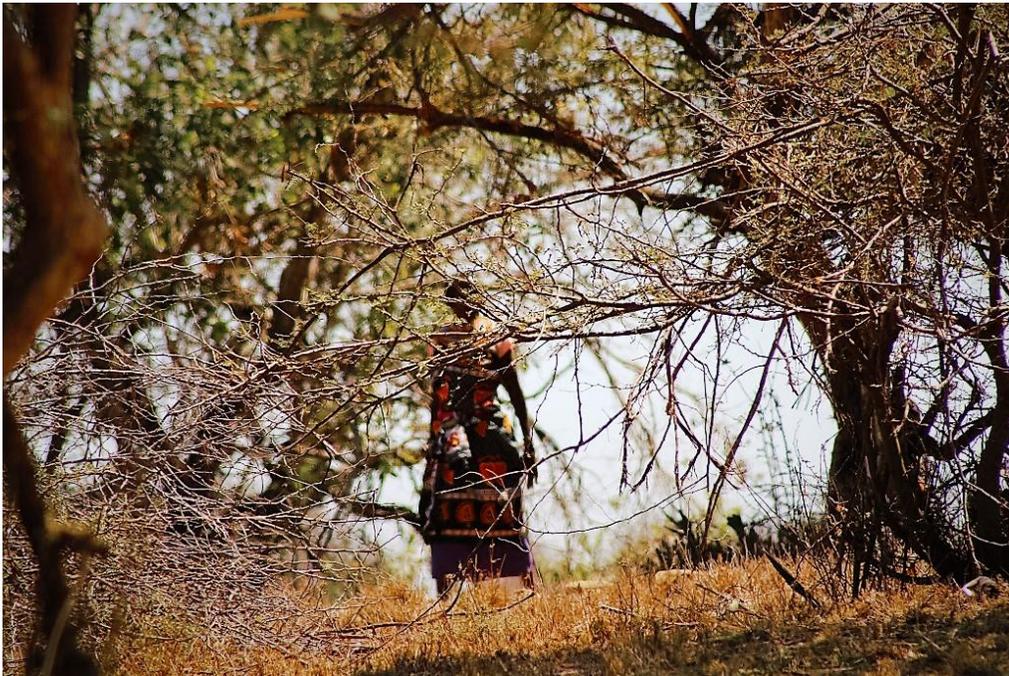


# Community-Based Tourism and Conservation in Laikipia County, Kenya: Perceived Barriers and Benefits from Communities.

Final Project. November, 3<sup>rd</sup> 2015.

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## **ABSTRACT**

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Tourism is an important activity for the economy of Kenya. Due to its rich biodiversity, Laikipia County, in the central region of the country, is a well-known destination for tour operators and visitors who want to enjoy wildlife and the traditional culture of various ethnic groups. The nexus of private, public and communal protected areas that create these tourism opportunities also help protect biodiversity . However, this also generates limitations for some semi-nomadic pastoralist communities for a number of reasons, such as the loss of pasture for livestock.. In response, in the scenario for this project, some pastoralists communities organized themselves to build and manage community-based tourism enterprises (CBTE) as an economic alternative, taking advantage of conservation and wildlife opportunities for tourism. This research compares two CBTE's that were created to benefit Maasai women, through income generation and promoting gender equality.

In this study, qualitative research methods were used to collect information, based on semi-structured interviews with a number of community members, and observations *in situ*. This study aimed to provide an understanding community members' perceptions of the barriers and benefits from CBTE, as well as how governance aspects influence the success and failure of two cases study.

## **KEY WORDS**

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Tourism and conservation; Community-based tourism; Ecotourism; Governance; Maasai community; Community-based tourism in Kenya.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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I would like to express my gratitude to few people that contributed to the challenge to do a Master Degree abroad (USA), in a second language, and with fieldwork in a third country, Kenya.

I want to thank my advisor, Professor Dr. Brett Bruyere, for inspiration and make me feel confident to go ahead, even in difficult moments. For his patience and important contribution to this final report.

In name of Rosemary Nenini, I want to say thanks for each Maasai women who gave me her time and trust, opened houses and harts to tell me this fantastic story. You brought new meanings and new goals for my life.

To Luiz, my husband, for dedication, patience, love, thoughts, biking, climbing, hide and coffee. Without you, it would not be possible.

To Tiê, my son, for being so lovely person, my precious motivation.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACC	African Conservation Centre	<a href="http://www.accafrica-us.org">http://www.accafrica-us.org</a>
BCP	Biodiversity Community Program (into CDTF)	
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity	<a href="https://www.cbd.int/">https://www.cbd.int/</a>
CBT	Community-based Tourism	
CDP	Community Development Program 1. (Into CDTF)	
CDTF	Community Development Trust Fund	<a href="http://www.cdtkenya.org/">http://www.cdtkenya.org/</a>
IMRG	Il Motiok Group Ranch	
IMWG	Il Motiok Women Group	
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature	<a href="http://www.iucn.org/">http://www.iucn.org/</a>
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service	<a href="http://www.kws.go.ke/">http://www.kws.go.ke/</a>
LPC	Laikipia Permaculture Center	<a href="http://permaculturenews.org/2013/01/24/laikipia-permaculture-centre-a-new-centre-for-kenya/">http://permaculturenews.org/2013/01/24/laikipia-permaculture-centre-a-new-centre-for-kenya/</a>
LWF	Laikipia Wildlife Forum	<a href="http://www.laikipia.org/">http://www.laikipia.org/</a>
MRC	Mpala Research Centre	<a href="http://www.mpala.org/">http://www.mpala.org/</a>
NRT	Northern Rangelands Trust	<a href="http://www.nrt-kenya.org/">http://www.nrt-kenya.org/</a>
OJR	Ol Jogi Ranch	<a href="http://www.oljogi.org/">http://www.oljogi.org/</a>
PIC	Project Implement Committee (In Ol Gaboli)	
PRI	Permaculture Research Institute	<a href="http://permaculturenews.org/2013/01/24/laikipia-permaculture-centre-a-new-centre-for-kenya/">http://permaculturenews.org/2013/01/24/laikipia-permaculture-centre-a-new-centre-for-kenya/</a>
RVA	Rift Valley Adventure	<a href="http://riftvalleyadventures.com/">http://riftvalleyadventures.com/</a>
UNBP	Uaso Ngiro Baboon Project	<a href="http://www.baboonsrus.com/conservation.html">http://www.baboonsrus.com/conservation.html</a>
UNWTO	United Nation World Tourism Organization	
WBG	World Bank Group	
WVK	World Vision Kenya	<a href="http://www.wvi.org/kenya">http://www.wvi.org/kenya</a>

## DEFINITION OF TERMS

**Conservancy.** This is a category used to address a protected area, which can be private or community-owned; it does not depend on any Estate formal law to be created. Is a declaratory act of the private landowner, in case of private land, or the community, in case of communal Group

Ranches. The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) defines protected areas as follow:

*"A clearly defined geographical space, recognized, dedicated and managed, through legal or other effective means, to achieve the long-term conservation of nature with associated ecosystem services and cultural values".(IUCN, 2008)*

Most of the conservancies in Laikipia can be considered a protected area according to IUCN's definition, except for the fact that there is no legal guarantee for long term protection, seeing that the owners (private or community) can decide to use the conservancy land for a different work and/or purpose due to environmental changes, social or political fluctuations, market variation or any other driver according to their interests.

**Community-based Tourism.** For this paper, the community-based tourism is a type of tourism that aims a social, cultural and environmental sustainability of the local communities. To achieve these goals, the CBT has to respect and promote five principles: 1. Good Governance (see definition of terms: good governance). The communities are heterogenic, so the decision-making process has to allow, encourage and promote equal conditions for participation. 2. Community autonomy. CBT initiatives have to encourage the community's autonomy to control the decision-making process through their planning and management; 3. Share benefit: CBT has to promote the income distribution and the reduction of inequalities. Populations in vulnerable social, economic and cultural conditions, have to be the target to be benefited by CBT. 4. Conservation: CBT has to contribute to the environmental sustainability and the biodiversity preservation. 5. Cultural heritage. The CBT's products are unique because they incorporate the community's lifestyle and their world vision. CBT respects, maintains, restores and promotes local genuine culture.

**Community-based Tourism Enterprise – CBTE.** For this paper, CBTE is any project undertaken or company designed under the community-based tourism principles.

**External partners.** For this study, external partners refers to any social player or stakeholder, an organization or an individual, who, in any period, has collaborated to the empowerment of women groups or to the success of the CBT, and is not a member of the three Group Ranches in focus: Il Motiok, Il Polei and Munishoi.

**Good Governance.** For this paper, the good governance concept is an adaptation from the concept used by the Convention on Biological Diversity – CBD (Borrini-Feyerabend, 2008), based in six attributes, without hierarchy:

1. **Accountability.** The transparency of the decision-makers is accountable to the public at large. Transparency: free flow of information, access to information to understand and monitor the PA institutions and their decision-making processes.

2. **Performance.** Responsiveness: institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders. Effectiveness and efficiency: processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs while making the best use of the resources.

3. **Direction.** Planning and management are led by a long-term strategic vision, in order to build and support the good governance and the human development. The long-term strategy considers broad and complex aspects of the reality, when the CBT is grounded: the community's history, culture and social complexities.

4. **Equity.** Men and women have equal opportunities to improve or maintain their well-being. The CBT's management obeys to the legal frameworks, which guarantees fairness, the authorities and leaders support the law enforced impartially. Human rights are respected.

5. **Legitimacy and voice.** Participation: The decision-making process guarantees to all women and men a voice, directly or through an authentic representative. CBT respects freedom of association and speech, as well as aims the consensus, mediating interests.

6. **Do no harm.** CBT's management cannot humiliate nor harm people.

**Group Ranch.** It is a communal land, legally established by the Kenyan government. Every group ranch has a board of directors elected by the community and they have the authority to manage the GR area. According to Flintan & Puyo (2012), in Laikipia there are 13 group ranches, or 7.45% of the county's territory. All of them are located in the semi-arid northern region and are occupied by pastoralists. The main use of these areas is communal grazing.

**Boma or Manyatta.** It is a typical architecture present in Maasai (but not exclusively) villages, consisting in an enclosure, fenced with thorn bushes, set up to protect the shelters and herd animals.



*Photo 1. A manyatta in Laikipia, Kenya.*

## CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

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This paper is about tourism and conservation in Kenya. The relation between the two themes is well debated in the academia and among practitioners. The mutual benefit depends on which model of tourism and conservation management we are talking about. The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) recommends a responsible and sustainable tourism to achieve four of the Millennium Goals: MDG1. Eradication of poverty; MDG3. Gender equality; MDG7. Environmental sustainability; MDG8. Global partnership for development (World Tourism Organization, 2015). Concomitantly, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the Convention of Biodiversity (CBD) also recommend the sustainable tourism model as an important tool to share benefits and provide incentives for biodiversity conservation (Eagles, 2002; Secretariat CBD, 2004).

In Kenya's economy, the total impact of the tourism industry was KES561.8bn in 2014, representing 10.5% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and it accounted for 543,500 jobs in 2014, or 9.2% of the total employment in the country. (World Travel & Tourism Council, 2015). Despite this great economic performance, several authors cast doubts about how the main tourism models in Kenya really benefit local communities. (Akama, 1999; Manyara & Jones, 2007). Indeed, the predominant tourism industry model in this country is characterized by mass tourism, focused on foreigner visitors with high purchasing power that consume luxurious touristic experiences. According to the World Bank Group, there are three main tourism areas in Kenya: safari (wildlife tourism), costal/beach and professional tourism (business, study, training, trade...).

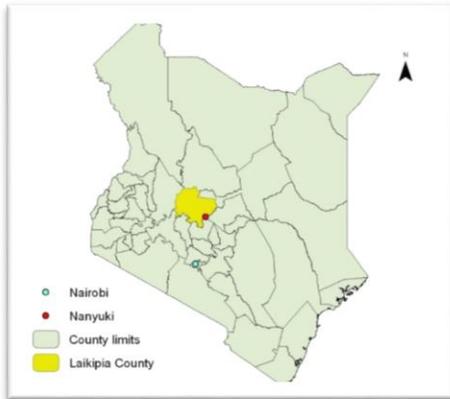
This study was done in the Laikipia County, a central region of Kenya, where wildlife-based tourism is the main product, delivered through the network of public and private protected areas. Indeed, Laikipia's vocation to conservation is undeniable. The Laikipia Wildlife Forum, a network that joins several institutions, private, public and non-governmental, recognized Laikipia's high species diversity and estimates that the land is home for *"95 species of mammals, 540 species of birds, 87 species of amphibians and reptiles, almost a 1000 species of invertebrates and over 700 species of plants have been recorded here."* (Graham, 2012). The tourism industry in Laikipia is deeply dependent on the wildlife and that is why they claim merits to promote conservation. However, the creation of protected areas often ends up restricting the access to areas historically occupied by semi-nomadic pastoralist communities, compelling a sedentary lifestyle,

as well as changing the cultural habits. The more sedentary pastoralists become, more new challenges these communities have to face, such as to manage the overgrazing due to the population augment. Facing such number of changes, pastoralists communities try new economics activities to address their families' needs. Contrasting to the main tourism model described above, some local communities engaged in community-based tourism enterprises, taking advantages on their local biodiversity and cultural richness, seeking income and livelihood improvement and gender equality. With the support of external stakeholders, both communities built a network to get in the CBTE venture.

