Governing Landscapes Through Partnerships: Lessons From Amboseli, Kenya

Tabitha Njeri Mugo

Propositions

1. Partnerships are important landscape governance instruments.

   (this thesis)

2. To be effective, partnerships have to 'govern with government'.

   (this thesis)

3. Trust building in business relations is key to success.

4. Terrorism is affecting tourism development in Kenya more than climate change.

5. Economic development in Kenya focuses more on short-term economic gains than sustainability.

6. Achieving the global Sustainable Development Goals needs a generation-long commitment.

Propositions belonging to the thesis, entitled

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Lessons from Amboseli, Kenya

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACC	African Conservation Center
ACP	Amboseli Conservation program
AEMP	Amboseli Ecosystem Management plan
AET	Amboseli Ecosystem Trust
ANP	Amboseli National Park
ATE	Amboseli Trust for Elephants
ATGRCA	Amboseli Tsavo Group Ranches Conservation Association
ATGSA	Amboseli/Tsavo Game Scouts Association
AWF	African Wildlife Foundation
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
WCED	Commission on Environment and Development
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
ICDP	Integrated Conservation and Development Programs
CBC	Community Based Conservation
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resource Management
CBT	Community Based Tourism
EMCA	Environmental Management and Coordination Act
ESIA	Environmental and Social Impact Assessment
GoK	Government of Kenya
GR	Group Ranch
ICDP	Integrated Conservation and Development Programs
IFAW	International Fund for Animal Welfare

KWCA	Kenya Wildlife Conservancies Association
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service
KWT	Kenya Wildlife Trust
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MPT	Maasailand Preservation Fund
MWCT	Maasailand Wilderness Conservation Trust
OBM	Olive Branch Mission
OLGR	Olgulului Group Ranch
PAA	Protected area approach
PCF	Predator Consolation Fund
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SFS	School for Field Studies
TRA	Threat Reduction Approach
UN	United Nations
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme (or UN Environment)
USA	United States of America
UNESCO	United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization
MAB	Man and Biosphere
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

DEDICATION

To my children Edwin Wahungu and Mercy Wangui for your unconditional assuring love and encouragement. To my mother Mary Waithira Mugo who never went to school but worked so hard to ensure that I got education.

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CHAPTER ONE
Setting the scene

1.1 Governing the links between conservation and development

Globally, over 870 million people in rural areas depend on biodiversity for basic goods and ecosystem services (Anderies, Janssen & Ostrom, 2004). According to Brechin, Wilshusen, Fortwangler, and West (2002) high priority biodiversity conservation areas (biodiversity hotspots) are in most cases also social and political 'hotbeds', owing to a combination of factors that include high poverty levels, unstable land-tenure systems, undemocratic political systems, and state-sponsored repression.

The United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) recognized that poverty and loss of biodiversity are prominent global challenges that are intricately linked and mutually dependent (UNDP, 2016). Although it is widely acknowledged that poverty and loss of biodiversity ought to be addressed simultaneously (see for example Campbell, Sayer, & Walker, 2010; Folke, Hahn, Olsson, & Norberg, 2005; Pressey & Bottrill, 2009; Roe & Elliott, 2010), addressing the two challenges simultaneously has been an uphill battle. This has generated both academic and policy debates that have preoccupied the global arena for several decades. These debates are bound to continue, especially in rural areas in developing countries such as in sub-Saharan Africa where dependence on natural resources for livelihood options persists (see for example Busch, La Notte, Laporte, & Erhard, 2012; Kusters, 2015; Roe & Elliott, 2010).

Over the years, there have been numerous efforts to address biodiversity conservation and development goals simultaneously. These efforts have culminated in a shift from a predominantly state-run and controlled Protected Area Approach (PAA) to hybrid scenarios that include other approaches, such as community-based management and partnership arrangements that consider diverse stakeholders' livelihood needs. The PAA can be traced back to the 19th century when Yellowstone and Yosemite National parks in the United States of America (USA) were commissioned and the idea spread to other parts of the world to become the dominant approach until the 1970s (Adams & Hutton, 2007). The main emphasis of the PAA was separation of people and nature

where people were viewed as a threat to biodiversity conservation. According to O'Riordan and Stoll-Kleemann (2002) the PAA prioritized protection of habitats and species in specific sites over human interests, whereby the government and conservation agencies identified areas with high biodiversity and outlawed human settlement by displacing inhabitants, while offering little compensation. The PAA has been criticized as top - down (see for instance Bulte, Boone, Stringer, & Thornton, 2008), coercive (Peluso, 1993), authoritarian and exclusionary (Hutton, Adams, & Murombedzi, 2005), resulting in resentment and conflicts between conservation authorities and local communities (Robbins, McSweeney, Waite, & Rice, 2006). Critics of the PAA to conservation also argue that it isolates people by denying them access to natural resources such as land and water (Adams et al., 2004; Brockington, 2002; Galvin, Thornton, De Pinho, Sunderland, & Boone, 2006; Igoe & Brockington, 1999). Others have argued that protected areas are too small to support viable wildlife populations, therefore requiring their immediate surrounding spaces to serve as extended habitat and dispersal areas for wildlife (Sachedina, 2010; Van der Duim, 2010).

In response to the perceived shortcomings of the PAA, the 1980s and 1990s witnessed an upsurge in people-centered conservation approaches, such as community-based conservation (CBC), that aimed to align conservation and development goals (Bulte et al., 2008; Kusters, Achdiawan, Belcher, & Ruiz Pérez, 2006). Galvin et al. (2006) and Brockington (2004) add weight to the criticisms of the PAA by emphasizing that the survival of biodiversity conservation is dependent on the support of people living adjacent to protected areas. The alignment was aimed at enhancing local communities' involvement in biodiversity conservation by incorporating livelihood options into conservation initiatives as a way of winning community support for biodiversity conservation (Western, Wright, & Strum, 1994; Wright et al., 2016). For this reason, community-based approaches were '…increasingly viewed as a win-win solution [and] good for people and for nature' (Büscher & Dressler, 2007, p. 589). Some examples of community-based approaches in sub-Saharan Africa include Integrated Conservation and Development Programs (ICDP), Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM), Community-Based Tourism (CBT) and Community-Based Conservation (Lamers, Van der Duim, Nthiga, Van Wijk, & Waterreus, 2015). Most of these community-based approaches adopted conservation-

based tourism as a mechanism for providing economic benefits to rural communities surrounding protected areas as incentives intended to win their support for conservation (Kiss, 2004; Lamers, Nthiga, Van der Duim & Van Wijk, 2013; Nthiga, Van der Duim, Visseren-Hamakers & Lamers, 2015; Van der Duim, 2010).

However, critics of community-based approaches also emerged, questioning their effectiveness in simultaneously meeting conservation and development goals (Adams et al., 2004; Garnett, Sayer & Du Toit, 2007; McShane et al., 2011). They argue that community-based approaches are riddled with local community elitism, political interference, corruption and vested interests, and offer only token levels of local participation (McShane et al., 2011; Southgate, 2006). Others are of the view that communities lack the entrepreneurial capacity needed to manage the community-based initiatives (Ole Seno, 2012; Van der Duim, Van Wijk & Lamers, 2017). Such criticisms, highlight deep-seated governance challenges facing community-based approaches. To address these criticisms and related challenges, varied partnership arrangements involving a wider range of actors, including the private sector, local communities, government, and civil society, gained popularity in the 1990s (see Ahebwa, Van der Duim & Sandbrook, 2012; Nthiga, 2014; Van der Duim, 2010; Van der Duim, Meyer, Saarinen & Zellmer, 2011).

An emphasis on partnership arrangements is illustrative of a gradual shift from the state being the exclusive actor with authority and control over biodiversity conservation, to governance where multiple societal actors are involved. This change fits into what is popularly referred to as the 'government to governance' shift (Rosenau & Czempiel, 1992). Accordingly, partnerships have been promoted as important forms of governance (Brinkerhoff, 2007). In this study, partnerships refer to collaborative arrangements between multiple actors drawn from the public, private, and/or civil society sectors, who work towards solving specific problems and/or issues of mutual concern for sustainable development (see also Bitzer, 2012; Laing, Lee, Moore, Wegner & Weiler, 2009; Van Huijstee, Francken & Leroy, 2007).

1.2 Global efforts driving the links between conservation and development

The shift from pure PAA to a hybrid of PAA, community-based conservation approaches and diverse partnership arrangements, reflects ongoing global trends and policy developments aimed at realizing sustainable development. In 1971, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) launched the Man and Biosphere (MAB) program that promoted biosphere reserves as bridges between environment (including biodiversity conservation) and development (Batisse, 1982; Roe, 2008). Soon after, the United Nations Conference on Human Environment, held in Stockholm in 1972, sought to strike a balance between environmental concerns and development (see for example, Sandbrook, 1984).

In 1980, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), and the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) published the World Conservation Strategy (IUCN, UNEP & WWF, 1980; Roe, 2008), which highlighted potential synergies and trade-offs between conservation and development (IUCN et al., 1980; Roe, 2008). The formation of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in 1983 resulted in the Brundtland report titled: 'Our Common Future' in 1987 (Roe, 2008). The report popularized the concept of Sustainable Development that refers to '…development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (Brundtland & Khalid, 1987). The Brundtland report also laid the groundwork for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) Earth Summit held in Rio De Janeiro in 1992 (Roe, 2008).

Some of the key highlights of the 1992 Earth Summit were Agenda 21, the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, and the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD). The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development defined the rights and responsibilities of people in safeguarding their environment in the course of pursuing development (Mert & Pattberg, 2015). Agenda 21 is a blueprint that seeks to balance economic, social, and environmental objectives and provide comprehensive guidelines for global, national and local solutions (Mert & Pattberg, 2015). The CBD provides a regulatory framework for the conservation of biological resources, and

aims at preserving biodiversity, and the sustainable and equitable use of its components (Herrera Izaguirre, 2008).

Another notable global effort in addressing development and environmental sustainability is demonstrated by the United Nations' adoption of the eight (8) Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000 (Griggs et al., 2013). Specifically, the eighth (8^{th}) MDG emphasized on the significance of global partnerships in attaining sustainable development (Pinkse & Kolk, 2011). In addition, the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) held in Johannesburg in 2002, also referred to as Rio+10, popularized 'partnerships for sustainability' as a new phenomenon that endorsed and promoted partnerships as instruments for sustainable development (Glasbergen, Biermann & Mol, 2007). In 2012, the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (UNCSD), or 'Rio+20', reiterated partnerships' importance in sustainable development. In 2015, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development that seeks to achieve a set of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (UNDP, 2016). The SDGs seek to build on the MDGs, and complete what they (MDGs) did not achieve by the year 2015 (UNDP, 2014, 2016). Specifically, he SDGs include goals on conservation and on development, with SDG 17 specifically endorsing partnerships as a way to attain all the other 16 SDGs (see for example Gupta & Vegelin, 2016). Other global efforts to link conservation and development include the recent work of the CBD that actively promotes the mainstreaming of biodiversity concerns into economic sectors (CBD, 2016). In 2010, the CBD adopted the 2011-2020 Strategic Plan for Biodiversity and the Aichi Targets aimed at slowing down biodiversity loss and accelerating its protection by the year 2020, and re-emphasized partnerships as an important strategy in achieving this aim (CBD, 2014a, 2014b, 2016).

Overall, the aforementioned debates depict partnerships as an important form of governance in sustainable development, and more specifically in implementing Agenda 21 and SDGs (Mert, 2015; Mert & Pattberg, 2015; UNDP, 2016). Accordingly, partnerships can be viewed as an integral part of official development policy, representing '…the collaboration paradigm of the 21st century, […] needed to solve the increasingly complex challenges that exceed the capabilities of any single

sector' (Austin, 2000, p. 44). In this context, this study seeks to understand how and to what extent partnerships as forms of governance live up to this rhetoric in practice, and to explore the role of partnerships in governing complex challenges in places where conservation and development often meet in practice, namely landscapes.

1.3 Governance and partnerships

The term governance is laced with an array of different meanings and definitions (Andonova, 2010; Benz, 2007; Biermann & Pattberg, 2008; Görg, 2007; Pierre & Peters, 2000). Amidst this diversity, in this study governance is defined as modes of steering in which multiple societal actors organise themselves, and are involved in making and implementing decisions with the aim of addressing societal problems (de Loë et al., 2009; Görg, 2007; Kersbergen & Waarden, 2004; Rosenau & Czempiel, 1992). A more elaborate discussion on governance is offered in chapter 3. As introduced above, governance for sustainable development has increasingly been based on partnership arrangements (Beunen & Opdam, 2011; Paavola, 2007).

Partnerships are defined in diverse ways. In this study as already alluded, partnerships refer to collaborative arrangements between multiple actors drawn from the public, private, and/or civil society societal sectors, who work towards solving specific problems and/or issues of mutual concern for sustainable development (see for example, Bitzer, 2012; Laing et al., 2009; Van Huijstee et al., 2007). Partnerships are said to fulfill a several governance functions (herein referred to as landscape governance roles), such as agenda setting, policy development, information sharing, capacity building, implementation, and meta-governance (see Van Huijstee et al., 2007, Visseren-Hamakers, 2013, Kolk, 2012; Selsky & Parker, 2005; Visseren-Hamakers, Leroy & Glasbergen, 2012). Some authors (Lamers, Van der Duim, Van Wijk, Nthiga & Visseren-Hamakers, 2014; Nthiga, 2014) claim that through their governance roles, partnerships may contribute to sustainable development outcomes such as biodiversity conservation and livelihood enhancement by solving complex challenges. In addition, these governance roles may allow extension of biodiversity conservation beyond formal protected area boundaries (Lamers et al., 2013) into neighbouring community and private land (Western, 1982).

It is worth noting that amidst the positive rhetoric on partnerships, they are also criticized as being elitist (Dubbink, 2013), exclusionary and favouring specific partners' interests over others (Rhodes 1997), and only performing under certain conditions (Van Huijstee et al., 2007). Based on these debates on partnerships, this study examines the extent to which partnerships as forms of governance may be suitable landscape governance tools.

1.4 Landscapes and landscape governance

The landscape concept is used widely and elicits different meanings in diverse societal spheres and scientific disciplines. Nonetheless, many authors agree that landscapes are geographical constructs that are defined by their bio-physical, socio-economic, cultural, political, legal, and psychological contexts, resulting in complex human-nature interactions (see for example Farina, 2006; Görg, 2007; Van Oosten, 2013; Van Oosten & Hijweege, 2012). The use of the landscape concept in this study is specifically relevant since it refers to the spatial-temporal aspects 'of the metabolism between nature and society' (Görg, 2007, p. 959). Landscapes are also multifunctional in nature, owing to the fact that they support multiple actors with multiple and diverse interests (Sayer et al. (2013). Therefore, landscapes are '…socially constructed and thus shaped' (Arts et al., 2017, p. 450).

The multiple actors involved and the multifunctional character of landscapes denote complexity and the need for governance. Görg (2007) introduces a landscape governance perspective that deals with the complexities associated with the '…connectedness between governance [and] specific landscapes' (Buizer, Arts & Westerink, 2015). Görg (2007) sees landscape governance as ways in which multiple actors steer socially constructed spaces, taking into account '…the plurality of landscape-comprehensions as well as multiplicity and dichotomy of interests related to a landscape, while grasping complex social and natural conditions of landscapes' (Görg, 2007, p. 960). Accordingly, landscapes are governed by its multiple actors. Following Görg (2007), this study operationalizes landscape governance as the manner in which the analysed partnerships, understand, attempt to steer and shape the Amboseli landscape.

1.5 The Amboseli landscape

This study focuses on what is commonly referred to as the Amboseli ecosystem in Kenya, herein and henceforth referred to as the 'Amboseli landscape', owing to the complex human-nature interactions that have continuously played out since pre-colonial times. The Amboseli landscape comprises 392 km^2 of protected area - Amboseli National Park (ANP) at its core - and six neighbouring group ranches (Mbirikani, Kuku, Kimana, Olgulului, Rombo and Eselengei) as illustrated in Figure 2.1. Group Ranches (GRs) are large parcels of land that were demarcated and registered under the Kenyan Land Act of 1968 (Wayumba & Mwenda, 2006). GRs are characterised by communal land tenure.

The Amboseli landscape is home to a wide range of wildlife species such as elephants, lions, giraffes, cheetahs, leopards, hyenas, buffalos, and wildebeest. The landscape is also one of the Important Bird Areas (IBAs) in Kenya, making it a renowned wildlife-based tourism destination. In addition, Amboseli was listed as a UNESCO Man and Biosphere Reserve in 1991 (UNESCO, 2014). Some Authors (Bulte et al., 2008; BurnSilver et al., 2008; BurnSilver, Homewood, Kristjanson & Trench, 2009) indicate that the protected area (ANP) is too small to support viable populations of wildlife, especially elephants and other migrating species. Accordingly, the human-inhabited group ranches surrounding the ANP serve as extended wildlife habitat and migratory corridors (Okello, Seno, Simon & Nthiga, 2009). The extension has partly been made possible due to the courtesy of the pastoralist way of life of the Maasai community, who have inhabited the Amboseli landscape since pre-colonial times (Kioko & Okello, 2010), and the communal land tenure. Amboseli thus represents a multifunctional landscape supporting a mosaic of land uses, such as human settlements, pastoralism, crop farming, wildlife conservation, tourism and mining. This multi-functionality is further complicated by the fact that over 75% of the landscape's wildlife population is found outside the formal protected area on community and privately owned land (Bennett, Lemelin, Koster & Budke, 2012; Makindi, 2010; Wishitemi & Okello, 2003).

Pastoralism is the practice of involves rearing livestock (in this case cattle) that move from one location to another, based on seasonal availability of pasture and water (Catley, Lind & Scoones, 2013). In pastoralism, individual herds of cattle are privately

owned, while land is held communally, and livestock movements are planned by consensus among community elders based on the prevailing seasonal climatic conditions (BurnSilver et al., 2008). Some authors contend that pastoralism is compatible with biodiversity conservation, and this may explain the higher wildlife populations in parts of Kenya occupied by pastoral communities, such as those in the Amboseli landscape (see for example, Bennett et al., 2012; Okello, 2005b; Okello & Kiringe, 2004; Okello et al., 2009; Ole Seno, 2012). Accordingly, the Maasai community are seen by some as instrumental in wildlife conservation in Kenya (Groom, 2007).

Over time, the communal land tenure has changed through land subdivision. Subdivision has given rise to conflicting land uses and competing claims over Amboseli, leading to an array of interlinked and intertwined conservation and development challenges. As will be explained in detailed in Chapter 2, the main challenges include: changing land tenure and land use, human-wildlife conflicts, wildlife habitat loss and fragmentation, poaching, unplanned and uncoordinated (tourism) development, a conservation-development policy void, inadequate benefits accrued from wildlife conservation for communities, and poverty. During the study period, the Amboseli landscape had also been inhabited by other communities (other than the Maasai community) who immigrated to the landscape with agriculture, tourism, mining and other interests (Ole Seno, 2012), thereby increasing human population and competition for natural resources like land and water. Together, changing land tenure and use, unplanned and uncoordinated development (such as tourism) and poaching challenges have led to increase in loss and fragmentation of wildlife habitats, which in turn increase Human Wildlife Conflict (HWC) incidences (Ogutu, Piepho, Said & Kifugo, 2014). The HWCs involve wildlife injuring or killing human beings or livestock or destroying crops (Okello, Njumbi, Kiringe & Isiiche, 2014d). HWCs may also involve retaliatory attacks where people injure or kill wild animals, especially elephants and lions in Amboseli, in revenge for human injuries or death, or livestock or crop loss. Despite incurring high cost from co-existing with wildlife through HWC, local communities have not received adequate benefits, and are generally poor. Manyara & Jones (2007) estimated the poverty index of communities living adjacent to the Amboseli National Park at 50%.

In response, there have been numerous efforts to mitigate these challenges, with most being organized in form of diverse collaborative efforts such as partnership arrangements (discussed further in Section 2.4). With this, the main aim of this study is therefore to understand the contribution of these partnership arrangements in the governance of the Amboseli landscape. This study focuses on two partnerships - the Amboseli Ecosystem Trust (AET) and Big Life Foundation (BLF). AET is a landscape-based partnership that brings together actors drawn from the local communities, government, civil society, and business sector, with the aim of coordinating conservation and development objectives in Amboseli landscape. AET works to realize this aim through the implementation of the Amboseli Ecosystem Management Plan that was collaboratively developed by Amboseli stakeholders between 2004 and 2008. The Big Life Foundation (BLF) is one of the AET partners, and a member of the AET's Board of Trustees. Since 1986, BLF has evolved from a partnership between community members of the Mbirikani Group Ranch and a tourism investor, into a non-governmental organization (NGO) running conservation-development initiatives in collaboration with diverse stakeholders in the entire Amboseli landscape in Kenya and into the North-eastern parts of Tanzania.

1.6 Aim and research questions

The overall aim of this PhD project was to understand the contribution of partnerships to governance in the Amboseli landscape. To achieve this aim, this research sought to answer the following research questions:

(i) *How are landscape governance roles fulfilled by the analysed partnerships in the Amboseli landscape?*

(ii) *In what ways and to what extent have the partnerships (through the landscape governance roles) addressed the conservation-development challenges facing the Amboseli landscape?*

This study adopts a landscape governance perspective (Görg, 2007) to examine the landscape governance roles of partnerships in the Amboseli landscape, and their contribution in addressing the main conservation and development challenges facing the landscape. The use of this perspective in this study brings the conservation and

development debates together, thereby enhancing our understanding on partnerships' roles in the conservation-development nexus.

However, governance and partnerships tend to be presented as depoliticised and consensual policymaking by interdependent actors in power-free processes (Kuindersma et al., 2012). In reality, they are often loaded with power (Torfing, 2010). This study therefore blends the landscape governance approach with a multidimensional perspective on power (Barnett & Duvall, 2005; Kuindersma et al. 2012) as discussed in Chapter 4.

1.7 Scientific and societal significance of this study

This study contributes to current academic and societal debates on landscape governance and partnerships to address biodiversity conservation and development challenges. Despite the rhetoric on partnerships as forms of governance for sustainable development, there has been limited empirical evidence linking them to landscape governance. Although studies on governance by partnerships have been conducted at different levels (see for example, Van der Duim, Van Wijk & Lamers, 2017; Visseren-Hamakers & Glasbergen, 2007; Visseren-Hamakers, Leroy & Glasbergen, 2012), their contribution to landscape governance is still poorly understood, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, where diverse partnership arrangements aimed at achieving conservation and development goals simultaneously are common. In contrast to previous studies on partnerships in Kenya and East Africa (see for example Ahebwa et al., 2012; Lamers et al., 2014; Nthiga, 2014), this study focuses on landscape governance by amalgamating literature on partnerships, governance, landscapes and power.

This study is timely and relevant since Kenya pegs high hopes on partnership arrangements for wildlife-based tourism and socio-economic development, as envisaged in the Kenya Vision 2030, a long-term development strategy that aims to transform Kenya into an industrializing middle income country by the year 2030 (GoK, 2008). Moreover, over 90% of the tourism is based on wildlife attraction, and accounted for about 8.8% of Kenya's GDP in 2018 (Atlas, 2018). Additionally, although 70% of wildlife in Kenya resides in communally and privately-owned land, outside formal governmental protected areas, (KWCA, 2016; Makindi, 2010), there is

very little policy guiding conservation initiatives outside formal protected areas, creating a conservation-development policy void. This study analyses the extent to which partnerships contribute to mitigating conservation and development challenges in the Amboseli landscape. It is envisaged that the results from this study could therefore inform future policy formulation. Findings from this study may also assist partners of the AET and other stakeholders in Amboseli in fine-tuning strategies for addressing the main challenges facing the Amboseli landscape. In addition, this study may also offer valuable lessons for other landscapes in Kenya, and beyond, that face similar conservation-development challenges to Amboseli. It may also act as a basis for future research on landscape governance in Kenya and beyond.

1.8 Research Methodology

This study adopted a case study research design, as this offered flexibility and open-ended techniques of data collection and analysis (Yin, 2009). The study focused on two case studies that were selected purposively, since they are partnerships that are actively involved in landscape governance of the Amboseli landscape, namely the Amboseli Ecosystem Trust (AET) and the Big Life Foundation (BLF).

1.8.1 Data collection and analysis

Data collection and data analysis were carried out concurrently in an iterative manner and continued for most of the study period, from August 2012, when a scoping mission was conducted, to August 2018[1]. The study combined primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected using in-depth interviews whose findings were triangulated with four Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), four non-participant observations, and 30 informal conversations. A total of 75 in-depth interviews were conducted with 55 key informants from the Amboseli Ecosystem Trust, staff of various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working in the landscape, Group Ranch officials, community members, tourism investors, Community-Based Organizations (CBOs), and state organizations like Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) and the county government, lasting between 30 minutes and 2 hours (Table 1.1). Some key informants were interviewed more than once to follow-up and/or clarify issues

[1] Informal discussions and secondary data/document analysis continued through 2019.

that arose from earlier interviews, FGDs and document analysis. Interviewees were selected through purposeful, convenience sampling and snowball sampling techniques (see for example Kothari, 2004; Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007). Specifically, a snowball sampling technique was adopted for both in-depth interviews and FGDs, whereby one interviewee introduced the next person(s), whom he or she considered to have useful information for the research subject. It is important to note that some respondents were affiliated to more than one organizational category, resulting in an overlap, especially since some interviewees affiliated to CBOs, NGOs, AET, and private investors were also community members.

To begin with, the study relied on in-depth interviews and informal discussions to collect data on the research questions. The study then adopted FGDs, and document analysis to supplement and validate the interview findings. Following the principles for free, prior, and informed consent (Green & Thorogood, 2013), all interviews and FGDs sessions started with a brief introduction on the aim of the research, assuring participants confidentiality and that the information would only be used for academic purposes, and agreeing on permission to record discussions. Moreover, being a non-Maasai speaker, I engaged the services of a Maasai speaking interpreter, who provided English-to-*Maa*[2] language and *Maa*-to-English translations for the in-depth interviews and FGDs involving local community members. For the interviews and FGDs, the Maasai speaking interpreter also acted as a guide and gate keeper, thereby aiding in creating a rapport between the researcher and community respondents (see also, Green & Thorogood, 2013).

The FGDs were conducted with community members of the Mbirikani community, owing to the fact that the Big Life Foundation (BLF) - one of the analysed partnerships in this study - originated from Mbirikani Group Ranch, which is also home to BLF's livelihoods-oriented programs (discussed in more details in Chapter 5). Moreover, Mbirikani is seen as representing most challenges and interventions witnessed in the Amboseli landscape. To ensure that the views of men, women and youth were adequately captured, two of the four FGDs consisted of a women-only group, another one of Maasai youth (young men aged between 18 and 35 years), while the last one

[2] Language spoken by Maasai people.

was conducted with men aged 35years of age and above. In addition, the researcher took part in four multi-stakeholder meetings as an observer (Table 1.3).

Table 1.1: Interview and interviewee details

Category	Interviewee Affiliation	Number of interviewees [and interviews]
NGOs	African Wildlife Foundation	4 [8]
	African Conservation Center	4 [7]
	International Fund for Animal Welfare	2 [3]
	Amboseli Trust for Elephants	1 [1]
	Olive Branch Mission	2 [4]
	Maasai Wilderness Conservation Trust	3 [3]
Community	Mbirikani, Kimana, Olgulului Group Ranches	17 [17]
Government	Kenya Wildlife Service	6 [6]
	Kajiado County Government	2 [2]
Partnerships	Amboseli Ecosystem Trust	2 [7]
	Big Life Foundation	3 [4]
Private investors	Sopa lodge, Amboseli Serena Amalgamated Chama Limited, Research consultant	4 (4)
Research	School of Field Studies	1 [3]
Community Based Organisations	Kenya Wildlife Conservancy Trust,	2 [2]
	Amboseli/Tsavo Game Scouts Association	2 [4]
Total		**55 [75]**

Table 1.2: Focus Group Discussions

Number	Name	Number of participants
FGD-1	Siani Women Cultural Boma	10
FGD-2	Osiram Women Cultural Boma	15
FGD-3	Maasai youth	8
FGD-4	Maasai Elders	10


Figure 1.1: Focus Group Discussions with men and with young 'Moran'
Source: Researcher

Table 1.3: Non-participant observations

Number	Name	Venue
Obser-1	Conflict resolution meeting	Olgulului Group Ranch
Obser-2	AET stakeholder workshop	Sopa Lodge
Obser-3	IFAW/AWF Kitenden corridor consultation	Amboseli Serena lodge
Obser-4	Launch IFAW/AWF Kitenden Corridor management Plan	Amboseli Serena lodge

Secondary data involved analysis of policy documents, including: AET Trust Deeds, AET Board of Trustee minutes, AET strategic plan, NGO annual reports, conservation status reports, wildlife census reports from public and private biodiversity conservation organizations, such as KWS, African Wildlife Foundation (AWF), African Conservation Centre (ACC), Amboseli Conservation Program (ACP), International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW), and Big Life Foundation (BLF), which provided useful information on the partnerships' implications for the main conservation and development challenges in the Amboseli landscape. Other policy documents analyzed included: the Amboseli Ecosystem Management Plan (AEMP), lease agreements, Group Ranch Act, Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs), governmental policies, and the AEMP-Strategic Environmental Assessment. Academic literature on conservation, development, partnerships, landscape,

governance, landscape governance, power and Amboseli landscape were also reviewed.

Collection of primary and secondary data was conducted with the aim of understanding how the analysed partnerships fulfilled landscape governance roles as well as establish the partnerships' contributions to addressing conservation and livelihood challenges in the landscape. Accordingly, the interviews, FGD guides and document analysis covered issues on conservation and development and specific strategies and activities undertaken in mitigating the challenges facing the Amboseli landscape. The study also made enquiries on collaborations the partnerships and/or their partners were involved in, and their experiences in relating to addressing the challenges they mentioned.

Data collection continued until data saturation - the point when the researcher was sure that there was no new information being obtained from respondents - was realized (Green & Thorogood, 2013). For this study, achieving a definite saturation point was challenging, since the Amboseli landscape is dynamic and constantly changing. Data collection - informal conversations and document analysis (secondary data collection) - continued until the end of 2019.

During data collection, short field notes were taken, and where permission was granted, interviews and FGDs were recorded. Data analysis adopted a thematic content analysis which involved transcription of in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and field notes. Each transcription was examined noting - by colour-highlighting and labelling - emerging themes relevant to this study's research questions with a code.

Themes were deducted based on the conceptual framework (in chapter 3), and related and/or common coded themes were further grouped based on literature (Green & Thorogood, 2013) until no new themes and/or groupings were emerging. Coding and comparisons continued until no new themes and/or groupings were emerging. Verbatim depicting themes were then referred to and/or quoted in the thesis.

1.8.2 Reflection on research methodology

When conducting research, it is important to recognize and declare one's positionality (Jafar, 2018). This is because using in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and

informal discussions means that knowledge is being co-created with respondents. Accordingly, I acknowledge and recognize that my positionality as a researcher may have introduced some bias into my study. To collect data, I made use of my existing social networks to introduce me to their contacts, who then introduced me to other key informants, a process that continued throughout my project. For example, to book an appointment with an interviewee, I begun by introducing myself, then mention the person who had referred me, which seemed to break the ice and increased my chances of getting an appointment and/or determine the warmth of our interactions. Accordingly, I have become part of the social network of Amboseli landscape and by extension, part on the network of actors. Being part of the network of actors was both advantageous and disadvantageous to my research. On the one hand, the network was helpful because it enhanced trust-building, which enabled most informants to share information freely during in-depth interviews and informal discussions. On the other hand, being part of the network may have been disadvantageous because some information was shared with caution that it was 'confidential' and should not be disclosed. Furthermore, being part of the network of actors, and the fact that over time I came to know some of the respondents personally meant that I got a lot of information during informal discussions, but the 'confidentiality' tag on data, and the fact that the Amboseli landscape is generally a highly political arena with multiple actors, competing interests and claims, especially relating to financial issues in group ranches, further affected my ability to discuss issues with boldness. I was also careful when writing my findings to ensure that the 'confidentiality' promise was kept, which may have interfered with the clarity of my findings. To mitigate this challenge, I used different data collection methods and alternative respondents, to verify and/or get further clarifications on the 'confidential' issues.

I also faced several challenges in the course of data collection. The first challenge pertained to the fact that I was an outsider in Amboseli since I was neither a resident in the landscape nor a Maasai. In addition, I did not speak the *'Maa'* language, which most community respondents preferred during interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). Accordingly, I engaged the services of a '*Maa'* speaking Maasai research assistant from Amboseli who also doubled up as a field-guide in the landscape during data collection. The research assistant-cum-guide acted as an

interpreter to translate '*Maa'*[3] to English or Kiswahili and vice versa during interviews and FGDs when need arose, and also acted as a gatekeeper to enable me to gain access to the community respondents and gain their trust with ease (Green & Thorogood, 2013). For instance, on one occasion as the interpreter and I drove through the Mbirikani Group Ranch, we were flagged down by BLF game scouts on patrol who wanted to know where we were heading to, but on being saluted and engaged by the field guide in '*Maa'* language by the research assistant-cum-guide, there was instant warm in conversation and we then proceeded. As Davidson (2000) avers, translators are active participants who control the information flow between the researcher and respondent and are therefore not neutral but co-interviewers. While introduction of a third party into the in-depth interview sessions and FGDs may have enhanced trust building and rapport with interviewee/s, who they felt at ease to express themselves, it also may have interfered with interviewees responses during translations. To address this, I took the research assistant-cum field guide through a briefing about the aim of my research as well as the logic of the interviews and FGDs. I also engaged the research-assistant-cum translator on further discussions to clarify issues during our lengthy interactions on our way to and from meeting respondents. Where the interview was recorded, I engaged another *Maa* speaker to listen and double check the content of discussion.

The second challenge related to ensuring anonymity and confidentiality of respondents, especially on sensitive information such as issues of the management and distribution of financial benefits among group ranch members and/or personal views pertaining to conservation and development. For example, some respondents did not permit me to record interviews, and seemed more at ease when discussing issues in informal conversations and/or on telephone conversations as opposed to formal interviews. To ensure that respondents remained anonymous and information provided remained confidential, I coded and named interviews using abbreviations 'Inv-1' through to 'Inv -55', Focus Group Discussions as 'FGD-1' to 'FGD-4' (Table 1.2), and observations as 'Obser-1' to 'Obser-4' (Table 1.3). Where permission to

[3] Interestingly, most Maasai's respondent preferred to air their views in *Maa* even when they were eloquent in both English and Kiswahili.

record interviews was not granted, I took notes and wrote more detailed field notes soon after the interview.

The third challenge faced in this study was unavailable and/or fragmented data. In some instances, it was difficult for me to access important data, either because there were no records, or owing to unwillingness to share information and/or data by some respondents. This made it difficult to develop a detailed and precise understanding of trends. Accordingly, data for specific periods for certain aspects for specific time would be lacking. To mitigate this challenge, I triangulated data collection methods and data sources as a way of filling data gaps and validating research findings.

