning guidelines and process for tourism development?

Description of components

- ***Role determined:***

To achieve a greater share of benefits from the tourism industry, decision should be based on information from all players involved in the tourism planning process. These players must work together in a common forum by collaborating on leadership and management skills providing initial financial support, sharing resources and facilitating training and technical assistance for tourism projects.

This is particularly important in order to coordinate the involvement of all key players in the decision-making process. Each stakeholders' role should be described outlining in detail the participant's role and responsibilities to ensure a shared involvement is in place. For example, it is important that the responsibilities of each participant be defined. In any type of working team, each player must have specific tasks to achieve and to bring forward to the group. A list of tasks should be compiled for the specific project to be developed. For instance, let's say a cultural boma is to be developed on one of the group ranches. Different people would be assigned to these tasks:

- monitoring project budget
- design (size, construction materials, location)
- method of construction (when and how)
- construction (by whom/contractor)
- project progress reports (minutes at every meeting, documentation)
- liaison with other communities, government officials, other stakeholders
- promotion and marketing

These are simply a few responsibilities which must be defined and then assigned to individual wanting to participate in the development of a tourism project.

- ***Communication methods (of influencing and listening):***

Communication among all stakeholders is an essential element in any planning process. All parties must constantly be informed of the issues related to their involvement. The communication channel used between stakeholders is defined as the “means of transmitting information” regarding planning issues, concepts and policies. The process of transmitting the information may occur at meetings, conferences, workshops or any other place where stakeholders can meet and discuss tourism issues.

Forming a partnership among all stakeholder means that a solid communication network and system must be in place. Berger (1993) mentioned that during her involvement with the Wildlife Extension Project (WET) held in Kajiado area, workshops were the most effective educational setting for the local Maasai community members. She added that they have strong visual and oral skills preferring observing, talking and listening to reading. A continuous interaction by either meetings, messages or phone calls must be present to share information if the development of a partnership is to be sustained. All stakeholders have similar goals and objectives. Each stakeholder must be aware of the most effective and efficient way to convey information to their partners by respecting their cultures and beliefs. Thus, efforts cannot be duplicated. Tourism development can only become successful and provide beneficial rewards to its stakeholders if a an open communication system between all players in the partnership is present.

If we use the same example from above, when developing a cultural boma, it is important that all the team players must be kept informed of any decisions taken, or events which would affect the project. Periodic progress reports which are presented in a ‘minute format’ can be circulated among all key players (even if one member cannot attend a regular meeting. Also it is important to keep the funding agencies inform of the project stages. Finally, a constant liaison must occur among the local community and the government. After all, the government provide the community with the appropriate permits and site building information which are necessary to the development of a tourism site.

- ***Resources provided:***

One of the most important elements in planning a project are resources. The resources which can be useful for a tourism development project are : specialists in certain fields (ie: veterinarians, accountants, translators, etc.), facilities where meetings can be held with accessibility to telephones, fax machines and other electronic equipment. Another important resource is financial support. Often this resource can be provided by the private sector. Sponsorship is a good method to obtain extra financial support for training or for the project itself. The private sector enjoys the publicity which often results from this additional support. For this reason, it is crucial to identify at a very early stage in the process all the resources which can be provided by each stakeholder.

By first identifying the tasks at the hand, a resources list for both personnel and equipment will be developed. It is important to place a costing value to each element in both list. This might become a deciding factor to continue hiring new personnel or to continue to buy more equipment.

- ***Training taken:***

Tourism and community development are both necessary and essential to provide current and professional services to tourists and to the community residents. The tourism industry is increasingly faced with growing competition from countries around the world. Tourism planning efforts are shifting from the popular goal of improving the economy with more jobs and income by enhancing visitor satisfaction, protecting natural resources assets and community integration within their social and economic life (Gunn, 1994). Consequently, adequate training and awareness education such as seminars, group classes for all community residents and government officials or even field trips are required for all players involved in the tourism industry to remain competitive in this challenging and fascinating field.

If a team player will be assigned to a specific task in the project, it is important that adequate training is provided before assuming the task. For example, the person responsible for maintaining the project budget will have to have good financial and bookkeeper skills to fulfill the responsibility

given.