This study is an attempt to understand how two semi-nomad pastoralist communities organized themselves to build and to manage their community-based tourism enterprises and how they perceive barriers and opportunities to ingress in the tourism business. The role of the external partnership and the communities' vision for the future are also themes in this study. Both experiences have two common characteristics to be emphasized: the CBTE has been designed to promote gender equality and the community is predominantly comprised by Maasai people.

This paper is a comparative study of two community-based tourism enterprises (CBTE) in Laikipia, a central region of Kenya. The two initiatives vary in terms of governance, financial investment and overall success and effectiveness. This study focuses on the community's perceptions about their decision-making process (i.e., governance) during the history of each enterprise. This study also aims to describe how the communities perceive the CBTE's direct and indirect benefits, as well as exploring the opportunities and barriers that influence the success of two studies case, in terms of social, cultural, economic, institutional, financial, knowledge and capacity building perspectives. We will discuss the lessons learned so far in Laikipia's initiatives in order to inform the stakeholders to increase good governance in the near future.

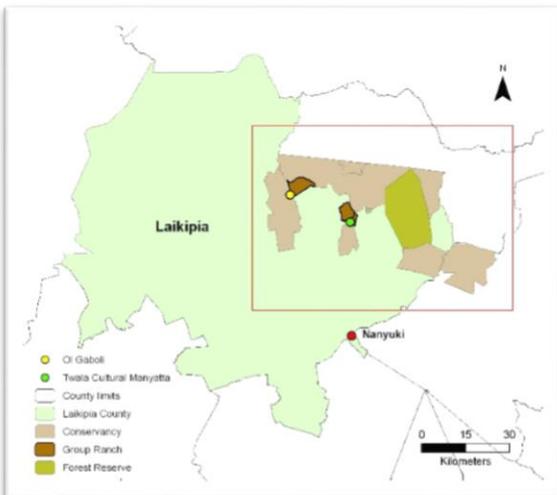
## 1.1 GEOGRAPHICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHARACTERIZATION



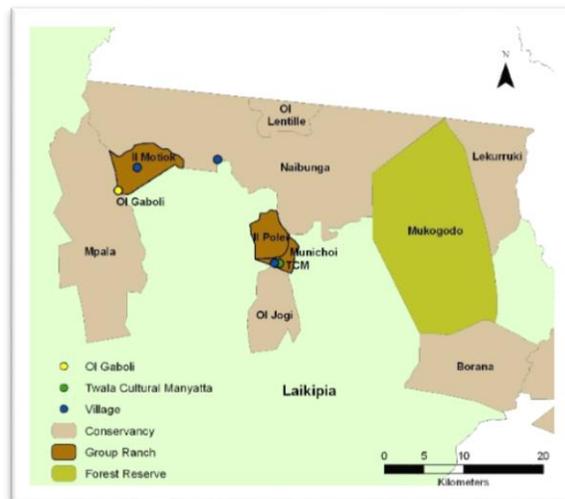
Map. 1 Laikipia County. Author: Luiz Coslope, to this paper.

Laikipia is a high plateau, with altitudes varying from 1,500 to 2,200. The higher lands are located in the Mount Kenya National Park, at South East. The drainage follows the topography from Mount Kenya slowly into the North, to meet the Ewaso Nyiro River, in which basin, both studies case are located. The two CBTE cases on this research are located at the north of Laikipia, in the semi-arid climate, where savannas shows its beauty. Rainfall is in bimodal schedule: dry season is between

January and April. Between April and June extensive rainfalls; between October and December short rainfalls.



Map. 4. The Group Ranches and the lodge's location. Authos: Luiz Coslope, to this paper.



Map. 4. The area embraced by this research. Autor: Luiz Coslope, to this paper.

This study embraces two CBTE: The Ol Gaboli is located at the Il Motiok Group Ranch and supports the Il Motiok Women Group. The Twala Cultural Manyatta is located at the Il Polei Group Ranch and Munishoi Group Ranch and supports 140 women members from both GR. Regarding the two studies case, several conservancies have being established to protect wildlife and habitats.



Photo 3. Landscape in the área.



Photo 3. Elephants crossing Ewaso Niyro River, just few meters from Ol Gaboli Lodge

The three Group Ranches also engaged in a joint conservation initiative, Naibunga Conservancy, with seven other communal Group Ranches. Besides the Naibunga Conservancy, we have Ol Jogi Conservancy, Mpala Conservancy, Ol Lentile Sanctuary, Narupa Conservancy and Nalari Conservancy. In addition, the Mucogodo Forest is a public protected area. All these conservancies and the Mucogodo Forest make up a mosaic in which several pastoralist communities live. The connectivity among these areas contribute to the richness of biodiversity, which is deeply connected with the cultural heritage of the Maasai people, the predominantly ethnic group in the area. In the box 1, we can see some fauna species already registered within the three conservancies in the area. It can give us an idea about how biodiverse is the region where our studies case are located.

#### Box 1. Wildlife richness

##### Mpala Conservancy:

*“Eighty five mammal species and at least 300 bird species can be found on Mpala. Elephant, eland, plains zebra, oryx and giraffe are seasonally abundant, depending on rainfall and forage availability. Waterbuck, impala, Grant’s gazelle, Jackson’s hartebeest and bushbuck are resident. Lions, leopards, cheetahs, spotted hyenas, black-backed jackals, aardwolfs and bat-eared foxes are regularly seen.”*

*([http://www.mpala.org/Flora\\_and\\_Fauna.php](http://www.mpala.org/Flora_and_Fauna.php))*

##### Naibunga Conservancy:

*“Elephant, lion, cheetah, hyena, impala, Grant’s gazelle, leopard, rabbit, tortoise, plain and Grevy’s zebra, Tommy and Grants gazelle”*  
*(<http://www.nrt-kenya-comms.org/conservancies/naibunga>)*

## 1.2 LIVELIHOODS AND CULTURE - MAASAI PEOPLE

In the three Group Ranch where this study was done, Il Motiok, Il Polei and Munishoi, the Maasai ethnic people richness predominates. According to informants, individuals from other ethnic groups are rare, even though there is some integration of tribes in these communities via inter-ethnic marriage.

Pastoralists Laikipia Maasai ethnic people populate the region. However, many communities are facing fast changes in the environment and in the land tenure, which pressure for settlement. In addition, churches and schools have being built in both communities, increasing the cultural changes. More settlements also lead to the soil degradation and to the overgrazing in the fragile semi-arid landscape. The habitat fragmentation and the land privatization insulate pastoralism practices to smaller and worst lands. The land privatization phenomenon is not new for Maasai people, seeing that it was induced by political decisions that took place in Kenia since the occupation by the British Crown, in the early 1900`s, and is still in progression nowadays (Sundaresan & Riginos, 2010). It consists in privatizing public lands in favor of investors, mostly foreigners. In this sense, some lands historically used for pastoralism practices, have been gradually privatized.

The private owners make their decisions about the uses of their lands taking into consideration the market forces. When cattle is a good business, they become cattle ranchers. If wildlife becomes a better business, then they'll become conservancies. Nowadays, with the positive ascension of the wildlife-based tourism, pastoralists are seeing a massive extension of the lands being converted into private Conservancies, very profitable for the owners, but



*Photo 4. Landscape in the area.*

systematically excluding pastoralists from the best lands of the region, where water and good grasses are available more than in the remaining open land. The Jambo Mutara Camp is an emblematic example. Located in Laikipia (but outside of the study area for this project), the land has 63,000 hectare and is owned by the Agricultural Development Corporation (ADC), a parastatal organization created in 1965 with the goal to transfer lands from European owners to local people. Recently the ADC transferred 20,000 acres for the Jambo Chester Hotels and Resorts to explore the wildlife based tourism enterprise, for 50 years. The area chosen by the hoteliers is the best land for pastoralists, especially supplied with fresh water, forest, evergreen bush and, of course, good grass. They plan to stablish a private Conservancy, fenced and solely designated for visitors uses – those who are willing to pay for their exclusively luxury services. Jambo Chester Hotels and Resorts owns the Jambo Mutara Camp and other two luxury hotels in Kenya<sup>1</sup>.

During a visit to the Jambo Mutara Camp, in July 2014, the manager drove us to the water reservoir inside the area designated to be a Conservancy. There was hundreds of cattle head, drinking water. The manager explained to us that the pastoralists are using the area illegally, but the manager can't do anything since the area is not well fenced. It means that that area, which was public and used communally by the pastoralist during several generations, now is private, and once again, the community is being criminalized.



*Photo 5. Inside a manyatta, in Il Motiok Group Ranch, where I have been hosted.*

From all of that, we can assume that the great resilience of pastoralism, that enabled this group to survive in a harsh land and guaranteed food security for several Kenyan ethnic groups, now is critically threatened. Water availability and pastureland access resides on pastoralism productive basic strategy. Both resources are

more and more scarce, by the privatization and fragmentation of the land, as well as by unpredictable climate changes, all together improving the environmental degradation. In addition,

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.jambochesterhotels.com/>

Laikipia's land use is pressured by the need to increase the agricultural production due to a rapidly growing population.

It is easy to infer that the tendency for the future, with the population growth, is to see an increase the conflicts for land, water and other natural resources. There is no consensus on the patterns predicted for the future rainfall in East Africa, but we can expect that pastoralist will resist and keep using their millennial strategy to survive, which consists to move into more wet zones.

Consequently, we can expect the increase of water and land conflicts.

Despite IPCC saying that there is no reliable model to predict the future patterns of rainfall in Africa, *“a growing body of literature generated since the AR4 suggests that climate change in Africa will have an overall modest effect on future water scarcity relative to other drivers, such as population growth, urbanization, agricultural growth, and land use change.”*

(Niang et. all, 2014)



*Photo 6.A group of girls fetching water. Women domestic work starts very early in life.*

In this scenario, pastoralist are critically losing resilience and some communities are trying several economic strategies to survive and to address their family's needs. Besides experiencing new productive practices, some community are also experiencing new social and cultural changes. It is not in the scope of this study to evaluate how good or bad those changes can be for pastoralists societies. However, these two studies case are emblematic and the community shows great awareness regarding several impacts (positive and negative) related to their CBTE. In a harsh political terrain, these two communities believe that the productive diversification can increase their chance to survive as a social group. There is a tension between the forces to resist (and keep traditional pastoralists culture) and the forces to adapt and transform (keeping some, but not all the aspects of the traditional pastoralist culture). Introducing new productive dynamics into the

communities implies a great responsibility for institutions and stakeholders, seeing that any change in the traditional societies can be a factor to increase the extreme vulnerability of marginalized human populations. Relying on collaborative processes, the disempowered populations are better prepared to face the perverse system that subjugates them.

### **1.3 STAKEHOLDERS AND THEIR INTERESTS ON CONSERVATION.**

Considering both field studies, we can separate the stakeholders into three main groups, according to their main interest drive in the conservation. The first is the group of “industry of tourism and private conservancies”. The second is the “NGO’s, Foundations, Research Institutes/Universities and International Cooperation Agencies”. And the third group is “pastoralist communities”. This is only a theoretical exercise to simplify the very complex societies in focus. The characteristics presented here do not represent the informants’ perceptions, but are an effort to highlight the most influent aspects observed in such social groups, after six months of living and researching in Laikipia. In all the three categories, there are people and organizations that do not have a behavior that matches this characterization.

#### **1.3.1 Industry of tourism, including the private conservancies.**

This group is comprised by private conservancies, private lodges and campsites, as well as tourism agencies located inside and outside of Kenya. This is an industry centered in the exploration, directly and indirectly, of the natural resources. The profitable characteristic drives this group to defend the conservation as a business. The nature is a resource and the local community is a business opportunity. The nature is the most important attraction for tourists: abundant wildlife and beautiful landscape. The relation between the local communities and the tourism industry is more complex, but can be perverse and unfair. Local communities provide the workforce, especially to jobs for unskilled occupations with low wages. This sector uses the conservation as a tool to guarantee their expectation of profit. Due to this, they advocate in favor to privatize and fence the land, excluding the local communities from the conservation’s decision-making process. The access to the private lands is restrict and the communities should respect the rules even though they do not agree with them. Due to this, some conflicts came up, related to the restrictions to the natural resources’ access and to the human-wildlife relation, so the tourism enterprises use several strategies to pacify the community and to avoid retaliation. They establish

“social” programs to provide water, schools or medical assistance. They even bring some visitors to buy handcrafts or to enjoy the cultural performances. These are products and services appreciated by the communities; especially in areas where the State is absent. Even though these kind of programs relieve some of the basic needs, it is evident that few people are benefited when compared to the huge community affected by the restriction created by the Conservancies. Considering the pastoralists communities, semi-nomads or nomads, who are losing access to water and pastures, the Conservancies “social” programs do not reduce the threat imposed by their existence.