1.9 Organization of the thesis

Chapter one has introduced the study. The remainder of the dissertation is organized into five chapters. In chapter two, I discuss the Amboseli landscape. This is done by presenting a historical account of linkages between conservation and development in Kenya in general and the Amboseli landscape more specifically. Chapter three provides the theoretical background and introduces the conceptual framework of this dissertation, while chapters four and five represent the empirical findings, detailing the analysis of AET and BLF in view of the study's research questions. Specifically, chapter four analyses the partnerships' landscape governance roles, while chapter five focuses on contributions of the partnerships to addressing conservation and development challenges in the Amboseli landscape. Chapter six then synthesizes the study's findings into conclusions, a discussion, and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO
The Amboseli Landscape

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed account of the Amboseli landscape with the aim of highlighting the underlying conservation-development challenges and attempts to mitigate them. The chapter begins by presenting a historical account of key conservation-development interface policy interventions and strategies in Kenya and Amboseli (Section 2.2). The chapter then describes Amboseli in terms of its geographical location, people and livelihoods, conservation and development importance (Section 2.3), challenges (Section 2.4), and mitigating interventions (Section 2.5) and ends with a summary (Section 2.6).

2.2 Historical account of conservation and development in Kenya and Amboseli

Historically, biodiversity conservation and development in Kenya have been informed by and are related to global conservation and development trends, as well as by its own political history (Ole Seno, 2012). Section 2.2.1 discussions the main conservation-development milestones for Kenya and Amboseli landscape from 1985 to date. The milestones are then illustrated in the form of a historical timeline at the end of the chapter (see Figure 2.3).

2.2.1 The protected area approach era: 1895-1960

The biodiversity conservation and development linkage story in Kenya mirrors its political history. Kenya was declared a British colony in 1895 and plans to construct the Kenya - Uganda railway for purposes of opening inland areas for trophy hunting and tourism were immediately conceived (Waithaka, 2012). Before colonization, the Maasai community inhabited over 150,000 km^2 of land in Kenya and present-day Tanzania (Homewood, Kristjanson & Trench, 2009). The Maasai community, with their nomadic and pastoralist lifestyle, feature prominently in conservation-development discussions since they inhabit most of the areas with a high concentration of wildlife, where most conservation initiatives are in Kenya. The Southern and Northern Game Reserves - covering approximately 70,000 km^2 were established in 1899 and 1900 respectively (Matheka, 2005; Matheka, 2008; Waithaka, 2012). As the

names suggest, the Northern Game reserve was in the northern part of Kenya, covering parts of present-day Laikipia, Samburu and Isiolo, while the Southern Game reserve was in southern Kenya and included what in this study is referred to as the Amboseli landscape (Homewood, Kristjanson & Trench, 2009). The Maasai community were then relocated to two prescribed Maasai Reserves through two Anglo-Maasai treaties of 1904 and 1911 between the British colonial administration and Lenana - a Maasai spiritual leader (Sindiga, 1984; Southgate, 2006; Western, 1994). Creation of the game reserves restricted the Maasai community from accessing their ancestral land, as well as the much needed dry-season livestock pasture and water resources (Campbell, Lusch, Smucker & Wangui, 2005). As such, by 1913, the area of land occupied by the Maasai community had decreased to about 40,000 km^2 (Grandin, 1991).

In 1907, a Game Department was established and tasked with enforcing game laws, such as on the regulation of hunting, protecting the reserves, as well as predatory and crop-raiding animals (Steinhart, 1994; Steinhart, 1989; Waithaka, 2012). Consequently, between 1900 and 1945, there was a steady increase in wildlife game hunting and large-scale farming by British settlers (Waithaka, 2012). As a result, 'wildlife habitats and populations declined [because] animals were also killed in large numbers to protect crops and eliminate predation of livestock' (Waithaka, 2012, p. 25). The decline caused anxiety among conservationists for fear that some wildlife species would go extinct if no action was taken to curb the trend, a fact that amplified their push for the formulation of policies to conserve wildlife (Collins, 2004; Waithaka, 2012). Therefore, a Game Policy Committee was convened in 1938 and tasked with strategizing for the future of wildlife through creation of protected areas (Akama, Maingi & Camargo, 2011; Kwadha, 2009; Steinhart, 1994; Waithaka, 2012). Subsequently, the Royal National Parks of Kenya Ordinance was enacted in 1945 to create protected areas (Kwadha, 2009; Ondicho, 2010). The Ordinance '…signalled a shift in conservation policy from protection through hunting legislation to preservation through land protection' (Western et al., 1994, p. 15). Through the Ordinance, a series of protected areas (PAs) were gazetted, such as Nairobi National Park in 1946, Amboseli Game Reserve and Tsavo National Parks in 1948, Aberdare National Park in 1950, and Mount Kenya in 1949 (Hazzah, Mulder & Frank, 2009a; Sindiga, 1999).

The Amboseli Game Reserve covered an area of 3,260 km^2 (326,000 ha). The central area of the reserve consisting of swamps was delineated as a 'livestock free zone'

dedicated to tourism activities, while the remaining area supported both livestock and wildlife populations (Hazzah, Borgerhoff & Frank, 2009b, p. 43). The livestock free zone had high concentrations of wildlife and served as an important pasture and water 'reserve' and 'lifeline' for community livestock during the dry periods (Hazzah & Dolrenry, 2007; Matheka, 2005; Matheka, 2008; Western, 1994). Initially, the management and revenue collection for the Amboseli Game Reserve was by the local African District Council (Rutten, 2004). The Reserve was later transferred to the Royal National Parks, and then to the Kajiado County Council in 1951 and renamed Maasai Amboseli Game Reserve (Rutten, 2004).

In summary, the creation of protected areas displaced people from their ancestral land without involvement, consent, consultation, and/or compensation and regulated their access to natural resources (Waithaka, 2012). Furthermore, the protected area approach (PAA) to conservation introduced rules and laws that treated people as 'threats' to and 'enemies' of biodiversity conservation and imposed heavy fines and punishments on those who broke the laws (Wilshusen, Brechin, Fortwangler & West, 2002). Consequently, protracted conflicts arose between people living around protected areas and the colonial government, which spearheaded conservation efforts.

2.2.2 Transitioning from the PAA to wildlife benefits: 1960s - early 1980s

In 1963, Kenya gained its independence from Great Britain. Soon after, the government embarked on popularizing the creation of protected areas as avenues of increasing foreign exchange earnings from wildlife-based tourism (Akama et al., 2011). The Maasai community resisted and protested against the creation of protected areas since they feared that PAs would further restrict their access to natural resources such as grazing land and water (Western, 1982). The protests intensified conflicts and resentment between the state and local Maasai communities (Western, 1982; 1994).

The Kenyan Government with assistance from the World Bank responded by introducing strategies to counter the conflicts and resentment, such as introducing the Group Ranch concept in most pastoralists' community areas, through the Kenya Land Act of 1968 (Buizer et al., 2015; BurnSilver et al., 2008; Wayumba & Mwenda, 2006). Group Ranches are communally owned by a group of heads of families (mostly men), ranging between 30 and 900 households, who hold a freehold title deed (Kimani & Pickard, 1998). The affairs of a group ranch are managed by an elected committee

comprising a chairman, secretary and treasurer (Kimani & Pickard, 1998). The committee is responsible for regulating human settlement, livestock grazing patterns, as well as ensuring access to pasture and water for group ranch members (Kimani & Pickard, 1998). Over the years, group ranches have provided free dispersal areas and migratory routes for wildlife. The key aim of these group ranches was to increase livestock production by encouraging better land management practices by addressing issues of land degradation and overgrazing (Kimani & Pickard, 1998; Ntiati, 2002; Western, 1982), as well as providing land tenure security for the Maasai community (Campbell, Gichohi, Mwangi & Chege, 2000; Ole Seno, 2012).

In 1974, the Amboseli Game Reserve was declared a national park through a presidential decree and was renamed Amboseli National Park (ANP). The decree reduced the size of the national park to 392 km^2 and transferred its management from the local government - Ol Kajiado County Council - to the national government. The national park status outlawed livestock grazing inside the Amboseli National Park, which further reduced the livestock grazing area of the Maasai community. The 1974 decree also proposed for the provision of alternative water sources for livestock, to compensate for the swamps that were now part of the ANP (Western, 1982). Consequently, organizations such as the World Bank and the New York Zoological Society provided a loan to the Kenyan government to construct water pipes in the Group Ranches (Western, 1982; Western, 1994). The decree also required that the communities living around the protected area would benefit from an annual grazing fee to cater for losses inflicted by wildlife as well as being part of a revenue-sharing arrangement with the Kajiado County Council (Western, 1982). The annual grazing fee, a special arrangement found only in Amboseli landscape, started in 1974 (Western, 1994).

In 1975, the Wildlife Conservation and Management Division (WCMD) - a division in the then Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife - passed a mission statement to champion the idea that wildlife should 'pay its way' (Daniel, 2011). The mission statement stressed the need for an integrated approach to conservation aimed at enhancing benefits from wildlife to communities as well as minimising human wildlife conflicts (Daniel, 2011; Honey, 2008). A Wildlife Act was formulated in 1976 and revised in 1978, using the Amboseli annual grazing fee as a justification for wildlife in lands beyond national park boundaries in community-owned land (Western, 1982; 1994).

Moreover, the National Parks and Game Department were merged and placed under the Wildlife Conservation and Management Division in 1977 with the aim of 'integrating wildlife conservation and management beyond park boundaries' (Western, Waithaka & Kamanga, 2015, p. 55). The revenue sharing model in Amboseli provided a foundation for an inter-ministerial planning committee tasked with developing a comprehensive proposal on wildlife and tourism that came up with a 'Park Agreement' in 1977 that offered the Maasai community some benefits as an enticement for them to move from within the park borders (Hazzah et al., 2009b). The benefits included a wildlife compensation program for Amboseli that was launched in 1979 (Rutten, 2004). However, the seemingly people-friendly policies of the 1970s were short-lived. For example, the grazing fee was stopped in 1979 (Rutten, 2004), while the wildlife compensation program was discontinued in 1991 through an Act of Parliament. One of the reasons for the discontinuation of the wildlife compensation program was irregularities associated with some people making exaggerated and/or false claims (Akama, 1998; Akama et al., 2011). With the grazing compensation fee and the wildlife compensation program scrapped, the Maasai community had little benefits to show for being displaced from the ANP - their ancestral land - and for co-existing with wildlife.

Accordingly, the 1980s witnessed a surge in the subdivision of group ranches into smaller individually owned land, which was sold or used as collateral for bank loans (Kimani & Pickard, 1998). In Amboseli, group ranch subdivision marked a conspicuous transition for the Maasai people from predominant nomadic pastoralism to sedentary pastoralism and a substantial increase in crop farming, driven by migrant communities (Ole Seno, 2012). The subdivision was therefore considered a threat to wildlife conservation and tourism because it seemed to encourage land-use change, human settlement and fences that restrict the free movement of wildlife (Rutten, 2004). The 1980s also witnessed increased cases of Human Wildlife Conflicts (HWCs), owing to increased crop farming and erecting of fences that led to the destruction of crops by elephants and blocking of wildlife migratory routes and disconnection of wildlife habitats (Odundo, 1991; Okello, 2005b).

This period witnessed an increasingly critical stance towards the protected area approach (PAA). The period also marked the beginning of integrated approaches to conservation and development in Kenya (see for example Nthiga, Waudo & Okello,

2008; Southgate, 2006). It is also during this period that communities living adjacent to protected areas were seen as important stakeholders in conservation. Accordingly, notable efforts were made to get communal benefits to communities, as illustrated by the initiatives in Amboseli. The wildlife compensation program and the annual grazing fee in Amboseli signify some of the earliest steps to conserve wildlife at a landscape scale (Western, 1982; Western et al., 2015). However, the recognition of communities as key stakeholders in biodiversity conservation was not accompanied by their active involvement in decision making, leading to initiatives collapsing and/or negative attitudes towards wildlife conservation among the local communities such as the Maasai. The period also witnessed challenges related to pressure from high human population, land subdivision and discontentment with inadequate benefits accrued that escalated other challenges such as human-wildlife conflicts. Efforts to mitigate these challenges led to the emergence of community-centred approaches.

2.2.3 Community-based conservation approaches to partnerships arrangements: late 1980s- late 2000s

In 1989, the Wildlife Conservation and Management Division was replaced by the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS), a semi-autonomous government parastatal agency mandated to oversee wildlife conservation (Akama et al., 2011; Mburu, 2004; Ondicho, 2010). In the same year, Dr Richard Leakey - a renowned conservationist - took over the management of the KWS, becoming its first director (Menya & Walter, 2015). Leakey, known for his pro-protected area inclination, immediately proposed fencing of parks to separate wildlife and humans, a proposal that was difficult to implement (Daniel, 2011). He later proposed a 25% revenue-sharing fund from national parks' entry gate fee collection to fund community projects such as schools, health care, and water supplies, a promise that was not honoured, owing to financial constraints (Daniel, 2011; Rutten, 2004). Although the 25% benefit sharing policy pledge was not honoured, its intention hinted at the recognition of the need for communities to benefit from wildlife conservation (Honey, 2008).

The 1990s also witnessed various conservation organizations making concerted efforts to support wildlife conservation outside formal government-run protected areas by promoting and the supporting the creation of conservation areas (commonly referred to as conservancies or sanctuaries) on community and privately-owned lands

(Mburu, 2004). This was achieved by encouraging communities to set aside part of their communally-owned group ranches for exclusive conservation land use (Mburu, 2004). For instance, KWS formally began promoting community-based conservation in 1991, a move that contributed to an increase in community wildlife conservancies (Western et al., 2015). The promotion of conservancies coincided with the development of a new policy framework and development program - also known as the Zebra Book - aimed at ' developing a sound and integrated national conservation and ecotourism strategy', between 1991 to 1996 (Honey, 2008, p. 305), which created the Community Wildlife Service (CWS) in 1999 (Mburu, 2004). The CWS aimed at forging collaborative initiatives with communities living adjacent to protected areas to enable them to derive economic benefits from wildlife on their land (Mburu, 2004). In 1994, KWS proposed and supported the initiation of the first community wildlife sanctuary in Amboseli, in the Kimana Group Ranch - which was well received by the local Maasai community members in 1995 (Rutten, 2004). Setting up the Kimana Community Wildlife Sanctuary was made possible through the Wildlife for Development Fund (WDF) established in 1994 under the Conservation of Biodiverse Resource Areas (COBRA) project funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the World Bank and other donors (Nthiga, Mwongela & Zellmer, 2011; Rutten, 2004). Creation of conservancies was also supported by the Conservation of Resource through Enterprises (CORE) program that ran between 1999 and 2005 as a follow-up to the COBRA project with funding from USAID (Van Wijk, Van der Duim, Lamers & Sumba, 2014). Both CORE and COBRA aimed at improving conservation and management of natural resources by increasing socio-economic benefits to communities residing adjacent to and/or whose land was critical for the survival of protected areas (Lent, Fox, Njuguna & Wahome, 2002).

The idea of setting up the first community-owned wildlife conservancies coincided with the entry of David Western as the Director of the KWS in 1994, a renowned proponent of community-based conservation approaches (Rutten, 2004). David Western '…stressed the need to develop a partnership with the local communities based on three main objectives: the formation of partnerships with stakeholders to overcome the human-wildlife conflict; the development of incentives for these stakeholders; and the protection of people and property from damage by wildlife'

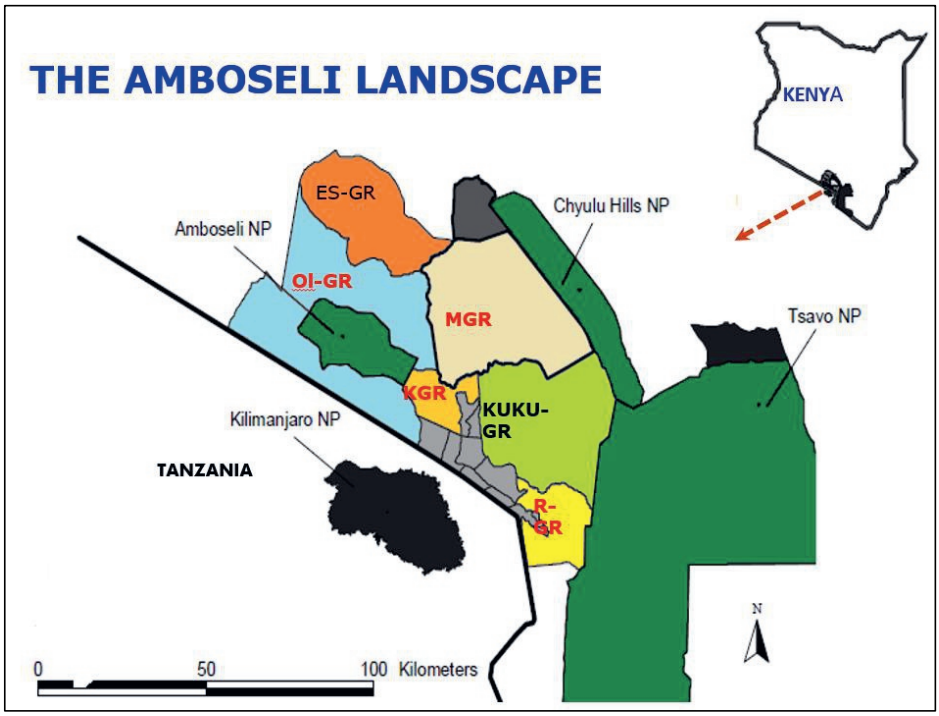
(Rutten, 2004, p. 9). The Kimana Community Wildlife Sanctuary (KCWS) opened its doors to tourists in 1996 (Southgate, 2006).

Thereafter, KWS and NGOs - such as the African Wildlife Foundation - supported the creation of the 16ha Eselenkei Conservancy through land lease agreements between community members of the Eselengei Group Ranch and Porini Ecotourism, a Nairobi-based private developer from the United Kingdom in 1997 (Ogutu, 2002). Community conservancies started to form the backbone of community-based conservation and tourism outside formal, government-run protected areas. According to KWCA (2016), the area covered by conservancies stands at 11% of the country's surface area. In 1997, the European Union embarked on putting up electric fences in Kimana Group Ranch to mitigate HWCs by separating crop farming and wildlife (Kioko, Muruthi, Omondi & Chiyo, 2008). Accordingly, Western et al. (2015) indicate that the area covered by the community and private conservancies may surpass that of state-managed protected areas, if the current rate of growth is maintained.

The 1990s also witnessed a global expansion in community-based conservation partnership arrangements (Van der Duim, Lamers & Van Wijk, 2015). The partnerships involved private investors entering into land lease agreements with community land owners with the support of NGOs (Van Wijk, Lamers & Van der Duim, 2015a, 2015b). This period also signifies a recognition of the role of conservation-based tourism initiatives such as tourism conservation enterprises that have persisted to date (Nthiga et al., 2015). However, governance challenges such as misappropriation of funds and lack of equity in benefits distribution, problems arose in community-based conservation arrangements (see for example Groom & Harris, 2008; Ogutu, 2002; Southgate, 2006; Thompson & Homewood, 2002).

2.3 The Amboseli Landscape

The Amboseli landscape covers over 5,000 km^2 (500,000ha) and includes the Amboseli National Park (392 km^2 or 39200ha) and six neighbouring Maasai community group ranches, namely Mbirikani, Kuku, Kimana, Eselengei, Olgulului and Rombo (Figure 2.1). The Amboseli landscape neighbours the Tsavo and Chyulu Hills National Parks in Kenya as well as Kilimanjaro National Park in Tanzania.



Key:

- ES-GR: Eselengei Group Ranch
- MGR: Mbirikani Group Ranch
- R-GR: Rombo Group Ranch
- OL-GR: Olgulului Group Ranch
- KGR: Kimana Group Ranch
- KUKU-GR: Kuku Group Ranch

Figure 2.1: The Amboseli landscape and its location in Kenya.

The Amboseli landscape is multifunctional in nature since it hosts diverse land uses and serves many purposes, with the main ones being pastoralism, crop agriculture, biodiversity conservation - especially wildlife conservation and wildlife-based tourism - and limestone mining. In recognition of the multifunctional nature of the landscape, UNESCO declared the Amboseli landscape a World Heritage Site and a Man & Biosphere (MAB) Reserve in 1991 (UNESCO, 2014).

The Amboseli landscape has a rich biodiversity, making it a popular wildlife tourism destination in Kenya. The landscape is home to numerous wildlife species, with an elephant population of approximately 1,645 (KWS & TAWIRI, 2018). Consequently, Amboseli has been touted as 'Kenya's conservation jewel' and also as a landscape 'where humans, livestock, and wildlife have co-existed for centuries' (BurnSilver et al., 2008, p. 225). In addition, the rich Maasai culture and the scenic view of Mount

Kilimanjaro add to its touristic appeal, generating about Kshs. 100 Million (approx. US$ 1 million) from tourism per year (GoK, 2014; Okello, Kiringe & Kioko, 2010; Okello, Kiringe & Salaton, 2014a). Amboseli National Park (ANP) is the second most visited national park in Kenya after Nakuru National Park. In 2017, ANP received around 145,000 tourists (see Figure 2.2).

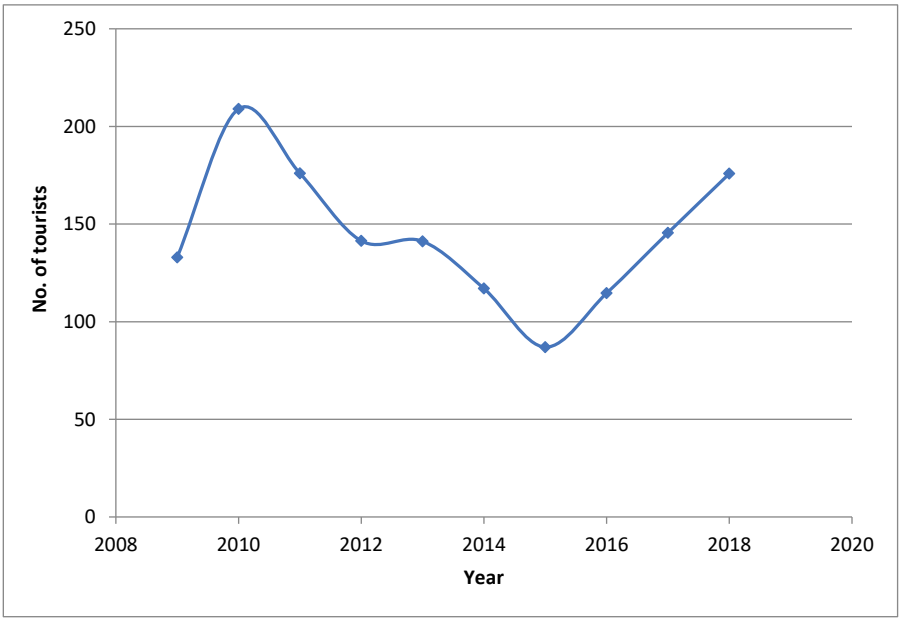
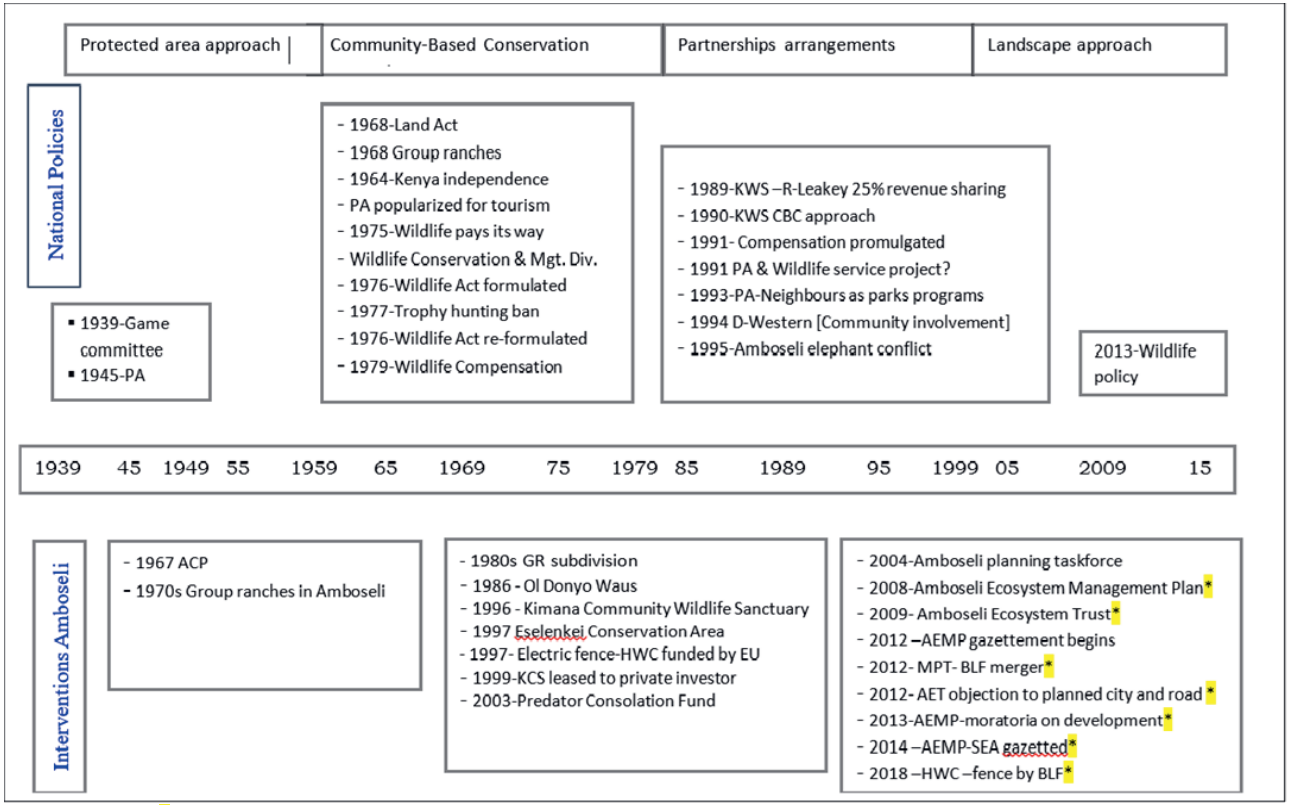


Figure 2.2: Tourist numbers [x1000] to Amboseli between 2009-2018 (GoK, 2014, 2015, 2017, 2016, 2019).

In 2005, KWS rebranded the Amboseli National Park as the 'Kilimanjaro Royal Court' (KWS, 2015). With the formal protected area - Amboseli National Park - accounting for approximately 5% of the available wildlife habitat and dispersal area (BurnSilver et al., 2008), the surrounding communally owned group ranches and private lands form an essential part of the dispersal and migration area for wildlife. As noted earlier, there have been concerted efforts to motivate communities in living adjacent to protected areas (specifically in group ranches) to set aside land for wildlife conservation purposes (conservancies and sanctuaries), that integrate tourism activities that provide benefits to communities. Accordingly, all six group ranches that

are considered to be part of the Amboseli landscape have wildlife conservancies with five of them having tourist lodges (see Table 5.3).

Most community-owned wildlife conservancies are leased to private investors who operate wildlife-based tourism businesses, such as tourist lodges. Additionally, most private investors operate conservation-based NGOs that fundraise to support additional conservation and livelihoods activities in their respective conservancies, group ranches, and at times in the entire landscape. Examples of conservation-based NGOs include the Kenya Wildlife Trust (KWT) affiliated to Kitirua conservancy in the Olgulului Group Ranch, the Maasailand Wilderness Conservation Trust (MWCT) affiliated to the Mtikanju conservancy within the Kuku Group Ranch, Porini Ecotourism in the Eselengei Group Ranch, and the Big Life Foundation (BLF) in the Mbirikani Group Ranch (see Table 5.3).



*: *Discussed in more details in chapter 4 and 5*

Figure 2.3: Conservation-development: a historical overview

2.4 Challenges facing the Amboseli landscape

The Amboseli landscape is threatened with the loss of biodiversity and development challenges (AEMP, 2009). The main challenges include land tenure and land-use change, wildlife habitat loss and fragmentation, Human Wildlife Conflicts (HWCs) and poaching, unplanned and uncoordinated (tourism) development, inadequate benefits accrued from wildlife, a conservation-development linkage policy void at the national level, and poverty (Bennett et al., 2012; Mburu & Birner, 2007; Ntiati, 2002; Okello & Kiringe, 2004). The challenges facing Amboseli seem to be intensified by an increase in human population that exert pressure on the existing natural resources, such as land, water and pasture (Campbell & Olson, 1991; Okello, 2014; Ole Seno, 2012). The human population in Amboseli increased tremendously due to reduced mortality rates among the Maasai community and migration of non-Maasai into the area leading to a human population growth rate of 3.7% per annum (Okello et al., 2014a; Southgate & Hulme, 2000). The main challenges and mitigating interventions are discussed in detail below.

2.4.1 Changing land tenure and land use and human wildlife conflict challenges

In the 1980s, Amboseli witnessed a gradual change in land tenure from communally owned group ranches through increasing subdivision of group ranches into smaller pieces of individual, privately-owned plots. Land tenure and land-use changes are said to fuel HWC (AET, 2014c). and are therefore discussed together. The indigenous inhabitants of Amboseli are predominantly Maasai, who until recently were primarily pastoralists living on communally owned land-Group Ranches. (Campbell & Olson, 1991). It is argued that pastoralism is compatible with biodiversity conservation and that pastoral areas such as the Amboseli landscape account for higher wildlife populations (see for example BurnSilver et al., 2008) compared to areas dominated by other land uses. According to (Bennett et al., 2012; Groom & Joy, 2007), pastoralist Maasai people have played an instrumental role in the conservation of Kenya's wildlife assets. Moreover, both pastoralism and conservation have over time benefited from the communal land tenure provided by the Group Ranch system, which has provided expansive tracts of land for both wildlife and livestock.

The Kimana Group Ranch is already fully subdivided, while the other five group ranches are in the process of subdivision (Okello, Bonham & Hill, 2014b). Campbell et al. (2005) contend that the expansion of crop farming has been encouraged by the government's policies to increase crop production, since it is viewed to be more profitable than either pastoralism or wildlife conservation (Galvin et al., 2006; Okello, 2005a).

Subdivision of group ranches into smaller individual and privately owned land has encouraged sedentarization of Maasai pastoralists and attracted land uses that are perceived as competing and/or conflicting with biodiversity conservation (see for example, Ole Seno, 2012). Such land use include crop farming - growing tomatoes (see Figure 2.4), maize, onions and watermelons - mining, and tourism facilities that necessitate erecting of fences (Osipova et al., 2018) and are not compatible with wildlife conservation (see Ntiati, 2002; Western, Russell & Cuthill, 2009b). The land for crop farming increased in the Kimana wetland from 69.97km^2 in 1980 to 438.17km^2 in 2013 representing an increase of over 500%, while the wetland area decreased from 492.66km^2 in 1980 to 153.05km^2 in 2013 representing a decrease of - almost 70% (Kitina Nyamasyo & Odiara Kihima, 2014). Agriculture consumes over 400% more water than humans and animals combined (Okello, 2005b). Moreover, more than 89% of inhabitants of Amboseli landscape are involved in either pastoralism and/or crop agriculture (Okello, 2012).

Some authors (BurnSilver et al., 2008; Okello, 2005b; Ole Seno, 2012; Western, Groom & Worden, 2009a) claim that land-use change has led to the disconnection of wildlife habitat and wildlife migratory corridors. Loss of wildlife habitat and disconnection of wildlife migratory corridors have resulted in escalating HWCs since areas that served as wildlife habitat and migratory purposes are now agricultural crop farms and/or are occupied by human settlement. Consequently, instances of wildlife destroying crops, preying on livestock, injuring and/or killing humans beings and people killing and/or injuring wildlife in retaliation attacks have been on the rise (Okello, Kiringe & Warinwa, 2014c; Western et al., 2009a). As a result, '…wildlife populations and their system of seasonal movements appear increasingly fragile, and Maasai pastoralists themselves are facing significant challenges on their economic and cultural well-being' (BurnSilver et al. 2008, p. 225). Moreover, land tenure and land-use change are also said to be some of the factors responsible for the decline in Maasai livestock (Boone,

BurnSilver, Thornton, Worden & Galvin, 2005; Groom & Western, 2012; Syombua, 2013). Extensive irrigated crop farming has extended into wetlands, and along rivers resulting in excess water extraction leading to conflicts and water stress between crop farmers and pastoralists downstream over water shortage (Obser-4).

Figure 2.4: Tomato harvest
Source: Researcher

2.4.2 Unplanned and uncoordinated development

Changing land tenure and land use have contributed to a steady increase in unplanned development such as human settlement, mining and tourism facilities in Amboseli. Specifically, some developments are located in fragile wildlife habitats, therefore escalating loss of and fragmentation of wildlife habitats and HWCs (Okello et al., 2011). Owing to its tourism potential, Amboseli has experienced an influx in tourism development that was fuelled by group ranch subdivision, which made individual land title deeds available. The development of tourism facilities in some parts of the landscape is said to be above their ecological carrying capacity as illustrated in Figure 2.6 (AET, 2014b, 2014c). The surge in development can also be attributed to improved accessibility to Amboseli after the construction of the all-weather road linking Amboseli to the Nairobi-Mombasa highway in the late 2000s, therefore improving its connectivity to other destinations within and outside Kenya (AET, 2014c).

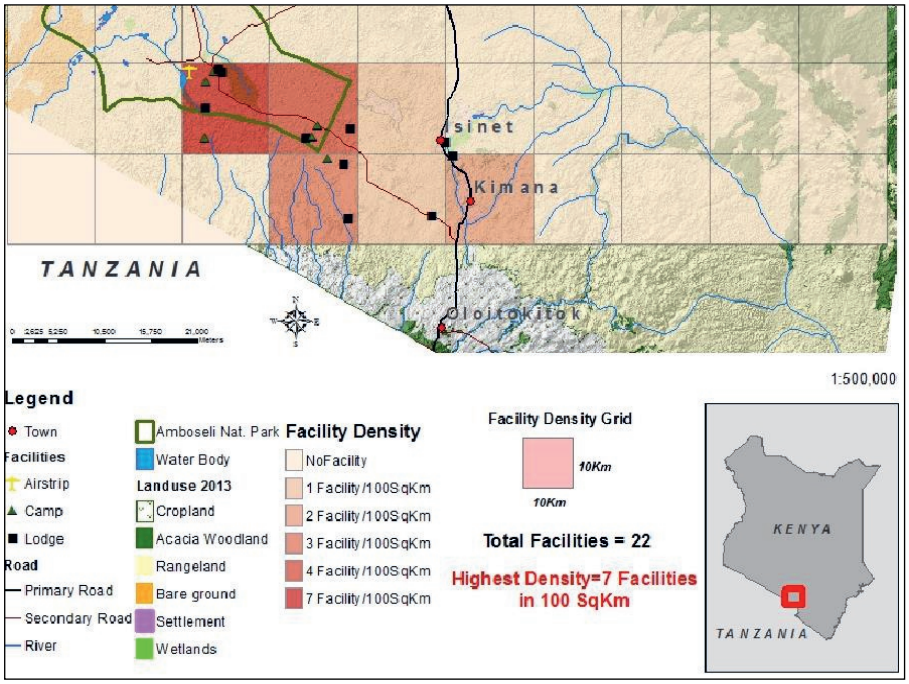


Figure 2.5: Tourism facility density in the Amboseli landscape (AET, 2014b).