- ***Cultural awareness:***

In conjunction with a strategic partnership planning process being created and introduced, numerous conflicts regarding tourism development must be addressed. At the local community level, especially among the older generation which is usually considered the decision-makers in a Maasai community, a resentment still exists concerning the growth of tourism in their communities. For example, in Kajiado District, promises to share economic benefits from park revenue have not been fulfilled. Local people have been misled and as a result, they do not trust the governmental system. A bottom-up approach is being encouraged and implemented under coordinated professional leadership requesting the local people's involvement as decision-makers, developers and managers at each step of the planning process. Other sensitive issues such as water availability, access to education facilities and compensation of human and animal losses are recurring problems found in many local communities. Until these issues are addressed, any efforts made to regain the local community's members trust in any developmental system for any type of project will be discarded.

It is very hard to design a project in a certain community without being aware of the cultural importance or significance such a development would bring in a community. Every participating member must be particularly sensitive to people beliefs and cultural traditions which is different from the past when many westerners came and established their own way of developing projects.

- ***Planning Procedures and Guidelines used:***

To achieve tourism development, planning procedures and guidelines must be provided and followed. This plan may be the national master plan for tourism and/or a secondary plan adapted to the local area. As mentioned earlier, the importance of guidelines is crucial for any type of development. Policies are usually set at the national level in a development plan, however, these policies must be decentralized to fit a rural area allowing each local community a distinctive

development process adapted to their own culture and traditions. Western (1994) stated that in a cooperative approach, “diversification is the foundation of a sustainable and equitable tourist economy” which in turn, needs new innovation policies (Western, 1994: 21). Therefore, as we move toward balancing the interests of conservation and local interests, principles and practices must continue to evolve for improving the tourism industry as a whole.

When developing a cultural boma, site plans will have to be developed with proper dimensions and guidelines. These plans will have to be presented to the appropriate authorities for approval. It is very important to respect the protocol in the initial phases of the project development.

Identification process

Using the six components listed above, a profile of stakeholders must be developed to provide a better understanding of the dynamic of each participant regarding planning issues and performing a given task. Once the profile is complete, the level of influence can be determined. There are four combinations of task behaviours (or leadership techniques) and relationship behaviours which are described as leadership styles ranging from S1 to S4 (refer to figure 6.1). These categories are briefly explained as follows:

• <i>Telling (S1):</i>	guiding, directing and establishing specifics for the other members of the planning committee on what to do, where to do it and how to do it.
• <i>Selling (S2):</i>	explaining, clarifying and persuading other members of the planning committee on what to do and how to do it.
• <i>Participating (S3):</i>	encouraging, supporting and empowering other members of the planning committee to share responsibility for the decision-making
• <i>Delegating (S4):</i>	observing, entrusting and assigning other members of the planning committee without providing direction

Identifying which category a stakeholder relates to will determine explain the leading agencies approach. For example, if a stakeholder is noted in the communication category to have difficulties sharing ideas and that he/she prefers leading the group rather than letting other members make decisions. In this instance, the profile of this stakeholder could identify that he has a strong *influence* ability and that his *reception* skills or may have developed. This person would be characterized in the S1 task behaviour. Another example; the government officials working for the KWS have been working closely with local communities in developing tourism projects. However their style of leadership behaviour remains in the telling section. This means that, although the Partnership Department has been recently created, according to local residents and KWS respondents, government officials continue to maintain a strong influence over actions and decisions taken in planning committees for local community development. Therefore, locating the participants in one of the four quadrants will determine the level of influence being experienced in a planning process. One must note that these analyses of participation levels are based on the understanding that all stakeholders are working in a planning committee setting with similar goals and interests in the future planned development.

The second element in this Identification Stage is to determine, on a continuum scale, the level of *reception* a stakeholder may have when dealing with certain issues in a project planning environment. The level of reception of the stakeholders' helps diagnose the demands of participating in a planning process for project development. Reception of stakeholders is also referred to the *ability* to take responsibility with the necessary knowledge, experience and skills to accomplish the task. It is important to identify the reception level among stakeholders because people tend to be receptive to ideas in various degrees depending on the situation, function or objective at hand. Thus, a stakeholder trying to explaining his ideas and persuading the other group members that they should follow his plan, could have a lower receptive level on the continuum scale (figure 6.1).