Analyzing the speech of this group I found some common baselines related to the conception of the State’s role. They support the Minimal State of neo-liberalism, arguing that the State is inefficient and corrupt, and therefore unable to protect the natural resources. Indeed, they believe that the capability of conservation lies on the private initiative and that the market forces can provide financial, human and material resources to improve conservation. In this specific case, they argue that the tourism industry can finance and manage the conservation policies, through private Conservancies, in a more efficient way than the State can.

Some wildlife-based tourism enterprises can tactically engage in a collaborative process on conservation, involving the Communities’ representatives and the environmental organizations. Since the State has the power to regulate their economic activities, conceding land and enforcing the law, from the tourism industry point of view it is a good idea to keep the State as an ally. Considering this same logic, private tourism enterprises/conservancies and NGO’s can be mutually benefited in the conservation collaborative process, when the first provides financial resources and the second provides knowledge about the conservation.

### **1.3.2 NGO’s, Foundations, Research Institutes/Universities and International Cooperation Agencies.**

This group is dedicated to the conservation, the community development, the poverty relief and the charity. It is a heterogeneous group, whose participants are making efforts to strengthen the community development and the conservation collaborative processes. Components of this group work closely to the international development agencies, which provide financial resources to programs and projects. Because of the dependency on international aid, their agenda can be strongly influenced by the foreign point of view, which can put the Kenyan stakeholders on a secondary role in the decision-making process. The alien projects are a symptom of the

international interference on the two studies case. To increase the Kenyan leading role in conservation, the biggest challenge faced by this group is to build capacity for the Kenyan players to become more and more sovereign and independent from the external consultants, advisors and researchers. Even though both studies case had experiences with alien projects, in the Twala Cultural Manyatta the investment on capacity building and leadership allowed the women's group to find and sustain the women's voices, which did not happen in Ol Gaboli case. In both cases, the external stakeholders played a key role in the CBT projects' history. The big question is "How much sovereignty the external stakeholders have to promote in the communities to improve the Kenyan citizens' independency and protagonism?"

The states agencies have many needs, and the long lists of deficiencies cannot be excuses to give the entire conservation's responsibilities to private sector. Considering the pastoralism future and the thoughts on transformability discussed in this paper, this group has a crucial role to design and to implement a participatory decision-making process to address the pastoralist community's livelihood improvement.

### **1.3.3 Pastoralist communities.**

As discussed before, the pastoralist communities focused in the studies case are heterogeneous. In both studies case very few people are literate and, consequently, the only way to access the community's cultural systems directly from the members is to stay a while with them, because they do not publish their own thoughts, feelings or judgments. They do not publish their missions, views for the future or researches. Types of publishing that the other two groups currently do. That said, this research humbly tried to gather information enough to make the following inferences: in both case studies, community members know that they are losing access to natural resources, but I am not sure if they consider this as a loss of rights. The historical lack of power of the pastoralists was not followed by a rights' protection institutional framework. Consequently, the community's organization to defend and to negotiate their rights or influence on the decision-making process to change the *status quo* is new in both case studies. Considering women and children Rights, in both cases the women's organization are not older than 13 years in Ol Gaboli and eight in Twala Cultural Manyatta, considering the current year (2015). The process to build their citizenship is long and there is no guarantee that it will be linear and positive during their lifetime. In Laikipia, other institutions claim the legitimacy to speak on behalf of the pastoralists communities, such as the LWF. However, just a few communities are well organized to defend

their own interests and values. For pastoralists, the nature is just their home; they are very dependent on natural resources.

## 1.4 POWER AND CONFLICTS

Community based tourism is described in the literature as a model of tourism designed to share the tourism's advantages among the community members and to avoid impacts and externalities generated by other types of tourism development.

More than 40 years ago, Sherry R. Arnstein (Arnstein, 1969) described eight levels of

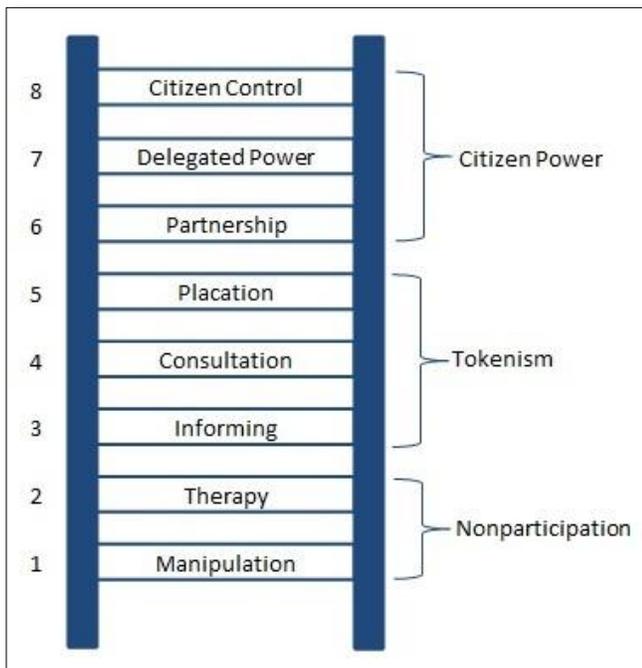


Figure 1. The ladder of citizen participation, by Sherry Arnstein

participation. Her theory is still fresh and helpful to understand the levels of social participation. We have to understand her idea as a theoretical typology, in order to avoid naive simplifications of the reality. In the real world, the stakeholders can be distributed along the ladder, in different degrees of involvement, commitment and understanding of the participatory process. The author explains this in her illustrative figure:

The two first rungs, *Manipulation* and *Therapy* describe the levels of “non-participation”, whose goal is “*not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting programs, but to enable powerholders to*

*‘educate’ or ‘cure’ the participants.*” Levels 3 and 4 progress to a degree of “tokenism”, where the have-nots are allowed to hear and to have a voice: (3) *Informing* and (4) *Consultation*. “*Under these conditions they lack the power to insure that their views will be heeded by the powerful*”. Rung (5) *Placation* is a higher-level of tokenism. In this circumstances those have the power allow those who don't have it to “*advise, but retain for the powerholders the continued right to decide.*” At the level (6) *Partnership*, stakeholders and right holders are able to negotiate and “*engage in trade-offs with traditional powerholders*”. At the uppermost rung, (7) *Delegated Power* and (8) *Citizen Control*, stakeholders and right holders “*obtain the majority of decision-making seats, or full managerial power*”.

Although the power of participation is not homogeneously distributed among the players, those who have the power to define the decision-making process' agenda, here called Elite, can also define the maximum degree of participation that is "accepted" or "promoted". It means that, if in a certain social group or society, the power to define the agenda of the decision-making process lies in few hands, the evolution of this social group or society will depend on how whiling is the Elite to improve the participation in the decision-making process. In other words, those who define the agenda may choose methods, practices and schemes that restrict or increase the level of social participation in the decision-making processes.

Looking at the two studies case, we can see that the women's power is gradually conquered in a historical process and is different from one community to another. The steps climbed by the community, in Arnstein's ladder, will depend on the individual's knowledge, attitudes and skills. However, for the social gain to be real, it has to be collective. In this case, power is not only how much the stakeholder can influence de decision-making process, but also how much the individual can direct her/his lives and her/his participation to achieve the communal goals. Based on this two studies case, I conclude that any project or program that aims to empower a certain social group or a certain community cannot be reduced to gathering techniques and methods to allow the participation. Furthermore, a long-term pedagogical process has to be in course to facilitate the authentic leadership's flourishing, the individual awareness of human potential and the responsibility for the communal achievement of its collective goals. Selecting methods and technics to enable the participation is important, but the main goal in a long-term pedagogical process to empower marginalized social groups or communities, is to encourage people to a profound reflection on their reality and raise awareness about its potential for action.

In both studies case, the process is significantly marked by conflicts. Indeed, conflicts are expected because gender equality's improvement shakes the traditional power distribution, not only in Maasai communities, but in any society where women still live in gender conditions of inequality.

## 1.5 METHODS

This research occurred from June to December of 2014. A literature review and qualitative methodologies were used, including the participant's observation, with semi-structured (see questions in appendices). Laikipia Wildlife Forum played a fundamental role, opening the gates for me to get inside the communities. LWF previously drove me to 5 CBTE, where I had the first contact with the communities, among which I choose three to be part of this research. Then, LWF mobilized their partners, who introduced me to the communities. Their partners selected one person from each community to work as a guide and translator. Finally, LWF's partners found, in each community a family to host me during the interviews.



*Photo 7. Interview inside the Curio Shop in TCM.*

In order to explore and get familiar with the main topics of this research, I started the literature review gathering information already published in two areas: 1. Tourism and conservation in Kenya; 2. Community-based tourism. This was an important step to give me a broad understanding on the importance of the tourism in the Kenyan economy, its relation with the conservation initiatives and the several community-based tourism enterprises.



*Photo 8. Interview in Il Motiok GR.*

Informants were selected by reputational criteria, using the snowball effect and opportunity. The most important criteria was to interview people that had participated on the historical process to create and manage the CBTE. The second criteria was to select people who had some role in the community's organization, such as in the Group Ranch or in a Conservancy. In both sites, I started with a person involved in the management process of the CBTE, to whom was asked to indicate other 5 people to be interviewed that could contribute with my research. Following this first indication, the other interviewees

indicated 5 other potential informants. I stayed for 08 days in each site, visiting people at their home, walking from one Boma to another; sometimes coming back to the same home a few times to interview key informants when opportune and convenient. In order to protect identity, all informants have alias name.

Many of the information used to build this study have been gathered in ordinary experiences living six month in Kenya. I had the opportunity to visit several public and private protected areas, such as Maasai Mara National Reserve; Mucogodo Forest, Hells Gate National Park; Mount Kenya National Park; Mont Kenya Forest, Mount Logonot National Park, Ngare Nadare Forest, Samburu National Reserve, Ol Pejeta Conservancy, Borana Conservancy, Lewa Wildlife Conservancy, Baibunga Conservancy, Il N`Gwesi Conservancy. I could observe the relation between tourism, conservation and local communities, and also had the opportunity to talk with stakeholders in different positions. In addition, I had the opportunity to be hosted in lodges, campsites, and community's yard. I wrote many notes and took many photos of these places, but most of my perceptions and information was not systematically organized. All these experiences created reflections, analyzes and syntheses that complement the data obtained through scientific methodology. I also have to clarify that I have been working with the human dimension of natural resources for more than 12 years, which is why I truly believe that this paper is a combination of the objective, subjective and intuitive knowledge gathered throughout an entire life.

The informants were formally interviewed, 20 in Ol Gaboli and 19 in Twala Cultural Manyatta. The interviews lasted between 7 to 80 minutes, depending on how much the informant was willing to contribute and how much knowledge they had about the topics. The interviews were semi-structured. I got as many information as possible to build a consistent image of the historical process from the informants' perception.

### **Coding and analysis**

Three interviews were not recorded and thirty six interviews were recorded and transcript. All were coded using the software Atlas.Ti 7.5.6. A code table was created starting with a few broad codes based on literature reviews and based on the structures used in the interviews aiming my research goals. As the coding process went ahead, the key codes became clearer, enabling me to standardize, and then a hierarchical system of coding naturally appeared. Many codes I began with were abandoned to give the community an opportunity to speak through this research. When I started coding, I was looking for a specific basic conceptual framework, but, at the end of coding

work, I realized that my informants wanted to talk about something else. This is why gender issues took a greater unexpected space in this research.

### **Limitations**

Language barriers were the greater limitation on the methodology. English is not my first language and the majority of my informants were not English speakers, they were Maa speakers. The majority of the interviews was done in Maa, with the assistance of another community bilingual person, who helped me to translate from Maa to English. It was a fantastic challenge because, despite the kindness and dedication of my translators, they had no professional training to do that job. I did a previous training but, of course, it was not enough. Consequently, I identified two problems of using this non-professional translation service, which occurred randomly:

1. The translator did not translate my voice literally. Using their own words they could impress their own bias. It also happened when translating the interviewee's speech. Many times the informant spoke and the translator summarized the content to me, even after my repeated requests to translate sentence by sentence.
2. The translators were literate people from the community. They were not immune to political arrangements and it was clear to me that, sometimes, the informant was not comfortable, or willing, to answer my questions in front of the translator.