2.4.3 Loss and fragmentation of wildlife habitats

As mentioned earlier, change in land tenure and land use has been occasioned by land subdivision, resulting in additional land being put under crop farming and more fences being erected (Bulte et al., 2008). The change has led to the constriction of wildlife habitats and interfered with traditional wildlife migratory corridors between Amboseli and neighbouring protected areas: Tsavo National Parks, Chyulu National Park in Kenya, and Kilimanjaro National Park in Tanzania. As a result, the ANP is under threat of insularization (Okello, 2005b; Okello & Kioko, 2010). Change in land use is said to reduce pastoralists' cattle mobility, therefore increasing the likelihood of habitat loss and degradation, disconnection of wildlife migration routes, and increased HWCs in the Amboseli landscape (Okello, 2005a, 2012). As a consequence, Amboseli has over the years experienced increasing habitat loss, degradation and fragmentation (Noe, 2003; Okello & Kioko, 2010; Okello & Kioko, 2011). For example, the Kitenden wildlife migratory corridor that links Amboseli National Park in Kenya and Mount

Kilimanjaro National park in Tanzania decreased in size from approximately 21km^2 in 1952 to 5km^2 in 2001, leading to an alteration in wildlife migratory routes (Noe, 2003). Related to this, some parts of the wildlife migratory corridor linking the Amboseli National Park to Chyulu and Tsavo National Parks has been reduced to about 60 meters in width, at the point between the six Kimana community conservancies and the Kimana community wildlife sanctuary due to human development (as illustrated in Figure 2.6). Bush and scattered trees cover have also been reduced from 32% (7,200ha) in 1952 to 12% (2,631ha) in 2000 (Noe, 2003). The Amboseli landscape has therefore experienced a gradual habitat loss and fragmentation that have had negative implications on its inhabitants and wildlife populations (BurnSilver et al., 2009).

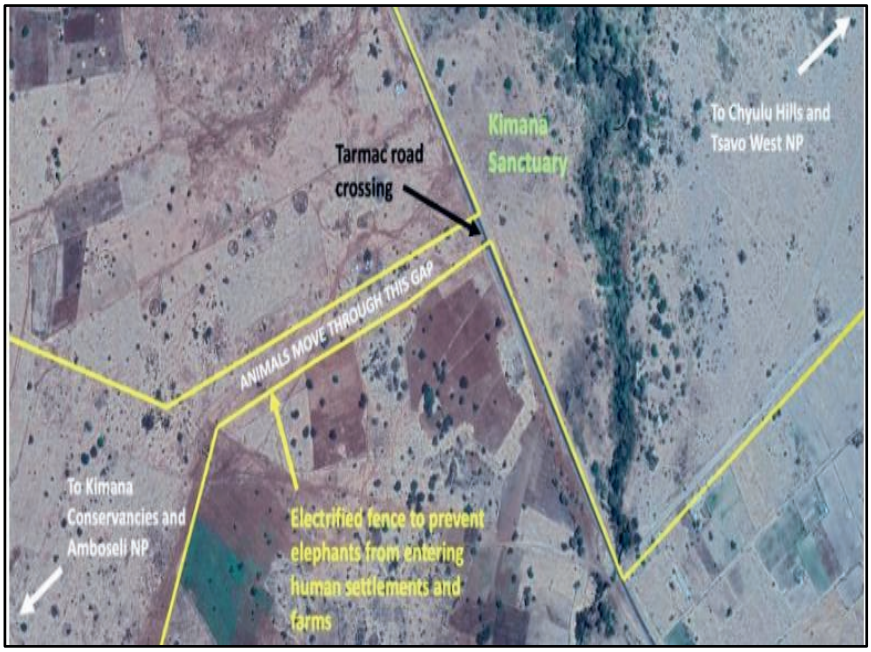


Figure 2.6: A constricted wildlife migratory corridor at Kimana crossing (BLF, 2019b)

2.4.4 Inadequate benefits accrued from wildlife conservation

Sharing benefits from wildlife conservation with communities is an old strategy in Amboseli. It is argued that the benefits accrued from wildlife to communities are too little and/or are unsatisfactory compared to costs incurred by its surrounding

communities, especially through HWCs (AET, 2014c). A pointer to inadequate benefits is the high poverty index associated with the areas surrounding the Amboseli National Park, which is over 50% (Manyara & Jones, 2007; Ole Seno, 2012; Thornton, BurnSilver, Boone & Galvin, 2006). The Amboseli National Park generates over Kshs. 100 Million (approx. US$ 1 million) from tourism per year (GoK, 2014; Okello et al., 2011; Okello et al., 2014a), but communities living adjacent to it are generally poor (Okello et al., 2009). Moreover, the sharing of benefits accrued from wildlife conservation-related initiatives such as tourism present a major challenge to communities in the Amboseli landscape (Okello, 2005a, 2005c; Okello et al., 2009). Meguro and Inoue (2011) note that there were significant benefits accrued to the Kimana Group Ranch community members from the African Safari club that had leased the Kimana Wildlife sanctuary, but its expenditure and distribution was questionable. Southgate (2006) goes on to indicate that the process of sharing benefits from the Kimana Community Wildlife Sanctuary was marred with massive corruption and elitism by group ranch leaders, denoting a deep-rooted governance challenge in Amboseli.

2.4.5 Poverty

Poverty and environmental degradation like biodiversity loss are said to be related and intertwined global challenges (Nyaupane & Poudel, 2011). Poverty can lead to high rates of biodiversity loss and deny communities benefiting from wildlife, while degradation of natural resources such as wildlife can rise as poverty increases (Wishitemi, Momanyi, Ombati & Okello, 2015). It is argued that conservation of biodiversity may aggravate poverty levels through human wildlife conflicts (Adams & Hutton, 2007; Wishitemi et al., 2015) where wildlife inflicts losses through crop and property damages. Poverty is also linked to poaching (Mathieson & Wall, 1982) and biodiversity loss, whereby the poor engage in killing wildlife for food and commercial purposes (Michel, 2018). Clearly, poverty has also intensified conservation-related challenges facing the Amboseli landscape. As mentioned above, communities living adjacent to the Amboseli National Park are generally poor rated at 50% (Manyara & Jones, 2007). Poverty is therefore one of the major challenges facing the local communities living in the Amboseli landscape creating an urgency for biodiversity

conservation strategies that address poverty by addressing community livelihoods in their entirety.

2.4.6 Policy void

The fact that wildlife and people have coexisted in Amboseli for a long time is undisputed. Moreover, a big percentage of wildlife is located outside formal protected areas on community and privately-owned land, creating a complex history of conservation-development interactions in Kenya, and Amboseli in particular (Wishitemi & Okello, 2003). Over the years, the dominant approach to development and wildlife conservation has been sector-based, where policy makers did not consider other land uses and/or policies, therefore leading to conflicts. Furthermore, although there have been diverse mitigating arrangements aimed at addressing conservation-development challenges emanating from wildlife residing outside formal protected areas in Amboseli, comprehensive policies to guide these arrangements at the national and landscape level has been lacking (Nthiga, 2014). The Amboseli Ecosystem Trust, through the Amboseli Ecosystem Management Plan (AEMP[4])-an attempt to fill this gap at the landscape level - is extensively examined in Chapter 4 and 5 of this thesis.

2.5 Mitigating interventions

Interventions to mitigate the main challenges facing the Amboseli landscape are related and intertwined. Interventions to mitigate land tenure and land-use changes which seems to be the most prominent and a basis for the other challenges include the creation of wildlife conservancies (Figure 2.7) where community land is set aside for biodiversity conservation purpose. Community wildlife conservancies separate areas that serve as wildlife habitat and migratory corridors from areas that support crop farming and livestock grazing, therefore mitigating HWCs (see for example, KWCA, 2016). There have been joint and spirited efforts in Amboseli to expand the wildlife habitat and connect wildlife migratory routes between Amboseli, Tsavo, Chyulu and Kilimanjaro National Park in Kenya and Tanzania by the creation of conservancies. Diverse partnership arrangements have developed around them, whereby specific group

[4] A policy document collaboratively formulated by stakeholders under the Amboseli Ecosystem Trust (AET) seeks to address conservation and development simultaneously.

ranch community members partner with private investors who run tourism activities within their conservancies (see 5.3).

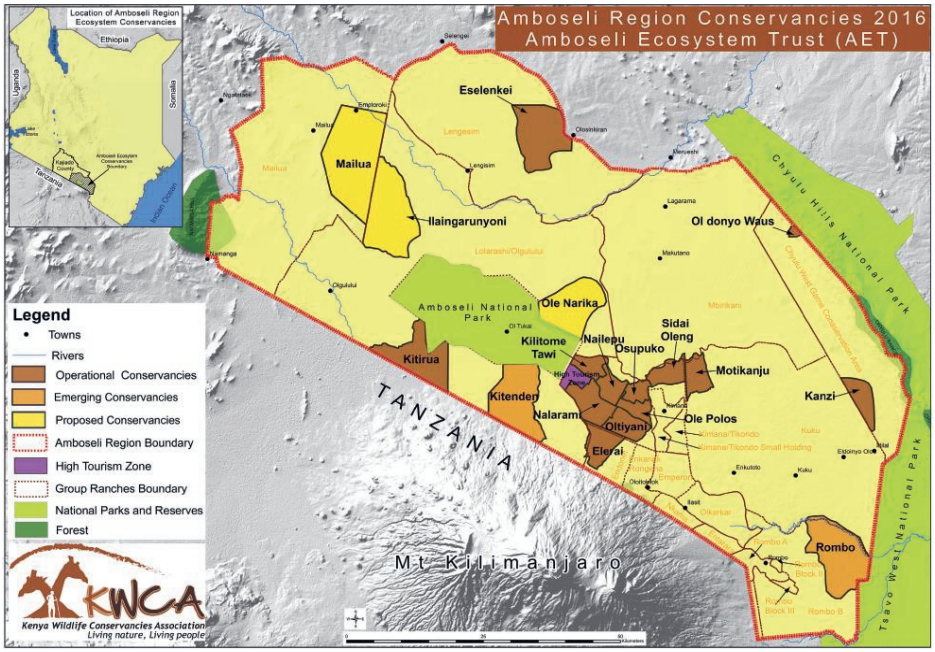


Figure 2.7: Community conservancies in Amboseli landscape (KWCA, 2016)

Moreover, community conservancies have been integrated with community tourism enterprises as strategies to maximize community livelihood options (Lamers et al., 2013; Van der Duim et al., 2011). Such community-based conservation initiatives are argued to serve as avenues of tapping into direct economic benefits from wildlife conservation (Wishitemi & Okello, 2003). Examples of community conservancies that have integrated tourism businesses in Amboseli include the Kimana Community Wildlife Sanctuary, the Kilitome, Nailepu, and Osupuko conservancies in the Kimana Group Ranch; Motikanju in the Kuku Group Ranch; Kitenden Corridor and Conservation Area (KCCA) in Olgulului GR and Eselenkei conservancy in the Eselengei GR (KWCA, 2016, AWF, 2016).

The HWCs have been mitigated through wildlife security programs run by the government, communities, private investors, and conservation NGOs individually or collaboratively. Others mitigation strategies include wildlife compensation (Anyango-

Van Zwieten, Van der Duim & Visseren-Hamakers, 2015) and awareness creation initiatives run by diverse actors in conjunction with communities. Community conservancies also reduce HWCs by connecting wildlife migratory routes. The challenge of inadequate benefit accrued from wildlife to the local community has been mitigated through a combination of benefit sharing initiates over time, such as the annual grazing fees and wildlife compensation fees (see Section 2.2.2). During the study period, KWS ran an educational revenue sharing program that provided a tertiary education bursary scheme of approximately Kshs. 11 Million (approximately US$ 110,000) until 2013 and about Kshs. 20 million (approximately USA 200,000) from 2014, distributed in the six group ranches in the landscape (Inv-33). Moreover, all private-based conservation and regular conservation NGOs (such as AWF[5], IFAW, ACC, and ATE) run programs that support community livelihoods in Amboseli, such as education, livestock breed improvement, wildlife and/or cultural tourism ventures aimed at drumming up support for wildlife conservation from communities. The Conservation and Wildlife Management Act of 2013 also proposes a benefit sharing of 5% of all revenue collection at National Parks to communities, over and above compensation for wildlife-related injuries and deaths and crop destruction through County Wildlife Conservation and Compensation Committees (GoK, 2013). Compensation for wildlife damages may help in addressing some human wildlife conflicts in Kenya, but this is yet to be executed over 6 years since the policy was published in 2013.

2.6 Summary

Summarizing, the above discussion highlights the magnitude, complexity and delicate nature of the challenges facing the multifunctional Amboseli landscape. The challenges facing Amboseli landscape threaten to intensify loss of biodiversity especially wildlife and in turn reduce community livelihood options. Specifically, the Amboseli National Park is too small to support its large wildlife populations, with its area accounting for only about 5% of the wildlife dispersal and migratory needs (BurnSilver et al., 2008).

The mitigating interventions to address the challenges facing Amboseli take different forms of partnership arrangements. Some partnership arrangements combine numerous

[5] Until 2016

mitigating interventions that are implemented across Amboseli - as illustrated in Chapters 4 and 5, creating a complex scenario. The complexity of these challenges denotes an urgent need for governance. This study therefore sought to understand the roles of partnerships in the governance of Amboseli landscape and their contribution to addressing conservation and livelihood challenges.

CHAPTER THREE
Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

3.1 Introduction

This study adopts a landscape governance perspective to analyse the landscape governance roles fulfilled by two partnerships and how they contribute to addressing the persistent challenges discussed in the previous chapter facing the Amboseli landscape. In this study, I use the landscape concept to study the various societal and ecological dimensions in an integral manner (Görg, 2007). Using the concept in this study is particularly useful, as it refers to the spatial-temporal aspects 'of the metabolism between nature and society' (Görg, 2007, p. 959). Accordingly, a landscape includes biotic and abiotic elements of a concrete region like Amboseli, including its societal forms of utilization in terms of pastoralism, conservation, crop agriculture, tourism and limestone (cement) harvesting. Moreover, seeing landscapes as socially and/or culturally constructed and shaped opens up the possibility to not only look at particular interests of actors involved (tourism entrepreneurs, conservation NGOs, local communities, or governmental agencies), but also the underlying conflicting and/or competing claims among the different actors. By so doing, one can take 'into account the plurality of landscape-comprehensions as well as the multiplicity and dichotomy of interests related to a landscape' (Görg, 2007, p. 960). Dealing with landscapes in this manner implies that Amboseli must be approached in the context of its complex dynamics, in reference to the interests of local and regional actors, national conservation and development organisations and policies, national property rights systems or economic dependencies within the global economy in terms of tourism and/or agriculture. The existence of multiple actors, interests and competing claims in landscapes signify power struggles that highlight a need for governance.

Whereas governance is hypothesized as the process by which multiple actors take and implement decisions to solve societal problems (Pierre & Peters, 2000; Rosenau & Czempiel, 1992), the landscape governance concept seems particularly useful as it stresses that societal and 'natural' factors are intrinsically linked to one another (Görg, 2007). Below, I briefly highlight how the main concepts used in this dissertation, namely landscape, governance, partnerships, landscape governance and power have been operationalized. This is followed by a discussion on the potential landscape

governance roles fulfilled by partnerships, as distilled from literature. The final section deliberates on the contribution of partnerships - through landscape governance roles - to conservation and development. I also introduce the blending of the landscape governance approach with a multidimensional perspective on power (Barnett & Duvall, 2005; Kuindersma et al. 2012), as also elaborated in chapter 4.

3.2 Landscapes

This dissertation takes the landscape concept as a starting point of analysis. The landscape concept is highly contested and is not easy to define, because it is used in diverse disciplines and fields (see for example, Cosgrove, 2002; Winchester, Kong & Dunn, 2013; Wylie, 2007). However, many authors view landscapes as socially and culturally constructed entities (Arts et al., 2017; Görg, 2007; Van Oosten & Hijweege, 2012), since they provide and support opportunities for and fulfil multiple needs of its diverse actors (Antrop, 2006; McShane et al., 2011; Sayer et al., 2013). A landscape can therefore be viewed as an integration of a biophysical condition of a 'concrete place' and 'social construction of space' (Görg, 2007, p. 955). Furthermore, it is argued that people in landscapes are involved in complex social networks that go beyond the physical, ecological, cultural, political and administrative boundaries of the landscape (Van Oosten & Hijweege, 2012). Following (Görg, 2007, p. 955), this study characterizes a landscape as a '…a bridging concept between the discussions of social scales and the biophysical conditions and ecological processes in spaces'.

Moreover, some authors (Antrop, 2006; Arts et al., 2017; Görg, 2007; Van Oosten & Hijweege, 2012) argue that landscapes are continuously shaped by their multiple actors with different (and at times conflicting) interests, which necessitates forms of governance.

3.3 Governance and landscape governance

Over the last few decades, the concept of governance has gained prominence in societal spheres and academic circles (see for example Kersbergen & Waarden, 2004; Kooiman, 2003; Plieninger, Dijks, Oteros-Rozas & Bieling, 2013). Hall (2011) contends that there is no universally accepted definition of the concept. Accordingly, the governance concept is defined and characterized in numerous and varied ways (Bell & Hindmoor, 2009; Benz, 2007; Biermann & Pattberg, 2008; Kersbergen & Waarden, 2004; 2004;

Pierre & Peters, 2000; Rosenau & Czempiel, 1992; Schout & Jordan, 2005). Governance has been defined as 'the totality of theoretical conceptions on governing' (Kooiman, 2003), or as 'a set of institutions and actors that are drawn beyond government' (Stoker, 1998). According to (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 1) governance covers '…the whole range of institutions and relationships involved in the process of governing'. Arts and Visseren-Hamakers (2012, p. 4) define governance as '…the many ways in which public and private actors from the state, market and/or civil society coordinate public issues at multiple scales, autonomously or in mutual interaction'.

Several scholars (Görg, 2007; Kersbergen & Waarden, 2004) maintain that traditional governance mechanisms - where the state was the sole authority to steer society - have over time given way to new governance arrangements involving more societal actors. The change is popularly referred to as the 'shift from government to governance' (Rosenau & Czempiel, 1992), signifying inclusion of other actors in addition to the state in addressing societal problems (Visseren-Hamakers, 2009). For some, the shift to governance arose from government inadequacies (Born, 2012). Others contend that governance offers better outputs than government (Newig, Günther & Pahl-Wostl, 2010), while for others it represents a 'hollowing out of the state' (Rhodes, 1994). Similarly, governance has been classified as the 'new' (versus 'old') mode of governance Treib, Bähr, and Falkner (2007) based on the relationship between state authority and societal autonomy or self-regulation (Airey & Chong, 2010; Hall, 2011; Treib et al., 2007). 'Old' governance refers to a style of governance where power and authority to steer society is vested in the state, while 'new' governance refers to a situation where the state and other actors are involved in steering society (Treib, Bähr, and Falkner, 2007). In this study, governance is defined as modes of steering in which multiple societal actors organise themselves and are involved in making and implementing decisions to address societal problems (de Loë et al., 2009; Kersbergen & Waarden, 2004; Rosenau & Czempiel, 1992).

Despite the diversity in theoretical approaches, descriptions of governance often refer to altered constellations of various actors, as well as the altered role of political institutions, especially that of the state (Görg, 2007). Governance critics claim that its effectiveness may be undermined by its informal and voluntary nature owing to its dependence on actor inclinations (see for instance, Born, 2012). Following Görg

(2007), this study defines landscape governance as the manner in which actors – in this case partnerships – steer and shape the Amboseli landscape.

3.4 Partnerships

A specialized part of the governance literature focuses on partnerships. The partnership concept evokes numerous meanings and definitions, as illustrated by the diversity of terms it is commonly associated with, such as global policy networks (Arts & Tatenhove, 2004), governance by networks (Brown, 2002), multi-sectoral partnerships (Andonova, 2010; Bäckstrand, 2008), inter-sectoral partnerships (Van Huijstee et al., 2007), public-private partnerships (Van Huijstee, 2010), self-governing networks (Arts & Tatenhove, 2004), or cross-sector partnerships (Selsky & Parker, 2005). In this study, partnerships are defined as collaborative arrangements between multiple actors from the public, private and/or civil society sectors, who work towards solving specific societal problems and/or issues of mutual concern, often in the context of sustainable development (Van Huijstee, et al., 2007).

Generally, partnerships are seen by many as useful forms of governance (Visseren-Hamakers et al., 2007) that have gained popularity in addressing the double-edged conservation-development challenge. Partnerships are recognized by some authors to be important initiators of sustainable change (Bitzer, 2012) and strategies of achieving sustainable development (see for example Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff, 2011; Visseren-Hamakers, 2009). Partnerships are touted as suitable instruments for solving complex global challenges (Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff, 2011; Díaz, Fargione, Chapin III & Tilman, 2006; Kolk, 2008; McShane et al., 2011). Consequently, partnerships are understood as new institutional arrangements that contribute to and shape the governance of environmental issues (Van Huijstee et al., 2007). Their suitability in governance emanates from the utilization of bundled expertise (Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff, 2011; Klijn & Teisman, 2003; Kolk, 2012; Kolk, Van Tulder & Kostwinder, 2008), since the collaborating partners complement each other by pooling resources, division of tasks and shared risks and responsibilities (Bitzer, Glasbergen & Leroy, 2012). Furthermore, partnerships are said to provide useful linkages between biodiversity conservation and development, boosting conservation initiatives by providing social and economic benefits to local communities (Pfueller, Lee & Laing, 2011). Further, Lasker, Weiss, and Miller (2001) contend that partnerships facilitate

mutual benefits for partners by amalgamating their strengths and capacities for synergy that in turn enhance decision making.

Partnerships can be studied from an institutional and an actor perspective (see Van Huijstee et al., 2007). From an institutional perspective, authors analyse the (potential) roles of partnerships as steering mechanisms. An institutional perspective views partnerships as institutional arrangements contributing to and shaping the governance of sustainable development (Van Huijstee et al., 2007). As forms of governance partnerships are said to fulfil diverse governance roles in landscapes. The main governance roles fulfilled by partnerships include agenda setting, policy development, meta-governance, policy implementation (Visseren-Hamakers et al., 2012), and generation and dissemination of information (also see for example, Visseren-Hamakers & Glasbergen, 2007). From an actor perspective, authors analyse the internal dynamics of partnerships; they '…look more into partnerships, than at partnerships and their functions among other forms of governance' (Van Huijstee et al., 2007, p. 81), and view them as instruments of maximizing specific actors' goals. Accordingly, an institutional perspective focuses more on partnership outcomes, as opposed to an actor perspective that focuses more on the analysis more on their internal functioning and structuring.

However, the rhetoric on partnerships being significant forms of governance has not been without criticism. Some authors (Arend & Behagel, 2011; Chan, 2014) argue that partnerships may be used to exclude some actors in decision making. According to (Bitzer, Glasbergen & Arts, 2013), partnerships are ad hoc and narrow responses to social-ecological problems that may create new problems (Bitzer & Glasbergen, 2015). New problems may partly be explained by an argument put forth by Bitzer and Glasbergen (2015) that partnerships are not power-neutral. It is argued that partnerships may be useful for some actors to advance their goals (Glasbergen et al., 2007), and may even lead to elitism (Dubbink, 2013; Southgate, 2006). However, Visseren-Hamakers (2013) notes that partnerships may be useful in addressing incremental change, and that individual partnerships usually do not contribute to fundamental change or paradigm shifts in society. The aim of this study is to better understand the roles partnerships play in landscape governance. The study embraces an institutional perspective by analysing the landscape governance roles fulfilled by the partnerships and their contributions in addressing conservation and development challenges.

3.5 Landscape governance roles of partnerships

The first research question of this study seeks to understand how the landscape governance roles are fulfilled by the analysed partnerships in the Amboseli landscape. According to (Gemmill & Bamidele-Izu, 2002), the important roles are information sharing, policy development, policy implementation, assessment and monitoring and advocacy. The fact that these roles are fulfilled in a governance setting denotes the presence of multiple actors and partnership arrangements. Andonova, Betsill & Bulkeley (2009) points at information sharing, rule setting (herein policy development), policy implementation and introduces capacity building as another potential role of partnerships. Visseren-Hamakers et al., (2012) generated a comprehensive list that seems to integrate findings by previous authors: agenda setting, policy development, implementation, ensuring good governance and meta-governance. The most common governance roles fulfilled by partnerships as outlined in literature which guided this study (refer to Table 4.2) include agenda setting, policy development, implementation, meta-governance, information sharing and capacity building (Andonova, 2010; Andonova et al., 2009; Crabbé & Leroy, 2012; Gemmill & Bamidele-Izu, 2002; Pinkse & Kolk, 2011; Visseren-Hamakers et al., 2012).

3.5.1 Agenda setting

Agenda setting starts debates on new issues and/or ideas in a governance system (Visseren-Hamakers, 2013) or public domain (Crabbé & Leroy, 2012; Van Huijstee et al., 2007; Visseren-Hamakers et al., 2012). This is done through non-confrontational means and negotiation, for discussion and possible adoption for action and/or inclusion in policy for purposes of improving societal situations (Andrews & Edwards, 2004; Crabbé & Leroy, 2012). In the political science literature, lobbying is viewed as a specialized strategy in advocacy that is closely associated with NGOs (Andrews & Edwards, 2004) and the business community. This implies that NGOs bring on board agenda setting roles in partnerships. Advocacy is about awareness creation, and there are two main strategies, namely 'outsider tactics' (See Andrews & Edwards, 2004) and more subtle 'insider tactics' such as lobbying. In particular, Verschuere and De Corte (2013) note that some NGOs adopt 'softer' strategies such as the use of insider contacts with policy makers through for example participation in member organizations.

Lobbying is a soft strategy of advocacy as opposed to 'harder' outside strategies (Andrews & Edwards, 2004). Accordingly, lobbying and advocacy appear to be ingredients of the agenda setting governance role. In this study, agenda setting is defined as all efforts aimed at bringing new debates, issues, and/or ideas to the conservation-development public domain.

3.5.2 Policy development

As forms of governance, partnerships are said to fill policy gaps through policy development in areas where the state may fall short (Dahan, Doh & Teegen, 2010), According to Visseren-Hamakers (2013), policy development is about developing public or private policy (such as standards) in an issue area. Policy development may emanate from the fact that partnerships provide avenues through which multifaceted and complex societal challenges and goals are addressed and achieved (Selsky & Parker, 2005; Van Huijstee et al., 2007). Challenges and goals include those associated with human development and environmental protection such as biodiversity conservation (Bäckstrand, 2008; Biermann, Man-san Chan & Pattberg, 2007). Policy development is intricately related to agenda setting since it ensures that specific issues remain and/or are relevant in the governance system. It therefore follows that partnerships play rule-setting roles at various scales. In this study, policy development refers to formulation of public, hybrid (public-private) and private policies, plans, rules, standards and norms.

3.5.3 Information sharing

Governance processes generate and involve extensive exchange of information and communication between actors and partnerships. Partnerships are said to act as information providers (Gemmill & Bamidele-Izu, 2002) and are therefore touted as addressing skill gaps through actor interactions that generate new practices and innovations (Pinkse & Kolk, 2011). In most instances, information sharing is integrated with other governance roles. Accordingly, by fulfilling information sharing governance roles, partnerships may be argued to be vehicles for stakeholder participation. The rise of public participation in policy making has been noted as being integral in the shift 'from government to governance' (Rosenau & Czempiel, 1992). Moreover, public participation is said to be essential for democratic policy development (Pierre & Peters,

2000). Information sharing could therefore contribute to the fulfilment of the capacity building governance role (see below). In this study, I examine how the analysed partnerships facilitate information sharing among partners as well as other stakeholders in the Amboseli landscape.

3.5.4 Capacity building

Capacity building is about empowering stakeholders' social, economic, environmental and cultural assets (Stone, 2015; Ussi, 2012). Capacity building is related to and is dependent on other governance roles. For instance, through policy development, partnerships enable the partners and other actors to take part in governance processes McAllister and Taylor (2015), thereby diffusing information, decision-making power and control among multiple stakeholders (Bramwell & Lane, 2000). Furthermore, access to information may contribute to improving stakeholders' ability to participate in governance (Mert & Pattberg, 2015). In this study, capacity building refers to ways in which the partnerships enhance actors' ability to take part in governance processes in the landscape by enhancing their social, financial, human, technical and other resources.

3.5.5 Policy implementation

It has been argued that partnerships contribute to the implementation of policies by translating what is on paper to the ground. The policy implementation role is about contributing to and/or enabling the execution of policies 'on the ground' (Visseren-Hamakers & Glasbergen, 2007; Visseren-Hamakers, 2013). The World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), also recognized partnerships as implementing mechanisms for sustainable development (Biermann et al., 2007). The implementation comprises activities that contribute to and create an enabling environment for the execution of policies (Crabbé & Leroy, 2012). In this study, policy implementation refers to efforts made by partnerships to enable execution of conservation and development policies or strategies that have been agreed upon in the landscape.

3.5.6 Meta-governance

Partnerships are said to play a meta-governance role (Christopoulos, Horvath & Kull, 2012; Jessop, 1998; Lamers et al., 2014; Visseren-Hamakers et al., 2012; Visseren-

Hamakers, 2013) addressing governance fragmentation challenges emanating from the multiple actors with multiple and at times conflicting interests. Meta-governance is an essential part of governance that is critical for improving 'performance of governance' (Visseren-Hamakers, 2015, p. 139). However, the concept of meta-governance is loosely and variedly defined (Derkx & Glasbergen, 2014; Glasbergen, 2011). Meta-governance is described as 'strategic steering and coordination in the governance system' (Visseren-Hamakers & Glasbergen, 2007, p. 2), organization of self-governance (Jessop, 1998), regulation of governance (Sørensen, 2006), governing how to govern (Glasbergen, 2011), frameworks that execute the rules of the game (Conzelmann & Wolf, 2007), and the management of plurality to induce more coherence for effective governance (Derkx & Glasbergen, 2014). Meta-governance has also been defined as '… an indirect form of governing that is exercised by influencing various processes of self-governance…[with the aim of]…enhancing coordinated governance in a fragmented [regulatory] system based on a high degree of autonomy for a plurality of self-governing networks and institutions' (Sørensen, 2006, p. 100). Accordingly, meta-governance is a process that is aimed at improving the effectiveness of governance systems (Derkx & Glasbergen, 2014). Meta-governance may involve networking (Glasbergen, 2011). In this study, meta-governance refers to strategic efforts made by the analysed partnerships aimed at enhancing synergy, coordination and coherence among AET partners and other actors in the governance of the Amboseli landscape.

3.6 Contribution of partnerships in addressing conservation and development challenges

The second research question of this study sought to understand how and to what extent the analysed partnerships (through the landscape governance roles they fulfil) contribute to addressing conservation-development challenges facing the Amboseli landscape. As discussed in previous chapters, biodiversity conservation and livelihoods are related and are mutually reinforcing. On the one hand, biodiversity is essential for livelihoods as it provides an array of essential ecosystem services (CBD, 2014a). On the other hand, the success of biodiversity conservation is dependent on and closely linked to human behaviour and activities (Koontz & Thomas, 2006; Margoluis, Stem, Salafsky & Brown, 2009). Few indicator frameworks explicitly and simultaneously

evaluate ecological and social outcomes of collaborative arrangements (Munoz-Erickson, Aguilar-González, Loeser & Sisk, 2010; Muñoz-Erickson, Aguilar-González, & Sisk, 2007; Salafsky & Margoluis, 1999). The socio-ecological systems framework by Ostrom (2009) could be said to do so. Moreover, existing frameworks often rely on biological indicators to quantify conservation outcomes (See for example, Noss, 1990). In addition, collecting quantitative data requires long-term monitoring, making them complex and expensive (Salafsky & Margoluis, 1999).

In order to overcome the difficulties associated with biological and quantitative frameworks, this study starts by exploring how and to what extent the analysed partnerships (directly or indirectly) address the main conservation challenges facing the Amboseli landscape. Together, the challenges cause and aggravate biodiversity loss, which may in turn impede community livelihoods opportunities. The main challenges are (see Chapter 2):

- Land tenure and land-use change
- Loss of wildlife habitats and fragmentation of migratory routes
- Human wildlife conflicts and poaching
- Unplanned and uncoordinated development
- The conservation-development policy void
- Inadequate benefits accrued to communities from wildlife conservation
- Poverty

To understand how the analysed partnerships (through their landscape governance roles) contribute to addressing the above-mentioned challenges, this study examines their efforts to address the main challenges facing the Amboseli landscape (see Table 3.1). The assumption is that all landscape governance roles can contribute to addressing each challenge facing the Amboseli landscape. It is important to note that the challenges are interdependent and intertwined, and that each relates to both conservation and livelihoods, be it in different ways and to different extents.

Table 3.1: Main challenges and efforts analysed in this study

Challenge	Partnership efforts analysed in this study
Land tenure and land use change	Efforts made by partnerships to discourage subdivision of GRs and separate conflicting land uses Efforts made by partnerships to extend the amount of land devoted to biodiversity conservation
Wildlife habitat loss and fragmentation	
Unplanned and uncoordinated development	Ways in which partnerships contribute to enhancing order and/or structure in infrastructure and tourism development
Human wildlife conflicts and wildlife poaching	Efforts made by partnerships to: • Reduce cases of HWCs and wildlife poaching • Reduce elephant and lion deaths from retaliation • Create positive community attitudes towards wildlife
Inadequate benefit accrued from wildlife conservation	Attempts to improve benefit accrued from wildlife by community members
The conservation-development policy void at national government level	How the partnerships have contributed to the formulation of conservation- development policy
Poverty	Attempts by the partners to enhance local livelihoods

The study analysed how the partnerships address each challenge. For land tenure and land-use change, wildlife habitat loss and fragmentation challenges, the study analysed how and in what ways the partnerships are contributing in expanding land dedicated for biodiversity conservation land use, to increasing wildlife habitat, connecting and/or opening up wildlife migratory corridors.