The continuum is divided into four levels ranging from R1 to R4 (refer to figure 6.1). The lowest level is R1 while the highest level is R4. Willingness is defined as the necessary confidence,

commitment and motivation to accomplish a task. Following are the four categories and their meaning:

- | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• R1: unable and unwilling or insecure• R2: unable but willing or confident• R3: able but unwilling or insecure• R4: able and willing or confident |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Once both the *influence* level and the *receptive* level have been identified on the Participatory Behaviour Model by placing a mark (●) at the appropriate location, a vertical line can be drawn from the top of the Model to the level of participation continuum located at the bottom of the Model (see figure 6.1). This line will then indicate the level of participation currently being used by the stakeholder in the planning committee. The next stage of the model will provide a better understanding of the difference existing between the current level and the optimal level of participation. While the final stage of this Model will allow the stakeholders to obtain a suggestions on how to succeed in achieving the desired optimal level.

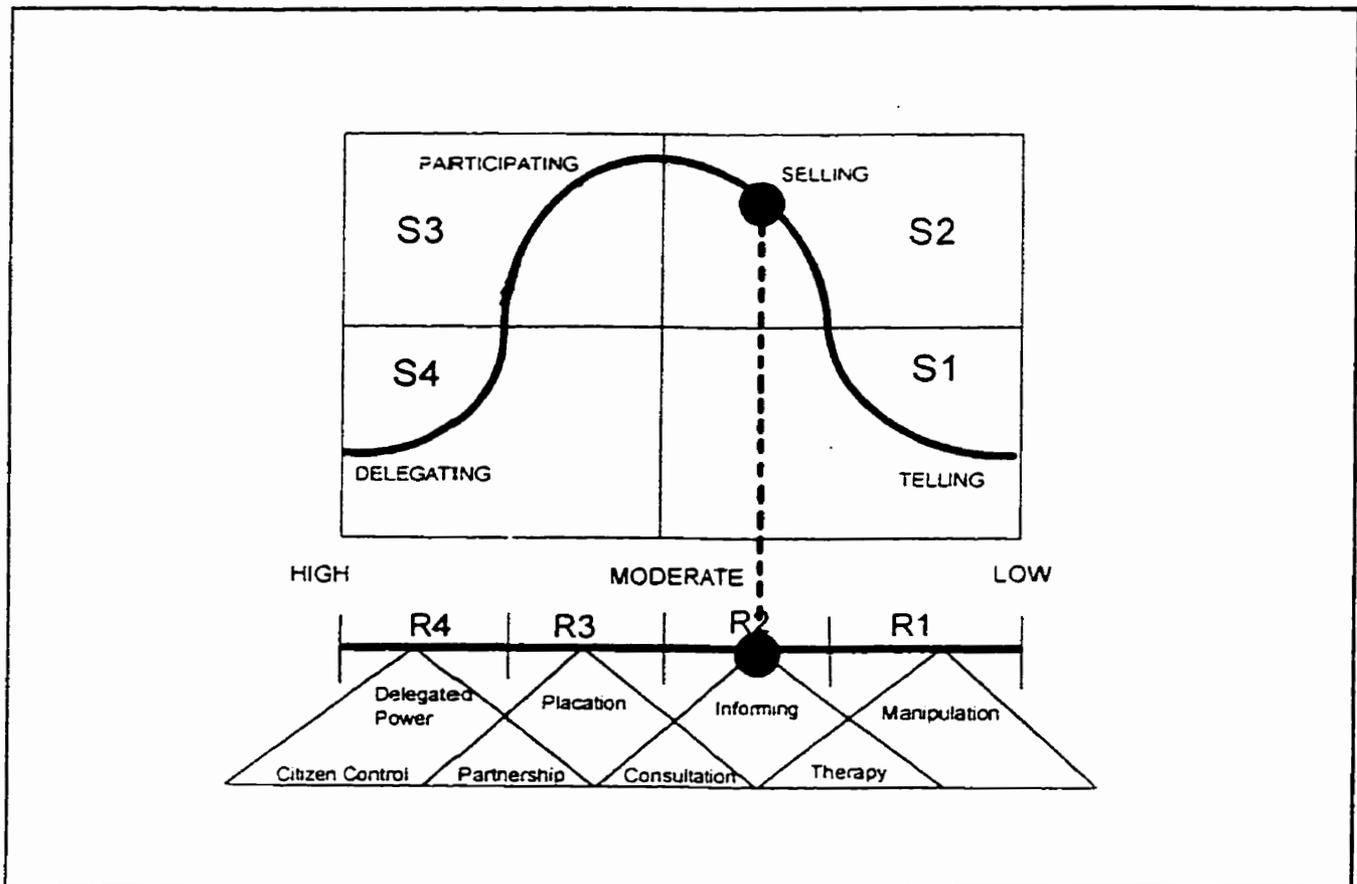
STAGE 2: ASSOCIATION

In the second stage of the Participatory Behaviour Model, the optimal level of participation must be determined and then associated with the influence and reception behaviour level identified in stage 1 (described above). The eight steps of Arnstein's Ladder were placed in a horizontal axis below Hersey and Blanchard's model. In this arrangement, a direct correlation can be observed between the level of participation of the community member and the style of leadership used towards that behaviour. Specifically, using this method allows the researcher to assess the situation equally rather than numerically as Arnstein's original model displayed. When the eight levels of participation are displayed on an vertical axis with numerical value assigned to

each level, unconsciously we tend to rank which level is the best or worst solution for the situation by either choosing the lower or higher number on the Ladder. This method can not be justified for the current study since the level of participation is said to change (move along the participation continuum) as the style of leadership changes on a regular basis.

The movement along the *participation behaviour continuum* depends on numerous external and internal factors which in certain circumstances, may or may not be controlled. The external forces consist of political interferences, lack of funding, lack of infrastructure such as communication channels. The internal forces include lack of tourism guidelines and policies, different priorities and lack of basic tourism training to name a few. Most external forces are uncontrollable while the internal forces can be improved inside the organization or the community group. Example of such a situation can be illustrated with the development of the Kimana Wildlife Sanctuary. At first, the local community representatives had different priorities for their community. They did not want a Wildlife Sanctuary Project, they wanted a school because of the need for