*Photo 9. Lunch time. Ol Gaboli meeting.*

Lack of money. Working abroad without money was another barrier. I intended to facilitate one meeting in each site to apply the SWOT, collect data and help the communities to reflect about the CBTE's management. After the first meeting, performed in Ol Gaboli, I decided to quit the next meeting, because it was too expensive for me. Food, fresh water, cookers, translators, car

rent, all together was not affordable.

## CHAPTER II - RESULTS

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### 2.1 OL GABOLI



*Photo 10. One family's three generations of women attending a meeting for this research. In Ol Gaboli.*

#### 2.1.1 Introduction

Ol Gaboli is the traditional name of a sacred wild fig tree from the *moraceae* family and it gives its name to a community-based tourism enterprise. Located on the Laikipia County, Kenya at the banks of the Ewaso Nyiro river's ecosystem, Ol Gaboli belongs to the women's group from the Il Motiok Group Ranch, the first community-based tourism enterprise in Kenya owned by Maasai women.

Ol Gaboli is a touristic complex comprised of five thousand acres (2,023.43 hectares) in a semi-arid African Savanna phytophysognomy designated to conservation. The proximity with two conservancies (Mpala Conservancy and Naibunga Conservancy) became Ol Gaboli's conservation area – a corridor for fauna and flora where the visitors can see several protected species, such as eland, elephant, zebra, giraffe, Oryx, and also impala, waterbuck, Grant's gazelle, and Jackson's hartebeest. Big cats such as lions, leopards and cheetahs can be seen, as well as spotted hyenas and black-backed jackals.

The lodge has five rooms (bandas), one kitchen and a lounge. Each banda can accommodate between two to eight people, depending on the arrangements. During Ol Gaboli's "gold age" (from 2006 to 2008), the tourism operator that leased the lodge offered a rich menu with ecotourism activities, such as rafting, canoeing, bush-walking, camel safari and biking. Cultural activities, such as traditional dance and music or milking camels and goats, also brought the visitors closer to the community.

Unfortunately, the project was affected by the local conflicts and politics, as well as many years under a poor management and a poor governance. Consequently, Ol Gaboli's projects have not been successful. After sixteen years of dreams, downfalls, destiny and failures, the Il Motiok Group Ranch's community is trying to build a new future for its tourism enterprise.

**Tourist attractions:**

The interviewees were able to identify some tourist attractions around the area. They are aware of the natural and cultural attractions, but seeing they have never explored this adventure potential and have never been trained on it, they did not mention the adventures tourism products.

**Nature.** One of the most important attractions of the area is the beautiful, wild landscape. In addition to the savanna, the interviewees also cited the silence, the pure air and the fantastic view of the night sky. The nearness to the Naibunga and Mpala conservancies provides good conditions to Ol Gaboli to have a great biodiversity and rich wildlife, attributes that are much appreciated by the visitors.



*Photo 11. Elephants in Ewaso Niyro River, close to Ol Gaboli Lodge.*



*Photo 12. Women during an interview.*

**Cultural.** The traditional Maasai community is friendly and most families are very willing to welcome visitors and to share their culture and knowledge. Visitors can also enjoy the singers and dancers; their handicraft, such as beadwork, and participate in daily tasks, such as milking goats and camels and fetching water and firewood with women. Walking with cattle is also a potential activity.

## **2.1.2 History and stakeholders**

The interviewees' perceptions regarding the Ol Gaboli history is quite rich and sometimes contradictory. Despite some different explanations about the motivations and interests behind the events, the interviewees reported facts, which leads to a reasonable timeline. Based on the informants' responses, it is possible to tell the story below with complete certainty about its accuracy.

### **2.1.2.1 First Proposal**

Before 1999, tourism operators from the neighbors' conservancies used the area where the lodge is located as a campsite. They used to take tourists to camel walking and also used to camp in that area for a few nights. At that time, the community members had no idea about what was going on at that place. The visitors used to come without the community's authorization or even knowledge. Sometimes the visitors left some money, but this was not a rule.

1999 – Some community's members saw that the campsite could be an opportunity to make money. Since the campsite's area was within the Il Motiok Group Ranch, some men came up with the idea to organize the community to take advantage of this, singing and selling beadworks to tourists.

2000 – The idea to build the lodge was designed by the community. There is no evidence about who introduced the idea first, but it is clear that a few men who had access to other community-based tourism enterprises, already running at that time, disseminated the idea and

gathered allies. The informants highlighted the efforts of a man who had a key role in the initial community mobilization. This leader defended that the lodge should be built in the women's benefit. The women also had the support of the Laikipia Wildlife Forum (LWF) and of the Mpala Research Centre (MRC). After many meetings, a community group established a collaborative agenda to gather funds and build the first community-based tourism enterprise in Kenya, managed by Maasai woman. In this year the women created and formalized the Il Motiok Women Group, an umbrella for four women's sub-groups based on geographical households' location.

2002 – There was a meeting where The Group Ranch agreed to support the Mpala Research Centre (MRC) and the Il Motiok Women Group (IMWG) so they could go ahead with the proposal, giving autonomy to the IMWG:

*Members were informed about the proposal Mpala Ranch has on constructing a (sic) bandas along Ewaso Nyiro River at (illegible) Gaboli area. The bandas will be operated and managed by women groups within Il Motiok Group Ranch. (...) Women be given full control to operate and manage the bandas without men interference. (Il Motiok Group Ranch, 2002)*

The community built a collaborative proposal and received money from the Community Development Trust Fund – a partnership between the Kenyan Government and European Community – to build the lodge. Most informants had no idea about the amount of money needed to build the lodge. According to Ruhu (2007), the OI Gaboli project started in 2003 with a grant of KSH 7,785,501.00 (about USD\$ 101,705.00 in December, 2003) from the Biodiversity Community Program (CDTF); KSH 2,923,500.00 (about USD\$ 38,270.00 in December, 2003) from the IMWG; and KSH 993,500 (about USD\$ 12,978.00 in December, 2003) from the LWF and the MRC, totaling KSH\$ 11,702,501.00 (about USD\$ 152,953.00, in December, 2003). According to the informants, the process to build the lodge was conducted by three partner organizations (CDTF, MRC and LWF) under the IMWG's consulting. Most of the women that participated on this process said that the Women Group was involved in many important decisions.

The idea to build the lodge was not hegemonic in the Il Motiok Group Ranch. Some people argued that the lodge would reduce the grazing area. In fact, the proposal includes a designation of five thousand acres to conservation, restricting the traditional use for grazing. In addition, the Maasai culture is strongly patriarchal and women are not supposed to own land.

*“The old men didn't see the benefit to women get some land. ‘What these women want to do with this land?’ They argued there were boys and morans<sup>2</sup>, so, why they should give land to women and give them permission to ‘destroy our land?’ The old men were afraid to lose land.” (Mama 14)*

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<sup>2</sup> Morans are Maasai young men after a specific rite of passage through which they become warriors.

*“In the beginning the ladies said “no cattle in the lodge’s area.” Cattles were allowed to grazing there just in the dry season. Many men said “oh! Did you hear that?” Many men did not respected that and put their cattle to grazing there.” (Papa 11)*

*“For the second step, we called the husbands to ask them permission to build the lodge and we also asked for a piece of land for the project. At that time some men agreed and some disagreed. The men who disagreed with the project said that the lodge will occupy a lot of space and they will lose grasslands for their cattle and goats. In addition, some men who opposed themselves against the lodge, they think that the women will get power and the visitors will come and there will be more people around, and there will be higher responsibility for women than for men”. (Mama 15)*

Besides the patriarchy and the land conflict, some political issues took place from a group that fought in opposition to the lodge’s construction and the idea to give it to women purposes. This group gained strength in 2009, as we shall see. One important leader of the lodge’s opposition group said:

*“When we went to the funding, there was a big problem about who will supervise the construction. What LWF did through its staff was to look for somebody like a manager. Then, they brought somebody not from here, but from a far Group Ranch, and that changes many things. \* (first manager) was that person. They like \*(first manager) but they don’t like \*\* (me). I were the GR Chairman and I took more critical position about the fundraising process. We create a PIC (Project Implement Committee) to control the money. I was the Chairman but I want to be contracted as the manager. But the guys in LWF didn’t want me. They repeat that “\*\* is bad!” And then they pick this guy (the first manager) instead of me. So trough out the construction I kept a very bad eye, because I could see they were building (inaudible) unnecessary. But the guy who came became so friendly to people because he could give all tips, talked to everybody, and my team say he have to go and other team say no, he have to stay. So, most women like \* (the first manager), that came from another Group Ranch. At that time, I became quite unpopular. \* (first manager) continued those constructions and bought a Land Cruiser, around 2002. Ol Gaboli stats operate in 2006. I was outside but as a member of Group Ranch I attended all meetings, and gave my opinion. Sometime people don’t want auditors.” (Papa 8) \* is used to protect confidentiality*

### **2.1.2.2 The management history**

**2006** – The lodge was officially opened to visitors.

*“In 2006 we officially opened the lodge with a big party, women were the bosses. In the community women are supposed to be under the table. That day the women were on top of the table. They were feeling very nice.” (Papa 8)*

The CDTF, the MRC and the LWF conducted the process to select the first manager from a pool of three candidates. One of them was the only person in the IMGR who had a degree and he came in second. The one who won was from outside of the community and was fully supported by the IMWG and their partners. The criteria was defined by the LWF, the MRC and the CDTF, with the agreement of the Ol Motiok Women Group. The management model chosen was to select a manager whose salary would be paid by the LWF. In addition, they leased the tourism operations

to a tourism company owned by an Australian man, called Rift Valley Adventure (RVA), who was supposed to give some money to the women group annually. All the informants, except two people, said that this model worked very well for four years. According to the majority of the interviewees, during the first four years, the lodge had many visitors and the IMWG had a big participation on the main decisions about the lodge. In fact, the manager and Rift Valley Adventure (RVA) were responsible for the daily management. The women group felt content about the transparency and accountability provided by them.

During that period, the IMWG had an Ol Gaboli Management Committee, with nine women elected during a women's general meeting. The Officials (Chairlady, Treasurer and Secretary) had a key role in the daily management, being part of many decisions and controlling the money.

After paying suppliers, workers and repairers, the spare money went to a bank account until it was a good enough amount to be shared among the IMWG members. The procedures followed three steps: 1. The chairlady used to call a wide meeting. 2. The Officials normally presented the accountability and a proposal about how to spend and to share the money. 3. The members debated and agreed with a proposal.

**2006 to 2008** – The lodge was managed by the first manager and the RVA, under the IMWG knowledge. This was the golden era of the Ol Gaboli Bandas. The majority of the informants said that during that period the lodge met its creation goals. The profits were shared by an agreement between IMWG and IMGR (women and men) under which the Group Ranch received 30% and the women 70%.

According to the informants' view, good management on that era was based on good governance. During that time, the first manager was fully supported by partners, LWF and MRC. The IMWG has being benefited and involved in decision-making processes. The Group Ranch's board was satisfied with the results and supported the women.

However, some conflicts based on gender culture were in the arena and drove a reaction against the leadership path through which the women were growing up.

*“The problem is that men don't want to allow the women become leaders. Men want to be the leader. That was the biggest problem. The men don't have problem with the women's money, because men know that when a woman get money will probably bring to the husband, but they want to be the leaders.” (Papa 12)*

*“During that time many, many men did not allowed their wives go to the meetings and seminars or to go to the town... ‘if the women go to Nanyuki they become like this people that live there. Like... bad thinks...’. Or a wife can go there and start to drink. Many men see some ladies drinking.” (Papa 11)*

*“There were no problems at home, we were providing school’s fees for our kids and basic needs, and some men thought ‘those women are much ahead then us, there will be a time when they will be richer then us. I think this is the cause of the men’s interference.” (Mama 15)*

**2009** - The lodge’s management faced a setback. A group of men decided to run the lodge by themselves. This was a pinnacle of a conflict that started in the beginning of the lodge’s proposal. The RVA was invited to leave the lodge and the number of tourists decreased rapidly. Under pressure, the first manager resigned and a man, whose leader was the interventionists, took the manager position. The informants’ perceptions vary, but the majority of the informants understood that the interventionists wanted to control the lodge’s profits for their personal advantage.

*“The men started to interfere in the lodge probably because they saw that the women was getting a lot of money and think ‘let us to interfere on that money, let us to interfere on that lodge, so we will be the people to be benefited, not the women.’ The problem whit the people in this place is that when they see something, like the vehicle they bought to transport the visitors and the European, every man want to drive the vehicle, even fight inside the car.” (Mama Jackson Haisikie)*  
*“The men see that there is a lot of money in this lodge, the women are getting a lot of money and that is the reason to their interference.” (Mama 4)*

The women started a retort, but they were not able to restore the situation and take the lodge’s management into their own hands.