To understand how the analysed partnerships have addressed human-wildlife conflicts and poaching challenges, this study examined the number of elephant and lion deaths. Also examined were efforts made by the partnerships to reduce human-wildlife conflicts and poaching incidences, and/or to influence community attitudes positively to dissuading them from retaliatory killing of lions and elephants, as well as deaths associated with cultural-based practices. Another indicator examined for both human-wildlife conflicts and poaching challenges was the number of arrests made for poaching. The choice of elephant and lion species is informed by the high conservation value and economic importance associated with them. Elephants and lions are among wildlife species that are frequently associated with human wildlife conflicts and have

more chances of being poaching victims (Okello et al., 2014c; Okello et al., 2014d). Moreover, they are both renowned iconic species, important for wildlife-based tourism, whose populations have been on a steady decline (Frank, Maclennan, Hazzah, Bonham, & Hill, 2006). Furthermore, elephants are perceived to be an indicator species of ecological wellbeing of ecosystems (KWS, 2012; Okello et al., 2014d). Further, African elephants and lions are classified as 'vulnerable' on the IUCN Red List of Threatened species (Bauer, Packer, Funston, Henschel, & Nowell, 2018; Blanc, 2008; IUCN, 2017). This study examines the extent to which the analysed partnerships contribute to reduction in elephant and lion deaths associated with retaliatory attacks, and those associated with wildlife poaching.

Regarding unplanned and uncoordinated development challenge, this study sought to understand how and in what ways the analysed partnerships contribute to bringing order in the development of infrastructure generally and specifically in tourism facilities development. For the conservation-development policy void challenge, this study explored ways in which the analysed partnerships contribute to the development of policies, plans and/or strategies that guide and/or address wildlife conservation and development simultaneously. Finally, for the inadequate benefit accrued from wildlife conservation challenge, the study sought to understand how and in what ways the analysed partnerships influence benefit accrued and/or their distribution among community members.

Concerning the challenge of poverty, the study examined how the partnerships influence local community livelihoods. This study adopted the notion of community capital assets (herein also referred to as capital assets) to assess how, and to what extent the analysed partnerships influence local communities' livelihoods in Amboseli. The concept of livelihoods describes people's ways of making a living and the resources they possess (Bebbington, 1999; Scoones, 2009). Capital assets are a component of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF). Other components of the SLF are 'livelihood strategies', 'activities', and 'outcomes' (DFID, 1999; Ussi, 2012). Capital is defined as '…a resource or asset that can be used, invested, or exchanged to create new resources' (Flora, Flora & Fey, 2004, p. 1). This study focuses on capital assets of community members in Amboseli, because they are argued to be essential '…resources that people need to access in the process of composing a livelihood, […] assets that give them the *capability* to be and to act' (Bebbington, 1999, p. 2022).

Community capital assets are argued by some to be critical apparatuses of livelihoods (Morse, Acholo & McNamara, 2009). They are the building blocks that people combine and transform to build livelihoods and enhance access to resources and other actors (Ashley, 2000; Bebbington, 1999; Bennett et al., 2012). The choice of capital assets in this study assumes that they are core and essential in the SLF and other components may not exist without the assets. This choice is also hinged on the argument that the Sustainable Livelihood Framework is still the most comprehensive in assessing livelihood outcomes, owing to its ease of use and continued appeal in rural development (Horsley, Prout, Tonts & Ali, 2015; Wairimu, 2014). Several authors have operationalized capital assets in terms of human, physical, financial, social, natural, political and cultural capital assets (Ashley, 2000; Bebbington, 1999; Bennett et al., 2012; DFID, 1999; Sayer et al., 2007; Scoones, 1998, 2009; Ussi, 2012). Next, I describe capital assets as operationalized in this study (Table 3.2).

Financial capital is about how community members access economic resources (Ussi, 2012). In this study, financial capital assets refers to economic resources such as salary, savings, credit, transfer of funds and pensions that may be generated through employment and entrepreneurial ventures (Bebbington, 1999; Scoones, 2009) emanating from the analysed partnerships (Table 3.2). Since the analysis for financial capital can enable analyses of potential broader financial capital impacts of the partnerships, the category of financial capital is kept as a separate part of the analysis here, although it can overlap with the analysis under the challenge of inadequate benefit accrual.

Human capital assets refer to human resources, such as education and labour skills, peoples' abilities, wisdom, knowledge and awareness, physical ability and health, individual attributes, and a whole range of values and behaviours that are not easily monetized that support livelihoods (Antrop, 2006; Bennett et al., 2012; Emery & Flora, 2006; Horsley et al., 2015). Accordingly, '…skills and education includes indicators such as leadership capacity, administrative and financial skills, hospitality skills and levels of basic education' (Bennett et al., 2012, p. 758) that can be relevant for economic activities (Furmankiewicz, Thompson & Zielińska, 2010). This study examines how the partnerships influence and/or transform human capital assets of communities in the Amboseli landscape (Table 3.2).

Social capital assets are about formal and informal social resources that people draw on in pursuit of livelihood options (see for example Ashley, 2000; Bennett et al., 2012; Gutierrez-Montes, Emery & Fernandez-Baca, 2009). Social capital assets also refer to a community's ability to live in harmony and cohesively (Scheyvens, 1999). Social resources include social networks and relationships of trust, reciprocity, mutual understanding, shared values and access to institutions among stakeholders to facilitate collective outcomes (Ashley, 2002; Brocklesby & Fisher, 2003; Stone & Nyaupane, 2016). Social capital assets are seen as a prerequisite for enhancing the attainment of other assets (Bebbington, 1999). In this study, social capital assets refer to efforts made by the analysed partnerships to improve communities' access to formal and informal social resources in their pursuit of enhanced livelihoods (Table 3.2).

Physical or built capital assets refer to man-made resources that are used for production (Koutra & Edwards, 2012). Examples of physical capital assets include infrastructure, livestock and machinery that enable communities to engage in activities that enhance their livelihoods (Bennett et al., 2012; Nyaupane & Poudel, 2011; Scoones, 1998; Stone & Nyaupane, 2016; Ussi, 2012) Infrastructure relates to land, transportation, shelter, water, energy and communications among others. Physical capital assets in this study refers to ways in which the analysed partnerships contribute to the community's access to infrastructure (Table 3.2).

Cultural capital assets refer to traditional resources that enhance community identity, and the means and processes that maintain and preserve them (Bennett et al., 2012). Examples of cultural assets include cultural knowledge, cultural practices, heritage, beliefs, traditions and values (Emery et al., 2006; Stone & Nyaupane, 2016; Ussi, 2012). According to (Stone & Nyaupane, 2016), cultural capital assets may inform human-nature interactions. This study examines how the analysed partnerships influence and/or contribute to maintaining and preserving communities' cultural assets.

Table 3.2: Operationalization of community capital assets[6]

Capital asset	Definition as used in this study	Authors
Financial	How the partnership contributes to accessibility to financial resources that provide opportunities to improve community livelihoods	Bebbington (1999); Scoones (2009)
Human	Efforts by the partnerships to improve communities' skills, such as education, knowledge and capacity that facilitate livelihood strategies	Antrop (2006); Bennett et al. (2012); (Emery & Flora, 2006); Horsley et al. (2015)
Social	Ways in which the analysed partnership enhances communities' access to formal and informal social resources in their pursuit of enhanced livelihoods	(Ashley, 2002); Brocklesby & Fisher (2003); Stone & Nyaupane (2016)
Political	How partnership influences communities' access to decision making power and platforms through participation in policies, plans and/or legislations formulation	Baumann & Sinha (2001); Emery & Flora (2006); (Stone & Nyaupane, 2016)
Physical	Ways in which the analysed partnership contributes to the community's access to infrastructure	Bennett et al. (2012); Nyaupane & Poudel (2011); Scoones (1998); Stone & Nyaupane (2016); Ussi (2012)
Cultural	How the partnership contributes to maintaining and preserving communities' cultural assets	Emery, Fey & Flora (2006); Stone & Nyaupane (2016); Ussi (2012)

[6] Analysis done for each partnership separately.

According to (Scoones, 1998), natural capital assets refer to natural resources, such as water, flora and fauna that support livelihoods. Natural capital provides natural resources and ecosystem services (Bebbington, 1999; OECD & Innovation, 1998). Natural capital assets were therefore operationalized by examining how and in what ways the partnerships contribute to enhancing the natural resource stock and/or integrity. In other words, how partnerships contribute to addressing wildlife habitat loss and disconnection, the amount of land set aside for conservation, the loss of important wildlife species through retaliatory attacks and poaching and elephant and lion death trends. Evidently, the operationalization of natural capital assets overlaps with this study's analysis of partnerships' contribution to addressing conservation-development challenges outlined above and is therefore not repeated as part of the livelihood's analysis.

Political capital assets relate to power relations and power structures within communities and with other actors (Baumann & Sinha, 2001; Emery & Flora, 2006). Other authors (Bennett et al., 2012; Ussi, 2012) claim that political capital allows and/or hinders access to other capital assets. This is because political capital is argued to be an essential link between the other capital assets (Baumann & Sinha, 2001). According to Bennett et al. (2012), political capital assets facilitate the transformation of other capital assets for livelihood enhancement. In this study, political capital assets refer to ways in which the analysed partnerships empower or disempower communities to take part in the governance of their landscape.

3.7 Landscape governance and power

This study adopts a landscape governance perspective to understand the landscape governance roles fulfilled by the two partnerships, namely the Amboseli Ecosystem Trust (AET) and the Big Life Foundation (BLF). Landscapes are socially and culturally constructed entities that are continuously shaped by actors to whom such spaces hold meaning (Görg, 2007; Van Oosten, 2013; Van Oosten, Gunarso, Koesoetjahjo & Wiersum, 2014). Moreover, landscapes support multiple actors with multiple interests such as biodiversity conservation, agriculture and tourism (Born, 2012). Indeed, landscapes are complex entities supporting intricate processes and challenges that necessitate governance. Adopting the landscape governance concept enables me to understand the interconnections between socially constructed spaces and 'natural'

conditions of places (Görg, 2007). Following Görg (2007), this study operationalizes landscape governance as the manner in which the analysed partnerships understand, attempt to steer and shape the Amboseli landscape, and as discussed below, how this is influenced by power relations.

As specialized forms of governance, partnerships are said to contribute to sustainable development (Glasbergen et al., 2007). Hence, this study analyses whether and how partnerships could represent appropriate forms of governance in landscapes such as Amboseli, given the diverse landscape governance roles they play, such as agenda setting, policy development, capacity building, information sharing, policy implementation and meta-governance. The study also examines how partnerships (through their governance roles) contribute to addressing the main conservation-development challenges facing Amboseli.

However, literature on landscape governance, landscapes, governance and partnerships has generally neglected power issues (Kuindersma et al., 2012). The fact that landscapes support multiple actors with multiple and divergent interests mean that they are political in nature (Sayer et al., 2013). Likewise, governance denotes the dispersion of decision-making power among actors (Hooghe & Marks, 2001). Partnerships are also political (Bitzer & Glasbergen, 2015). As a result, they may lead to power imbalances (see, for example, Visseren-Hamakers, 2009), therefore favouring specific actors' interests, while excluding others from governance processes (refer to Arts et al., 2017; Bitzer & Glasbergen, 2015; Bowen & Ebi, 2015; Rhodes, 1997; Visseren-Hamakers, 2009). It is also argued that the multi-actor, multi-scale, multi-interest decision-making in environmental governance bring up issues of power relations (Görg, 2007). Accordingly, Kuindersma et al. (2012, p. 413) state that '…governance debates can also be framed as debates on power relations between state and non-state actors'.

This study therefore blended the landscape governance approach with the multidimensional perspective on power introduced by Kuindersma et al. (2012), based on the fourfold taxonomy of power by Barnett and Duvall (2005). As also explained in chapter 4, *compulsory* power is about the direct control of one actor over the conditions of existence and/or the actions of another, either intentionally or unintentionally, through the use of resources, such as money, manpower or knowledge (Barnett &

Duvall, 2005). Second, *institutional* power is about actors' control of others in indirect ways. The conceptual focus of institutional power is on formal and informal institutions that shape agenda-setting processes in ways that deal with or eliminate the very issues that are points of conflict by mediating between actors (Barnett & Duvall, 2005). Third, *structural* power refers to the structures 'that define the kind of social beings actors are. It produces the very social capacities of structural, or subject, positions in direct relation to one another, and the associated interests that underlie and dispose action' (Barnett & Duvall, 2005, pp. 52-53). Structural power is not about the control of one actor over another, it focuses on the social production of 'power to' and questions what structural subject positions are given (Barnett & Duvall, 2005). Finally, *productive* power is the 'socially diffuse production of subjectivity in systems of meaning and signification' (Barnett & Duvall, 2005: 43). This is exercised through scientific and societal discourses, that include some subjects or identities, and exclude others (Kuindersma et al., 2012). Although discussed here as distinct types of power, they are intertwined and have blurred boundaries; one type of power may enable or disable another.

The above framework is discussed and used in the next chapter, contextualizing how AET and BLF govern the Amboseli landscape with the objective of address persistent conservation and livelihood challenges, and how such governance is intrinsically linked to power and politics.

CHAPTER FOUR
Landscape Governance Through Partnerships: Lessons From Amboseli, Kenya[7]

Abstract

The Amboseli landscape in Kenya has long been facing persistent challenges regarding conservation and development. To mitigate these problems and contribute to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), various policy interventions have been initiated, mostly in the form of partnership arrangements. This chapter examines two such partnerships, the Amboseli Ecosystem Trust (AET) and the Big Life Foundation (BLF), to understand how they contribute to the governance of the Amboseli landscape, and the intrinsic link to power and politics. The research findings, based on document analysis, interviews and focus-group discussions, reveal that the partnerships have performed complementing landscape governance roles. Whereas AET focused on policy development, agenda-setting and meta-governance, BLF concentrated on policy implementation and meta-governance in relation to wildlife security. The way the partnerships performed these governance roles can be explained through the four faces of power, which reveal BLF's compulsory power and AET's institutional power. Nevertheless, the partnerships have only partially managed to bridge conflicting conservation and development discourses illustrating that the concept of sustainable development appears to hold little productive power on the ground. Overall, the chapter provides important insights into the contributions that partnerships can make to the achievements of SDGs, but also their limitations.

Keywords: *Partnership; Amboseli; landscape governance; power; SDGs*

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4.1 Introduction

Poverty and loss of biodiversity are prominent global challenges that are intricately linked and mutually dependent. It is widely acknowledged that they ought to be addressed simultaneously, as recognised by the United Nations General Assembly in 2015, when it adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development that seeks to achieve the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by 2030 (UNDP, 2016). It is also increasingly recognised that transformative change is needed to achieve the SDGs by 2030. Such transformative change can be defined as a fundamental, system-wide reorganisation across technological, economic and social factors, including paradigms, goals and values (IPBES, 2019). Fundamental and structural change is called for, as current structures often hamper sustainable development and actually represent the underlying causes, or indirect drivers, of unsustainable development (Díaz et al., 2019; see also Boluk et al., 2019).

The SDGs represent current global effort towards sustainable development by reducing inequalities and ecological impacts, while securing resilient livelihoods (Fleming et al., 2017). The SDGs are closely linked to conservation, poverty and development issues, as exemplified by SDG-1, on ending poverty, SDG-3 on improving health and well-being, SDG-4 on quality education, and SDG-15 on life on land (UNDP, 2016). But, as clearly stated through SDG-17, a successful sustainable development agenda requires partnerships between governments, the private sector and civil society. Such synergy allows SDGs to be addressed simultaneously, while trade-offs can be avoided (see for example, Gupta & Vegelin, 2016).

Conservation and development are thus integrative and require a holistic approach (Caiado et al., 2018) by multiple actors in partnerships. Partnerships are promoted as instruments for improved governance (Brinkerhoff, 2007), sustainable development (Mert, 2015; Mert & Pattberg, 2015; UNDP, 2016) and more specifically in achieving the SDGs (Beisheim et al., 2018). Accordingly, governance for sustainable development is increasingly based on partnership arrangements (Beunen & Opdam, 2011; Paavola, 2007). Examples in sub-Saharan Africa vary from conservancies in Namibia and conservation enterprises in Kenya and Uganda (Van der Duim et al., 2015, 2017) to partnerships focusing on entire landscapes such as the Laikipia Wildlife Forum and the Northern Rangelands Trust (see Pellis et al., 2015) and the Amboseli Ecosystem

Trust in Kenya. Many of these integrate tourism as an avenue for livelihood improvement (Nthiga et al., 2015). Although various authors have examined how effective partnerships are in governing sustainable development (Nthiga et al., 2015; Visseren-Hamakers, 2009), there is limited understanding of how partnerships contribute to governing landscapes. Moreover, in governance and partnerships literature, power has often been neglected as a useful concept in analysing and understanding landscape governance processes. Governance and partnerships tend to be presented as depoliticised and consensual policy-making by interdependent actors in power-free processes (Kuindersma et al., 2012).

Therefore, this chapter explores two of these landscape-wide partnerships – the Amboseli Ecosystem Trust (AET) and the Big Life Foundation (BLF) – in one of the most renowned wildlife-based tourism destinations: the Amboseli landscape in Kenya. The study aimed to understand: i) how AET and BLF govern the Amboseli landscape with the goal to address persistent conservation and livelihood challenges, and ii) how such governance is intrinsically linked to power and politics. To analyse the two partnerships, the chapter amalgamates literature on partnerships, governance, power and landscapes into a landscape governance perspective.

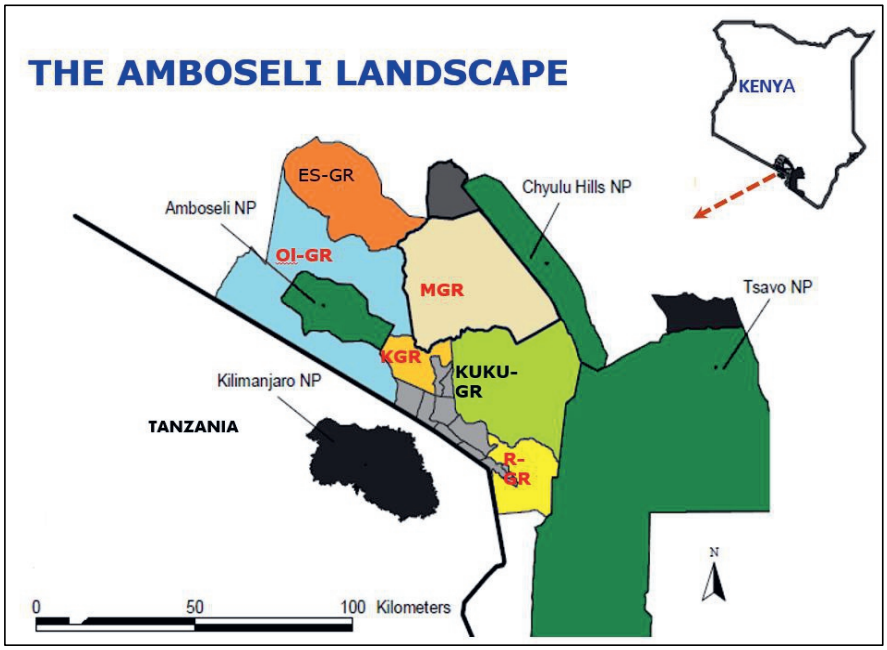
This chapter starts by introducing the Amboseli landscape and the two partnerships, after which it presents the landscape governance perspective and methods used. It proceeds to examine the landscape governance roles fulfilled by the partnerships in the results section, and ends with broader discussions on the role of partnerships in landscape governance and a brief conclusion.

4.2 The Amboseli landscape and its partnerships

The Amboseli landscape in Kenya covers an area of over 500,000 ha. The core of the landscape is a 392 km^2 protected area – Amboseli National Park (ANP) – sandwiched between six group ranches (GRs[8]): Mbirikani (MGR), Kuku (KUKU-GR), Kimana (KGR), Olgulului (OL-GR), Rombo (R-GR) and Eselengei (ES-GR) (see Figure 4.1). The national park accounts for about 5 per cent of the required wildlife habitat, making it too small to support its vibrant wildlife populations (BurnSilver et al., 2008;

[8] Group Ranches are large parcels of land that provide a communal land tenure (Wayumba & Mwenda, 2006).

BurnSilver, 2009). Consequently, community group ranches serve as extended wildlife habitat and migratory corridors (Okello et al., 2009). This extension is possible because of the communal land tenure of group ranches and the predominant pastoralism[9] land-use practiced by the Maasai community.



Key:

- ES-GR: Eselengei Group Ranch
- MGR: Mbirikani Group Ranch
- R-GR: Rombo Group Ranch
- OL-GR: Olgulului Group Ranch
- KGR: Kimana Group Ranch
- KUKU-GR: Kuku Group Ranch

Figure 4.1: The Amboseli landscape and its location in Kenya
Source: Adapted from Okello, Buthmann, Mapinu, & Kahi, 2011.

The Amboseli landscape has faced fundamental and persistent conservation and development challenges for decades (Western, 2007). Since the 1980s there has been a gradual change in land tenure, because group ranches have been subdivided into smaller individual and privately-owned parcels of land (Western et al, 2009b). Changing land tenure aggravated an array of interlinked conservation and development challenges that include changing land use (Kioko & Okello, 2011), human-wildlife conflicts (Okello,

[9] Pastoralism is a practice that involves rearing livestock (in this case cattle) that move from one location to another, based on seasonal availability of pasture and water (Catley, Lind & Scoones, 2013).

2005b), wildlife habitat loss and fragmentation (Western, 2007), poaching (AET, 2014a), unplanned and uncoordinated (tourism) development, a conservation-development policy void, and inadequate income from wildlife conservation for communities. Land use changed from pastoralism to include others like crop farming and mining, which compete and/or conflict with wildlife conservation (see Ntiati, 2002; Western et al., 2009a). Changing land uses also led to human settlements and the development of tourism facilities in fragile wildlife habitat and migratory areas. As a result, wildlife habitat decreased and traditional wildlife migratory corridors between Amboseli and neighbouring protected areas were disconnected (BurnSilver et al., 2008; Ole Seno, 2012; Western et al., 2009b), leading to more human-wildlife conflicts (Okello et al., 2010). Accordingly, the Amboseli National Park is under threat of insularisation, and the communities have fewer opportunities to provide for their livelihoods. Despite incurring high costs that come with co-existing with wildlife, the local communities do not receive adequate benefits, and are generally poor, with over 50 per cent of those communities neighbouring the Amboseli National Park living below the poverty line[10] (Manyara & Jones, 2007). Human population growth only adds to the challenges.

To mitigate these challenges, various policy interventions have been implemented over time (Western, 2007). The Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS), for instance, shares benefits from the entrance fees for Amboseli National Park through the support of education[11] in the six group ranches. Other policy interventions include land lease and concession fees provided by conservancies, community tourism enterprises, predator compensation programs that pay consolation fees for livestock killed or injured by predators (Anyango-Van Zwieten et al., 2015), community centred wildlife security programs, and community livelihood support programs. A common factor in many of these partnership-based interventions is the integration of tourism as a crucial link between communities' livelihoods and conservation (Van der Duim et al., 2015, 2017). Although the Kenyan government and many NGOs, like the African Conservation Center (ACC) and the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF), have been active in Amboseli for several decades, AET and BLF have specifically come to the fore in the

[10] International Poverty Line has a value of US$1.90 Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) (Ferreira, Jolliffe & Prydz (2016).
[11] KWS shared Kshs. 20 million in 2013 (+/- US$ 200,000).

last decade, which makes them interesting cases for this study (see also Mugo, Visseren-Hamakers & Van der Duim, 2021).

The AET is a landscape-based partnership registered in 2009 that brings together stakeholders in Amboseli aiming to implement the Amboseli Ecosystem Management Plan (AEMP). The AEMP is a policy document developed by the AET that identifies the course Amboseli stakeholders intend to follow for a period of 10 years (2008-2018[12]) with the goal being to ensure that wildlife continues to thrive and to improve community livelihoods (AET, 2009a). The key components of the AEMP include a detailed land-use zonation plan aimed at separating conflicting land uses (AET, 2014c) and management programmes outlining what the AEMP seeks to achieve:

(i) Ecological management programme aimed at maintaining Amboseli landscape as a 'key wildlife conservation area' (AET, 2009a:x) by securing critical wildlife dispersal areas, corridors and habitats, and protect wetlands and river systems (AET, 2009a);

(ii) Tourism development and management programme, aimed at ensuring that Amboseli sustains tourism destination competitiveness by promoting sustainable development (AET, 2009a; AET, 2014b);

(iii) The community partnership and education programme aimed at encouraging and inculcating a culture for sustainable livelihoods and conservation and management of wildlife outside Amboseli National Park, mainly on community owned land, by enhancing incentives to communities, and reducing 'cost of living with wildlife by implementing prudent measures to manage the escalating human-wildlife conflict' (AET, 2009a:xi; 2014b);

(iv) Security programme, which aims to enhance and sustain the Amboseli landscape wildlife and visitor security through close collaboration with all the stakeholders, by improving a) security operations for the protection of Amboseli's wildlife resources, b) the effectiveness of natural resource protection, and c) the safety of visitors, KWS staff and assets (AET, 2009b);

(v) Ecosystem operation programme aimed at improving service delivery by KWS staff and conservation partners within and outside the Amboseli

[12] In 2018, AET received an extension of the AEMP till 2020 to allow for a review of the plan. A revised management plan (2019-2029) was ratified in December 2019 (ACP, 2020).

National Park by formalising and strengthening institutional collaborations, improving the welfare and performance of KWS staff, and enhancing management infrastructure in the landscape (AET, 2009a; AET, 2009b).

The AEMP was was developed using the Protected Area Planning Framework (PAPF), a planning tool KWS uses as a management planning standard for protected areas (KWS, 2017). The plan was launched in 2009 and thereafter, the planning taskforce reconstituted to form the AET. The AET is run by a Board of Trustees (BoT) consisting of the partners listed in Table 4.1. The BLF is an AET partner and a member of the AET Board of Trustees. This foundation is the product of a successive evolution from a 3-phased partnership arrangement spanning the Mbirikani GR and the Amboseli landscape over the last three decades. The first phase started in 1986 when a partnership between the Mbirikani GR community members and a private tourism investor, Bonham Safaris, was initiated. During the second phase, this partnership evolved into the Maasailand Preservation Trust (MPT), a partnership between Ol donyo Wuas Trust[13] and the Mbirikani GR community members that ran between 1992 and 2012. The year 2012 marked the start of the third phase when MPT merged its activities into the BLF, a conservation NGO registered in the United States of America. BLF runs conservation-development initiatives in collaboration with local communities, NGOs and the government in the Amboseli landscape in Kenya and in northern Tanzania. For purposes of this study, all phases of the partnership are referred to as BLF. BLF has implemented policy interventions over its entire lifespan, including a wildlife conservation and security program, a Predator Compensation Fund (PCF), a wildlife education bursary, health care, the so-called Maasai Olympics and women empowerment projects (as elaborated below) (Figure 4.1).

[13] Ol donyo Wuas Trust was the tourism-private-investor based NGO that fundraised and supported conservation and livelihood programs in the Mbirikani Group Ranch.

Table 4.1: AET partners.

Category	Partner	Partner's main focus
Local communities	Amboseli-Tsavo Group Ranch Conservation Association (ATGRCA)	A community-based organisation aimed at enhancing benefit accrual from wildlife
	Amboseli/Tsavo Game Scouts Association (ATGSA)	An umbrella organisation comprising of community wildlife scouts14 aimed at improving wildlife security in the group ranches
Government	Kenya Wildlife Service	A parastatal organisation that conserves and manages wildlife in Kenya and its protected areas
	Kajiado County	Regional government
	Water Resource Authority (WRA)	A parastatal organisation that regulates the management and use of water resources for sustainability
Conservation NGOs	African Conservation Center	Developing local people's capacity to conserve biodiversity and improve livelihoods by building institutions
	African Wildlife Foundation	Wildlife habitat expansion and connectivity
	International Fund for Animal Welfare	Protecting elephant populations, seeking to expand their habitat
	Conservation-tourism, private-investor based NGOs	Wildlife-based tourism businesses and protecting wildlife
	Amboseli Trust for Elephants	Elephant conservation through research, community outreach, and advocacy
	Big Life Foundation	Enhancing wildlife conservation and livelihoods
Research institutes	School for Field Studies (SFS)	Research
Others15	Water Resource Users Association (WRUA)	An association of water resource users and riparian landowners aimed at cooperatively sharing the water

[14] Game rangers
[15] Invited to the AET Board of Trustees when necessary.

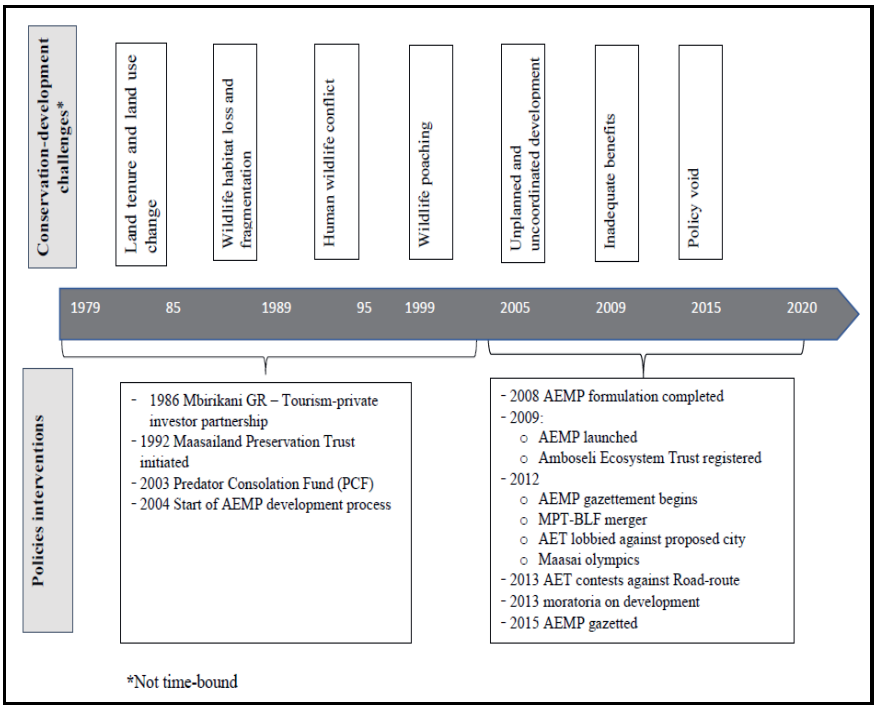


Figure 4.2 Schematic timeline

4.3 Theoretical framework

In order to explain the landscape governance roles of AET and BLF, we *first* used the multi-dimensional perspective on power introduced by Kuindersma et al. (2012), based on the fourfold taxonomy of power by Barnett and Duvall (2005). Both employ multiple conceptions of power from different scientific paradigms and offer an integrated framework in which different power perspectives are viewed as complementary rather than conflicting. First, *compulsory* power is about the direct control of one actor over the conditions of existence and/or the actions of another, either intentionally or unintentionally, through the use of resources, such as money, manpower or knowledge (Barnett & Duvall, 2005). We therefore wanted to know which stakeholders had control over which resources. Second, *institutional* power is about actors' control of others in indirect ways. The conceptual focus of institutional power is on formal and informal institutions that shape agenda-setting processes in ways that deal with or eliminate the very issues that are points of conflict by mediating between actors (Barnett & Duvall, 2005). Related, we analysed which actors set the agenda with the aim of changing the

institutional setting (Kuindersma et al., 2012). Third, *structural* power refers to the structures 'that define the kind of social beings actors are. It produces the very social capacities of structural, or subject, positions in direct relation to one another, and the associated interests that underlie and dispose action' (Barnett & Duvall, 2005, pp. 52-53). Structural power is not about the control of one actor over another, it focuses on the social production of 'power to' and questions what structural subject positions are given (Barnett & Duvall, 2005). Finally, *productive* power is the 'socially diffuse production of subjectivity in systems of meaning and signification' (Barnett & Duvall, 2005: 43), through scientific and societal discourses, that include some subjects or identities, and exclude others (Kuindersma et al., 2012). In this chapter, we analyse the relevant discourses and the kinds of subjects or identities that are produced by these discourses (Kuindersma et al., 2012). Although discussed here as distinct types of power, they are intertwined and have blurred boundaries; one type of power may enable or disable another.

Second, to analyse the role of partnerships in landscape governance we based ourselves on the work of Görg (2007), Van Huijstee et al. (2007) and Visseren-Hamakers (2013). Landscapes are socially and culturally constructed entities (Arts et al., 2017; Görg, 2007; Van Oosten & Hijweege, 2012) that provide and support opportunities for and fulfil multiple needs of diverse actors (Antrop, 2006; McShane et al., 2011; Sayer et al., 2013). A landscape can be defined as a social-biophysical construct that bridges 'social scales and the biophysical conditions and ecological processes in spaces' (Görg, 2007, p. 955). Given this multifunctional character, supporting multiple actors with multiple and diverse interests (Sayer et al., 2013), landscapes create the need for governance. Following Görg (2007), this chapter defines landscape governance as the manner in which actors - in our case partnerships – steer and shape the Amboseli landscape. Partnerships are defined as collaborative arrangements between multiple actors from public, private and/or civil society sectors, who work towards solving specific societal problems and/or issues of mutual concern, often in the context of sustainable development (Van Huijstee, et al., 2007). Partnerships are viewed as specific forms of governance (Visseren-Hamakers et al., 2007), attributed with problem-solving capacity (Bitzer et al., 2013). We define governance as modes of steering in which multiple societal actors organise themselves, and are involved in

making and implementing decisions with the aim of addressing societal problems (de Loë et al., 2009; Kersbergen & Waarden, 2004; Rosenau & Czempiel, 1992).

Partnerships fulfil several landscape governance roles, such as agenda-setting, policy development, information sharing, capacity building, implementation, and meta-governance (see Van Huijstee et al., 2007; Visseren-Hamakers, 2013; Kolk, 2012; Selsky & Parker, 2005; Visseren-Hamakers et al., 2012). Through these landscape governance roles, partnerships have the ability to address challenges related to sustainable development in complex landscapes (Lamers et al., 2014; Nthiga, 2014). However, partnerships are also criticised as being elitist (Dubbink, 2013), exclusionary and favouring the interests of specific partners (Rhodes, 1997). To understand how the analysed partnerships contribute to the governance of the Amboseli landscape, we examined the landscape governance roles they fulfil based on existing governance literature (Table 4.2).

4.4 Methods

A case study research design was used for this research (Yin, 2009). The chapter is based on primary and secondary data. Data collection and data analysis were carried out concurrently and continued for most of the study period, from August 2012, when a scoping mission was conducted, to August 2018[16]. The study area and the case studies were selected purposively. Specifically, the choice of the Amboseli landscape in particular was informed by the fact that it offers a perfect example of a multifunctional landscape – with multiple actors, interests and challenges. It is also one of the first areas in Kenya for which an integrated landscape management plan was developed. We used a snowball sampling technique to recruit participants for in-depth interviews and focus-group discussions (FGDs). Primary data was collected using 75 in-depth interviews from 55 interviewees (Table 4.3) and findings were triangulated with four FGDs (Table 4.4), four non-participant observations (Table 4.5), and around 30 informal conversations.