education and training in the area rather than benefits gained from the tourism industry. Therefore, the group ranch members were not in agreement with the KWS's proposal. The local members had moved along the participation continuum, away from the optimal level, the Partnership Level. Their level of reception of the local members was not too high since they were unwilling to partake and take responsibilities in developing this project. Furthermore, by drawing a line from the level of *receptive* level to the level of participation, one can note that it can have a direct influence on the way the local committee members participated. On the participation level scale, they were located at the *informing* level (refer to figure 6.3).

Figure 6.3 Level of Participation at the earlier stages of the Kimana Sanctuary Project.



(Adapted from Amstein, 1969 and Hersey and Blanchard, 1996)

In the case of Kajiado District, the optimal level determined was located at the *Partnership* level which means that the corresponding level of *influence* and *reception* would have to be locate at R3+ (a little higher than an R3) and in the S3 quadrant indicating participation. This would mean that the *stakeholders* would have to be very receptive in terms of having a strong willingness to perform a given task while providing a teamwork attitude with the other participants in the planning committee.

STAGE 3: THE IMPLEMENTATION

Finally, the third stage of this model is to provide a process for stakeholders to adjust their behaviour in order to achieve the optimal level of participation. According to Hersey and Blanchard (1996), 'this process by its very nature cannot be revolutionary but must be evolutionary: gradual developmental changes, a result of planned growth and the creation of mutual trust and respect'.

As mentioned earlier, the optimal level of participation determined was the *partnership* level (using Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation). This position (R3+) would mean that in order to apply a successful style of leadership to achieve the desired level of participation, the position S3+ must be selected. Refer to figure 6.2 which displays the R3 level. By selecting the position S3+, the *participant* would provide active listening in a two-way conversation thus, becoming involved in the planning process. Both parties would take responsibility for certain aspects of the planning by sharing a common goal and ideas as well as resources on an equal basis.

In order to achieve the optimal level, all stakeholders involved in the planning committee must be aware that some behaviour adjustment on everyone's part will be necessary. Following the association stage of the Model, a participant can examine what behaviour change will be needed to meet the optimal level of partnership. Such change could mean; improving listen skills when attending meetings or give less direction and support to another member when performing a task. For instance, a behaviour change would be for the government officials to give the local community members less direct support in designing a project proposal for their community. With this adjustment of influence behaviour and reception, the local community member's behaviour will move along the participation continuum towards the partnership level.