*“When the men started to interfere in the women’s business, we were very angry, we got together and decided to talk to a parliamentary, Kaparo, and his wife. We asked him to support us to remove the men, but they just said that we had to give them (men) a chance to run the lodge. After that, we gave up.” (Mama 5)*

The informants explained the women’s loss of authority in two directions. First, the majority argued that women had no knowledge on how to run the lodge by themselves and, because of this, they didn’t feel confident to go ahead and fight the men.

*“When the men saw that there was a lot of money in the lodge, some of them men said that the women are not supposed to own this amount of money. “We must intervene. We will be the one who will be leading and manage this lodge. And the women will get away from inside the lodge.” The women accept this intervention because by that time we were not understanding very well what was happen. We were very weak, we did not write, we did not read. Then we conclude that because the men were literate, let us give them the chance to lead, bring the visitors to the lodge.” (Mama 6)*

In another version, one informant said that some women succumbed to the men's interventions and this weakened the strength of the women's resistance. The informant understood that a man had enough power to control the political process. In fact, after the intervention, the Group Ranch's chairlady position was occupied by a man. Some interviewees said it was shameful and that this put the IMWG in a very fragile position.

*"The men intervention was contributed by some women, specially the chairlady, that contributed to the Ol Gaboli's failure. The chairlady was the person in power, but other people in the power said what we need, what we want. There was a time when the men named another man to occupy the chairlady's position. The women got very angry with men's intervention." (Mama Iamiton Meitiaki)*  
*"The chairman who succeeded \* mixed man in the Ol Gaboli committee, which used to be just women. By that time, men got power to interfere in the Ol Gaboli management. They also put a man to occupy the chairlady position. The women lost all their power to influence de decisions." (Papa 12) (\* is used to protect confidentiality)*

**2009 – 2012** According to the majority of the interviewees, during the management of the second manager the lodge collapsed. The predominant perception is that the second manager took personal advantages from the lodge's profits. He also concentrated the authority and the decision-making process in his own hands and used the lodge for the benefit of his friends, while eliminating the women from the decision-making process. Except for two informants, the majority stated that the second manager drove the lodge to a non-returning point of failure. Some informants had the perception that the second manager's management was riddled with corruption and self-interests. Without clients, the money was not enough to pay the employees and repairers. Consequently, the infrastructure deteriorated. The poor management brought another bad consequence: all partnerships were destroyed.

*"After \* (first manager) left we never saw money again. That was the end of Ol Gaboli support for our community. It happen because people in the lodge were not the same anymore. \* (first manager) were better manager and good hart and person that want to share the money to the community. The second manager was not interested to share the money, he just keep the money for himself." (Mama Rebecca Lesungue) \* is used to protect confidentiality*  
*"When he (second manager) got out, all the partners were far from us. Like LWF, NRT, Impala. So, we had not clients again. It is like to start new, from the point zero." (Papa 9)*

The lack of transparency is pointed as a problem faced during the second manager's management:

*"I think that the men got jealousy about the women money because it was a lot of money. When the money was get from the lodge, men used to go to Nayuki withdraw the lodge's money and the money was finished and we did not know how they used the lodge's money." (Mama 17)*

*"When the visitors come, the person who is managing the lodge do not send the money to the women. He just take the money end go." (Mama 2)*

**2013- Until now** – After three years, the second manager left his position and the IMWG took over the management of the lodge again. By that time many facilities were destroyed, and many utensils, equipment and materials had disappeared: mattresses, kitchen equipment, solar panels, bathrooms, several basic infrastructures were damaged or lost. The damages hindered the visitors' arrival. Nowadays (2015) the only activities happening in the lodge are one-day meetings conducted by the LWF or other external organizations. There is no infrastructure to receive visitors at night. There are no security guards, nor any permanent staff. The second manager registered the brand Ol Gaboli in his private name and he created and managed a website to promote the lodge. During this research he was negotiating with the IMWG a contract to lease the lodge and speak in the community's name in order to raise funds to rebuild, run and explore the lodge.

*“I am talking with the ladies, more with the chairlady, but they really do not understand. I said that if you don't take care on these facilities, it will go down and will be destroyed and you will not be able to take money again. If they agree to lease the lodge to me I will look for donors. My basic proposal is that I don't want to go on this alone; I want the whole community together. We need a management committee, comprising the women of this place, and actually men of this place. I don't want to show to the world it is mine, because it is a community facility. I will involve external partners, LWF and Naibunga Conservancy, to come and be part of the process. We will try to look for ways to convince partners to donate money for us to refurbish the lodge and the marketing.”*  
(Papa 8)

All interviewees agreed that the Ol Gaboli Project is unsuccessful. The majority said that nowadays the lodge doesn't bring any benefit to the community because it is destroyed and there are no visitors. They also agree that the men's intervention was the main cause of Ol Gaboli collapse and the loss of partnership.

### **2.1.2.3 Future**

Despite the lodge's failure being recognized, the majority of the informants had an optimistic perspective for the future, based on two main factors:

First, they truly believe that the community learned the lesson. Men and women recognize that the men's intervention was the cause for Ol Gaboli's failure and they will not let this happen again. The presence of some men interfering in the lodge's management is no longer accepted. All of the informants defend that the lodge should be leased for an external investor and that the IMWG will be the primary beneficiary of this leasing agreement.

*“For the future I desire to find somebody to lead the lodge as it was before, like \*(the first manager) and \*(RVA). I think that this person cannot come from the community. I think that now we are prepared to keep the men away from the lodge.”* (Mama 6)

*“For the future I see: if the man move out from the lodge and stop to interfering, and we get very close to the chairlady, who is a good person, the lodge can come back to be good. We must set a rule that no man anymore. It is very difficult to remove men from the lodge.” (Mama 7)*

The majority of the informants also defended that the women must have autonomy to manage the money that comes from the lodge’s leasing. Some defend that the IMGR have to receive 30% of this money and the IMWG 70%, but it is not a hegemonic position, because some defend that all the money from the lodge belongs to the women and should be managed by them.

Second – The majority of the informants believe that the IMWG is better prepared to deal with business issues and to manage the lodge’s money. They understand that nowadays women have support from their children, who went to school and can help them to do a better job in finance control and bookkeeping. They also believe that, in the future, their children will be better prepared to manage the lodge by themselves, without external investors.

*“If the lodge has been rebuilding, I do not think that the men will try to interfere again, because we are so much ahead, we know how to manage by ourselves, men can no longer interfere again. We can rebuild the lodge and be a good manager. Nowadays, we know how to manage by ourselves, we know how to go and speak to the people, we have those women who can go and speak to the people and European. We do not depend on men to write a proposal, to talk to the visitors... we are much ahead.” (Mama 5)*

*“Nowadays it is different. Some of us are much ahead. Many of us are literate. When the visitors come, many can talk to them (in English), so, there is a big change than before.” (Mama 6)*

### **2.1.3 Barriers**

One of the goals of this study is to show the interviewees’ perceptions about the barriers to run the lodge and achieve its purposes. Here are the findings. The barriers are not in order of priority or importance because the methodology does not allow me to classify or rank them. All of the types of barriers are gathered in a few categories, as follows:

#### **2.1.3.1 Knowledge and skills**

One of the main points for the informants is the lack of knowledge and skills in the whole community and specifically among the women, who are supposed to be able to manage the lodge. In this case, both men and women agree that the women lack of education and training was a consistent contribution for the lodge’s failure. However, there are evidences that suggest that, during the whole period when the men were managing the lodge, the men’s lack of skills and knowledge also contributed to the lodge’s failure.

### **Accountability**

During the entire lodge's history, the management was not efficient in recording financial data, keeping meetings records, mails, reports, photos, videos, audios or any kind of documentation in a regular and safe place. Consequently, it is difficult (impossible for this research), to say exactly how much money was invested in the lodge and how much money the community earned with the lodge's operation. There is also no inventory of equipment and permanent materials that have been bought, damaged, lost and repaired. Some informants said that they have some meetings and financial's records, but most of the interviewees do not know how to access such information because the existing documentation is not gathered in one place or two, but shared among a bunch of people. The absence of an efficient methodology to keep meetings and financial's records is considered a problem that should be addressed for a better management.

### **Marketing**

Neither the Il Motiok Women Group, nor the rest of the community, had enough training to be competitive and to conquer a consistent market for the lodge. Some men have skills to negotiate cattle or goats, but nobody has any idea about how to commercialize, advertise, promote or negotiate the tourism products. The only person in the community that declares to he feels comfortable to do this kind of job has a bad reputation in the ILWG and is not considered reliable for the majority of the informants.

*"First, we don't have somebody who directly bring tourists to the lodge. Now we have some organization that (sometimes) borrows the lodge, like World Vision, LWF (to workshops or meetings). But, visitors... to come... they are now very difficult. This is because the community does not know how to bring the tourist... where the tourists come from. They look for somebody to manage. (...) The community... this is the local people. They are not learned, not educated, they think that if they build the lodge the tourist will come. But they don't know the way to bring the tourists to come here" (Papa11)*

### **Management**

To manage a tourism enterprise, the management board or the manager should have some knowledge and skills, which are absent on the Ol Gaboli's Management Committee. Some informants expressed that the main management's position should be in the hands of an external investor, because they believe that the community does not have a person who is able to take over this position. In other hand, some informants strongly believe that there are some

young community members who are studying and will be back, in the future, to help the IMWG to run the lodge by themselves.

### **Formal Education**

It is a consensus that the lack of formal education among the women is one of the most important barriers for the lodge's success. Consequently, the women have little power to avoid the men's interference on their business, since the lack of education put the women in a situation of dependency on external social players or, at least, on men.

*"In this community, the women have never gone to school. It is very hard to learn how to run the lodge and then the women took all advice from men, asking everything to men. Then, men came with their interests. They realized that they were running the project, not the women, and decided to take the project from the women. But, the lodge belongs to the women." (Papa 9)*

*"I participate on the begging of Ol Gaboli. I was selected by PIC to be the treasure of OGMC. At that time money was not given to us in cash. As a treasure I just sign bank documents. The money were managed by KWS and \*(the first Manager). I don't know how to read and write. I used to sign things without read and I did not know what I was signing. At that time no woman was learned. All of us was illiterate." (Mama17)*

### **2.1.3.2 Cultural**

Some cultural characteristics present in the IMGR's community are recognizable barriers that make it quite difficult for the community to achieve the lodge's goals.

**The women are too busy and have no time to participate in the women group's activities.**

The Il Motiok Group Ranch is a rural community; its ethnical predominance is Maasai, with the main economic activity being the semi-nomad pastoralism. The community has low levels of formal education, but it is worse for women. There is a widespread perception among the informants that, in the Maasai tradition, the women play a very important role in the maintenance of life, being responsible for every domestic work: milking the cattle, the goats and the camels; fetching water and firewood; cooking; building, maintaining, repairing and cleaning the Bomas and their houses; taking care of children, sick people and the elderly. In addition, women are also responsible for all the domestic animals, including the cattle and the goats when the children are at school or whenever the men order them to do it. Consequently, women have little or no time to dedicate themselves to the women's organization, as well as to the Ol Gaboli's management.

**Women are not supposed to have education, money or land.**

There is quite a consensus among the informants that the Maasai women's role in their traditional society is restricted to the domestic space. Despite the big role that Maasai women have in order to guarantee the reproduction of life, doing the domestic work from a very young age, Maasai women face many difficulties to gain a participation in the economical and political spheres. One of the main purposes of the Ol Gaboli's project is to empower the local Maasai women, to enhance gender equality. But the local community did not accept these changes so easily. From the beginning of the Ol Gaboli's Project this aspect of their culture represented a source of conflict. On one side, some people agreed to develop the women's autonomy and to empower them. On the other hand, this represented a threat to the *status quo*. Adding this to the women's very low levels of formal education, the IMWG had no strength to resist against the counterattack perpetrated by the project's opponents.

*"When the men saw that there was a lot of money in the lodge, some of them said that the women are not supposed to own this amount of money." (Mama 6)*

*"...Then you see men forcing ladies for everything. Even if it is women's lodge. The Maasai culture we are just supposing a lady for do everything: go water, go firewood, looking for there, do shopping, build the house. So, that is why the men want to rule these ladies. To possess. If the lady say 'No! I will go to the meeting', then the husband spans her..." (Papa 11)*

### **2.1.3.3 Alien Project**

Some informants understand that managing a community-based tourism enterprise is a challenge for the Maasai community, who have their whole history based on the subsistence's pastoralism.