[16] Follow-ups on in-depth interviews through informal telephone conversations and secondary data continued until May 2020.

Table 4.2: Landscape governance roles of partnerships.

Landscape governance role	Operationalisation	References
Agenda-setting	Efforts made by the partnership to bring new debates, issues, and/or ideas to the public domain in Amboseli	Visseren-Hamakers (2013)
Policy development	How the partnership has contributed to developing policies, rules and/or norms that guide the governance of the Amboseli landscape in terms of conservation and development	Selsky and Parker (2005); Visseren-Hamakers (2013)
Information sharing	How the partnership facilitates information collection, analysis, and dissemination among actors in the area	Gemmill and Bamidele-Izu (2002); Pinkse and Kolk (2011)
Capacity building	How the partnership enhances actors' ability (in terms of social, financial, human, and technical resources) to take part in governance processes in the Amboseli landscape	Mert and Pattberg (2015); Stone (2015)
Policy implementation	Efforts made by the partnership to enable, execute and/or enforce conservation and development policies or strategies that have been agreed upon in Amboseli	Crabbé and Leroy (2012); Visseren-Hamakers (2013)
Meta-governance	Strategic steering and coordination efforts by the partnership aimed at improving governance in Amboseli through coherence and enabling synergy	Derkx and Glasbergen (2014); Visseren-Hamakers, Leroy, and Glasbergen (2012)

The FGDs were conducted with community members of the Mbirikani community, owing to the fact that the BLF originally started in the Mbirikani GR. The group ranch is also representative of most conservation-development challenges and policy interventions in Amboseli. To ensure inclusivity, two of the four FGDs were women-only, another one was with Maasai youth (young men aged between 18 and 35 years), and the last one was conducted with men over 35 years of age. In addition, the researchers observed four other meetings.

To supplement and validate the interview findings, secondary data was collected through the analysis of policy documents, which provided useful information on the partnerships' implications for biodiversity conservation and people's livelihoods in the Amboseli landscape. Data collection continued until data saturation was reached, so when we were confident that no new information was being obtained from respondents (Green & Thorogood, 2013).

Where possible, interviews and FGDs were recorded, while field notes were taken at all times. During interviews we spoke Kiswahili, '*Maa'* and English languages. Being a non-Maasai speaker, the first author engaged the services of a '*Maa'* speaking Maasai research assistant from Amboseli who also doubled as a guide during data collection. The research assistant-cum-guide acted as an interpreter to translate '*Maa'*[17] to English or Kiswahili and vice versa during interviews and FGDs when the need arose, and also helped the first author to easily gain access to the community respondents and gain their trust (Green & Thorogood, 2013).

Clearly, being an outsider, data unavailability and data confidentiality played a role, especially regarding access to sensitive information about the management and distribution of financial benefits among group ranch members. Accordingly, some respondents did not permit the recording of interviews, and seemed more at ease when discussing issues in informal conversations and/or telephone conversations as opposed to formal interviews. In order to ensure that respondents remained anonymous and information provided remained confidential, interviews were coded and named using abbreviations 'Inv-1' through to 'Inv-75', focus group discussions numbered 'FGD-1' to 'FGD-4', and observations referred to as 'Obser-1' to 'Obser-4'.

[17] Interestingly, most Maasai respondents preferred to air their views in Maa even when they were eloquent in both English and Kiswahili.

Table 4.3: Interviews and interviewees.

Category	Interviewee Affiliation	Number of interviewees [and interviews]
NGOs	African Wildlife Foundation	4 [8]
	African Conservation Center	4 [7]
	International Fund for Animal Welfare	2 [3]
	Amboseli Trust for Elephants	1 [1]
	Olive Branch Mission	2 [4]
	Maasai Wilderness Conservation Trust	3 [3]
Community	Mbirikani, Kimana, Olgulului Group Ranches	17 [17]
Government	Kenya Wildlife Service	6 [6]
	Kajiado County Government	2 [2]
Partnerships	Amboseli Ecosystem Trust	2 [7]
	Big Life Foundation	3 [4]
Private investors	Sopa lodge, Amboseli Serena Amalgamated Chama Limited, Research consultant	4 (4)
Research	School of Field Studies	1 [3]
Community Based Organisations	Kenya Wildlife Conservancy Trust,	2 [2]
	Amboseli/Tsavo Game Scouts Association	2 [4]
Total		**55 [75]**

Table 4.4: Focus group discussions.

Number	Name	Number of participants
FGD-1	Siani Women Cultural Boma	10
FGD-2	Osiram Women Cultural Boma	15
FGD-3	Maasai youth	8
FGD-4	Maasai Elders	10

Table 4.5: Non-participant observations.

Number	Name	Venue
Obser-1	Conflict resolution meeting	Olgulului Group Ranch
Obser-2	AET stakeholder workshop	Sopa Lodge
Obser-3	IFAW/AWF Kitenden corridor consultation	Amboseli Serena lodge
Obser-4	Launch of IFAW/AWF Kitenden Corridor Management Plan	Amboseli Serena lodge

Data analysis involved a thematic content analysis which involved transcription of in-depth interviews and FGDs. Each transcription was analysed and coded – through colour-highlighting and labelling – in order to distil emerging themes relevant to the study. Themes were then compared and related, or grouped according to their coding; this further grouping being based on literature (Green & Thorogood, 2013), until no new themes or groupings came up.

4.5 Results

4.5.1 The landscape governance roles of AET

The most tangible output of the governance roles performed by AET is the policy development of the Amboseli Ecosystem Management Plan (AEMP) (see Table 4.6). The aim of the AEMP was not only to bring about a discursive shift to overcome conflicting policies resulting from Kenya's sectoral-based policy development, but also to provide a legal framework for addressing persistent conservation-development challenges. Clearly, the development of the AEMP gave rise to AET's meta-governance role, as demonstrated by the coordination and collaboration of AET partners with regards to conservancy leases. By coordinating the acquisition of land for conservation, the resulting conservancies created a 'patchwork' of areas that together represent important wildlife migratory corridors. AET-partners, such as the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW) and African Wildlife Foundation (AWF), negotiated adjacent leases in order to create the Kitenden Corridor Conservation Area (KCCA) in the Olgulului GR, thereby increasing the area of land under biodiversity conservation use and improving wildlife habitat connectivity

between Amboseli National Park in Kenya and Kilimanjaro National Park in Tanzania. AET and its partners have also been instrumental in maintaining connectivity of the wildlife migration corridor between Amboseli and Chyulu National Parks through a series of conservation land leases that BLF inherited in 2017 after the AWF left the area in 2016 due to inadequate funding.

However, the AEMP development process dragged for more than 4 years as a result of tensions and power struggles. At the very beginning, the African Conservation Center (ACC) proposed to develop an integrated management plan. Stakeholders then came together to form the planning taskforce (that later became the AET) that provided important historical data on conservation and livelihoods, and funded the AEMP process as well as AET's operational costs. During the AEMP development and implementation process, the AWF, Kenyan Wildlife Services (KWS), BLF, and the Amboseli/Tsavo Group Ranch Conservation Association (ATGRCA) came to the fore. While the ACC continued to support AET activities and capacity building among communities, specifically the AWF took a leading role in habitat extension by creating community wildlife conservancies through land leases. Meanwhile, BLF focused on wildlife security issues outside government-run protected areas.

The development of the AEMP also involved internal and external agenda-setting. Internal agenda-setting is illustrated in the way the stalling of the AEMP development process was handled. The local communities perceived the land-use zonation plan as a conspiracy from NGOs and the government (the KWS) to convert their land into protected areas. They protested against an attempt to launch the AEMP in 2008 without the community partners' consent, arguing that the AEMP prioritised wildlife conservation over livelihood improvement. In both instances, consultative meetings between the planning taskforce and the community partners were held to iron out conflicting views, thereby jump-starting the AEMP development process and strengthening the community livelihood component in the AEMP, leading to its eventual launch in 2009. However, the AEMP only partially facilitated a discursive shift towards integration of conservation and development goals in an integrated landscape perspective. This is also illustrated by the little progress that was made in addressing land tenure and land-use change that threaten conservation and development goals. Specifically, our findings reveal non-adherence to the AEMP zonation plan where crop farming continues in fragile wildlife habitats such as wetlands. Local

communities continue to cultivate crops in non-agricultural zones, because they can earn more income with it in the short term. This reduces wildlife habitat connectivity and increases human-wildlife conflicts[18] (HWC). Non-adherence to AEMP zonation shows that there are conflicting views and interests among AET partners in the landscape, and that local communities only partially embrace their newly assigned subject positions as landscape stewards.

AET also performed an external agenda-setting role in the period between the launch of the AEMP in 2009, and when it was enshrined in Kenyan law in 2015. During this period, AET, through its Board of Trustees, made concerted efforts to uphold and defend the landscape as an integrated and holistic system. Other notable examples are the instances where AET defended the landscape by successfully petitioning the government against planned development projects that threatened to disrupt the landscape. Specifically, in 2012, the AET successfully lobbied against the construction of a planned town next to Amboseli National Park. Thereafter, in 2013, AET contested a proposed route of an all-weather road linking Namanga to Loitoktok townships, after which the route was altered. In both instances, AET based their argument on the AEMP – to highlight that the planned town and road would interfere with important wildlife habitats and migratory routes and limit dry-period livestock grazing areas in the landscape.

However, further control of AET over developments in Amboseli was restricted, because only the government has the power to make laws. The fact that the plan was not recognised under Kenyan law for years hampered its implementation. Consequently, in 2012, AET began the process of gazetting the AEMP by convening a series of meetings for its partners to discuss its requirements. A stakeholder workshop involving all stakeholders in the Amboseli landscape was convened in February 2013. The intention was to create awareness of the AEMP's viability as a tool for mitigating the fundamental and long-term challenges facing the Amboseli landscape. After the workshop, a moratorium on development was put in place for a period of one year and/or until the AEMP was gazetted, thereby outlawing all new forms of development projects in the landscape subject to approval by AET for compliance with the AEMP's

[18] Human wildlife conflicts involve wildlife destroying crops, preying on livestock, injuring or killing humans, and people killing and/or injuring wildlife in retaliation attacks (Western et al., 2009b).

land-use zonation plan (Inv-1). The AEMP was gazetted on 30 October 2015 under the Kenya Wildlife Conservation and Management Act (GoK, 2015).

4.5.2 The landscape governance roles of BLF

Although BLF at first primarily worked together with the Mbirikani GR and later contributed to the work of AET by supporting the AEMP development and implementation process, its role has gradually become more influential. This dominant position of BLF is mainly because of its annual budget of around US$ 3,5 million, funded through donor funds from over 150 partners that include Sheldrick Wildlife Trust, United Nations Development Programme, Global Environment Facility, US Agency for International Development and the Disney Conservation Fund (BLF, 2018). BLF contributes to policy implementation through the Predator Compensation Fund (PCF), health and education programs and coordination of wildlife security through the Wildlife Security and Conservation Program (WSCP). The WSCP was initiated in the Mbirikani GR by the Ol donyo Wuas Trust in the late 1980s as a response to increased wildlife poaching for bush meat and trophies (Inv-29). The WSCP is executed through an elaborate network of community wildlife game scouts - young Maasai from Amboseli - whose number has grown from 4 in 1993 when the program began to over 300 in 2018 (BLF, 2018; Inv-29; Inv-30). Most scouts patrol the area on foot and are backed up by 14 patrol vehicles, 2 tracker dogs and 2 planes for aerial surveillance (BLF, 2020). Once apprehended, poaching suspects are handed over to the KWS for prosecution. The role of BLF is a supporting one, it provides witnesses, for instance. Through the WSCP, BLF also performs a meta-governance role, as it coordinates a network of over 30 partners in Amboseli in Kenya and the transboundary landscape that extends into Tanzania (see BLF, 2019a). For example, partners of AET (ACC, IFAW, and AWF[19]) support the WSCP by seconding their community wildlife game scouts to BLF, which manages their daily activities. The partners then still pay the wages of the scouts. Through the WSCP, BLF directly addresses human-wildlife conflicts and poaching in the Amboseli landscape, thereby supporting AET's aims and the Security Program of the AEMP.

[19] Until 2016.

Table 4.6: Landscape governance roles fulfilled by the analysed partnerships.

Landscape governance role	Partnership	
	Amboseli Ecosystem Trust	**Big Life Foundation**
Policy development [**]	AEMP development	Contributed as a member of AET
Meta-governance [*] [**]	Coordinated action among partners AEMP land-use zonation plan	Coordination of wildlife security in the landscape and beyond
Policy implementation [*]	AEMP gazettement	Wildlife security, PCF, Maasai Olympics
Information sharing	Integrated into all landscape governance roles	Integrated into all BLF programs
Agenda-setting [**]	Amboseli New City Namanga-Loitoktok Road	Wildlife conservation and security

[*] - Prominent role for BLF
[**] - Prominent role for AET

As a result, there has been a general drop in cases of poaching in BLF areas of operations outside formal protected areas. Although our analysis shows that BLF has become a crucial actor in Amboseli, the durability of its operations in the longer term remains uncertain owing to the fact that most of their policy interventions (such as the Predator Compensation Fund) solely depend on donor funding, which is indefinite (Anyango-Van Zwieten et al., 2015). Also, the PCF is not undisputed; there are tensions between BLF and some community members who feel that the current structure of BLF side-lines them (Inv-25b).

4.5.3 Relations of power

Our analysis of the governance roles of AET and BLF, using the multi-dimensional perspective on power (Barnett & Duvall, 2005; Kuindersma et al., 2012), reveals complex power relationships among the actors, which include all four types of power (see Table 4.7). Through these power relationships, actors shape the partnerships and the governance roles they fulfil.

AET can be best understood as an arena where power and power relationships are enacted. Different types of power have shaped the landscape governance roles of the

partnership with regards to various issues over time. Moreover, the power relationships among the partners enable the AET to perform its different landscape governance roles or prevent it from doing so. For example, through institutional power enabled by the AEMP, AET has been able to play important agenda-setting and meta-governance roles. However, AET depends on individual partners for on-the-ground implementation of policy interventions, owing to their compulsory power because of the resources they control (funding, manpower, knowledge et cetera), thereby shaping the characteristics and focus of the partnership. Membership to the AET also strengthens partners' positions. An important example is BLF, which plays a major meta-governance role in wildlife security matters in the transboundary area that the Amboseli landscape is part of, but which is still fully dependent on the mandate of government agencies such as the KWS for the prosecution of poaching suspects. This agency influences the AET and the Amboseli landscape through a combination of its structural position in society (owing to its mandate as a government parastatal), and its relative abundance of resources (manpower, expertise and knowledge) in formulating conservation area management policies and plans. In developing the AEMP, AET had to apply the national Protected Area Policy Framework (PAPF) giving KWS a relatively large influence on the development and implementation structure of the AEMP and on the work of AET and BLF.

Compulsory power therefore continues to play an important role in the partnerships and landscape. For the classic power question 'who wins?' (see Kuindersma et al., 2012), not only KWS but also BLF seems to be a suitable answer. BLF can only play its dominant role in wildlife security because of its significant financial resources. Lack of funding forced AWF to halt its operations that included wildlife habitat and security activities in the landscape, while availability of funding enabled BLF to take over some of the conservancies' leases.

Our analysis also shed some particular light on the role of communities. First, the fact that the Maasai communities own the land outside of the protected areas enables them to ignore the rules of the AEMP (when it is convenient or beneficial), as illustrated by

the continued expansion of crop farms in wetland areas contravening the AEMP's zonation plan[20], which has a tremendous impact on biodiversity conservation.

Table 4.7: Main power relations.

Power face	Power & the partnerships
Compulsory	Continued role of government (KWS) in development and implementation of AEMP Dominant position BLF in wildlife security and other policy implementations due to financial resources
Institutional	Mediation between actors by AET through its agenda-setting and meta-governance roles enabled by the AEMP Landownership of Maasai communities Significant role government in the development of AEMP through the Protected Area Policy Framework (PAPF)
Structural	Strengthening of conservation position of existing conservation NGOs Exclusion of migrant communities and women in the governance of the landscape
Productive	Competing discourses (conservation and development) only partially bridged

Second, while the development of the AEMP by AET provided a mechanism for local communities to become actively involved in governing the landscape, this study reveals examples of exclusion. Despite the fact that migrant communities represent a significant interest because of the way they use the landscape – cultivating crops, which exacerbates wildlife habitat loss and human wildlife conflicts – they are excluded from the AET. The AET Trust Deed (AET, 2009b) and the Group Representative Act of 1968 (BurnSilver & Mwangi, 2007) define membership to the AET in terms of group ranch members, thereby ignoring migrants. Third, local communities are also underrepresented in BLFs top decision-making level since the Maasailand Preservation Trust merged its activities into BLF, and the organisational set-up evolved from a partnership into an NGO. Accordingly, although local populations in theory have been given a new structural position as landscape stewards, their participation in the governance remained limited despite the fact that they actually own the land. Similarly,

[20] Land use is also influenced by other policies, such as the Water Act 2012 and the Environmental Act EMCA (1999).

women are underrepresented. As has been the practice in most African cultural settings, Talle (1999) points at gender inequality in social relations among Maasai communities. Maasai women have been excluded from decision making (Hodgson, 2005) as well as accruing benefits (Stewart-Phelps et al., 2013). For example, Maasai women are excluded from membership of group ranches (Nthiga, 2014). Moreover, it is argued that the Maasai culture is imbued with patriarchy, where men have a monopoly on decision-making, while women and young men have limited opportunity to own or claim resources - such as land and livestock (Ondicho, 2012). However, with increased access to education, awareness and capacity building, Archambault (2016) asserts that the roles of Maasai women have been shifting and they are playing greater roles in for example raising livestock. In this research, it was found that women are represented in the AET Board of Trustee (BoT) meetings[21], implying that they are involved in AET operations, and hence in the governance of the Amboseli landscape. However, it is not clear if or how their involvement in AET translates on the ground. Although individual partners of AET (e.g. ACC, BLF, AWF) have set up projects to improve the livelihoods of women and to ensure women benefit from tourism as illustrated by BLF support offered to two BOMA women's groups in the Mbirikani GR.

Finally, the above clearly illustrates the continued dominance of the 'conservation versus development' discourse, despite decades-long efforts to promote the sustainable development discourse that proposes that conservation and development can go hand in hand. Although at the global level the sustainable development discourse dominates, primarily through the SDGs, the trade-offs between conservation and development are so clear in the Amboseli landscape that the concept of sustainable development appears to hold little productive power on the ground. The AET partners can clearly be divided into coalitions that prioritise either conservation or development and show fluidity in their position in these debates, since they play various shifting roles, adding another layer to the complexity of the power relationships. Community members, for example, are often farmers or pastoralists, representing development discourses, but are also active in AET or BLF as partners, and involved in policy discussions or implementation of conservation efforts (e.g. as wildlife scout). Furthermore, while the government

[21] Attendance to 4 out of 5 AET-BoT meetings had a woman representative.

(KWS) is an active partner in the AET, the latter successfully lobbied against plans of the same government to develop a town and road in the area.

4.6 Discussion and Conclusions

In this chapter, we examined two partnerships in Amboseli - the Amboseli Ecosystem Trust (AET) and the Big Life Foundation (BLF) – blending a landscape governance approach with the multi-dimensional perspective on power introduced by Kuindersma et al. (2012) and Barnett & Duvall (2005). So, what are the main lessons learned?

First, our analysis demonstrates that partnerships can play prominent and complementary roles in landscape governance. In our case we showed how AET has focused on policy development, agenda-setting and meta-governance, while BLF concentrated on policy implementation and meta-governance in relation to wildlife security. While AET's key governance processes have first and foremost enabled deliberation and decision-making resulting in the AEMP, it depends on AET partners for implementation of the plan, notably and increasingly BLF (see Dentoni et al., 2018). However, in most cases partnerships are only able to effectively fulfil their governance roles with support of the government. Governing landscapes through partnerships is in actual sense about 'governance with government', denoting that the government is a dominant and essential partner in landscape governance. In Amboseli, by using the Protected Area Policy Framework, AET relied on government institutions in the development and gazettement of the plan. BLF needs the government to effectively protect wildlife, since governmental agencies prosecute poaching suspects. Accordingly, the success of BLF in wildlife security can partly be credited to the compulsory power of the government, enabled by authoritative enforcement. These findings therefore reiterate sentiments by authors who argue that even in instances where the government has shared power with other societal actors, the state always retains authority and control in new governance arrangements (Airey & Chong, 2010; Bell & Hindmoor, 2009). Interestingly, in the Amboseli case, the Kenyan government has on several occasions also bowed to the partnerships' authority, illustrated by instances when AET prevented large government projects (the proposed town and road route). This finding echoes sentiments by some authors that shifting authority from government to partnerships enhances the position of other actors in decision-making (see McAllister & Taylor, 2015) and reduces state influence.

Second, the chapter shows that power is in fact an essential concept in analysing and understanding the role of partnerships in landscape governance processes, 'that power is now more diffuse' (see Boluk et al., 2019: 857) and that policy is not limited to 'public policy'. Critics of partnerships argue that these favour specific interests (Rhodes, 1997), may lead to power imbalances (Visseren-Hamakers, 2009), and may favour 'capable' partners, thereby excluding others in governance processes (Bitzer & Glasbergen, 2015; Bowen & Ebi, 2015). This study reveals that a fruitful analysis of power in landscape governance should surpass the realist perspective on power in terms of material resources and also include other faces of power that focus on institutions and agenda-setting, socio-economic structures, and ideas and perspectives (Kuindersma et al., 2012). As clearly shown, the power relationships in the landscape are multi-dimensional, with all four types of power playing a role, and are multi-directional, with different partners dominating on different issues or over time. These complex power relationships have shaped the partnerships and their governance roles in the landscape. While BLF's dominant position is predominantly based on their financial resources, AET has mediated between different actors and has been able to control agenda-setting aiming to change the institutional setting. However, both partnerships have only been able to bridge the conservation and development discourses to a certain degree, and thus have only partly been able to structurally change the positions of local communities involved.

In relation to the extent to which structural positions have changed, this chapter therefore raises questions related to the extent of change. Recently Dentoni et al. (2018) suggested that partnerships can address complex societal problems, in this case the conservation-development nexus in Amboseli, by triggering or contributing to systemic change. The persisting challenge that remains, however, is whether partnerships trigger or support *breadth* and *depth* of change to an extent that adequately addresses these complex, fundamental societal problems (Waddock et al. 2015). In relation to Amboseli we argue that AET and BLF have supported systemic change as their work involves interconnected change across multiple spheres and subsectors, since they have targeted conservation, development, tourism, agriculture, health, and education. This has been referred to as *breadth* of change (Waddell et al., 2015). In the case of Amboseli, clear differences in values between stakeholders and power struggles over the nature of the problems have been brought to the table and negotiated to find a temporarily acceptable

synthesis in the AEMP (see Dentoni et al., 2018). However, systemic change should also entail a power shift among actors in society and a related redistribution of resources in a system. One could therefore really question to what extent AET and BLF have been able to address the necessary *depth* of change. The persistent poverty, conflicts with community members that halted the AEMP process, the continuous role of the Kenyan government in legitimising wildlife security programs and the intensification of crop farming raises questions of whether AET and BLF, as forms of collaborative governance, have been fully able to tackle the complex challenges that Amboseli faces. This debate about breadth and depth of change is fully in line with discussions on the need for transformative change to achieve the SDGs (Díaz et al., 2019; Visseren-Hamakers, 2020). While the partnerships are able to contribute to addressing direct drivers of biodiversity loss (such as human wildlife conflicts, poaching), they contribute to a much lesser extent to addressing the indirect drivers, such as poverty and land subdivision. More generally speaking, partnerships represent policy arenas where different interests are negotiated and trade-offs between SDGs are brought to the surface. The added value of the partnerships comes from their fulfilment of important meta-governance roles through which partners' views of the landscape (at least to a certain extent) converge and are shaped and re-shaped through actors' practices. However, the two examples in Amboseli show that power struggles and power vacuums may seriously affect the capacity of partnerships to strengthen and secure the SDG agenda.

The above makes clear that our findings are not unique for the Amboseli case. The tendency to integrate landscape approaches by initiating partnerships is not only growing in Kenya (see Pellis et al, 2015), but also more broadly in Africa and around the world (see Van der Duim et al. 2015, 2017) in recognition of the need for 'balancing multiple objectives, equitable inclusion of all relevant stakeholders, dealing with power and gender imbalances, adaptive management based on participatory outcome monitoring, and moving beyond existing administrative, jurisdictional, and sectorial silos' (Ros-Tonen, Reed and Sunderland, 2018, p.11). However, it is increasingly clear that partnerships and integrated approaches such as landscape governance often struggle to do just that – maybe because they are unable to address the underlying causes of poverty and biodiversity loss. This makes more focused research on partnerships that govern landscapes rather urgent (ibid, p.3). A central question is, then,

whether, how, and the extent to which landscape governance through partnerships can evolve further to contribute to the transformative change needed to achieve the SDGs (Visseren-Hamakers, 2020; see also Mugo et al., 2021). Most probably, they will always need to be seen as part of 'smart policy mixes' (IPBES, 2019), in which different governance instruments together can address the indirect drivers underlying sustainability issues.

CHAPTER FIVE
Contributions of partnerships to conservation and development: insights from Amboseli[22]

Abstract

For several decades, both academics and practitioners have fiercely debated how to reconcile conservation and development objectives. In Sub-Saharan Africa, efforts to align biodiversity conservation and livelihood goals have triggered a shift from pure protected area approaches to a hybrid scenario, including diverse partnership arrangements that consider livelihood needs of communities neighboring protected areas. These partnerships often include tourism to provide income and jobs. The future of the Amboseli landscape in Kenya has been an integral part of these debates, since it has faced long-lasting conservation and development challenges. Many initiatives, often in the form of partnership arrangements, have tried to address these challenges. By using the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) and a set of indicators to measure the contributions to conservation, we examine two of these partnerships - the Amboseli Ecosystem Trust and Big Life Foundation - with the aim of understanding the extent to which they contribute to addressing these challenges. Data was collected using document analysis, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, non-participant observation, and informal conversations. Findings show that both AET and BLF have been able to address direct drivers of biodiversity loss (such as human wildlife conflicts, poaching, unplanned infrastructural developments) and - to a much lesser extent - the indirect drivers, such as poverty and land subdivision. Through the workings of both partnerships, more community members have gained access to specific community capital assets, through employment opportunities and other monetary incentives and education. However, it is not clear if and how the livelihood benefits transfer to real and long-term support for wildlife conservation.

Key words: *Biodiversity conservation, development, partnerships, Amboseli, Kenya*

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5.1 Introduction

For several decades, attempts to reconcile conservation and development objectives have generated vibrant and sometimes fierce debates among both academics and practitioners. These debates are bound to continue, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, where dependence on natural resources for livelihood opportunities persists (Kusters, 2015; Roe & Elliott, 2010). As such, conservation practitioners have developed varied policy interventions to simultaneously address conservation and development challenges. This resulted in a shift from a predominantly state-run Protected Area Approach (PAA) to a hybrid scenario that includes other approaches, such as community-based management and partnership arrangements that consider diverse stakeholders' interests and livelihood needs.

Critics of the PAA have argued that it isolates local people by denying them access to natural resources such as land and water (Adams et al., 2004; Büscher, Sullivan, Neves, Igoe & Brockington, 2012). Protected areas have also been viewed as being too small to support viable wildlife populations, therefore requiring their immediate surrounding spaces to serve as extended habitat and dispersal areas for wildlife (Sachedina, 2010; Van der Duim, 2010). In response to the perceived shortcomings of the PAA, the 1980s and 1990s witnessed an upsurge in people-centered conservation approaches aimed at aligning conservation and development goals, popularly referred to as community-based conservation (CBC) (Bulte, Boone, Stringer & Thornton, 2008). The goal of CBC is to enhance local communities' involvement in biodiversity conservation as a buy-in for support for biodiversity conservation (Western, Wright & Strum, 1994; Wright et al., 2016). Many CBC initiatives have adopted tourism as a mechanism for providing economic benefits to communities living adjacent to protected areas (Ahebwa, Sandbrook & Ochieng, 2018; Nthiga, Van der Duim, Visseren-Hamakers & Lamers, 2015).

Although CBC has sometimes been touted as a panacea to conservation and development challenges, critics question its effectiveness in simultaneously meeting conservation and development goals (Adams et al., 2004; McShane et al., 2011) and argue against the 'win–win' discourse of conservation and development (Masterson, Spierenburg & Tengö, 2019). Some authors contend that CBC approaches are riddled with deep-seated governance challenges, such as dominance by community elites,

political interference, corruption and vested interests, offering only token levels of local participation (McShane et al., 2011; Southgate, 2006; Stone & Stone, 2011), while others contend that communities lack the entrepreneurial capacity to manage CBC initiatives (Van der Duim, Van Wijk & Lamers, 2017). To address the criticisms on CBC and related challenges, diverse partnership arrangements, involving a wider range of actors drawn from the private sector, local communities, government, and civil society, emerged in the 1990s (see Van der Duim, Meyer, Saarinen & Zellmer, 2011). The actors in partnerships work together in solving specific problems of mutual concern for sustainable development (see Bitzer, 2012; Van Huijstee, Francken & Leroy, 2007). Partnerships have been promoted as important instruments with the potential to address sustainable development challenges (Visseren-Hamakers & Glasbergen, 2007), such as those relating to conservation and development in Amboseli.

In this paper, we analyse the extent to which two partnerships - the Amboseli Ecosystem Trust (AET) and the Big Life Foundation (BLF) - contribute to addressing the challenges in the Kenyan Amboseli landscape. The AET is a landscape-wide partnership that brings together public and private stakeholders in Amboseli with the aim of implementing the Amboseli Ecosystem Management Plan (AEMP). The AEMP is a policy document developed collaboratively by the AET partners (AET, 2009a). The plan, that covers the period between 2008 and 2018, was launched in 2009 and was gazetted into the laws of Kenya in 2015 under the Kenya Wildlife Conservation and Management Act 2013 (Mugo, Visseren-Hamakers & Van der Duim, 2020). The key components of the AEMP include a detailed land use zonation plan aimed at separating conflicting land uses, (AET, 2009a) and management programs outlining what the AEMP seeks to achieve, namely ecological management, tourism development and management, community partnership and education, and security and ecosystem operation programs (AET, 2014a). The activities of the AET are run by a Board of Trustees (BoT) consisting of its partners (Mugo et al. 2020).

The Big Life Foundation is a member of the AET and its Board of Trustees. BLF is the product of a 3-phased evolution of a partnership arrangement spanning the Mbirikani Group Ranch[23] (see Figure 5.1) and the Amboseli landscape over the last three decades.

[23] Group Ranches (GRs) are large parcels of communal land that were demarcated and registered under the Kenyan Land Act of 1968 (Wayumba & Mwenda, 2006).

The first phase began in 1986 when a partnership between the Mbirikani Group Ranch community members and a tourism-private-investor - Bonham Safaris - was initiated. During this phase, the investor ran the Ol donyo Wuas lodge and Ol donyo Wuas Trust non-profit organization (NGO) that fundraised and supported conservation and livelihood programs in the Mbirikani Group Ranch. In the second phase, this partnership evolved into the Maasailand Preservation Trust (MPT), a partnership between Ol donyo Wuas Trust and the Mbirikani Group Ranch community members that ran between 1992 and 2012 (Mugo et al. 2020). The year 2012 marked the start of the third phase, where MPT merged its activities into the Big Life Foundation, a conservation NGO registered in the United States of America (USA). BLF manages conservation-development policy interventions in cooperation with local communities, NGOs, and the government in Amboseli in Kenya and northern Tanzania. For purposes of this study, all phases of the partnership are referred to as BLF. As noted earlier, operations of BLF, with a budget of over US$ 3 million in 2018, are funded by over 150 donors. These include Sheldrick Wildlife Trust, United Nations Development Programme, Global Environment Facility, United State Agency for International Development (USAID), National Geographic's Big Cat Initiative, Chester Zoo UK; African Medical and Research Foundation (AMREF), and the Disney Conservation Fund (BLF, 2015a, 2018, 2019a).

In this chapter the performance of the partnerships is evaluated by making use of a framework that combines; a) elements from the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF); and b) a specific set of indicators to assess the extent to which the partnerships contribute to addressing the main conservation challenges facing the Amboseli landscape. As a result, the chapter contributes to governance, partnership, conservation and livelihoods literature. The chapter proceeds as follows. We begin by introducing the Amboseli landscape and the main challenges it faces. We then explain our conceptual framework and methods before presenting our findings. We end with a discussion and a brief conclusion.

5.2 The Amboseli landscape

The Amboseli landscape encompasses over 5,000 km^2 (500,000 ha) and includes the Amboseli National Park (ANP), covering 392 km^2 (39200ha) and six neighbouring Maasai community group ranches (AET, 2009a; Okello, Njumbi, Kiringe & Isiiche, 2014d), namely; Mbirikani (MGR), Kuku (KUKU-GR, Kimana (KGR), Eselengei (ES-GR), Olgulului (Ol-GR) and Rombo (see Figure 5.1).

The Amboseli landscape is home to numerous wildlife species, with an elephant population of approximately 1645, making it a popular wildlife tourism destination in Kenya (KWS & TAWIRI, 2018). Additionally, the rich Maasai culture and the scenic view of Mount Kilimanjaro adds to its touristic appeal, with around 175,000 tourists visiting the ANP in 2018 (GoK, 2019). Moreover, the Amboseli landscape is multifunctional, hosting diverse land uses and serves many purposes. These include pastoralism, biodiversity conservation - especially wildlife conservation and wildlife-based tourism, crop farming and limestone mining. In recognition of the multifunctional character of the landscape, the United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) declared the Amboseli landscape a World Heritage Site and a Man & Biosphere (MAB) Reserve in 1991 (UNESCO, 2014).

Challenges facing the Amboseli landscape

For the last half-century, the Amboseli landscape has been threatened by persistent biodiversity loss and development challenges (AEMP, 2009). The main challenges include land tenure and land use change, wildlife habitat loss and fragmentation, human wildlife conflicts (HWCs) and poaching, unplanned and uncoordinated (tourism) development, inadequate benefits derived from wildlife, and poverty (Bennett, Lemelin, Koster & Budke, 2012; Okello & Kiringe, 2004; Osipova et al., 2018; Western, Waithaka & Kamanga, 2015).

The indigenous inhabitants of Amboseli are predominantly Maasai, who until recently were primarily been pastoralists living on group ranches (Campbell & Olson, 1991). Pastoralism is argued to be compatible with biodiversity conservation (BurnSilver et al., 2008), especially when compared to other land uses. However, since the 1980s, Amboseli witnessed a gradual change in land tenure occasioned by subdivision of group ranches into smaller pieces of individual, privately-owned plots. The Kimana Group

Ranch is already fully subdivided, while the other five group ranches are partly done and the process is on-going (Okello, Bonham & Hill, 2014b).