To implement this Model, the process must be explained to all participants very carefully. Ideally, an external observer or mediator could perform the evaluations on behalf of all the planning group, thus keeping the results neutral as much as possible. The external observer

would first examine every participant by creating a profile. A period of three sessions would be needed to properly examine each participants. Then the *Association stage* would be performed followed by an analysis of each behaviour level. Finally, the external observer would schedule a meeting with each participant to discuss the results of the analysis. This is a straight forward process using minimum resources and time. It is best to use someone who is not directly involved in the whole planning process in order to be impartial to the examination.

6.4 ADAPTABILITY OF THE MODEL TO DEVELOPING AND/OR DEVELOPED COUNTRIES (DISCUSSION)

The Participatory Behaviour Model was developed following an extensive review of participation models presented in Chapter 2, the Literature Review of this study. The model was created in a time where partnerships are becoming a new challenge for community development. Local community residents see ecotourism as an alternative development to a better quality of life without selling off their natural resources or their culture. The Participatory Behaviour Model is a tool essential in any planning environment. It is important to be able to examine the degree of participants' involvement in order to keep of the quality of tourism services consistent in the community and thus maintaining the viability of the operation. By using this model, one can constantly adjust his/her way or method of involvement. Thus, creating better results for all stakeholders in the long run.

The Participatory Behaviour Model was designed to provide a perceptive outlook of community participation in a planning setting. Its limitation is that the model is based on an individual's point of view. In addition, the analysis of such an examination of participation levels may be restrictive to a certain time period or even to a certain environment. This means that a stakeholder might be involved at a certain level during the design phase and change that level of involvement during the implementation phase. Similarly, participants can be influenced by changes in social patterns or cultural practices which can modify the results at a particular time

period. Therefore, it is important to note that the Participatory Behaviour Model serves as a measurement tool to illustrate a perceived behaviour pattern at a particular period in time in a planning process. In other words, the model's results fail to demonstrate a holistic point of view within the whole community and for all stakeholders involved in similar projects.

Another important constraint of the model is the cultural limitation in developing countries. This model examines the level of participation of local community members however, the cultural beliefs were not really taken into consideration. For example, the Maasai culture is a very traditional way of living, men and women each have their different responsibilities. For women, it is rare that you would find her mingling with men at the local café. She would probably be at home taking care of the children and preparing the meal. Therefore, to adequately examine the women level of participation in this model would probably not reflect all women in general but only members of the Maasai traditional communities. This statement applies to many other cultural settings which are mostly traditional in their ways of life.

The important question in this research is how can this Participatory Behaviour Model be applied to other rural communities in developing countries and in developed countries? This model is based on the knowledge that participation in current planning process for community-based tourism development is being equitable among all participants. This situation can occur in any type of environment, rich or poor. One can note that in developed countries, as resources become more and more limited due to government cutbacks, it becomes important to involve local government in all aspects of the planning, organizing and decision-making in order to access the community resources and in the long run, build a sense of community among the people. The challenge remains to properly assess the participation level of the participants involved in such a community collaboration.

The Participatory Behaviour Model uses indicating components to examine participants interested in tourism planning. These components can be used in any type of development situation and in any kind of environment. The indicators are simple questions which can target

any group of individual, not necessary only in a developing country. Although the case study was conducted in South-Eastern Africa, the results relating to the level of participation among stakeholders could be applied to any other planning group around the world. Everywhere, they are always those who must take absolute control over a situation while the other group becomes 'outsiders' in their own communities. A related example in Canada was with the closure of schools in the province of Ontario. Following the new government's regulations and policies, School Boards had to reexamine their facility inventories which resulted in numerous closure over a short period of time. One of many school closures was a school located in a small rural community. Administrators and Planners had already targeted the school as a possible closure. Parents, students and the community were consulted but really using a 'Telling' style of leadership rather than a full participative technique. With this particular example, the use of the Participatory Behaviour Model would have been important in examining each participants level of involvement in order to make sure that a fair and efficient process had been underway. In conclusion, awareness that there are large differences in participation styles among participants involved in a planning process makes the Model an ideal tool in trying to bring new methods of operating and to strengthen community linkages.