*"The men see that there are an opportunity there. But they have no idea about what to do. This is a Maasai people. Even if you build a big bowling, a very big one, for them, because this people are who they come from, they will just look and say that it is not a good thing. But if they get money they say "yes. This is good." But they are not putting on their minds. But a small caw like this one, they are taking very serious." (Papa 11)*

This type of alien project, conveyed to the Maasai traditional community by external social players, led the community to have the need to develop knowledge and skills that were totally unknown to them, such as marketing, management, hospitality, among many others. At the Ol Gaboli's project, the role of the RVA, the LWF and the MRC were crucial to build the idea in the community and to raise funds. On one hand, the lodge's project brought new perspectives to increase the income and the gender equality, but, on the other hand, it presented to the community a hard responsibility to change their traditional way of life, introducing new values, replacing some knowledges and ranking new skills. Seeing that the community is not a homogeneous society and

that the distribution of power is asymmetric, the lodge's construction shook the traditional balance of power in the community.

*"In 2007 I stepped down from chairman position and the 3 men, who were against the lodge, got the chance to start to interfere in the lodge management. I left before \*(first manager). He left after me. After that, Ol Gaboli collapsed. The second chairman, who followed me, went to the women and tell them 'this land is under my hand, so I have power to control and I have power to do whatever I want'." (Papa 12)*

#### **2.1.3.4 Infrastructure**

There are some barriers associated to the infrastructure, the equipment and the material, which hinders the achievement of the lodge's purposes.

##### **Internal problems**

After years of poor management, the Ol Gaboli's bandas are compromised. The informants said that many equipment disappeared or were stolen, such as kitchen's utensils, stoves, cupboards, bath equipment and even bedding and tablecloths. The buildings need many repairs, for example, the hot water system is broken and the roof has to be replaced. Around KSH\$ 700,000.00 (USD\$ 7,559.00) is needed to rebuild the lodge. The community expects to find an investor who would lease, rebuild and manage the lodge under a fair contract that would give a certain amount of money to the IMWG.

##### **External Problems**

Accessing the lodge is difficult and is one of the main problems. The Ol Gaboli's location is isolated in a pristine area with precarious roads without any signs. Ol Gaboli is located at a distance around 50km from the city of Nanyuki, with the closest commercial airport. To overcome this route, the visitors have to hire a guide, because it is almost impossible for someone who doesn't know the area to find the destination. A 4x4 car is strongly recommended. The 50km road trip takes no less than three hours, due to the harsh terrain.

There is no phone or internet services. The community cannot manage booking services or negotiate with suppliers from the local lodge. The guests also stay without communication. It is a big challenge for the IMWG, because they have to dependent on the men to receive information from outside of the community and on external investors to manage the lodge.

Fresh water supply is another problem. Although the lodge is located near a river, the water is not drinkable. In the beginning, they used to stock fresh water in recipients to service the guests.

There is not a public electricity supply service. The lodge operates with very low levels of electricity consumption, with fuel power generator. There is a solar hot water system, but it is broken.

#### **2.1.3.5 Poor governance**

The ability to connect with different stakeholders from inside and outside the community, made the Ol Gaboli's Bandas construction possible. For approximately seven years, the community built a good relationship with the KWS, the Laikipia Wildlife Forum, the Mpala Conservancy (and the Mpala Research Center), the Rift Valley Adventure and the community leaders. During this time, the IMWG allowed the women to participate in the decision-making process concerning the lodge's administration and the use of the Ol Gaboli's profit within the community. It was a learning process for a social group, historically marginalized from the economic and political power. The upsurge of an opposition political group into the Il Motiok Group Ranch's Board, in 2009, enforced a setback to the governance process. The historical partnership with the Mpala and the LWF lost its reliance and the IMWG lost their main allies. Alone, the women did not have the strength to face the political and administrative challenges and the lodge plunged into a bad management until it fatally collapsed. Today, the community is deep in a poor governance, in which the IMWG does not know what to do to build new partnerships. The women know that the only possible way to rebuild and lease the lodge is through a strong and strategic partnership. However, it is much harder to rebuild relationships after the trust has been shaken. This is the perverse legacy left by the intervention of some men in the Ol Gaboli's women business: the lodge and the partnerships were destroyed.

#### **2.1.4 Benefits**

The majority of the informants believe that the lodge is a good opportunity to improve the community's welfare. They gave several examples on how the lodge had previously benefitted, from the community, their own family and themselves. The benefits were not the same for all the families, however, the community shares a predominant positive perception about the lodge, based on its "gold era", which took place during the first three years. During the first management period, from 2006 to 2008, the lodge was profitable for the leasing enterprise and for the IMWG, which received a percentage of the earnings. The rules to share the benefits were based on the women's

organizations and participation. After gathering a certain amount of money, the Chairlady used to call an extended Ol Gaboli Management Committee's meeting to decide how the money should be used. First, the women selected some members who had problems to help, such as a woman with a disease, an old woman with special necessity or an orphan child. After that, they used to share the rest of the money among the three women's subgroup and each group decided how they would use the money, independently. For the majority of women in this community, this was the first time in their entire life that they had their own money, to start small businesses, pay school fees, buy food or cloths for their family members and take care of the elders.

*"...we can see if the Group Ranch could use that area, they will not give even a single shilling to the women. I think that all money from that place (Ol Gaboli) should go directly to women hands, everything. Every good thing can come from a mother. Not from a father. She go to the shopping and buy food, fee schools. (Papa 9)*

The women's priorities for this money generated much criticism from some men because some of them think that women do not know how to manage money and that women just spend the money instead of reinvesting it in other business. The women defended themselves saying that men, in general, are selfish and do not share their money with the women, don't take care of others and don't let the women influence the family's financial decisions.

*There are differences (between men and women concerning about the community care). When men get anything, any benefit or anything good, they don't give to the women. They believe that women are very week and they are not supposed to be given... But when a woman have anything, she will make sure she will call to all women, and she will tell what she has and will share. That is the difference. (Mama 2)*

**Education.** Among all benefits mentioned, the most important one appears to be the investments that the women made on their children's education. All of the informants mentioned this benefit and the majority of them said that this is very important for the community. The lodge did not promote education directly, nor build schools or paid teachers. The women, who received money from the lodge, used the money to pay for the children's schools fees. It may seem little, but for a pastoralist rural area, it represents a structural social change. For the future, the community's speech defends that the primary use for the lodge's profit is on education.

*"My family was benefited when a child finished the primary school and the lodge gave the money to send him to secondary school." (Mama 7)*

**Income.** The lodge, during the golden era, shared its profits with the IMWG. The use of this money varied from one women's subgroup to another. However, it is consensus that the

community was benefited by this money. It is quite impossible to measure how much money the community effectively received from the lodge, because there are no records. According to the informants, not all families received the same amount of money and some subgroups used the money for collective goals. One of them, for example, decided to buy cattle:

*“My family was benefited by Ol Gaboli Lodge like that: I was the chairlady of my women group and we received 50 thousand ksh from the lodge to share among the group. We used this money to buy small bulls and keep them until get bigger and sell it for a better price, to sell one bull and buy two.” (Mama 10)*

Many women did not invest the money in small business, they just used it to buy food, clothes, medicine, school materials or to pay for school fees.

*“During \*(first manager’s) period the lodge was very nice. During that time I was benefited by the lodge that gave me money to pay schools fees for my kids, money to buy food and even buy goats. The money from the lodge came direct to my hands, not to my husband.” (Mama 5) \*is used to protect confidentiality*

Some women used the money to make and sell beadworks for the visitors, making money for themselves.

Employment – The informants cited employment as a benefit provided by the lodge. The lodge used to employ people to cook and clean, waiters, scouts and so on. Because the lodge is closed, people don’t know how many people were employed. In fact, each person employed impacted many others because of the large family size.

*“My own family was benefited by the lodge. I have been working as a chambermaid, it was a great help to my family. We bought goats using the money I earned.” (Mama 4)*

The lodge also organized some cultural activities for the guests, such as traditional dances and music, for which the visitors used to give tips.

### **Conservation**

Despite the five thousand acres designated to conservation, few interviewees cited the conservation as a benefit. In fact, the conservation area was a source of conflict in the beginning of the lodge’s proposal, because it represented a loss of pastures for the pastoralists. Nowadays, the protected area is used for grazing during the dry season, offering a good alternative for the degraded land. In addition, the Ol Gaboli’s conservation area provides a healthy habitat for fauna and flora, and guarantees the genic flux. The environmental health is important for the lodge’s success, because the main tourist attraction, besides the Maasai culture, is the natural resources: beautiful landscape, wildlife and the river.

### **Gender equality**

There is a perception in the community that the lodge improves the gender equality. By increasing the women's income, they become less dependent on the men. They also become familiar with how to make financial decisions by themselves. Women can pay for school expenses for their children and can provide educational opportunities for girls. The lodge also improves the women's local organization, creating the Ol Gaboli Management Committee as a pedagogical space for citizenship flourishing leadership. The lodge's management history was also a learning process, through which the women grew up their group identity and opened a new perspective for the girls future.

## **HIGHLIGHTING SOME FINDINGS – OL GABOLI.**

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In addition to the clear findings presented above, some analysis emerged from the interactions beyond the formal interviews, overpassing the daily observations, throughout the background experiences. After six months in Kenya, I am not sure where the scientific methodology ends and the personal impressions begin. Anyway, the process to build a new knowledge is a process between method and creativity. Here is some thoughts that came to me about this fantastic story, which is still in course.

### **2.1.5 Opportunities for Tourism are Abundant**

Ol Gaboli has a great potential for ecotourism, as well as cultural and adventure tourism. The richness lies on the cultural features of its community and nature. Some attractions are well known by the interviewees, however, some potential tourism products are not perceptible for the community members because they have never explored these potentials and never had any training on tourism development. IMWG and its partners, with appropriate advising and training, can develop innumerable adventure touristic products. Most adventures activities listed below resulted from the *in situ* observation. In addition, the activities offered by RVA, while operating at Ol Gaboli, gives some information about Ol Gaboli's potential. The development of such economic activities may present some new options for income, particularly to the younger generation, who speaks English and may work as guides, instructors, environmental educators, environmental interpreters, among many others. The potential for Ol Gaboli goes beyond the cultural tourism and business tourism, as we can see below.

**Exploring nature through ecotourism and adventure tourism:** Ol Gaboli can become a reference in Kenya for adventure tourism, seeing that the area has a great potential for mountain biking, rafting, canoeing, bush walking, game-driving, camel safari and wild camping. Mpala Research Center registered more than 300 species of birds, which shows a great potential for Bird Watching Tourism.

**Sharing Culture:** The community is organized in traditional Bomas that consist of a familiar unit where Maasai people can live together with several bonds of parentage's arrangements. Inside each Boma, several daily activities take place, from sunrise up to late in the night. The community is very willing to host visitors in their Bomas, as I had the opportunity. The visitors can participate in daily activities, such as milking the goats, fetching water and firewood, helping children with homework and walking with the cattle. They also can interact with all Maasai generations and have a deep exchange of knowledge and friendship. This shows a great potential to Ol Gaboli to create new and original tourism attractions – which no Resort can do – to achieve a specific group of consumers, which are willing to give up the luxurious services in exchange for deep connections with the traditional cultures.

#### **2.1.6 With capital improvements, opportunities for business tourism are strong.**

Ol Gaboli has a very good infrastructure located in a majestically landscape. Once the lodge is rebuilt, it can become a good place for outside partners to carry out meetings, workshops and seminars. Laikipia is a well-known destination for corporate retreats, especially for companies located in Nairobi. Nanyuki and Nyahururu, the two biggest cities of Laikipia, also can be a source of business clients for Ol Gaboli. Companies, public agencies and nongovernmental organizations that aim to contribute with the community's development will be able to collaborate with the traditional Maasai community, making Ol Gaboli a destination for their encounters.

#### **2.1.7 Ol Gaboli's challenges are rooted in its history.**

I strongly believe that most of the problems that Ol Gaboli is facing have been originated during the decision making process established when the first proposal arrived at the community, mostly because conflicts and local political disputes were not addressed by the proposers. The first proposal to build in Ol Gaboli came from an interaction among external and internal players from the community.

It is very important to note that the first proposal did not come from the women, for whom the lodge had supposedly been built. The area was already used as a campsite for a private tourism operator, and then, these operators and a group of community men, who knew about other community lodges in Laikipia, decided to work at Ol Gaboli's construction.

During that time, these men were comprised of a local political group and they were leading the Il Motiok Group Ranch. The women had been convinced to be part on this, giving to Ol Gaboli Project the "gender equality" attribute, which was very welcome for the international financial agencies. A good partnership created a collaborative environment and the women were involved on the decision making process. Despite the women's engagement, some conflicts have not been effectively addressed, such as cultural gender barriers and local political issues. Women created their own organization, the Il Motiok Women Group, and they believed the lodge belongs to them. But, due to their low degree of education and the absence of a consistent capacity building program, after the lodge had been build, the women were not able to manage it, so the partners and IMWG decided to hire a manager and lease the lodge to RVA, the tourism operator that was involved with the project since the first proposal. Should be known that RVA, at that time, belonged to a foreign investor. RVA and the first manager, with the support of IMGR and other partners, stablished a good relationship with the women group.