Subdivision of group ranches attracted land uses that are perceived as competing or conflicting with biodiversity conservation (Western, Russell & Cuthill, 2009a). Such land uses include crop farming - growing tomatoes, maize, onions and watermelons - mining, and tourism facilities that necessitate fences (Osipova et al., 2018). The fences are meant to keeping off wildlife but end up blocking their movement through the landscape. Moreover, extensive irrigated crop farming has expanded into wetlands and along rivers, leading to excess abstraction of water. This fuels conflicts between crop farmers and pastoralists downstream over water shortage (Obser-4). Arguably, crop agriculture consumes over 400% more water than humans and animals combined (Okello, 2005c). Furthermore, over 89% of inhabitants of Amboseli landscape are involved in either pastoralism and/or crop agriculture (Okello, 2012). According to Okello (2005b), the local community views crop farming as more profitable than either pastoralism or wildlife conservation. Expansion of crop farming has also been motivated by the government's policies to increase crop production to achieve food security.

Land use change has contributed to the loss of wildlife habitat and disconnection of wildlife migratory corridors, which threaten the ANP with insularization (Okello & Kioko, 2010). Land use change has also led to increased HWC incidences, since areas that served as wildlife habitat and migratory corridors have been converted into agricultural crop farms or human settlement (BurnSilver et al., 2008; Western, Groom & Worden, 2009b). The HWC involves wildlife destroying crops, preying on livestock, injuring or killing humans, and people killing and/or injuring wildlife in retaliation attacks (Okello, Kiringe & Warinwa, 2014c; Western et al., 2009b). Changing land tenure has also led to a steady increase in unplanned development such as human settlement, mining, and tourism facilities in Amboseli (AET, 2014c). Some developments are located in fragile wildlife habitats leading to loss of and fragmentation of wildlife habitats and HWCs (Okello, Kiringe & Kioko, 2010). Owing to its tourism potential, Amboseli has experienced an influx in tourism development in the wake of group ranch subdivision. It has been argued that development of the tourism facilities has exceeded environmental carrying capacity in some parts of the landscape (AET, 2014c).

Amboseli has also experienced long-lasting discussions about the sharing of benefits from wildlife-based tourism, which are considered by communities to be inadequate compared to costs they incur especially through HWCs (Okello, 2005a; Osipova et al., 2018). For example, the process of sharing benefits from for example Kimana Community Wildlife Sanctuary in Kimana GR was marred with massive corruption and elitism by group ranch leaders (Meguro & Inoue, 2011; Southgate, 2006). While the ANP alone generates over Kshs. 100 Million (approx. US$ 1 million) from tourism per year (GoK, 2014), the people in Amboseli are generally poor (Manyara & Jones, 2007); with over 50% of the communities residing adjacent to the Amboseli National Park living below the poverty line[24]. The challenges Amboseli is facing seem to be intensified by an increase in human population that exerts pressure on the existing natural resources, such as land, water and pasture (Ole Seno, 2012; Okello, 2014). The human population in Amboseli has increased tremendously due to reduced mortality rates among the Maasai community and immigration of non-Maasai into the area resulting in a human population growth rate of 3.7% per annum (Okello, Kiringe & Salaton, 2014a).

5.3 Conceptual framework and methods

To analyse the extent to which the two partnerships – AET and BLF – contribute to addressing the challenges in the Kenyan Amboseli landscape we first examined how the partnerships influence local community livelihoods. We adopted the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) and its notion of community capital assets (Stone & Nyaupane, 2016). These are referred to as capital assets that are often considered as '…a resource or asset that can be used, invested, or exchanged to create new resources' (Flora, Flora & Fey, 2004, p. 1).

The choice for SLF in this study is hinged on the argument that it is still the most comprehensive framework in assessing livelihood outcomes, owing to its ease of use and continued appeal in rural development (Horsley, Prout, Tonts & Ali, 2015). The sustainable livelihood framework includes five main aspects: a) livelihood capital assets, b) livelihood strategies, c) outcomes, d) policies and institutions, and e) the vulnerability context (Ashley & Hussein, 2000). As regards to this case study, the

[24] International Poverty Line has a value of US$1.90 PPP (Ferreira, Jolliffe & Prydz 2016).

framework essentially outlines that AET and BLF policies aim to address livelihood strategies (i.e., the way local communities make a living) by strengthening the livelihood capitals or assets in such a way that the above challenges and vulnerabilities Amboseli has been facing (see above) are addressed. Community capital assets are argued to be a critical aspect of livelihoods (Morse, Acholo & McNamara, 2009), since they are the building blocks that people combine and transform to build livelihoods and enhance access to resources and other actors (Ashley, 2000; Bebbington, 1999). Although the SLF originally indicated 5 capital assets - human, social, physical, financial and natural - other authors (Stone & Nyaupane 2016; Ussi 2012) have added cultural and political capital. In this study, we examine the impact of AET and BLF on livelihood assets and strategies by distinguishing 7 different types of capital. *Human* capital consists of knowledge, skills, and education that support livelihoods. *Social* capital refers to social networks and relationships of trust, reciprocity, mutual understanding, and access to institutions to facilitate collective outcomes (Ashley, 2002; Brocklesby & Fisher, 2003; Stone & Nyaupane, 2016). Social capital assets are seen as a prerequisite for enhancing the attainment of other assets (Bebbington, 1999). Buildings and infrastructure, machinery, crops and livestock supporting livelihoods constitute *physical* capital, while financial resources that are available to individuals and communities are central to people's *financial* assets (see also Ahebwa and Van der Duim, 2013). *Political* capital assets relate to power relations and power structures within communities and within the partnerships (Baumann & Sinha, 2001; Emery & Flora, 2006), which may influence access to other capitals (Bennet et al, 2012), whereas *cultural* capital refers to traditional resources that enhance community identity, and the means and processes that maintain and preserve them (Bennett et al., 2012). According to Stone & Nyaupane (2016), cultural capital assets may also inform human-nature interactions.

According to Scoones (1998), *natural* capital assets refer to natural resources, such as water, land and flora and fauna that support livelihoods. Natural capital assets provide natural resources and ecosystem services (Bebbington, 1999). Clearly, AET and BLF aim at changing the relationship between the way people make a living and the natural environment. Therefore, to understand how the analysed partnerships have contributed to addressing land tenure and land use change and wildlife habitat loss and fragmentation, we also analysed how the partnerships were contributing to the

expansion of land dedicated for biodiversity conservation. This was with the aim of increasing wildlife habitat and connecting or opening up wildlife migratory corridors. For HWCs and poaching challenges, we examined the number of elephant and lion deaths, efforts made by the partnerships to reduce HWC and poaching incidences or improve community support for wildlife in order to dissuade them from retaliatory killing of lions and elephants.

The choice of elephant and lion species is informed by the high conservation value and economic importance associated with them. Elephants and lions are among wildlife species that are frequently associated with HWCs and have more chances of being poached (Okello et al., 2014c; Okello, Njumbi, Kiringe & Isiiche, 2014d). Moreover, lions and elephants are also both renowned iconic species that are important wildlife-based tourism attractions, whose populations have been on a steady decline (Frank, Maclennan, Hazzah, Bonham & Hill, 2006). African elephants and lions are classified as 'vulnerable' on the IUCN Red List of Threatened species (IUCN, 2019). Elephants are also perceived to be an indicator species of ecological well-being of ecosystems (KWS, 2012; Okello et al., 2014d). Concerning unplanned and uncoordinated development challenges, we examined how the partnerships contribute to the planning of development of infrastructure generally and in tourism facilities specifically. For benefits accrued from wildlife conservation, we sought to understand how and in what ways the analysed partnerships influence benefit accrued or their distribution among community members.

Based on this conceptual framework we collected primary and secondary data. Data collection and data analysis were carried out concurrently in an iterative manner between August 2012, when a scoping mission was conducted, and August 2018 when field work ended. However, secondary data collection continued.

First, primary data was collected using 75 in-depth interviews from 55 key informants from AET and BLF, NGOs, community members, Group Ranch officials, tourism investors, Community-Based Organizations (CBOs), and government officials. Findings from interviews were triangulated with four focus group discussions (FGDs), non-participant observation, and around 30 informal conversations. The FGDs were conducted with community members of the Mbirikani community, since the BLF originally started in the Mbirikani Group Ranch. To ensure inclusivity, two of the four

FGDs comprised of women-only, another one was with Maasai youth (men aged between 18 and 35 years), and the last one was conducted with men aged 35 years and above. In addition, the researchers took part in four meetings as observers.

Secondary data involved analysis of policy documents, which provided information on the partnerships' implications for biodiversity conservation and livelihoods in the Amboseli landscape. Data collection continued until data saturation, the point in time when the researchers were confident that no new information was being obtained from respondents (Green & Thorogood, 2013).

Where permission was granted, interviews and FGDs were recorded, while field notes were always taken. To ensure that respondents remained anonymous and information provided remained confidential, interviews were coded and named using abbreviations 'Inv-1' to 'Inv-55[25]', FGDs numbered 'FGD-1' to 'FGD 4', and observations referred to as 'Obser-1' to 'Obser-4. Data analysis adopted a thematic content analysis which involved transcription of in-depth interviews and FGDs. Each transcription was analysed and coded - by colour - highlighting and labelling - to distil emerging themes relevant to the study. Themes were deducted based on the conceptual framework (see in the above), and related and/or common coded themes were further grouped based on literature (Green & Thorogood, 2013) until no new themes and/or groupings were emerging.

5.4 The contributions of the partnerships

The analysed partnerships AET and BLF have individually and collaboratively implemented several policy interventions that have impacted conservation and development challenges.

5.4.1 Impacts on livelihoods

In Table 5.1, we summarize how the partnerships have impacted community livelihood assets that in turn influence the way communities interact with wildlife.

[25] Some respondents were interviewed multiple times as a follow-up to clarify issues that arose from earlier interviews, FGDs and document analysis, leading to some interviews having an additional 'a', 'b', 'c', or 'd' such as Inv-1a for clarity.

Table 5.1: Overview of livelihood impacts (Source: Authors).

Capital asset	Main contributions to livelihoods	AET and BLF policy interventions
Financial	− Direct monetary payments − Job creation − Land and property lease fees - Education tuition	− PCF − Wildlife security and conservation program − Community wildlife conservancies − Education bursaries - Women cultural Bomas
Human	− Education - Skills development	− Education bursaries - Women cultural Bomas
Social	- Community-based associations ATGRCA, ATGSA	- Foundation of community-based organisations
Physical	− Sanitation and storage facilities − Women at Mbirikani owing land and cows − School facilities-class rooms - Health facilities	− Women cultural Bomas – Education bursaries - Health care support program
Cultural	− Changing cultural practices such as 'Olamaiyo' rite of passage - Changing attitudes towards conservation	− Maasai Olympics - Wildlife security and conservation program, Community wildlife conservancies and PCF
Political	− Inclusion (and exclusion) to decision making processes - Access to other capital assets	− Organisational structure of AET and BLF and AEMP process - Other interventions (see above)
Natural	- Addressing conservation-development challenges	- Outlined in Table 5.2

Compensation and other financial benefits

Most BLF programs are geared towards enhancing livelihoods through some form of financial incentives. An interviewee notes that,

> *we had to get benefits, direct benefits to the community from wildlife; because people will only live with wildlife if they are seeing benefits* (Inv-30).

Historically, the Maasai community hunted and killed predators that killed or injured their livestock or people for retaliation purposes. In response, BLF initiated the Predator Compensation Fund (PCF) program in Mbirikani Group Ranch in 2003 to mitigate

retaliatory-related deaths of lions and other predators by providing direct monetary consolation for livestock killed by wildlife (Anyango-Van Zwieten, Van der Duim & Visseren-Hamakers, 2015; Okello et al., 2014b). The key assumption behind PCF was that the monetary incentives would nurture tolerance among community members towards lions and other predators that maim or kill their livestock, thereby averting retaliatory deaths (Inv-29, Inv30; Inv32).

Operation of PCF is based on a PCF-agreement between Mbirikani community members and BLF that outlines stringent rules that must be met for individual community members in an area to receive compensation for livestock killed by predators (Anyango-Van Zwieten et al., 2015; Inv-29; Inv-32). Big Life Foundation Verification Officers visit the scene of killings to confirm adherence to the PCF-agreement and apply penalties for any non-compliance (Anyango-Van Zwieten et al., 2015).

The PCF pays up to 75% of the market value of livestock killed by predators as a consolation (Anyango-Van Zwieten et al., 2015; BLF, 2014; Hazzah et al., 2014). Payment is made 'on the condition that no predators are killed in retaliation' (BLF, 2019a, p. 16). A total of approximately Kshs 8,154,300 (US$ 81,543) was paid in Mbirikani and Olgulului Group Ranches as consolation for livestock predation in 2013, while Kshs 1,1450,600 (US$ 114,506) was paid in 2019 (BLF, 2013, 2019a).

In 2007, BLF extended the PCF program to cover the Olgulului Group Ranch (Inv-29; Inv-30; Inv-32), while a similar program to PCF was replicated by the Maasailand Wilderness Conservation Trust (MWCT) in the neighbouring Kuku Group Ranch in the same year (Inv-28; Inv-29; Inv-30; Inv-32; Inv-51). Moreover, since 1997, the Amboseli Trust for Elephants (ATE), a conservation NGO and a partner of AET has been running the Wildlife Consolation Fund (WCF) in Olgulului Group Ranch that pays consolation fees for elephant-inflicted losses (Inv-57).

BLF interventions also create job opportunities for communities in the Amboseli landscape. There are over 300 game scouts employed in the wildlife conservation and security program on full-time basis (BLF, 2019a). During the study period, 32 teachers had been employed in primary schools, Ol donyo Wuas lodge had a workforce of 45, while the PCF program employed local community members as verification officers (Inv-29; BLF, 2018).

Other financial benefits include income derived from land and property lease fees in Mbirikani Group Ranch, amounting to approximately Kshs. 12 Million (approximately US$ 12,000) per annum (Inv-23). Ol donyo Wuas lodge also charges a conservation fee of US$20 per bed night that goes towards conservation (Inv-23a). During the study period, KWS ran an educational revenue sharing program that provided a tertiary education bursary scheme of approximately Kshs. 11 Million (approximately US$ 110,000) until 2013, and about Kshs. 20 million (approximately USA 200,000) from 2014, distributed in the six group ranches in the landscape (Inv-33). The increase may be credited to improved synergy between KWS and community members of group ranches (Inv-33), occasioned by AET's coordination. Osiram and Siana women cultural Bomas also earn income[26] from cultural performances and sale of beads to Ol donyo Wuas lodge guests (Inv-39).

Education bursaries

In all group ranches that have community wildlife conservancies, communities are supported with education which is funded from land leases, tourism and philanthropy. In the Mbirikani Group Ranch, a wildlife education bursary program was initiated by BLF in the late 1980s. The program was premised on the notion that community education is critical for the long-term success of conservation and community development (BLF, 2013). By 2017, the program had sponsored over 400 students through tertiary levels of education and 205 were continuing (BLF, 2013, 2014, 2017). Through the program, BLF constructed extra classrooms in 2018, (BLF, 2018; Inv-29, Inv-30, Inv-32), and donated solar panels and computers to primary schools in Mbirikani (BLF, 2016, 2018). In 2018, BLF sponsored 3 education field excursions for primary school students and their teachers to Amboseli National Park aimed at improving awareness on biodiversity conservation (BLF, 2018). Some AET partners such as Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS[27]), African Wildlife Fund (AWF[28]), International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW[29]), African Conservation Center

[26] The estimated amount earned was not disclosed.
[27] A government parastatal mandated with conserving and managing wildlife in Kenya and its protected areas (KWS, 2012).
[28] A conservation NGO that focused diverse interventions before exiting the landscape in 2016.
[29] An NGO that focuses on conserving elephant populations and their habitats.

(ACC[30]) and Amboseli Trust for Elephants (ATE[31]) are also involved in education support (Inv-4, Inv-22, Inv-31, Inv-33, Inv-57). Supporting education has impacted the communities' human asset positively through skill development as affirmed by a community member interviewee,

> *through this program, a doctor, teachers, nurses, engineers, professional conservationists, guides and accountants [from the community] are employed and working. They would never have realized their dream if it were not for the sponsorships* (Inv-22b).

Community-based associations

The analysed partnerships and their partners have initiated the foundation of community-based organisations and enhanced the capacity of local communities to participate in the governance of the Amboseli landscape. Over time, local community members have been involved in various associations and forums such as the AET, the Amboseli/Tsavo Group Ranch Conservation Association (ATGRCA[32]), and the Amboseli/Tsavo Game Scouts Association, (ATGSA[33]). The Women Cultural Bomas also represent an on-the-ground policy intervention aimed at empowering of women.

Women cultural Boma

The Women cultural Boma was initiated in the 1980s with support from the tourism-private-investor in Mbirikani Group Ranch (Inv-30, Inv-32). Through this support, a workshop was constructed to offer a shelter where the women could sit while making beads that were marketed to Ol donyo Wuas Lodge guests and other markets with the assistance of the Ol donyo Wuas trust (Inv-32). At the same time, guests from the Ol donyo Wuas Lodge visited the Women Cultural Boma for cultural dances and of

[30] A conservation NGO that focuses in developing local people's capacity to conserve biodiversity and improve livelihoods by building institutions.
[31] An NGO focusing on elephant conservation research.
[32] ATGRCA is a community-based organization comprising of community members drawn from Kimana, Mbirikani, Eselengei, Kuku, Rombo, Olgulului group ranches with the aim of improving community livelihoods through conservation initiatives (ATGRCA, 1995).
[33] ATGSA is an umbrella organization that brings together community wildlife scouts (also referred to as community game rangers) in the Amboseli landscape, for purposes of enhancing their welfare and wildlife security in the group ranches (Inv-9b).

cultural artefacts through which women earn some direct income (Inv-39). The Boma later split into Siana and Osiram Women cultural Bomas owing to interference by group ranch management (who are men) (Inv-39).

During the study period, the Bomas also were supported by AET partners such as ACC, AWF, as well as the regional and national government (FGD-1; FGD, 2; Inv-23; Inv-27, Inv-38; Inv-39). Together, the Osiram and Siana Women Cultural Bomas own dairy cows[34] and held 125 hectares of Mbirikani Group Ranch land in trust, where they grew livestock fodder grass for sale, and a storage facility for safe-keeping of the fodder (FGD-1; FGD-2; Inv-27; 38; 39). The women Bomas have also benefited from two modern sanitation facilities (See Figure 5 2). The ownership of property by women is a positive stride since in the traditional Maasai culture women are not allowed to own property. However most women preferred individual benefits as opposed to communal and looked forward to a time where each would own a dairy cow (FGD-1).

Health Care Support Program

In 2002, a health care support program was initiated in Mbirikani Group Ranch by BLF, to enhance local communities' access to health care. The program was funded and supported by the Ann and Robert Lurie Foundation (Inv-23, Inv-11). Ann and Robert started as guests at the Ol donyo Waus lodge, and later became board members of BLF [35] (Inv-29). At its inception, the health program ran as a mobile clinic. It consisted of a single trailer operated by a physician, laboratory technologist, and a nurse, moving through remote areas of the Mbirikani Group Ranch where people did not have access to health care (Inv-29). In 2004, the clinic moved into a permanent, modern medical facility that was constructed in the Mbirikani Group Ranch and continued to offer mobile services (Inv-29, Inv-32). The clinic offered free medical services to patients from Mbirikani Group Ranch and beyond the Amboseli landscape (Inv-22; Inv-29; Inv-32). However, the health facility and the mobile clinic closed down abruptly in 2012 due to inadequate funds (Inv-29; Inv-32). Since 2017, BLF initiated a health care program in collaboration with CHASE Africa and the local Kajiado South Department

[34] One cow is assigned to 3 women for purposes of sharing milk.
[35] During its MPT phase.

of Health, to provide mobile healthcare services to communities in remote areas of the landscape (BLF, 2017, 2018, 2019).

Figure 5.1: A sanitation facility at Osiram Women cultural Boma
Source: Authors.

Maasai Olympics

The Maasai Olympics is a landscape-wide biennial athletic sports event that was initiated by BLF to enhance awareness on wildlife conservation by nurturing a cultural change among Maasai youth. The first Maasai Olympics was held in December 2012 and subsequent ones in 2014, 2016 and 2018 (BLF, 2018; Inv-5; Inv-8; Inv-25a; Inv-28; Inv-32). The program was developed in response to a Maasai cultural practice associated with the 'rite of passage' ('*Olamaiyo*') that required young men to kill a lion as a sign of bravery (BLF, 2015a, 2015b). The Olympics integrate all-year-round cultural-related activities conducted for education and awareness creation purposes (BLF, 2013). The Maasai Olympics bring together stakeholders from within and beyond the Amboseli landscape. In 2012, the event attracted about 4,000 young Maasai men (Morans), while the 2014 event also included young women at the request of funding partners as a way of expanding the span of awareness creation. The Olympics and their associated education and awareness creation activities seem to be meeting the aim of changing cultural practices in favour of wildlife conservation, as illustrated by the sentiment by a Maasai youth.

> *we no longer mark rite of passage by killing lions, we compete in athletics for medals, we are now aware of the importance of caring for our environment [including wildlife] so that it can take care of us* (FGD-4).

5.4.2 Impacts on biodiversity conservation

Through the various policy interventions, AET and BLF have been able to strengthen local communities' capital assets and influence their livelihood strategies, thereby contributing (explicitly and implicitly) to address some of the major conservation challenges (see Table 5.2).

Wildlife habitat loss and fragmentation

AET and BLF have significantly contributed to addressing wildlife habitat loss and fragmentation through the creation of community wildlife conservancies. A conservancy refers to 'land designated by a community or private landowner, groups of owners or corporate body for purposes of wildlife conservation and other compatible land uses' (KWCA, 2016, p. 19). Community wildlife conservancies aim to mitigate HWCs by separating conflicting land uses such as biodiversity conservation, livestock grazing and crop farming (KWCA, 2016). Consequently, various community wildlife conservancies have been initiated by AET partners in Amboseli in order to expand wildlife habitats and connect wildlife migratory routes between Amboseli, Tsavo, Chyulu and Kilimanjaro National Parks in Kenya and Mount Kilimanjaro National Parks in Tanzania (Inv-4, Inv-31) (see Table 5.3).

Table 5.2: Partnerships' contributions to conservation (Source: Authors)

Challenge	Main contributions to conservation	AET and/or BLF intervention
Wildlife habitat loss and fragmentation	Land use zonation Increase in land for biodiversity conservation Physical separation of land uses	AEMP Community wildlife conservancies Crop-protection fence
HWCs and poaching	Land use zonation Reduced poaching and depredation Creating support for wildlife conservation Physical separation of land uses	AEMP Compensation (PCF) and other financial benefits Maasai Olympics Crop-protection fence
Unplanned and uncoordinated development	Land use zonation Shelving development projects that contravene the AEMP	AEMP
Land tenure and land use change	Land use zonation	AEMP

For instance, in the 1990s when Kimana Group Ranch was subdivided, its members set aside 2290 ha. for the Kimana Community Wildlife Sanctuary (KCWS) (Southgate, 2006). Afterwards, AWF initiated six conservancies referred to as Amboseli Land Owners Conservancies Association (ALOCA) in Kimana Group Ranch (Table 5.3) by leasing adjacent privately-owned pieces of land, aimed at creating a wildlife migratory corridor linking Amboseli, Chyulu Hills and Tsavo National Parks through KCWS (KWCA, 2016). Between 2008 and 2014, AWF and IFAW coordinated their activities in leasing adjacent individually-owned parcels to create the Kitenden Corridor and Conservation Area (KCCA) covering 26,000 ha in the Olgulului Group Ranch. In 2016, BLF inherited the six ALOCA conservancies in Kimana group ranch after AWF ceased its operation in Amboseli (Inv-22c) and took over a 25-year lease of Kimana Community Wildlife Sanctuary (2290 ha) from Olive Branch Mission, a church-based NGO, for lack of funds to meet the lease obligations in 2017 (Inv-25c).

Most conservancies in the Amboseli landscape have partnered with private investors who operate wildlife-based tourism enterprises fashioned around tourist lodges. The investors have initiated conservation-based NGOs (CBNGOs) to fundraise for and coordinate conservation and livelihood initiatives of the conservancies and group ranches. Examples of CBNGOs include the Kenya Wildlife Trust (KWT) affiliated with the Kitirua conservancy in the Olgulului Group Ranch, the Maasailand Wilderness Conservation Trust (MWCT) for the Mtikanju conservancy within the Kuku Group Ranch, and Porini Ecotourism for the Selenkay conservancy in the Eselengei Group Ranch, and BLF[36] in the Mbirikani Group Ranch.

[36] As Ol donyo Waus Trust

Table 5.3: Community conservancies in Amboseli landscape (KWCA, 2016; Ogutu, 2002; Van Wijk, Lamers & Van der Duim, 2015).

Group Ranch	GR area (ha)	Existing and proposed conservancies [ha]	Tourist lodge
Mbirikani	49,733	− Ol donyo Wuas [400] − Loosikitok Rhino Sanctuary [569]	Ol Donyo Wuas Lodge
Olgulului	59,509	− Kitirua conservancy (12,140.57) − Kitenden Corridor and Conservation Area [26,000] − Olgulului Ranch Trust [6,070]	Tortilis camp
Kimana	10,165	− Kimana Community sanctuary [2,290][37] − ALOCA conservancies o Nailepu [1,490] o Kilitome [2,400] o Osupuko [1,330] o Oltiyani [2,023] o Nalarami [2,428] o Olepolos [1,080] − Elerai Conservancy[38] [1,760]	Kimana Lodge Tawi Lodge Satao Elerai eco-lodge
Rombo	15,378	− Rombo Emampuli [10,000] *Proposed*	-
Kuku	3,884	− Kampi ya Kanzi [240] − Olosoito/Motikanju Wildlife Sactuary [3240]	Kambi ya Kanzi lodge
Eselengei	30,268	− Selenkay Conservation Area [16 Ha]	Porini Camp

[37] Also referred to as 'Sidai Oleng' between 2014 and 2017 when it was under the management of Olive Branch Mission.

Human Wildlife Conflicts and poaching

It has been argued that the Predator Compensation Fund intervention by BLF has reduced lion deaths from retaliatory attacks in Mbirikani Group Ranch by 73% (Hazzah et al., 2014). Our findings also reveal a significant drop in the number of lions killed through retaliation by community members in the Mbirikani and Olgulului Group Ranches after the compensation program (PCF) was introduced by BLF in 2002 and 2007 respectively (Figure 5.3).

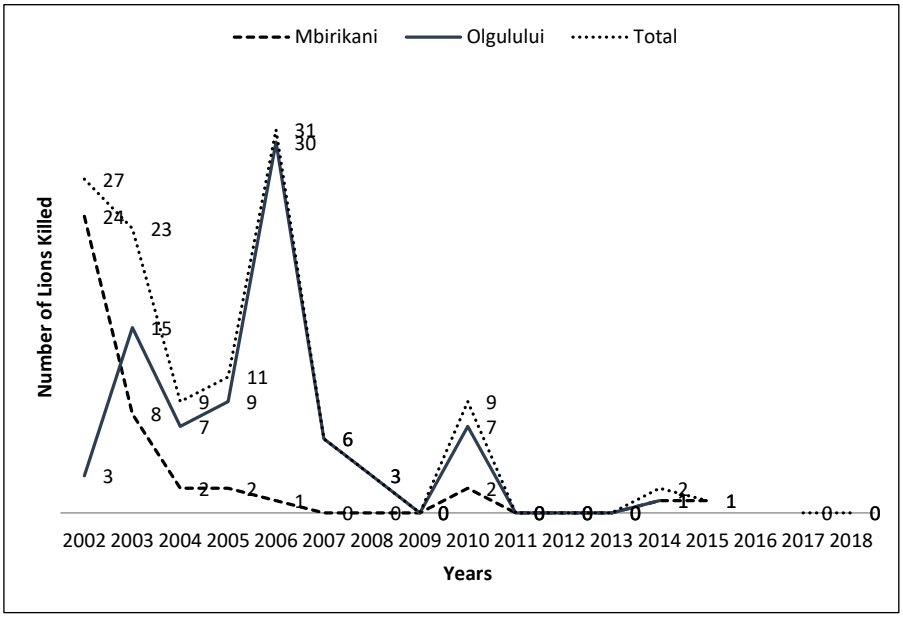

Figure 5.2: Lion deaths from retaliatory attacks[39]
Source: Adapted from (Anyango et al, 2014; BLF-AR, 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018).

In the Mbirikani Group Ranch, retaliatory lion deaths reduced from 24 in 2002 to 2 in 2004 while Olgulului Group Ranch recorded 30 retaliatory lion deaths in 2006 and 3 in 2008, representing a decline of 92% and 90% respectively. Frank et al. (2006) indicate an upward trend in retaliatory lion deaths in other group ranches in the Amboseli landscape that were not covered by PCF. The success of PCF in addressing HWC is further implied by the fact that it

[39] In 2019, 6 lions were killed in PCF areas-Mbirikani, Kimana and Eselengei group ranches (BLF, 2019b).

has been replicated in the neighbouring Kuku Group Ranch on almost similar terms (Inv-28). The success is affirmed by a local community respondent;

> *we lived with wildlife, yes, but we killed any animal that killed our cattle but Bonham [BLF] has brought a new way of looking at wildlife - as a source of income […], our people employed as game scouts, […] we now know that conserving wildlife can improve our livelihoods (Inv-9b).*

Through the Wildlife Conservation and Security Program (WCSP), BLF and other AET partners collaboratively work towards addressing wildlife poaching by enhancing overall wildlife security in the community and private lands outside formal government protected areas, thereby making positive strides in wading off poachers. The WCSP program was initiated in the Mbirikani Group Ranch in the late 1980s by BLF in response to increased incidents of poaching for bush meat and trophies such as ivory (Inv-29). The program is executed through an elaborate network of community wildlife game scouts (Inv-29). These scouts are young Maasais drawn from partnering communities in the landscape. During the study period, BLF implemented the WCSP in four group ranches (Mbirikani, Olgulului, Kimana, Rombo) in Kenya and in the neighbouring North-eastern parts of Tanzania. Some AET partners (AWF, IFAW and ACC) employ scouts and delegate the management of their day-to-day activities to BLF, while they pay salaries and other related expenses like uniforms, food rations, operation costs (Inv-4; Inv-5d). The scouts patrol the landscape with some being on foot, others in cars and are supported by trained dogs and an aircraft when need arises to arrest crime suspects or confiscate weapons, and they also aid in the prosecution processes (BLF, 2018). Similar programs have been replicated in two other group ranches - Kuku and Selengei - by private investor-based conservation NGOs.

However, in 2018 BLF stopped its operations in Olgulului Group Ranch owing to a misunderstanding and/or fall-out related to game scouts who wanted some degree of autonomy from BLF (Inv-22c; Inv-25; Inv-27b).

Our findings also reveal that the number of elephant deaths linked to poaching declined between 2012 and 2018, while retaliation-related elephant deaths remained relatively high between 2012 and 2016 (Figure 5.4) in BLF's area of operation (BLF, 2013, 2014, 2015a, 2016, 2017, 2018). Reduction of poaching related elephant deaths can partially be attributed to the WSCP by BLF (Figure 5.4), since there are no other interventions targeting wildlife poaching outside formal government-run protected areas. The high number of retaliation-related elephant deaths could

be explained by the fact that crop-related losses (most often caused by elephants) and property destruction are not covered by the compensation programs. In 2016, the BLF embarked on constructing a 150 km electric fence, referred to as crop-protection fence, that separates crop farms from wildlife (especially elephants). A total of 100 km of fence had been completed in 2019 (BLF, 2019a). The fence may partly be credited for the decline of retaliatory elephant death after 2016.

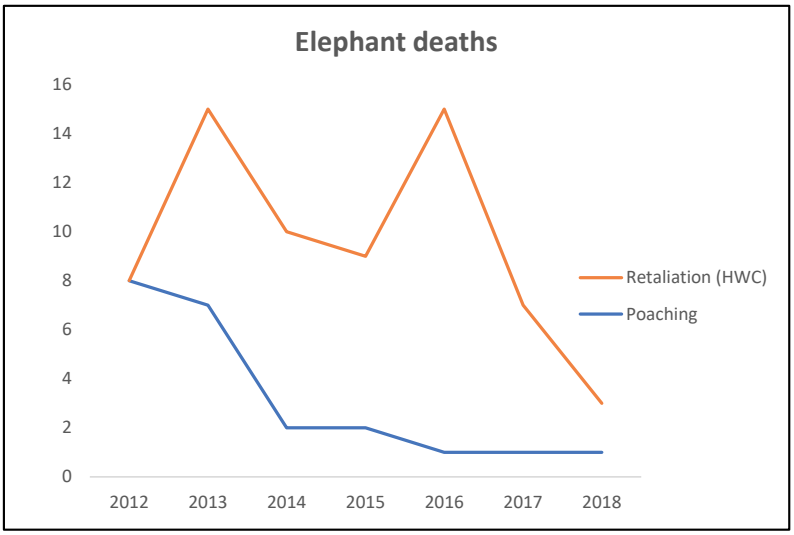

Figure 5.3: Elephant deaths from poaching and retaliation (HWC) in BLF area of operation (BLF, 2013, 2014, 2015a, 2016, 2017, 2018).

Unplanned and uncoordinated development

AET strives to address unplanned and uncoordinated development through the land use zonation plan integrated into the AEMP, that categorizes the Amboseli landscape into wildlife tourism, livestock production, and arable agriculture zones (AET, 2009a, 2014a). Consequently, new development projects in the Amboseli landscape require prior endorsement by AET for compliance with the AEMP zonation plan before they are approved by government agencies such as the National Environmental Management Authority and National Construction Authority (Inv-1d).

In 2012, the AET lobbied against the construction of two proposed government projects - a planned all-weather road linking Namangaand Loitokitoktownships through the Meshenani gate of ANP (Namanga-Meshenani-Loitokitok road) and a city - Amboseli New Town. This resulted in re-alignment of the road-route away from the protected area (ANP), and indefinite shelving of the plan for a new town. The lobbying was based on the fact that the projects contravened the AEMP's zonation plan. This positively impacted biodiversity conservation through averting potential loss and fragmentation of wildlife habitats and migratory routes (AET, 2013b). Although the shelving of the city and re-alignment of the road-route had positive impacts on conservation, it denied local community development opportunities and improved accessibility. In one of the communications regarding the road-route, a partner of AET- representing the local community argued that;

> *we need it [road] like yesterday* (AET, 2013a).

Land tenure and land use changes

Through the AEMP's land use zonation plan, AET (with BLF being a partner) is implicitly and to a smaller extent addressing land use change. Moreover, land use change is still rampant. There has been a general non-adherence to the AEMP zonation plan as far as crop farming is concerned, with local communities continuing to practice and extend crop farming in non-agricultural zones (and in wetlands such as the Kimana swamp). Crop farming appears to be providing local communities with higher short-term economic returns compared to biodiversity conservation land uses, but reduces wildlife habitat connectivity and increases HWC incidences. In addition to the AEMP, community wildlife conservancies as discussed above also serve as a strategy of addressing land use change as they prevent further subdivision of group ranches.