6.5 CONCLUSION

The Participatory Behaviour Model was designed to help stakeholders achieve their desired level of citizen participation by examining the level of participation during all stages of the planning process. The framework methodology provides a step-by-step process with simple indicating components to achieve a desired level of participation. As Fagence (1977) noted: 'In essence, citizen participation programmes are best founded on the development of suitable means to facilitate the communication and exchange of ideas, opinions and attitudes, and the evolution of a consensus, a policy or plan in a situation of mutual trust between the participants' (Fagence, 1977: 272). If a partnership approach is to succeed in balancing the interests of government and

local communities, collaborative planning at all levels must be encouraged and diversified if the tourism industry is to survive and be sustainable.

CHAPTER 7 - REFERENCES

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APPENDIX I - Interview Guide

B. PLANNING DOCUMENTS

7. What are the current plans or legal documents regulating tourism activities and development in the Amboseli region?

8a. Is there a Master Plan for the Amboseli National Park? Yes No

b. If 8a above is yes, state its main goals and objectives:

c. If 8a is no, what efforts has been made to develop a master plan for the Amboseli National Park?

9a. What are the main issues of human-wildlife conflicts within the Amboseli region?

b. How is the KWS partnership programme handling the key issues in the human-wildlife conflicts?

C. PROCESS OF PLANNING

10a. Where are planning decisions made?

b. Who makes them?

11. What tourism activity encourages local participation of the community?

- 12. How could community members get involved?
- 13. Which member of the community were involved in the decision-making process?
- 14. What were there responsibilities?
- 15. Who initiated the process of decision-making?
- 16. What is the level of involvement of participant in the planning process?
(Using S. Arnstein (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation)

___ info-gathering	___ one-way flow	___ shared planning
___ curing	___ statistical abstractions	___ dominance
	___ watch dog & rubber stamp	___ absolute control

D. COMMUNICATION

- 17. How are tourism planning issues concerning local communities communicated to citizens?
- 18. How do members of the local community voice their opinions, concerns, ideas for tourism development?
- 19. Is the current process of voicing individual opinions, concerns and ideas adequate?
(Explain)

E. ATTITUDE AND PERCEPTIONS (TOWARDS PARTICIPATION)

20. Are you in favour of community participation in the tourism development? Yes No
(State Reasons)

21. What role do you expect to play in the tourism planning process within the next two years?

22. In your opinion, what are the main barriers to community participation in tourism planning and development and how can they be eliminated?

23. How would you define community participation?

Community Involvement in Tourism Planning and Development

Date: _____ Residence: _____ Sex: M () F ()
Key Informant: _____ Age Group: 18-25 26-40 41-54 55-65 over 65
Occupation: _____ Level of Education: _____

A. SETTING

1. Where do you live?
2. How long have you lived there?
3. What is your occupation?
4. Describe your day to day work?
5. Does your work depend on tourism? Yes No
6. What is your educational level?

B. ORGANIZATION

- 7a. Are you aware of the existence of tourism planning committees in the Amboseli Region?
 Yes No
 - b. If 7a above is yes, is your community represented on the planning committee(s)?
 Yes No
 - c. If 7b above is yes, who represents your community on the planning committee(s)?
-
- 8a. Is there another way by which the community makes an input in the tourism planning process?
 Yes No
 - b. Elaborate:

C. INVOLVEMENT

9. What is the gender composition of the community's representation in tourism planning committee?
 (Check X one) Men Women Both

10. What tourism activity attracts the greatest level of community participation?

11. Referring to the following three stages of the planning process, indicate the institutions involved and the position of representatives:

PLANNING STAGES	INSTITUTIONS/COMMUNITY	REPRESENTATIVES
1. Definition of problem (goals and objectives)		
2. Identification of Options		
3. Decision-making		
4. Implementation		

12. What factors are considered in making planning decision? (Check X where appropriate)

- Environmental Social Cultural
 Economic Gender Others (specify) _____

13. In your opinion, what are the main barriers to community participation in tourism planning and development and how can they be resolved?

14. How would you define community participation?

15. Where do you believe your organization is located on this scale?
(Using Arnstein's 1969 Ladder of Citizen Participation)

16. Where would you like to see your organization located on this scale in the future?

∞

Ladder of Citizen Participation