However, another local political group contested the management model and fought for the lodge's control. When this opposition conquered the Group Ranch's management, Ol Gaboli collapsed. The new local political group stablished their own dynamics for Ol Gaboli's management, reduced the women's participation on the decision-making process, named a new manager and broke the leasing contract with RVA.

Given this new situation, the external partners abandoned the project and the collaborative process lost all its stakeholders, making possible for the new local political group to take personal advantages from the Ol Gaboli Lodge. The women group had no power to face the new political arrangements. They tried to maintain some allies, but the historical partners were not able to influence the local political dynamics. The main consequence of their intervention was the complete collapse of Ol Gaboli. After many years of poor management and no women's participation, the interventionists decided to "give back" the lodge to the women group, but the lodge was already destroyed. IMWG has no resources, whether material, financial, political or even knowledge, to rebuild the lodge. The women have no partners, and now they must deal with

the bad reputation, the only legacy left by the disastrous intervention perpetrated by a small, but powerful group from the community.

The community noted two main lessons learned from this sad history: the first is that, under a good management, the lodge is a great source of income; the women have rights over the lodge and they are willing to defend them. Second, the majority of interviewees agreed that the men's intervention was the cause for Ol Gaboli's failure, and they believe that the community is able to guarantee that it never will happen again.

Indeed, the community seems to be aware about the lodge's potential for income generation for women purposes, however, there are some other lesson to be learned, especially among the external stakeholders. The first is that the community is not homogeneous and, when a project can influence the power distribution established in such society, conflicts arise and the community has to build its own tools to face and to solve these conflicts, otherwise all the projects will be put under risk.

The second is that the women still believe that they do not have the skills and knowledge (or even the time) to directly manage the lodge and all interviewees said that the only way to resurrect Ol Gaboli is by outsourcing the management service and leasing the lodge for an external investor. These premises are right; in fact, they have never been trained to manage the lodge. However, the solution could be much better for the community's interests, instead of humbly giving the lodge to an external investor. I strongly believe that a consistent continuous program of capacity building involving not just the women, but also young people, can build an effective crew to run the lodge, by the community and to the community. Nevertheless, the question is: who will be willing to invest such amount of money to give another chance to this community? This is the third lesson that should be learned: nowadays, the community's main challenge is to rebuild a network, bringing partnerships and establishing a decision-making process involving the different local political groups and guaranteeing that the women's group will be protagonists.

### **2.1.8 Ongoing challenges persist.**

The causes for Ol Gaboli's failure are plentiful. While some causes are originated in the poor governance and all sorts of management mistakes through its history, other are intrinsic from cultural aspects of the traditional Maasai society. The women have a key role in the maintenance of life, being responsible for all domestic tasks, such as fetching water and firewood, cooking,

building, maintaining and repairing the Bomas and the houses, taking care of children, elderly and sick people. Many times, women have to take care of the men's animals and do other works if their husbands order them to do so. Maasai women are very busy and it is not easy to find the time to attend to the women groups' activities. During this research, it was evident that the women have a low level of engagement in the communal issues, focusing their efforts on the private sphere. Some women are not allowed to speak in front of a man without his approval. Some women cannot attend to a meeting without her husband's approval. Consequently, any project that aims to emancipate Maasai women should include a consistent plan to raise awareness among women and men. When the money starts to get in the community through the women's hands, the changes that will occur in this previous asymmetry of power will generate conflicts and the women must be prepared, aware, strong and strategically organized to face the thunderstorm ahead. In Ol Gaboli's history, it is evident that the IMWG had no power resources, whether economical or political, and did not have the knowledge and skills to face an attack perpetrated from a local political group.

Indeed, the absence of knowledge and skills among the women is probably the first priority to be addressed in order to establish a strategy to rebuild Ol Gaboli. I noticed that the women are very motivated to change the failed destiny of their lodge. Besides the women's willpower, there is a younger generation of girls and boys who represent a hope for a better future for Ol Gaboli's management. Investing on capacity building will make the difference between the success and failure of the next generation over the Ol Gaboli Project. Training in accounting, marketing and management are key to improve the transparency and to avoid a poor management. However, a good management will not guarantee good governance; consequently, a consistent capacity building program must aim the empowerment of women and girls, investing on leadership, women and children rights, collaborative management and gender equality. The IMWG will be much more prepared to take control of the lodge as the women gain more autonomy to make decisions in the private and public spheres of their society. After all, with good management, the lodge can start a virtuous circle of prosperity, since the proceeds from the lodge can be applied in education, something the interviewees agreed with.

Another relevant aspect of Ol Gaboli's history that I want to highlight is that the project came from an alien culture, introducing new and unknown demands to the Maasai women, who are very busy with their daily demands, who are illiterate, who do not speak English nor Swahili and who have never been in a hotel before. The proposers convinced the women to be involved on

their entrepreneur venture but, in fact, I strongly believe that the women had no idea which kind of responsibility they would face. The proposers did not take care properly to build capacity and to qualify the women's influence over the lodge's management. In fact, women had a passive position on Ol Gaboli's decisions, even during its "gold era". IMWG thought that the manager and the RVA would make all the decisions on the lodge and send part of its profits to the women group. Indeed, nowadays the IMWG is still waiting for someone else, an external investor, to lease, rebuild and manage the lodge, under the guarantee that they will receive part of its profits. They do not believe that the IMWG is able to manage the lodge by themselves mostly because the lodge's management is an alien demand and a big challenge for the traditional Maasai culture. This is why many interviewees expressed their hopes on the younger generations, which is comprised of boys and girls who are already receiving formal education and will be more able to develop the skills and the knowledge needed to take over the Ol Gaboli's management.

#### **2.1.9 The role of the policy and gender equality in nurturing success.**

The community, in general, wants the lodge to be rebuilt and to return to work. They are aware about some of the potential benefits that Ol Gaboli can provide to the community. Generating income to the Maasai women is the most important benefit they cited. Even though Ol Gaboli had been working with a good management for only three years, the proceeds shared between the leaser and IMWG was the only money most women owned during their entire life. The opportunity to decide what to do with that money, even being so little, was a meaningful experience that started the women's empowerment inside the community.

The larger portion of the money to build the lodge was provided by a public fund managed by the federal government of Kenya with resources allocated from the European Union. It shows an effort to implement public policies to develop the rural community, giving them new opportunities to enhance gender equality and rural livelihood. Despite the good intentions, Ol Gaboli's failure should be recognized not just as the community's responsibility, but it should be considered a public policy failure. The concept to give new opportunity to pastoralists engages different economic activities that cannot be disconnected from their deep culture. I strongly believe that the community-based tourism enterprises can be a good source of income to pastoralists' communities. However, the projects have to consider the broad aspects of the community, including political and gender conflicts.

Even when the project aims to promote gender equality and the women's emancipation, the entire community has to be involved from the beginning, when the whole community will decide whether they want to be engaged and, if yes, they will have to decide all the terms of the project. Indeed, to take place on the table, community members should be confident to input their contributions. Considering that Maasai women have such a strict role in their community, mostly confined to the private sphere, it is easy to conclude that any project that aims to promote gender equality must be strengthened with a consistent prior educational work to give the minimum knowledge necessary to support the women when taking the leading role in the decision making process. In Ol Gaboli's case, it is evident that the proposers, including external partners and the financial agency, did not create the best environment for an all-inclusive participation of this heterogeneous community. Instead, they delegated to a few people – community's outsiders – the task to build and manage the community-based enterprise project. Consequently, the conflicts inherent to that community were not addressed and gained a huge proportion, until it ended in the collapse of Ol Gaboli.

#### **2.1.10 Conservation is rarely perceived as a benefit for tourism.**

Ol Gaboli is a project that has been designed to take advantage of the rich wildlife and astonishing landscape present at the Il Motiok Group Ranch. The proximity with the Mpala Conservancy and, more recently, the communal Naibunga Conservancy, gives to Ol Gaboli Lodge the necessary conditions for the development of many tourism products associated with ecotourism and adventure tourism. The community selected five thousand acres of land to conservation. This represents a great conservation effort of the Il Motiok Group Ranch, given that the group ranch's area is overgrazing and that the population's increase are pressuring the region for more and more land. The creational process for Ol Gaboli and its protected area was a source of conflict among the pastoralists, who refused to lose their pastures. After a lengthy and harsh negotiation, the board of directors of the Il Motiok Group Ranch approved the creation of the Ol Gaboli's protected area.

Nowadays, the area is still under protection and it serves as a corridor for fauna and flora, allowing the genic flux among the Mpala Conservancy and the Naibunga Conservancy. In addition, local pastoralists can use the area at the end of the dry season, when the pastures offers are fewer, functioning as a bank pasture and a safeguard for their most important economic activity.

For Ol Gaboli, the necessity to generate revenue to be applied in the conservation has to be more than a marketing strategy to attract donors. It has to be part of the lodges' priority, because

their most important tourism attraction is the healthy environment, combined with the community's cultural aspects. In this sense, the community does not make the connection between the conservation and the Ol Gaboli's goals. I believe that every action that increases the awareness in conservation will also contribute to improve the community's engagement in their own tourism enterprise. The community rarely recognizes the intrinsic value of their natural resources. However, if they make the connection between the conservation and the lodge's objectives, a door will be open to the environmental education.

## 2.2 TWALA CULTURAL MANYATTA



*Photo 13. Typical architecture of traditional houses inside Twala Cultural Manyatta*

### 2.2.1 Introduction

Twala Cultural Manyatta is an umbrella's women organization for six subgroups: Nosotua, Nalepo, Monipicha, Melau, Mejoli and Nasserian (or Il Polei). Geographically, the TCM is located inside two Group Ranches: the Il Polei GR and the Munishoi GR. The TCM started in 2007. Since then, with the support of several non-governmental organizations, women have expanded and diversified their economic activities in search of economic empowerment and gender equality.



*Photo 14. Women with children attending a interview*

Using the 40 acres area designated to conservation, the TCM combines ecotourism, cultural tourism, handcraft commerce, permaculture and honey production. The TCM directly benefits its 140 members and their families. A network of local and international organizations supports the TCM. The informants are aware about Twala's main goal: to empower Maasai women.

During the fieldwork for this research, the Il Munishoi Group Ranch had just finished an election process, through which the power shifted from one political group to another. The Il Polei Group Ranch was in the middle of an election process. The community was involved in disputes that may have affected this research's results. First, the translator belonged to an important family involved in these disputes in both GR. Therefore, it was quite evident that some informants from other political groups were not very enthusiastic to concede me an interview. In addition, some important players were busy with the campaign and could not be interviewed.

The Twala Cultural Manyatta has two cottages with three beds each and one bathroom. There is also a campsite for visitors who bring their own tent. Seven traditional houses (without conditions to receive guests). A curio-shop, where they sell handicrafts and beadworks. An auditorium, called the Resource Center, where meetings and workshops take place. They also have an apiary with 80 beehives and an aloe plantation. In addition, they have a borehole that supplies the whole community.

**Tourist attractions:**

Most tourist attractions are very clear for the interviewees. However, some potential attractions are not perceptible to them. This happens because the community has never been trained on such activities and sometimes they do not even know that people could be interested in this, such as rock climbing, biking and home hosting.



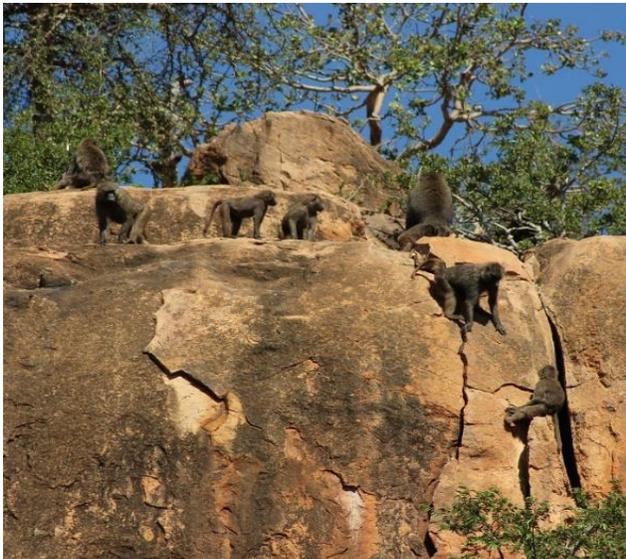
*Photo 15.A woman teaching how to do beadwork.*

**Cultural.** Interviewees think that the cultural attractions are the most important in this CBTE. The Twala Cultural Manyatta offers several cultural activities to the guests: performance of traditional music and dances; the guests can learn how to make beadwork and how to make fire in the old-fashioned way. Twala also serves traditional foods and the guests can participate

in daily tasks such as milking goats and camels, fetching water and firewood with women. Walking with cattle is another potential product.