5.5 Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter we have shown that both AET and BLF have been able to address direct drivers of biodiversity loss such as human wildlife conflicts and poaching and - to a much lesser extent - the indirect drivers like poverty and land subdivision. Through the workings of both partnerships, more community members now have access to particular community capital assets, especially employment opportunities and other monetary incentives and education (see

Table 5.1). However, it is not clear if and how the financial benefits transfer to real and long-term support for wildlife conservation.

While the partnerships have had success in increasing land for conservation and addressing HWC and poaching, there are still a high number of retaliation-related elephant deaths. These are not covered under the current compensation arrangement, which also only runs in a small part of the landscape. Furthermore, the durability of these successes remains uncertain, since most interventions solely depend on donor funding, as discussed below. There have also been positive strides in tackling unplanned development such as tourism facilities, a road and a town, but little progress has been made in addressing persistent land tenure and land use changes.

Our research also afforded us, as suggested by Scoones (2009), to contribute to the opening up of a new livelihoods' agenda by more searchingly and concretely addressing questions on power, politics and scale specifically. We start with the latter.

5.5.1 Matters of scale

The use of the sustainable livelihoods approach in this chapter has enabled us to make links from the micro-level, situated particularities of poor people's livelihoods, to the wider-level institutional and policy framings by the two partnerships at the landscape level of Amboseli (Scoones & Wolmer 2003). However, national and even international levels do matter as well. At the national level two issues stand out: i) The gazettement of the AEMP under Kenyan law highlights the fact that national government remains an important player in governance at the landscape level; ii) Some national government policies aimed at enhancing community livelihoods in Amboseli conflict with biodiversity conservation goals. For example, government policies on improving food security through crop farming in wetlands contravene the AEMP land use zonation plan.

The policy interventions by the two partnerships are also influenced by developments at the international level. Three examples illustrate wider, global processes and their impingement on livelihood and conservation concerns at the local level. First, both AET and BLF are fully dependent on international donor funds. Over-dependence on donor funding is argued to be a threat to project durability (Anyango-Van Zwieten et al., 2015; Asaka, 2019). This is well illustrated at Amboseli by AWF, a core partner in driving AET's vision, which left the landscape abruptly owing to lack of funding, while the health care program - that was instrumental in offering health services - collapsed in 2012 for the same reason. Accordingly,

over-dependence on donor funds raises pertinent questions on the viability of donor-dependent partnerships interventions to impact on livelihood strategies in Amboseli.

Second, and as discussed above, the successes at Amboseli are rather fragile, with solutions far from durable. The financing of for example the management of conservancies, the Women cultural Bomas, and education bursaries significantly depends on income from international tourism. The vulnerability of the dependence on this economic sector is not new, but have recently been amplified by the COVID-19 crisis which has abruptly halted tourism, and thereby the flow of income (Gössling, Scott & Hall, 2020). The COVID-19 crisis has painfully underlined, in a historic manner, the vulnerability of depending on philanthropy and market-based instruments (in our case income from tourism) for conservation, which is often seen as a classic governmental responsibility (see also Hockings et al., 2020).

Third, it is expected that climate change will negatively impact all current challenges the landscape is facing, thereby increasing the need to find solutions, both through the partnerships and initiatives that address the underlying causes of the problems Amboseli is facing. As Scoones (2009: 189) rightly has argued, sustainability and resilience of livelihoods '…cannot always emerge through local adaptation in conditions of extreme vulnerability. Instead, more dramatic reconfigurations of livelihoods may have to occur in response to long-run change. This is highlighted in particular by the challenge of climate change'.

5.5.2 Power and politics

Livelihoods and partnerships are entangled with relations of power. First, livelihood activities are not neutral, but engendered by processes of inclusion and exclusion which affect processes of decision-making on the allocation of livelihood capitals (De Haan & Zoomers, 2006). For example, local communities are underrepresented in BLFs top decision-making level ever since the Maasailand Preservation Trust merged its activities into BLF. Accordingly, their participation in the governance remains limited although they own the land. Similarly, Maasai women are generally also excluded from decision making and accruing benefits, although in our case individual partners of AET (e.g. ACC, BLF, AWF) have set up projects to improve the livelihoods of women and ensure women benefit from tourism, as illustrated by the support offered to two Women cultural Bomas in the Mbirikani Group Ranch. Finally, migrant communities represent a significant interest because of the way they use the landscape – cultivating crops - which exacerbates wildlife habitat loss and human wildlife conflicts. However, they are not represented as partners of the AET, since they are not members in any

of the six group ranches[40] that are part of the Amboseli landscape. Consequently, they are not bound to adjust their ways of making a living, which seriously impedes the successful implementation of the AEMP and sustainable development of the Amboseli landscape.

The functioning of the two partnerships itself is also driven by relations of power (Mugo et al. 2020; see also Chapter 4). Although partnerships are often touted as avenues of moderating power inequalities (Leach & Pelkey 2001), our findings revealed a general over-reliance on individual AET partners (KWS, BLF, ACC, IFAW, AWF) for on-the-ground implementation of the AEMP programs. This over-reliance poses a risk of powerful partners hijacking AET to further their interests. This finding echoes the argument by Glasbergen, Biermann & Mol (2007) that partnerships may act as instruments of advancing actor-specific goals. For example, the ACC has been strong on building community capacity development among communities, while IFAW and AWF focused on habitat extension and connectivity. This study specifically identified BLF as a powerful actor in the Amboseli landscape, a position highlighted by its execution of the wildlife conservation and security roles outside the formal government protected area in the Kenyan Amboseli landscape and neighbouring areas in Tanzania, that is credited for reduced poaching. Moreover, although seemingly successful, the use of 'force-like-tactics' in the wildlife security program raises issues on militarization or 'green militarization' of biodiversity conservation (Duffy et al., 2019; Massé, Lunstrum & Holterman, 2018).

The above clearly illustrates the heterogeneous interests of the partners involved in the partnerships and the different meanings they attribute to the landscape. Masterson et al. (2019, p. 651), argue that '…conflicts about land use interventions can be understood as conflicts about the meanings of place to which opposing parties are strongly attached'. Specifically, subdivision of land, the fact that a majority of the inhabitants are involved in crop farming (Okello, 2012), and the steady increase of unplanned development may lead to further loss of and fragmentation of wildlife habitats and increased HWCs. Consequently, a stronger engagement with the full range of meanings of place may help to disentangle the trade-offs between conservation and development and deconstruct the popular 'win-win' conservation and development discourse (Masterson et al., 2019).

[40] Except in special circumstances such as when a woman is windowed (Nthiga, 2014).

CHAPTER SIX
Conclusions and Discussion

6.1 Introduction

This study sought to understand the contribution of partnerships to governance in the Amboseli landscape. The Kenyan Amboseli landscape comprises the Amboseli National Park and six neighbouring Maasai community Group Ranches, namely Mbirikani, Kuku, Kimana, Eselengei, Olgulului-Ololorashi and Rombo. The landscape also neighbours the Tsavo and Chyulu Hills National Parks in Kenya and Kilimanjaro National Park in Tanzania. Amboseli is a multifunctional landscape that serves multiple land uses and functions, such as pastoralism, crop agriculture, biodiversity conservation and wildlife-based tourism. Amboseli is known for its rich biodiversity, with iconic animals such as elephants and lions living there, and it is designated as an Important Bird Area (IBA). The National Park is the second-most visited in Kenya. Amboseli is, therefore, praised as Kenya's conservation jewel 'where humans, livestock and wildlife have co-existed for centuries' (BurnSilver et al., 2008, p. 225).

However, for over half a century, the Amboseli landscape has faced persistent conservation and development challenges. These include changing land tenure and land-use; human-wildlife conflicts (HWCs); poaching of wildlife; unplanned and uncoordinated development; loss and fragmentation of wildlife habitats; inadequate and unequal benefits for local communities; high levels of poverty; and a conservation-development nexus policy void. These challenges emanate from, among others, an increase in human population as well as multiple – and at times conflicting – stakeholder interests and claims. As a result, various interventions aimed at mitigating these challenges have been initiated, mostly in the form of varied partnership arrangements between actors drawn from the communities, state, market and conservation organizations.

This PhD thesis examined the contributions of two landscape-wide partnerships, the Amboseli Ecosystem Trust (AET) and Big Life Foundation (BLF). The Amboseli Ecosystem Trust (AET) is a landscape-based partnership that brings together stakeholders (outlined in Table 4.1) in Amboseli with the aim of simultaneously achieving conservation and development goals through the implementation of the Amboseli Ecosystem Management Plan (AEMP). The AEMP is a policy document developed collaboratively by the AET partners between 2004 and 2008 and launched in 2009, for the purpose of ensuring that wildlife and communities thrive

(AET, 2009). A key component of the AEMP is a land-use zonation plan aimed at separating conflicting land-uses in order to address HWCs and wildlife habitat loss challenges. The activities of the AET are undertaken by a board of trustees (BoT) consisting of governmental agencies, communities, private investors and civil society representatives (Table 4.1).

The BLF is a partner and member of the AET. BLF is the product of a successive evolution from a three-phased partnership arrangement in the Mbirikani Group Ranch (MGR) and the larger Amboseli landscape spanning over three decades. The first phase (1986-1992) of the partnership linked the MGR community members and a private investor in tourism. The second phase (1992-2012) concerned the Maasailand Preservation Trust (MPT), a partnership between the MGR community members and Ol donyo Wuas Trust[41]. The third phase started in 2012 when MPT merged its activities and the BLF was founded. BLF operations focus on conservation and development initiatives in the Amboseli landscape, implemented in collaboration with local communities, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the Kenyan government. Policy interventions by BLF include a wildlife conservation and security program, a Predator Compensation Fund (PCF), a wildlife education bursary, health care provisions, the Maasai Olympics and empowerment programs for women (Table 6.1).

6.2 The landscape governance perspective

This research amalgamated literature on partnerships, governance and landscapes into a landscape governance approach, integrated with a multi-dimensional power perspective (Barnett & Duvall, 2005; Kuindersma, Arts & Van der Zouwen, 2012). A landscape is characterized as 'a social-biophysical construct that connects social scales and the biophysical conditions and ecological processes in spaces' (Görg, 2007, p. 955). As landscapes are multifunctional, they support multiple actors with multiple interests (Sayer et al., 2013), which necessitates governance. In this study, governance is defined as modes of steering in which multiple societal actors organize themselves and are involved in making and implementing decisions to address societal problems (De Loë, Armitage, Plummer, Davidson & Moraru, 2009; Kersbergen & Waarden, 2004; Rosenau & Czempiel, 1992). Following Görg (2007), this study operationalizes landscape governance as the manner in which actors – the partnerships in the case of this study – steer and shape the Amboseli landscape (see also Buizer, Arts & Westerink, 2015).

[41] Ol donyo Wuas Trust was the tourism-private-investor based NGO that fundraised for and implemented conservation and livelihood programs in the Mbirikani Group Ranch.

Within the landscape governance debate, I focussed on partnerships, defined as collaborative arrangements between multiple actors drawn from the public, private, and/or civil society sectors, who work towards solving specific problems and/or issues of mutual concern for sustainable development (see for example, Bitzer, 2012; Laing et al., 2009; Van Huijstee et al., 2007). Partnerships, it is argued, have the capacity to solve problems (Bitzer, Glasbergen & Arts, 2013). They are capable of achieving more than the individual partners alone (Glasbergen, Biermann & Mol, 2007; Van Huijstee, Francken & Leroy, 2007; Visseren-Hamakers, 2013). This is because together they fulfil assorted landscape governance roles, such as agenda-setting, policy development, information sharing, capacity building, policy implementation and meta-governance (see for example, Kolk, 2012; Kolk, Van Dolen & Vock, 2010; Van Huijstee et al., 2007; Visseren-Hamakers et al., 2012; Visseren-Hamakers, 2013).

Through these landscape governance roles, partnerships are able to address sustainable development-related challenges in complex landscapes (Lamers, Van der Duim, Van Wijk, Nthiga & Visseren-Hamakers, 2014), including those relating to conservation and development. However, critics argue that partnerships may favour some actors (Glasbergen et al., 2007), while excluding others (Chan, 2014), may create new problems (Bitzer & Glasbergen, 2015), and are prone to elitism (Dubbink, 2013). Many studies on governance by partnerships have been conducted at different socio-spatial levels (see for example, Van der Duim, Van Wijk & Lamers, 2017; Visseren-Hamakers & Glasbergen, 2007; Visseren-Hamakers, Leroy & Glasbergen, 2012), but their contribution to landscape governance is still poorly understood, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. This study addresses this gap and contributes to our understanding of the role of partnerships' in landscape governance in a non-Western context.

The overall aim of this PhD project was to understand the contribution of partnerships to governance in the Amboseli landscape. To achieve this aim, this research sought to answer the following research questions:

(i) *How are landscape governance roles fulfilled by the analysed partnerships in the Amboseli landscape?*

(ii) *In what ways and to what extent have the partnerships (through the landscape governance roles) addressed the conservation-development challenges facing the Amboseli landscape?*

The concepts of landscape, governance, and partnerships are generally presented as a-political phenomena (Kuindersma et al., 2012), while in reality, they are loaded with power (Torfing,

2010). The fact that landscapes support multiple actors with multiple and divergent interests signifies that they are in essence political in nature (Sayer et al., 2013). Moreover, partnerships are not power neutral (Bitzer and Glasbergen (2015). They may lead to power imbalances by favouring some actors' interests over those of others in governance processes (Arts et al., 2017; Bitzer & Glasbergen, 2015; Bowen & Ebi, 2015; Rhodes, 1997; Visseren-Hamakers, 2009). According to Kuindersma et al. (2012, p. 413), 'governance debates can also be framed as debates on power relations between state and non-state actors'. Consequently, to answer the research questions, this study blended the landscape governance approach with the multidimensional perspective on power introduced by Kuindersma et al. (2012) and Barnett & Duvall (2005).

To understand how the analysed partnerships contribute to the governance of the Amboseli landscape, this research first examined the landscape governance roles fulfilled by AET and BLF based on existing governance literature (Table 4.2), using the fourfold taxonomy of power (Barnett & Duvall, 2005).

With regard to how the partnerships contribute to addressing conservation challenges, this study examined their efforts in increasing the area of land dedicated to biodiversity conservation, including connecting or creating wildlife migratory corridors, their role in reducing Human Wildlife Conflicts (HWCs) and poaching, and the ways in which they aimed to increase community support for wildlife conservation. The study also analysed how the partnerships impact local community livelihoods in terms of financial, human, physical, social, cultural and political capital assets (Ashley, 2000; Bebbington, 1999; Bennett, Lemelin, Koster & Budke, 2012; Ussi, 2012).

In the subsequent sections, this chapter presents conclusions, a discussion of the findings and then offers some recommendations.

6.3 Conclusions

The first research question in this study sought to understand how the landscape governance roles are fulfilled by the analysed partnerships. These findings are presented in detail in chapter 4. Both partnerships perform related and complementing landscape governance roles in the Amboseli landscape (Table 4.6 and 6.1). AET focuses on policy development, agenda-setting and meta-governance, while the BLF concentrates on policy implementation and meta-governance in relation to wildlife security. Moreover, meta-governance roles are performed

differently by the analysed partnerships. Findings revealed an intricate interplay between the four faces of power (Barnett & Duvall, 2005), which have helped explain how the partnerships play a role in the governance of the Amboseli landscape.

The second research question sought to understand how, and the extent to which, the partnerships contribute to addressing conservation-development challenges in the Amboseli landscape. Findings show that through the landscape governance roles they perform, the partnerships have made important contributions to reducing human wildlife conflicts, poaching and uncoordinated infrastructure and tourism development challenges (Table 6.1). However, little progress has been made in addressing land tenure and land-use changes, which are fundamental in the overall governance of the Amboseli landscape.

6.3.1 Landscape governance roles

Policy development is the most important landscape governance role performed by the AET. Its main output – the AEMP policy document – was the basis for its fulfilment of meta-governance and agenda-setting. The AEMP was developed between 2004 and 2008, providing an arena for AET partners to deliberate and negotiate different ideas on the governance of the Amboseli landscape. The significant amount of time it took to develop the AEMP indicates the existence of deep-rooted power struggles among the diverse partners of the AET, highlighted by: i) a misunderstanding between the local community partners and other partners of the AET – conservation NGOs and the government (Kenya Wildlife Service, KWS) – whereby the former perceived the zonation as a 'conspiracy' to convert their land into formal government-run protected areas by the latter; ii) an attempt by KWS to launch the AEMP in 2008 without the community partners' consent, resulting in protests and interception of the process by the latter. In both instances, the AET engaged community representatives – the Amboseli/Tsavo Group Ranch Conservation Association (ATGRCA[42]) – through consultative meetings to iron-out the contentious issues. The fact that local community voices were taken into consideration signify compulsory power from land ownership, which local communities used as a resource to confront other partners of AET, including KWS.

Both partnerships fulfil important meta-governance roles, but in different ways. The AEMP development process of the AET demonstrated the coordination and synergy amongst some AET partners with regard to conservancy leases. Synergy is demonstrated by: (i) deliberate and

[42] ATGRCA is a community-based organization comprising of community members drawn from Kimana, Mbirikani, Eselengei, Kuku, Rombo, Olgulului group ranches and a privately owned Olgulului Ranch Trust whose aim is to improve community livelihoods through conservation initiatives.

coordinated leasing of adjacent areas by the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW) and the African Wildlife Fund (AWF) to create a larger Kitenden Corridor Community Conservancy Area (KCCA) in the Olgulului Group ranch; (ii) the relative ease of a takeover of six community wildlife conservancies land leases (Nailepu, Kilitome, Osupuko, Oltiyani, Nalarami and Olepolos in Kimana Group Ranch) from AWF[43] by BLF, as well as the Kimana Community Wildlife Sanctuary (KWCS) from the Olive Branch Mission (see Chapter 4).

Meta-governance by AET has also provided a conducive environment for its partners to implement policy interventions through its social network. This enables BLF to implement policy interventions and fulfil a meta-governance role. This is demonstrated by its widespread wildlife security and conservation program on communal and private land outside the formal protected area in the Amboseli landscape in Kenya, and beyond into Tanzania, gradually creating a transboundary landscape. Implementation of the wildlife security and conservation program is supported by some AET partners (such as IFAW, ACC, ATE), who have delegated their community wildlife rangers to BLF. Accordingly, the wildlife conservation and security program is implemented through an elaborate network of wildlife community rangers, who patrol and make arrests using paramilitary-like tactics. The manner in which the wildlife security program is implemented portrays BLF as a dominant, policy-implementing partner in Amboseli. Other policy interventions implemented by the BLF include a unique and pioneering Predator Compensation Program (PCF) in the Mbirikani and Olgulului group ranches. This program remunerates community members for wildlife-inflicted livestock losses in order to increase their tolerance of livestock predation and dissuade retaliation, thus reducing predator deaths, and thereby addressing HWCs (Anyango-Van Zwieten, Van der Duim & Visseren-Hamakers, 2015).

The AEMP has also provided institutional power to AET to vet new development project proposals for compliance with the land-use zonation plan. Notable examples of agenda-setting are: (i) lobbying against a proposed city that was to be constructed next to the Amboseli National Park in 2012, (ii) contesting a road route and proposing an alternative route. In both instances, AET based its arguments on the AEMP's land-use zonation plan. Through agenda-setting, AET presents a common, undivided voice to the world when the need arises, or when it suits the partnership, while individual partners remain divided along their multiple and diverse interests.

[43] When it exited from the Kilimanjaro Heartland that Amboseli landscape was part of.

Fulfilment of policy development, meta-governance, agenda-setting and policy implementation by the analysed partnerships also involve capacity building and information sharing. The partnerships and their partners have enhanced local communities' ability to take part in governance processes in the landscape by improving their financial, social, human, physical and cultural capital assets (Table 5.1). Information is vital and integrated in the fulfilment of all other landscape governance roles performed by the AET. Like other landscape governance roles, the development of the Amboseli Ecosystem Management Plan (AEMP) was an information-intensive process which involved gathering and packaging information from diverse stakeholders in the Amboseli landscape.

Results reveal that fulfilment of the landscape governance roles by the AET and BLF involve complex power relationships among the actors in these partnerships, which include all four types of power (Table 4.7). Through compulsory power, the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) took a leading role in the development of the AEMP since it had expertise in formulating conservation area policies. Furthermore, despite the Amboseli landscape being multifunctional, the KWS used the Protected Area Policy Framework (PAPF), which is specifically designed for protected areas, in the AEMP development process. Institutional power provided by the AEMP enabled AET to perform important agenda-setting and meta-governance roles. Moreover, the dominant position of BLF in policy implementation can partly be explained by compulsory power (financial resources), derived from its fund-raising abilities, which enhances its capacity to implement diverse policy interventions.

Partnerships are said to enhance participation in governance (see for example McAllister & Taylor, 2015). However, the fulfilment of landscape governance roles by the analysed partnerships reveals instances of exclusion. First, the local communities seem to have been disempowered after MPT merged its activities into BLF, since they were no longer represented at the top decision-making level. Second, migrant communities are not actively involved in the governance of the Amboseli landscape, although they have a significant interest because of their crop farming – which aggregates wildlife habitat loss and human wildlife challenges (such as HWCs) challenges. Third, Maasai women and youth are under-represented in the governance of their landscape.

Table 6.1: Overview of the main findings - (combining Table 4.2 and Table 5.2)

Landscape governance role	Partnerships		Challenge addressed
	AET	**BLF**	
Policy development [**]	AEMP development	As a member of AET	Conservation-development policy void
Meta-governance [*] [**]	Coordinated and synergized action among partners - *Coordinated leasing Conservancy-KCCA* - *Smooth handing-over of conservancies*	Coordinated wildlife security operations Efficient take-over of community wildlife conservancies	Wildlife poaching, habitat loss and fragmentation
Policy implementation [*]	AEMP gazettement Community conservancies by AET partners Wildlife security by AET partners	Wildlife security and conservation, PCF, conservancies, Maasai Olympics, women cultural Bomas, education bursaries and HWC fence	Wildlife poaching Poverty, and benefits to communities through livelihood improvement (financial, cultural, human capital assets)
Agenda-setting [**]	Defending the landscape - *Amboseli New City* - *Namanga-Loitoktok Road*	As a member of AET	Habitat loss and fragmentation
Information sharing	Integrated into all landscape governance roles	Integrated into all policy interventions	Contributes to all challenges
Capacity building	Education Skill development	Maasai Olympics Women cultural Bomas Education bursaries	Contributes to all challenges

[**] Prominent landscape governance role by BLF

[*] Prominent landscape governance role by BLF

The above cases of exclusion of certain groups from governance processes may be explained by the institutional and structural faces of power. Institutional power vested in policy documents such as the AEMP reduces the participation of migrants in governance processes. Moreover, the subject position of women and youth originates from structural power entrenched in the Maasai community cultural system, which alienates women and youth from decision-making (see for example, Hodgson, 2005). Notably, while AET has made efforts to include women and youth, by including representatives of these groups, it is not clear if this translates to improved participation in the governance of the landscape.

6.3.2 Contribution of partnerships to addressing conservation and development challenges

Findings show that through their governance roles, the studied partnerships have dealt with, and continue to address, challenges facing the Amboseli landscape (Table 6.1). They have addressed direct drivers of biodiversity loss (such as human wildlife conflicts, poaching, unplanned infrastructural developments) and – to a much lesser extent – the indirect drivers (or underlying causes), such as poverty and land subdivision. Moreover, more community members have gained access to specific community capital assets through employment opportunities and other monetary incentives and education. Through the land-use zonation plan integrated into the AEMP, AET has also clarified how general infrastructural development and tourism facilities are to be developed in the landscape. Accordingly, new development projects in Amboseli require prior endorsement from AET in order to comply with the AEMP land-use zonation plan. Policy development by AET has, therefore, contributed to addressing the conservation-development policy void.

Through policy implementation, the analysed partnerships have impacted local communities' capital assets, translating to improved livelihoods and enhanced support for wildlife conservation (Table 5.1). Financial assets include the creation of jobs as game scouts in the wildlife conservation and security program, teachers employed in primary schools, staff at the Ol donyo Wuas lodge, and verification officers in PCF (BLF, 2018). Other financial assets include direct monetary incentives from PCF and tuition fees by AET partners such as IFAW, AWF, ATE, and BLF, with funds from

land leases, tourism and philanthropy (Table 5.1). The most important human asset-related benefit is educational support offered through the education bursaries by BLF. Additionally, women have been able to earn some income from the sale of livestock fodder, as well as through cultural performances and selling cultural artefacts to guests at the Ol donyo Wuas Lodge.

However, most community members in Amboseli have operational-level jobs owing to the low level of their skills. This finding seems to echo Walpole & Thouless' (2005) argument that benefits from conservation do not meet expectations. It is also important to note that benefit-sharing may be marred by a lack of transparency and elite capture, with some community members having the upper hand (Saito-Jensen, Nathan & Treue, 2010; Southgate, 2006).

The analysed partnerships have also contributed to enhancing social capital among community members in Amboseli, illustrated by their membership to community-based organizations like ATGRCA, ATGSA and the women cultural Bomas, initiated or linked to the partnerships and some AET partners. Additionally, the communities have benefited through improved physical and cultural assets. The women cultural Bomas in Mbirikani Group Ranches have enabled women to own property (for example, women now own dairy cows[44], 125 hectares of land in Mbirikani Group through a trust, a storage facility and two sanitation facilities).

Through the benefits for communities, the partnerships are helping to reduce human wildlife conflicts (HWCs) and wildlife poaching. For example, as shown in chapter 5, there has been a drastic reduction in wildlife (lion and elephant) deaths linked to retaliation in the Mbirikani and Olgulului Group Ranches after the introduction of the PCF program. The decline in retaliatory lion deaths has continued despite an increased number of livestock predation incidences (Okello, Bonham & Hill, 2014). According to Kideghesho, Røskaft & Kaltenborn (2007) and Meguro & Inoue (2011), accruing tangible benefits may align local community behaviour in support of conservation efforts. Higher levels of education are also associated with higher support for wildlife conservation (Lyamuya et al., 2014; Snyman, 2014). However, it is also argued that the benefits for communities are insufficient in comparison to the costs they incur (Okello, 2005a; Osipova et al., 2018), and there is a general lack of proper benefit-sharing plans

[44] One cow is assigned to 3 women for purposes of sharing milk.

(Stone & Stone, 2020). Furthermore, Ochieng et al. (2018) contend that benefits do not necessarily modify community attitudes towards conservation, and call for careful examination of intricate socio-cultural and political contextual factors in landscapes where conservation-development policies are implemented.

Despite the many positive impacts, the analysed partnerships have made little progress in addressing land tenure and land-use changes. Results from this study show that AEMP's land zonation plan, which aims to address the land-use change challenge, has had little translation on the ground. In particular, there has been a general non-adherence to the AEMP zonation plan. Agricultural land has expanded over time with funding from governmental and development agencies such as the National Irrigation Board and the African Development Bank, indicating that policy incoherence is a landscape governance challenge. It is therefore unclear how the issue of agricultural expansion (including in wetlands) can be addressed, owing to the high stakes involved. The difficulty in implementing the AEMP's land-use zonation plan also demonstrates that there are conflicting interests, especially among the community partners, which remains largely unresolved and leads to negative implications for both biodiversity conservation and livelihoods.

6.4 Discussion

This PhD research analysed two partnerships in Amboseli with the aim of understanding the contribution of partnerships to governance in the Amboseli landscape. The partnerships have contributed, and are still contributing, to the governance of the Amboseli landscape, by performing related and complementing landscape governance roles. Furthermore, through the landscape governance roles they perform, the partnerships have been able to (partially) address several direct drivers of biodiversity loss (such as human wildlife conflicts, poaching) and – to a much lesser extent – indirect drivers, such as poverty and land subdivision.

The research also sheds light on some broader discussions on the role of partnerships in landscape governance. Some of these issues have already been discussed in chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 covers issues relating to the divergent and complementary landscape governance roles of partnerships, 'governance with government', relations of power, *breadth* and *depth* of change, different meanings of landscape, and donor dependency, while the importance of matters of scale and power and politics in landscape

governance are discussed in chapter 5. In this chapter, the discussion is limited to five other issues, namely trade-offs between conservation and development goals, green militarization, the landscape governance era, attribution challenges, and emerging issues concerning landscape governance.

6.4.1 Trade-offs between conservation and development goals

This research highlights the existence of significant trade-offs between biodiversity conservation and development (Ochieng, Visseren-Hamakers & Van der Duim, 2018). On the one hand, gains in biodiversity conservation may lead to loss of development opportunities for local communities (Hirsch et al., 2011), as shown by in the shelving of the planned road and city in the Amboseli landscape. On the other hand, gains regarding community livelihoods, such as those presented by agricultural crop farming, lead to the loss and disconnection of wildlife habitats, as well as an increase of HWCs. This study, therefore, notes that AET and BLF partnerships only partially managed to bridge the conflicting and competing conservation and development discourses. Disparities between socio-economic development and environmental sustainability goals, also among the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), have been noted (Swain, 2018). Therefore, Sayer et al. (2013) cast doubts on the viability of sustainable development, which aims at minimizing trade-offs between economic, social and environmental objectives. This study also questions the possibility and ease of achieving the dual goals of conservation and development in a multifunctional landscape such as Amboseli, where actors' interests conflict, and power struggles are common.

Robinson (2004, p. 382) equates the difficulties associated with achieving sustainable development with 'trying to square the circle', owing to multiple and conflicting views on sustainability that are hard to reconcile. Accordingly, authors have proposed the need for transformative change (IPBES, 2019) and/or a radical 'convivial conservation' approach (Büscher and Fletcher, 2019), which proposes that nature and human beings should be more integrated, by equating people to nature, so that conserving biodiversity is about 'self' in order to give birth to new ideas of linking conservation and development. This argument seems to be in line with the suggestion by Visseren-Hamakers (2020) that an 18th SDG addressing animal interests is needed.

6.4.2 Green militarization

According to Duffy and Humphreys (2014), green militarization or 'war for conservation' is caused by the increasing threat to wildlife, which drives biodiversity conservation stakeholders to use forceful strategies. Green militarization refers to 'the use of military and paramilitary personnel, training, technologies and partnerships in the pursuit of conservation efforts' (Lunstrum, 2014, p. 816). Biodiversity conservation, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, has become increasingly militarized, with conservationists and poachers alike using military-style gear and weapons, resulting in significant numbers of casualties (Duffy, St John, Büscher & Brockington, 2015; Michel, 2018). This study found that the seemingly successful wildlife conservation and security program spearheaded by BLF – in collaboration with some AET partners such as the KWS – can partly be credited to green militarization exemplified by the use of military trained public and private game ranger or scouts. Contrary to claims by some (see for example, Duffy et al., 2015; Michel, 2018), that militarized conservation may alienate local communities from decision-making with regards to the conservation of biodiversity, this study shows that these communities are part and parcel of the process of green militarization through their representation in AET, the Amboseli/Tsavo Game Scouts Association (ATGSA), and as community game rangers (Duffy & Humphreys, 2014). While militarization may lead to improved wildlife security, going full throttle may result in counter-productive and unjust results (Duffy et al., 2019). Accordingly, conservation stakeholders are faced with the challenge of finding the best possible scenarios for integrating militarized force with less combative strategies such as awareness-raising and the lobbying governments to stop the trade in animal products.

6.4.3 The landscape governance era

While this study focused on the Amboseli landscape, landscape governance seems to be taking centre stage in Kenya (Pellis, Lamers & Van der Duim, 2015). Accordingly, there are multiple stakeholder initiatives and integrated landscape management approaches in different regions in Kenya that attempt to overcome challenges associated with the conservation-development interface (Ros-Tonen et al., 2018). The growth in landscape governance may partly be explained by national policies. The 2010 Constitution of Kenya has led to a devolved system of governance by landowners for the management of wildlife resources outside formal government-run protected areas

(KWCA, 2016). The Conservation and Wildlife Management Act of 2013 also shifted management rights from the national government to landowners in devolved regional government units, namely county governments (GoK, 2013). Moreover, the formation of the Kenya Wildlife Conservancies Association (KWCA) in 2013 may be seen as marking the consolidation phase of the landscape governance era in Kenya. KWCA is 'a landowner led national membership organization that serves the interests and collective voice of community and private conservancies' (KWCA, 2016, 10). The AET is one of the regional community conservancy associations with a KWCA membership. Other members include the Northern Rangeland Trust (NRT), Laikipia Wildlife Forum (LWF), South Rift Association of Land Owners (SORALO), and the Maasai Mara Wildlife Conservancies Association (MMWCA) (KWCA, 2016).

The NRT is an association of landowners that has operated in northern Kenya since 2004, and later extended operations to the North Rift (NRT-North Rift) and the NRT-Coastal regions of Kenya (Glew, Hudson & Osborne, 2010; Pellis et al., 2015). The NRT's aim is to establish conservancies to enable landowners to self-organize their lands in order to improve security, conserve biodiversity and improve livelihoods. The Laikipia Wildlife Forum[45] (LWF) represents some unique landscape governance arrangements that work with national and regional-county governments to achieve sustainable development objectives (Pas Schrijver, 2019; Pellis et al., 2015). Like BLF, NRT has evolved from a partnership between local communities and the Lewa Wildlife Conservancy (LWC) in the 1980s (Glew et al., 2010). Moreover, NRT has a subsidiary arm that runs its affairs – the Northern Rangeland Company (NRC) – as an NGO (Pellis et al., 2015), as is the case with BLF.

The AET fits in the current landscape governance age in Kenya but has differentiated itself through its role in policy development. The output – the AEMP policy document _ was gazetted into the laws of Kenya in 2015, which provide AET with unique institutional power to govern the Amboseli landscape. NRT focuses on 'on-the-ground' policy implementation in a manner similar to the BLF. Interestingly, like AET and BLF, NRT and other regional-based community associations showcase donor dependence challenges, therefore putting their sustainability and durability into question.

[45] A membership organization of small holders, community groups, conservancies and large landowners focused on integrated natural resources management (KWCA, 2016).

6.4.4. The attribution challenge

Attributing livelihood impacts to specific interventions or projects is an uphill task. It is even more problematic to determine the effects of specific conservation interventions (Travers, 2014). This study faced such attribution challenges (Ahebwa, 2012), making it difficult to draw precise conclusions regarding the partnerships' conservation and development impacts. The analysed partnerships are part of a far more intricate policy context in which many actors and policy interventions beyond the scope of this study contribute to, and have impact on, the conservation-development nexus. To mitigate the attribution challenge, different data collection methods were triangulated in this research (in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, non-participant observation and informal discussions), in order to capture the linkages between the two partnerships with regards to the progress being made in the conservation and development arena at Amboseli.

6.4.5 Emerging challenges

According to Mansourian (2016), governance challenges come in many guises. It is also argued that partnerships offer solutions to some challenges, but may create new ones (Bitzer & Glasbergen, 2015; McAllister & Taylor, 2015). Supporting these assertions, this study revealed that, in addition to addressing some of the challenges facing Amboseli, landscape governance through partnerships has also created and/or faced new challenges relating to transboundary landscape governance and partnership dynamism.

First, by working in a transboundary landscape, BLF has introduced new constraints in governing the landscape, owing to differences in wildlife conservation policies in Kenya and Tanzania. For instance, Kenya prohibits trophy hunting, while it is legalized in Tanzania (Lindsey, Frank, Alexander, Mathieson & Romanach, 2007; Lindsey et al., 2013). When implementing the wildlife conservation and security program, the transboundary operations necessitate actors in Amboseli-Kenya and neighbouring north-eastern Tanzania to negotiate and build consensus. Consequently, to bridge this gap, BLF works closely with government agents – KWS in Kenya and Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA[46]) in Tanzania – to strengthen cooperation in this transboundary landscape. BLF has also introduced a different implementing partner –

[46] A government parastatal mandated to manage Tanzania's national parks

Honey Guide in Tanzania – to bridge the different, and at times conflicting, cross-boundary policies relating to conservation and development. Elsewhere in Southern Africa, cross-border conservation initiatives – referred to as Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) – were initiated in the 1990s to manage natural and cultural resources across international boundaries for sustainable development with mixed outcomes (see for example Büscher & Dressler, 2007; Ferreira, 2004; Van der Duim, Lamers & Van Wijk, 2015). It is yet to be seen how and to what extent the current transboundary cooperation in Amboseli will evolve in the direction of a TFCA.

Second, this study reveals that the partnerships and the landscape in which they operate are dynamic, which introduces new complexities and challenges to landscape governance. Both partnerships have been on a dynamic path, whereby some partners have exited as new ones have come on board. The focus of the partnerships has also been one of evolution, based on the different power faces. BLF, which initially sought to address a number of specific challenges (wildlife security, education, tourism and livelihood support) in a relatively small landscape – the Mbirikani Group Ranch – is currently covering the larger transboundary landscape, depicting an 'all-inclusive' solution. This finding is in line with the hypothesis of Büscher & Dressler (2007:588) that governance 'operates in continuously changing networks and alliances'. This dynamic nature of partnerships denotes power fluidity, which calls for continuous meta-governance to ensure durability and effectiveness (Lamers et al., 2014). Accordingly, landscape governance is in actual sense 'an iterative process of trial, adaptation and learning, tailored to the specific socio-spatial conditions of place' (Buizer, Arts & Westerink, 2016, p. 453).

6.5 Recommendations

In Kenya – as in other parts of the world – conservation-development challenges are essentially playing out, and are addressed at the landscape level, where national parks, reserves and community conservancies, as well as different forms of land-use and tenure, come together. Continued research and comparison between cases is essential to further the understanding of landscape governance in general, and the contributions of partnerships to landscape governance in particular. Although this study analysed almost a decade of governance by partnerships in Amboseli (2011-2018), only continued monitoring of the landscape governance roles of AET and BLF, and comparison with other examples in Kenya and beyond, will show to what extent the

two sustain their influence over time and resolve some of the challenges Amboseli has been facing over the last 50 years.

In light of the discussion above, special attention should be paid to finding ways in which AET can continue to undertake 'governance with government' as it persists in its agenda-setting role. This study has also shown that, as in the case of BLF, partnerships may shift their status from public-private partnerships to, for example, NGO status, making use of varied collaborative arrangements with multiple and diverse actors in the landscape. In that sense, the growing role of BLF in governing the Amboseli landscape, and the relationship between BLF and AET and other actors, in view of power relations and struggles among partners, merits further research. The risk that powerful partners overshadow those who are less powerful underlines the need for some form of meta-governance, which plays a significant role in trust-building, enhancing synergies, and facilitating coordination in governance systems.

Last but not least, two emerging conservation-development challenges are worth mentioning (see also Chapter 5). First, COVID-19 and its related economic impacts have immensely impacted some donor-dependent landscape governance initiatives. Consequently, the future of biodiversity conservation funding in Kenya needs careful consideration since it relies to a large extent on tourism revenues (Buckely, 2010). Second, and perhaps even more importantly, climate change will increasingly have a serious impact on the Amboseli landscape and its governance. The landscape is already affected by drought (Western & Manzolillo Nightingale, 2003), and different land uses compete for the scarce available water.

In view of the above, I finally would like to make the following recommendations:

(i) Efforts are needed to extend compensation for wildlife-inflicted losses. The Kenyan government should speed up its implementation of the compensation plan outlined in Kenya's Wildlife Conservation Act of 2013, which comprehensively covers human and wildlife injuries and deaths, as well as crop destruction by wild animals. There is also need for stakeholders to think 'out of the box' when considering ways of addressing wildlife-inflicted costs, such as private wildlife insurance options.

(ii) The governance of landscapes has to become more inclusive in order to engage all stakeholders. Specifically, the AET (Board of Trustees) should seek to

become more inclusive in terms of its community membership, existing policies and emerging issues. In doing so, AET should also consider a broader and more inclusive definition of who and what 'community' entails, in order to include interests of migrant communities.

(iii) There is also a need to find ways of ensuring that biodiversity conservation land-use pays enough to be able to cover its costs and compete with other land uses, such as crop farming, as a way of minimizing trade-offs, and in order to avoid over-dependence on donor funds, which are unpredictable and time-bound.

(iv) With the Amboseli landscape being a transboundary landscape, more actors, interests, competing claims and power relations come into play. The governments of Kenya and Tanzania, in conjunction with AET, BLF and other actors, should look into ways of enhancing the landscape governance across the Amboseli-Kilimanjaro cross-jurisdictional area, by bridging conservation-development related policy conflicts.

This PhD thesis set out to enhance the understanding of the role of partnerships in landscape governance. The partnerships studied, AET and BLF, have contributed to the landscape governance of Amboseli through complementary roles, and have made significant progress in addressing some of the main conservation-development challenges facing Amboseli. Nevertheless, serious problems remain. The partnerships have successfully addressed external development challenges (such as the plans for a new city and road), but have not been able to fully address some of the fundamental challenges inherent to the landscape, such as land tenure and land-use changes, and poverty. So, in sum, the partnerships have only partially managed to bridge conflicting conservation and development discourses, illustrating underlying trade-offs in achieving sustainable development. Therefore, the partnerships and their partners need to find ways to address these issues that represent the core of the conservation-development debate, in order to secure a sustainable future for a landscape that plays an important role in Kenya's conservation and development ambitions.

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SUMMARY

This study focuses on the Kenyan Amboseli landscape, which comprises the Amboseli National Park and six neighbouring Maasai community Group Ranches, namely Mbirikani, Kuku, Kimana, Eselengei, Ologulului-Ololorashi Ologulului, and Rombo. Over the past five decades, Amboseli has been facing persistent conservation and development challenges. These include changing land tenure and land-use; human-wildlife conflicts (HWCs); poaching of wildlife; unplanned and uncoordinated development; loss and fragmentation of wildlife habitats; inadequate and unequal benefits for local communities; high levels of poverty; and a conservation-development nexus policy void. To mitigate these challenges, various policy interventions, mostly in the form of varied partnership arrangements between actors drawn from communities, governments, market, and conservation organizations, have been initiated – with mixed outcomes.

This thesis specifically explores two landscape-wide partnerships, the Amboseli Ecosystem Trust (AET) and the Big Life Foundation (BLF). The Amboseli Ecosystem Trust is a landscape-based partnership that seeks to bring together governmental agencies, communities, private investors, and civil society with the aim of simultaneously achieving conservation and development goals. The Big Life Foundation (BLF), a partner and member of the AET's Board of Trustees and the successor of the Maasailand Preservation Trust (MPT), is a partnership between the Mbirikani Group Ranch community members and a tourism investor-based conservation NGO. BLF's projects cover a large part of the Amboseli landscape in Kenya and adjacent areas in northern Tanzania.

The overall aim of this study was to understand the contribution of the two partnerships to landscape governance at Amboseli. To achieve this aim, this study sought to answer the following research questions:

(i) How are the landscape governance roles fulfilled by the analysed partnerships in the Amboseli landscape?

(ii) In what ways and to what extent have the partnerships (through the landscape governance roles) addressed conservation-development challenges facing the Amboseli landscape?

The study amalgamated literature on partnerships, governance, and landscapes into a landscape governance approach, which was integrated with a multi-dimensional power perspective that was used to analyse the two partnerships. The study combined primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected using 75 in-depth interviews with 55 key informants; the findings of which were triangulated with 4 focus group discussions (FGDs), 4 non-participant observations, and 30 informal conversations.

In chapter 1, I introduced my research by providing an overview of conservation and development challenges and related global debates. The chapter presents the main concepts used in this research, the Amboseli landscape, research aims and research questions, significance of the study and its research methodology.

Chapter 2 provides a detailed historical account of the Amboseli landscape. Over the last five decades, Amboseli has been facing persistent conservation and development challenges. To mitigate these challenges and contribute to simultaneously achieving conservation and development goals, various policy interventions have been put in place, such as the creation of community wildlife conservancies, wildlife security programs, compensation for losses caused by wildlife, livelihood enhancement and benefit sharing programs. Many of these interventions have not (yet) been able to solve the long-lasting conservation-development challenges.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of this study. The PhD project integrates literature on landscapes, governance, power, and partnerships to develop a landscape governance perspective that is used to analyse the two partnerships. I used the landscape governance approach to study the various societal and ecological dimensions in an integral manner. Landscapes are socially and culturally constructed entities that are continuously shaped by their actors, who represent multiple interests, such as biodiversity conservation, agriculture, and tourism. Landscapes are therefore complex entities, supporting complex processes that necessitate governance.

Focusing on governance makes it possible to analyse the process through which multiple actors make and implement decisions with the aim of solving societal problems. The landscape governance approach is particularly useful as it stresses that societal and 'natural' factors are intrinsically linked to one another in landscapes such as Amboseli. Moreover, landscape governance engages multiple actors in decision-making through negotiation and trade-offs, aimed at accommodating diverse values and

aspirations, dealing with competing claims (such as land use at the landscape level) and solving societal problems. This study therefore defines landscape governance as modes of steering whereby actors drawn from the government, communities, markets, and civil society are involved in making and implementing decisions for purposes of solving conservation and development problems in the Amboseli landscape. Within the landscape governance debate, I focus on partnerships. I define partnerships as collaborative arrangements between multiple actors drawn from the public, private, and/or civil society societal sectors, who work towards solving specific problems and/or issues of mutual concern for sustainable development. As forms of governance, partnerships are said to contribute to sustainable development by addressing complex problems, such as those presented by the conservation-development nexus, and by fulfilling diverse governance roles, such as agenda setting, policy development, capacity building, information sharing, policy implementation, and meta-governance.

Finally, to answer the research questions, this study blended the landscape governance approach with the multi-dimensional perspective on power introduced by Kuindersma et al. (2012), based on the fourfold taxonomy of power by Barnett and Duvall (2005). They both offer an integrated framework in which different power perspectives are viewed as complementary rather than conflicting, and discern four faces of power: *compulsory*, *institutional*, *structural* and *productive* power.

Chapter 4 is an empirical chapter examining the two partnerships, the Amboseli Ecosystem Trust (AET) and the Big Life Foundation (BLF), to understand how they contribute to the governance of the Amboseli landscape. The research findings reveal that the partnerships have performed complementing landscape governance roles. Whereas AET focused on policy development, agenda-setting and meta-governance, BLF concentrated on policy implementation and meta-governance in relation to wildlife security. The way the partnerships performed these governance roles can be explained through the four faces of power, revealing BLF's compulsory power and AET's institutional power. Nevertheless, the partnerships have only partially managed to bridge conflicting conservation and development discourses, illustrating that the concept of sustainable development appears to hold little productive power in practice.

This chapter discusses issues relating to the divergent and complementary landscape governance roles of partnerships, 'governance with government', relations of power,

breadth and depth of change, different meanings of landscape, and donor dependency. Overall, the chapter not only provides important insights into the contributions that partnerships can make to the SDGs, but also their limitations.

Chapter 5 is also an empirical chapter that uses the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) and a set of indicators to assess the contributions to conservation, with the aim of understanding the extent to which the two partnerships contribute to addressing conservation and development challenges. Findings show that both AET and BLF have been able to address direct drivers of biodiversity loss (such as human wildlife conflicts, poaching, unplanned infrastructural developments) and – to a much lesser extent – the indirect drivers, such as poverty and land subdivision. Through the workings of both partnerships, more community members have gained access to specific community capital assets, through employment opportunities and other monetary incentives and education. Moreover, the activities of the analysed partnerships have created a transboundary national landscape covering Kenya and Tanzania. However, it is not clear if and how the livelihood benefits translate into real and long-term support for wildlife conservation. The chapter also discusses the importance of matters of scale and power and politics in landscape governance.

Chapter 6 brings all the other chapters together. This research reveals that both partnerships performed, and still perform, prominent landscape governance roles that are key in addressing some of the persistent and long-lasting conservation and livelihood challenges facing the Amboseli landscape.

This chapter also contributes to broader discussions on the role of partnerships in landscape governance. In particular, it discusses issues on trade-offs between conservation and development goals, green militarization, the landscape governance era, attribution challenges, and emerging issues concerning landscape governance.

Finally, this PhD thesis includes some recommendations. There is need for: (i) concerted efforts by government and other stakeholders to expand and improve compensation for wildlife inflicted losses so as to cover more areas, all wildlife species and properties; (ii) ensuring that landscape governance engages all stakeholders in the governance of their landscape; (iii) finding ways of ensuring that biodiversity conservation land use pays enough to be able to compete with other land uses and to avoid over-dependence on donor funds, which are unpredictable and time-bound; (iv)

governments of Kenya and Tanzania, as well as AET, BLF and other actors, to look into ways of enhancing the landscape governance across the Amboseli-Kilimanjaro cross-jurisdictional area, by bridging conservation-development related policy-incoherence.

Finally, this study only analysed the 10-year period between 2008-2018, therefore, it would be insightful to continue monitoring the landscape governance roles of AET and BLF and compare these to other examples. This would show to what extent AET and BLF can sustain over time and are able to resolve some of the challenges Amboseli has been facing over the last 50 years.

SAMENVATTING

Deze studie richt zich op het Keniaanse Amboseli-landschap dat bestaat uit het Amboseli Nationale Park en zes naburige Maasai-gemeenschappen: Mbirikani, Kuku, Kimana, Eselengei, Ologulului-Ololorashi Ologulului en Rombo. Amboseli heeft de afgelopen vijf decennia te maken gehad met een groot aantal uitdagingen, zoals verandering van grondbezit en landgebruik, conflicten tussen mensen en in het wild levende dieren, stroperij, ongeplande en ongecoördineerde infrastructurele ontwikkeling, verlies en versnippering van habitats van in het wild levende dieren, ontoereikende en ongelijke verdeling van economische baten en het ontbreken van een duidelijk integraal beleid voor natuurbehoud en ontwikkeling. Om aan deze uitdagingen het hoofd te bieden zijn tal van beleidsinitiatieven genomen, meestal in de vorm van allerlei partnerschapsarrangementen tussen vertegenwoordigers van lokale gemeenschappen, overheden, markt en non-gouvernementele organisaties (NGOs) – met gemengde uitkomsten.

Dit proefschrift gaat specifiek in op twee landschapsbrede samenwerkingsverbanden, de Amboseli Ecosystem Trust (AET) en Big Life Foundation (BLF). De Amboseli Ecosystem Trust is een partnerschap dat overheidsinstanties, lokale gemeenschappen, private partijen en het maatschappelijk middenveld bij elkaar wil brengen met als doel het tegelijkertijd bereiken van natuurbehoud- en ontwikkelingsdoelen. De Big Life Foundation (BLF) is een partner en lid van de Board of Trustees van de AET en de opvolger van een samenwerkingsverband tussen leden van de Mbirikani gemeenschap en een op toerisme gebaseerde NGO die zich inzet voor natuurbehoud. De projecten van BLF bestrijken een steeds groter deel van het Amboseli-landschap in Kenia en aangrenzende gebieden in Noord-Tanzania.

Het doel van deze studie was om te begrijpen hoe de geanalyseerde partnerschappen bijdragen aan governance van het Amboseli-landschap, en de mate waarin ze bijdragen aan het oplossen van problemen op het gebied van natuurbescherming en sociaal-economische ontwikkeling. Deze studie bracht literatuur over partnerschap, governance, macht en landschap samen tot een landschape-governance perspectief dat werd gebruikt om de twee partnerschappen te analyseren.

De resultaten zijn gebaseerd op primaire en secundaire gegevens. Primaire gegevens werden verzameld met behulp van 75 diepte-interviews met 55 informanten, waarvan de bevindingen werden getrianguleerd met vier focus groep discussies, vier observaties en dertig informele gesprekken.

Hoewel de partnerschappen aanzienlijke vooruitgang hebben geboekt bij het aanpakken van enkele van de belangrijkste uitdagingen op het gebied van natuurbescherming en ontwikkeling waarmee Amboseli wordt geconfronteerd, zijn lang niet alle problemen opgelost. De partnerschappen hebben weliswaar met succes verhinderd dat externe ontwikkelingen – zoals de plannen voor een nieuwe stad en een nieuwe weg – doorgang konden vinden, maar ze zijn er niet in geslaagd om een aantal van de fundamentele uitdagingen binnen het landschap volledig aan te pakken, zoals verandering in landgebruik en armoede. Kortom, de partnerschappen hebben maar gedeeltelijk tegenstrijdige discoursen op het gebied van natuurbescherming en ontwikkeling weten te overbruggen.

MUHTASARI

Utafiti huu unalenga mazingira ya Amboseli, Kenya iliyo na Hifadhi ya Kitaifa ya Amboseli (Amboseli National Park) na sehemu sita jirani ambazo ni Ranchi za Jumuiya ya Maasai, ambazo ni Mbirikani, Kuku, Kimana, Eselengei, Ologulului-Ololorashi Ologulului, na Rombo. Kwa miongo mitano iliyopita, Amboseli imekuwa ikikumbwa na matatizo mengi yanayoendelea ya uhifadhi na changamoto zinazotokana na maendeleo. Changamoto hizi ni pamoja na mfumo wa umiliki-ardhi unaobadilika na utumizi wa ardhi, migogoro baina ya wanyamapori na binadamu (HWCs) uwindaji haramu, maendeleo bila mipango na maendeleo yasiyoratibiwa, kupungua na kugawanyika kwa makazi ya wanyamapori, migao ya faida isiyotosha wala kutoshana baina ya jamii enyeji, umasikini, na ukosefu wa sera kuhusu maendeleo yanayozingatia uhifadhi. Ili kukabiliana na changamoto hizi, sera kadhaa za kuingilia kati, nyingi zake zikiwa za mipangilio tofauti ya ushirikiano baina ya wadau kutoka kwa jamii, nchi, soko, na mashirika ya uhifadhi, zimeanzishwa – huku kukiwa na mchanganyiko wa matokeo.

Tasnifu hii hasa ilichunguza ushirikiano mpana wa mandhari mawili, Udhamini wa Mazingira ya Amboseli (Amboseli Ecosystem Trust) (AET) na Wakfu wa Big Life (Big Life Foundation) (BLF). Udhamini wa Mazingira ya Amboseli (AET) ni ushirika wa kimazingira unaoleta pamoja vyombo vya serikali, jumuiya, wawekezaji wa kibinafsi, mashirika ya kijamii kwa lengo la kufikia uhifadhi na wakati uo huo malengo ya maendeleo. Wakfu wa Big Life (BLF), mshirika na mwanachama wa Bodi ya Wadhamini ya AET na mrithi wa Hifadhi ya Ardhi ya Maasai (Maasailand Preservation Trust) (MPT), ni ushirika baina ya wanachama wa jumuiya ya Mbirikani Group Ranch na Shirika lisilo la kiserikali (NGO) la wawekezaji wanaotegemea utalii. Miradi ya BLF inashughulikia sehemu kubwa ya mandhari ya Amboseli nchini Kenya na sehemu zilizo karibu za kaskazini mwa Tanzania.

Lengo la jumla la utafiti huu limekuwa ni kufahamu vile ubia wa mashirika uliyochambuliwa unavyochangia katika kushughulikia changamoto zinazoendelea za uhifadhi, maisha na za utawala wa mazingira ya Amboseli. Ili kutimiza lengo hili, utafiti huu ulitaka kujibu maswali yafuatayo:

(i) Majukumu ya utawala yanatimizwa vipi na mashirika yaliyochambuliwa ndani ya mandhari ya Amboseli?

(ii) Ni kwa njia zipi na kwa kiwango gani mashirika yaliyochambuliwa (kupitia kwa majukumu yao ya utawala) yameshughulikia changamoto za uhifadhi zinazoletwa na maendeleo katika mandhari ya Amboseli?

Utafiti huu uliunganisha maandishi juu ya ushirikiano, utawala na mandhari ili kuwa mtazamo wa utawala-mandhari uliotumiwa kuchambua mashirikiano yote mawili. Utafiti ulijumuisha maoni ya msingi na ya ziada. Maoni ya msingi yalikusanywa kupitia mahojiano 75 ya kina yaliyohusu wahojiwa wakuu 55, huku usahihi wa maoni yao ukikadiriwa kupitia kwa mijadala minne, mitazamo minne ya wasiohusika, na mazungumzo 30 yasiyo rasmi.

Katika sura ya kwanza, nilitanguliza utafiti wangu kwa kutoa maelezo ya jumla ya uhifadhi na changamoto za maendeleo na mijadala ya kimataifa inayohusiana. Sura hiyo inawasilisha mawazo makuu yaliyotumika katika utafiti (yameelezwa kwa kina hapa chini), mandhari ya Amboseli, malengo ya utafiti, maswali ya utafiti, umuhimu wa utafiti na mbinu zilizotumika katika utafiti.

Sura ya pili imeelezea kwa kina historia ya mandhari ya Amboseli, katika muktadha wa sera kuu za kuingilia kati maendeleo, uhifadhi na mikakati iliyowekwa nchini Kenya. Kwa miongo mitano iliyopita, Amboseli imekuwa ikikumbana na changamoto zinazoendelea za uhifadhi na maendeleo ambazo ni pamoja na mfumo unaobadilika wa umiliki wa ardhi, matumizi ya ardhi, migogoro baina ya binadamu na wanyamapori (HWCs), uwindaji haramu, maendeleo yasiyopangwa wala kuratibiwa, kupotea na kugawanyika kwa makazi ya wanyamapori, mgao wa faida kutokana na wanyamapori kwa jamii za karibu usiotosha, kukosekana kwa sera kuhusu uhifadhi na maendeleo na umasikini. Ili kupunguza changamoto hizi na kuchangia katika kutimiza uhifadhi na maendeleo wakati huo huo, sera mbalimabali za kuingilia kati zimewekwa, kama vile kuunda jumuiya za kuhifadhi wanayamapori, mpango wa kulinda wanyamapori, fidia kwa hasara ziletwazo na wanyamapori, kuboresha maisha na mpango wa kugawa faida. Mengi ya maingilio haya hayajaweza kutatua chanagamoto za uhifadhi na maendeleo za muda mrefu.

Sura ya tatu inatoa msingi wa kinadharia na kimawazo ulioongoza utafiti huu. Utafiti unajumuisha maandishi juu ya mandhari, utawala na ushirikiano wa kuendeleza mtazamo wa kutawala mandhari ambao unatumiwa kuchambua mashirika hayo mawili. Nilitumia dhana ya mandhari kutafiti vipimo mbalimbali vya kijamii na vya

kimazingira kwa namna muhimu. Mandhari ni vyombo vilivyoundwa kijamii na kitamaduni ambavyo huendelea kuundwa na wadau wake wanaosimamia maslahi mbalimbali kama vile kuhifadhi viumbehai, kilimo na utalii. Mandhari kwa hivyo ni chombo tata kinachosaidia michakato tata inayohitaji utawala.

Wazo la utawala limetumika kuchambua mchakato unaowafanya wadau wengi kufanya na kutekeleza maamuzi wakiwa na lengo la kusuluhisha matatizo ya kijamii. Wazo la utawala wa mandhari hasa ni muhimu kwa kuwa husisitiza kwamba mambo ya kijamii na ya 'kiasili' yameunganishwa pamoja kiundani ndani ya mandhari kama ya Amboseli. Zaidi ya hayo, utawala wa mandhari hushirikisha wadau mbalimbali katika kutoa maamuzi kupitia kwa majadiliano na nipe-nikupe, kwa lengo la kuruhusu maadili na matarajio, kushughulikia madai tofautitofauti kinzani (kama vile matumizi ya ardhi katika ngazi ya mandhari) na kusuluhisha matatizo ya kijamii. Utafiti huu kwa hivyo, unafafanua utawala wa mandhari kama mbinu ya kuendesha ambapo wadau huteuliwa kutoka kwa taifa, jumuiya, masoko, na makundi ya kijamii yanahusishwa katika kutekeleza maamuzi kwa lengo la kusuluhisha matatizo ya uhifadhi na maendeleo katika mandhari ya Amboseli. Ndani ya mjadala wa utawala wa mandhari, ninalenga mashirikiano. Ninafafanua mashirikiano kama mipango ya uingiliaji kati aina ya washikadau mbalimbali kutoka umma, mashirika binafsi, na/ au kitengo cha jamii kinachofanya kazi kikilenga kusuluhisha matatizo maalum na/au masuala muhimu yanayoleta maendeleo endelevu. Mahusiano, kama vyombo vya utawala, yanasemekana kuwa yanachangia kuweko kwa maendeleo endelevu kwa kushughulikia matatizo yenye utata kama yale yanayoletwa na ushikamano wa maendeleo na uhifadhi kwa kutimiza majukumu mbalimbali ya utawala kama vile kutengeneza ajenda, kuendeleza sera, kukuza uwezo, kugawana habari, utekelezaji sera na utawala mkuu.

Hatimaye, ili kujibu maswali ya utafiti huu, utafiti huu uliunganisha mfumo wa utawala-mandhari na mtazamo wa mwelekeo mwingi juu ya mamlaka kama ilivyotangulizwa na Kuindersma et al. (2012), kulingana na mfumo wa utawala wa mara nne ulioasisiwa na (Barnett na Duvall 2005). Mitazamo hii miwili huleta mfumo-jumuishi ambao kwao mitazamo tofauti ya mamlaka huonekana kama inayosaidiana wala siyo inayopingana na inatambua nyuso nne za mamalaka ambazo ni: mamalaka ya lazima, mamlaka ya taasisi, mamlaka ya kimuundo, na mamlaka ya uzalishaji.

Sura ya 4 ni sura ya maarifa inayochunguza Udhamini wa Mazingira ya Amboseli (Amboseli Ecosystem Trust) (AET) na Wakfu wa Big Life (BLF), ili kuelewa namna zinavyochangia katika utawala wa mandhari ya Amboseli. Matokeo ya utafiti huu yanaonyesha kwamba ushirikiano umetimiza majukumu ya utawala yanayosaidiana. Huku AET ikilenga kujenga sera, kuweka agenda na utawala mkuu, BLF ilijihusisha na kutekelezasera na utawala mkuu unaohusiana na usalama wa wanyamapori. Jinsi mashirikiano yalivyotekeleza majukumu haya ya utawala ulielezwa kupitia nyuso nne za utawala, zinazoonyesha ulazima wa mamlaka wa BLF na mamalaka ya kitaasisi ya AET. Hata hivyo, mashirikiano yameweza japo kwa kiasi tu kuleta pamoja maoni tofautu ya kimaedeleo yanayoonyesha kuwa wazo la maendeleo endelevu linaonekana kuwa na kiasi kidogo tu cha utawala zalishi mashinani. Kwa jumla, sura hii inatoa ufahamu muhimu vile mashirikiano yanachangia malengo ya maendeleo endelevu (SDGs) bali pia mapungufu yake.

Sura ya 5 inatumia mfumo wa riziki endelevu (Sustainable Livelihood Framework) (SLF) na seti ya viashiria vya kukadiria mchango kwa uhifadhi, kwa lengo la kuelewa kiwango ambacho mashirika yote mawili huchangia katika kushughulikia changamoto za maendeleo na uhifadhi. Matokeo ya utafiti huu yanaonyesha kwamba mashirika ya AET na BLF yamefaulu katika kuzungumzia mombo yanayochangia kupotea kwa bioanuwai moja kwa moja (kama vile migogoro baina ya watu na wanyamapori (HWC) uwindaji haramu, maendeleo yasiyopangwa wala kuratibiwa) -na kwa kiwango kidogo- maswala yanayosababisha kupotea kwa bioanuwai, yasiyo ya moja kwa moja, kama vile umasikini na ugavi wa mashamba. Kupitia kwa kazi zinazotekelezwa na mashirika yote mawili, wanachama zaidi wa jamii wamepata mali kuu maalum, kupitia nafasi za ajira, motisha nyingine za kifedha na elimu. Hata hivyo, haileweki waziwazi kama na ni vipi watu kupewa riziki kutokana na faida huchangia uungaji mkono wa uhifadhi wa wanyamapori kwa muda mrefu.

Katika sura ya 6, ninawasilisha muhtasari wa matokeo ya utafiti, ninajadili matokeo haya, na kuwasilisha athari za kinadharia na athari za kivitendo. Utafiti huu unaonyesha kwamba mashirikiano mawili yalitekeleza, na bado yanatekeleza majukumu maarufu ya utawala wa mandhari ambayo ni ya umuhimu mkuu katika kushughulikia baadhi ya changamoto za uhifadhi zinazoendelea na za kudumu na changamoto za maisha zinazoyakumba mandhari ya Amboseli. Kupitia kwa kazi zinazotekelezwa na mashirika yote mawili, wanachama wa jamii wamepata mali kuu maalum, kupitia

nafasi za ajira, motisha nyingine za kifedha na elimu. Matokeo pia yanaonyesha kuwa AET na BLF yameweza kuzungumzia swala la kinachoendesha moja kwa moja kupotea kwa bioanuwai (kama vile migogoro baina ya watu na wanyamapori (HWC) uwindaji haramu, maendeleo yasiyopangwa wala kuratibiwa) -na kwa kiwango kidogo-maswala yanayosababisha kupotea kwa bioanuwai, yasiyo ya moja kwa moja, kama vile umasikini na ugavi wa mashamba.

Utafiti huu pia unachangia mijadala mipana juu ya jukumu la ushirikiano katika utawala wa mandhari. Utafiti huu unaonyesha kwamba ushirikiano hutegemea serikali kwa uzito katika kutimiza majukumu muhimu ya utawala, jambo linaloonyesha kwamba kutawala mandhari kupitia kwa mashirikiano ni kwa hakika 'utawala na serikali' kinyume na dhana maarufu ya 'serikali kwa utawala' Zaidi ya hayo, utafiti huu unatambua kuweko kwa msingi wa kutegemea kwa kiwango kikubwa misaada kutoka kwa wafadhili katika kutimiza majukumu ya utawala wa mandhari na mashirikiano yaliyo chunguzwa, huku wakizua masuala ya uthabiti na uimara.

Kwa mtazamo wa hitimisho na majadiliano haya, ninapendekeza: (i) kuhakikisha kuwa utawala wa mandhari hushirikisha wadau wote katika utawala wa mandhari, (ii) serikali za Kenya na Tanzania, na vilevile AET, BLF na wadau wengine, waangazie jinsi wanavyoweza kuimarisha utawala wa mandhari katka sehemu yote ya mamlaka ya Amboseli na Kilimanjaro, kwa kupunguza migogoro ya sera ya uhifadhi na maendeleo, (iii) kuwe na juhudi za pamoja baina ya serikali na wadau wengine kupanua fidia ya hasara ziletwazo na wanyamapori kwa masuala ya maeneo yanayoshughulikiwa na hasara zinazoshughulikiwa, na (iv) kutafuta njia za kuhakikisha kuwa matumizi ya ardhi kwa uhifadhi wa viumbehai una faida ya kutosha kushindana na njia nyingine a matumizi ya ardhi ili kuepukana na kutegemea fedha za wafadhili kupita kiasi kwani haitabiriki zitakuweko hadi lini.

Hatimaye, kwa vile utafiti huu ulichambua kipindi cha mwongo mmoja (2008-2018), kuna haja ya kuendeleza ufuatiliaji wa majukumu ya utawala wa mandhari wa AET na BLF, ukilinganishwa na mifano mingine , kuonyesha ni kwa kiwango gani AET na BLF zinaweza kuendelea kiwakati, na jinsi zinavyoweza kutatua baadhi ya changamoto ambazo Amboseli imekuwa ikikabili kwa miaka 50 kwa namna ya kudumu.

LIST OF COMPLETED TRAINING AND SUPERVISORY PLAN ACTIVITIES

Name of the learning activity	Department/Institute	Year	ECTS*
A) Project related competences			
Sociological Theories of Rural Transformation RDS-30306	WUR	2011	6
From Topic to Proposal	WASS	2011	4
SDC 50904 Capita Selecta Sociology of Development and Change	WUR	2012	4
Governing Landscape restoration: Governance, Restoration, Privatization	FNP-CDI, WUR	2015	3
Landscape conversations	GEO, WUR	2011-2016	0.6
Landscape approach seminars eg. Are we on the right track	CDI-WUR	2013-2014	0.5
B) General research related competences			
PhD Discussions	GEO, WUR	2011-2016	1
Information literacy PhD including Endnote Introduction	WUR-Library	2012	0.6
FNP Research Seminars	FNP, WUR	2011-2016	0.5
WASS PhD proposal		2013	6
The essentials of scientific writing and presenting	Wageningen In'to Languages	2014	1.2
C) Career related competences/personal development			
Evolving Community-Based Natural Resources Management in Kenya. CBNRM Situation Analysis Workshop	WWF, Nairobi, Kenya	2012	1
Guest lecture - FNP- 11806: Forest, Nature, Society	FNP, WUR	2013, 2014	0.3
'*Evolving Natural Resource Governance: Lessons from Amboseli Ecosystem, Kenya'*	ATLAS conference, Kigali, Rwanda	2013	1
'Partnerships for Conservation and livelihoods: a Landscape Governance perspective'	NVAS Africanday, ASC Leiden	2013	0.5
'*Governing landscapes through networks of partnerships: Lessons from Amboseli, Kenya'*	Sunbelt Conference, Florida, USA	2014	1
'*Sustainable Human Resource Management and Sustainable Tourism: a symbiosis?* '	Trilateral Workshop on Sustainability and Human Resource Management in Africa, University of Johanesburg, SA	2017	1
'*The Effectiveness of Public-Private Partnership in Wildlife Conservation in Kenya. A Case of Ol Pejeta conservancy'*	ATLAS Africa conference, Kampala, Uganda	2019	1
Total			**33.2**

*One credit according to ECTS is on average equivalent to 28 hours of study load.

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