**Nature.** The beauty of wild landscapes is cited, as well as the pure air and the view of the night sky. Similar to Ol Gaboli, Twala is very close to the Naibunga and the Ol Jogi conservancies, which give the region a great biodiversity and a rich wildlife. Besides the natural attributes, the TCM is engaged in a conservation initiative to protect a troupe of baboons. They offer a “Baboon Walk” - an ecotourism product combined with environmental education.

**Research and Business Tourism.** The Resource Center can be used by external organizations to carry out seminars, conferences, workshops and meetings. Researchers, students and scholars are welcome and can be hosted in the TCM.



*Photo 17. A troupe of Baboons showing their abilities to rock climbing.*



*Photo 17. The Resource Centre, a TCM's facility.*

### **2.2.2 History and stakeholders**

To tell Twala Cultural Manyatta's history, I have to talk about a Maasai group of women building gender equality and empowering themselves. The informants expressed their consciousness about the need to build women leadership and economic autonomy. The TCM's leaders built a consistent network with the support of several organizations and two Group Ranches. The good governance is the key strategy adopted by the TCM to become a successful community-based tourism enterprise. They still have many challenges, but they dream with a bright future.

### 2.2.2.1 *First proposal*

1992 – 2008. The very beginning of the TCM is not so clear, nobody could say the exact year that it started. This is not a surprise, seeing that the Maasai people normally are not very precise with dates; some informants do not even know their own age. However, some said that around 1992 a group of men decided to build the cultural Manyatta in order to have a place where the women could sell beadworks and entertain some visitors. The Ol Jogi Ranch played a fundamental role to bring visitors. At the very beginning, the women could sell beadworks there, paying to the men a tax of 10% on every sale. Men and women also could dance and sing to visitors who used to pay for the presentations. At that time, they had few traditional houses. In December, 2007, Kenya had a national election with violent results. It is estimated that at least 1,133 citizens were killed in a political confrontation, mostly in the Rift Valley (Murunga, 2011). After these three violent months, the tourism rates plummeted and the men decided to close the cultural Manyatta.

2009. A group of 10 women decided to rebuild the traditional houses and start a tourism enterprise to benefit women. At that time, a woman who became a community leader started to talk to other women about gender equality and leadership. She was a key person to take the TCM to a higher level. The women started to organize themselves to negotiate with the men the donation of a piece of land and the Twala Cultural area. That was a challenge because the women had to articulate with the two Group Ranches. The negotiation was not easy, especially because in Maasai culture women are not supposed to own land. They had several meetings until they were able to convince the men to donate the land. The World Vision organization had a key role on the TCM's creation and strengthening. The WV organized seminars about women and children rights, gave training in leadership and also articulated some men to defend the TCM's proposal in the Group Ranches meetings.

*“In the beginning, the women borrow the land from the men, and then we were able to come and build this place and sale our beadworks. With this, we can support our children to go to school. However, some men did not want to give the land to the women because traditionally the women are not able to own land. So, we had to talk to the men and they accepted. We called several meeting with men, and sometime some of them attended the meetings, until they have been convinced to give the land to the women.” (Mama 21)*

Since the beginning, the main goal for the TCM's women group to own their tourism enterprise was to empower Maasai women.

*“Traditionally, Laikipian maasai women do all domestic work but they don't own nothing at home. Actually nothing! She cannot even sell a goat without permission from the husband. Most of the*

*women depend on their husbands. It is very difficult to them since they spend all the time doing the home work: looking for the animals, feeding children, fetching water, fetching firewood, it is a hard work. It made some women to think: "what we are going to do as a women, then we can rely on ourselves." Those who are educated can teach us our rights. Then we can share ideas, come together and we can also get possess to be leaders. That made us start TCM." (Mama 37)*

In 2009, an incident created a movement against the TCM inside the community. The women's leader rescued two girls, 12 and 13 years old, from child marriage. She took the girls to the police station and the two men went to prison. After that, the men began to campaign against the TCM and to pressure their wives to stay out from the women groups. Several women were too afraid to participate on meetings and refused to support the TCM and the leader.

*"The year 2009 and 2010 they act ... I don't know how to say... They were against Twala, because what I did personally, because in 2009 I rescued two girls from early marriage. One 12 years old girl and one 13 years. I was the secretary of the Group. I took them to the police station and I reported the cases. The Children Officer came in, the girls went to schools and those men were arrested. In addition, the year 2010 other two girls came in my home, one was abused and another was denied education, and the security responsible was Uaso Ngiro Baboon Project. By then, the men said "this project is not good! It is against our culture!" and "we are going to cancel whatever do this". And, because the women are fear, they just agreed up, knowing that "What must be done is what men say." They became afraid and I lost many friends. (Mama 37)*

The women group's strategy to convince the men to support the TCM project was to build a network strengthening the good governance. They went to the African Conservation Center (ACC), the World Vision, the Uaso Ngiro Baboon Project, the Ol Jogi Ranch, the Laikipia Wildlife Forum and conquered their support.

### **2.2.2.2 Management history**

2010. Finally, after several meetings, the two Group Ranches agreed to give 40 acres to build the TCM. The women joined six subgroups, elected nine committee members and started their TCM project. During three years, the women participated on several seminars promoted by partners. At that time, capacity building was a priority. World Vision and ACC invested on seminars, meetings and trainings. This strategy gave more confidence for the women to run their business and to participate as protagonists on the local community's public issues.

*"WV also came in and trained women on women and children rights. Women's empowerment, leadership skills, records keeping. It makes a big change. After three years, women were able to speak in front of men." (Mama 37)*

2010 – 2014. In the next four years, the TCM diversified its economic activities, investing in the green house, honey and aloe production. They also intensified the women's capacity building, with their partners' support, as we can see below.

**African Conservation Center (ACC):** promoted seminars, meetings and trainings about women and children's rights; leadership and management skills. Rebuilt the traditional houses; built two cottages, the bathroom, and the Resource Center. Built the apiary and bought the aloe seeds. Hired and trained four scouts to protect the conservation area and the patrimony. The ACC employs three TCM's officers: the secretary, the hospitality manager and a field-officer. Uaso Ngiro Baboon Project donated a troop of baboons to the TCM to participate on a community-based conservation project and to operate the "Walk with Baboons", an eco-touristic activity. UNBP trained and hired guides to take care of the baboon's environment and guide visitors. UNBP also supported the girls' education giving sanitary pads to them.

**World Vision Kenya (WVK):** Built the Curio-Shop, where they sell beadwork and handicrafts. Promoted seminars to improve leadership, management and hospitality skills. Built a greenhouse to produce vegetables. They rent the Resource Center to conduct their own meetings.

**Permaculture Research Institute:** Through Laikipia Permaculture Centre, they hired one farm-manager and one farm worker to conduct the activities on aloe and honey production and they plan to increment the farm activities with permaculture, including restoring degraded areas. Commercializes the aloe production.

**Laikipia Wildlife Forum (LWF):** Rents the Resource Center to carry out meetings. Buys and commercializes the honey production.

**Ol Jogi Ranch:** Brings visitors to the Twala Cultural Manyatta to buy beadworks and other handcraft and to enjoy the cultural activities. Employs nine woman who work directly in the TCM. Built the electrical fence around the TCM's conservation area.

**Daraja Academy School:** Comes to the village to talk to girls about leadership, women and children rights, the importance of education, conservation and reproductive health. Some girls from the community study in the Daraja Academy.

**Naibunga Conservancy Trust:** It is an initiative, managed by the NRT, to build a collaborative effort of 9 group ranches to create a community conservancy with 43 thousand hectares, registered in 2004. The Il Polei Group Ranch and the Il Munishoi Group Ranch have designated part of their territory to compound the Naibunga Conservancy. The TCM was recently benefited by the NCT by the microfinance literacy training and business development training, after which the women become eligible to apply for small loans.

### **2.2.2.3 Good governance**

The ability to combine all those organizations and create an environment of cooperation to aim gender equality is one of the major barriers faced by the TCM's women organization. Despite the conflicts generated by the confrontation with some characteristics of the traditional Maasai culture, such as child marriage for girls, the TCM conquered the support of the Il Polei and the Munishoi Group Ranches, two organizations controlled by the community's men. The great external organization's support allowed the TCM to establish a new dynamic of power in the community, occupying new social and political positions, building capacities and leadership, and also investing in the future, by supporting girls' education and women's training in women and children rights. .

### **2.2.2.4 Future**

The informants are optimistic for the TCM's future. All of them believe that the TCM is doing very well and that the future will be better. They have high expectation for their girls and a lot confidence about their choices and potentialities.

*"I think the future of TCM will be good. I dream TCM will go far. I dream that the members will be able to stand by themselves and will never depend on men again." (Nancy Rana)*

*"For the future, I want to see Twala's members in big positions in the country and also I want to see our girls in big position in our country and also international position and I want to listen from them that it happens because of our support." (Mama 37)*

They also have some opinions on how to make the future better, such as to increase the conservation area, the plantation, build some cottages, rebuild the traditional houses, provide fresh water and repair the apiary. Some informants think the women have to improve their organization and engage in the TCM's activities. More training is another suggestion.

*"For the future my dream for TCM is that this project will be ahead, more developed. I think the women group need some training, the most important is in leadership. Also in beadwork and how to process aloe to produce soaps and shampoos. When we have tourists we don't know how to treat them, how to cook to them, we need to be training. I have never be training. That is what I think." (Mama 24)*

### **2.2.3 Barriers**

The interviewees have a deep knowledge about the barriers to lead the TCM to have a better management and to achieve its objectives. The diagnosis is organized in five categories without hierarchy. Some categories are interconnected with one another because they have a common cause. For example, the lack of formal education's among women lies on the cultural Maasai barriers that deny education to girls.

### 2.2.3.1 *Knowledge and skills*

According to the informants, in the TCM influence area, illiteracy is high and worst among women. In the TCM's Committee, two women are able to speak English fluently, and three are able to read and write (one in Kiswahili and three in English and Kiswahili). In addition, they have other literate people working close to the Committee, such as the Hospitality Manager and the Farm Manager. Some partner organization, like ACC and WVK, invested on capacity building to increase the women's autonomy on the TCM's management and also to improve their leadership skills. As a result, the informants believe that capacity building activities are a consistent way to prepare the community to achieve the Twala's goals. Regardless of the effort to build capacity in the recent past, the learning process should be continuous and permanent. Some informants also believe that the women's commitment is closely connected with knowledge: the more training the women have, more committed they will be.

*"To improve their commitment with the work I think we have to give more training until they understand how important this project is. Maybe they don't really understand what is going on. That is the reason they usually come just for eat. When they see the honey being productive and making money with this, they can be more committed. They will be happy and it will increase their interest in coming. Other partners should help, also de manager and the committee, not only me." (Mama 33)*

*"(To be better TCM have to) Do marketing for aloe and beadwork. I also think that we need some training, such as best quality of beadwork. We do not know very much about bee and honey production. We also want to learn about how to process aloe to produce soap and shampoos. In addition, we need to be training in leadership. I have been in a leadership seminar, provided by ACC. It was very helpful." (Mama 23)*

This seems to be true also to improve the TCM's capacity to offer better goods and services.

*"The other thing is to be training in general works, giving them the opportunity to understand their roles. To work in Twala, generally. Before there was nobody here working, and we can see that sometime they are doing. They are improving. They contract some people to work, but they still need to hire more people. They also need capacity building in production, they have many things, like the aloe and apiary but they don't know how to do this to increase the production." (Papa 25)*

*"To improve their commitment with the work I think we have to give more training until they understand how important this project is. Maybe they don't really understand what is going on. That is why they usually come just for eat. When they see the honey being productive and making money with this, they can be more committed. They will be happy and it will increase their interest in coming." (Mama 33)*

**Accountability:** The TCM's Committee keeps all information together. The Secretary is employed and receives a salary to organize the meetings and its minutes. The chairlady and hospitality manager should approve the minutes. The hospitality manager is also employed and is responsible, among others things, to keep the financial records and send periodical reports to the

partners. The routine method to keep the financial records started in 2012. Despite the effort, all the information are taken in notebooks, without any technology help and are not based on any financial methodology traditionally accepted, so the process to document the financial and management activities is fragile and puts the TCM in vulnerable position, since they don't do any data analysis about the money uses, expenses and gains. To share the information to the community, the TCM carry out meetings. Because there are no data or reports in digital format, it is not possible to share such information by internet. Some informants believe that the community is able to improve the methods to manage the TCM's finances.

*"The finance is well controlled, but can be better. Since we decided that we will not use the money, we will keep the money in a bank account and share dividends just twice a year, it became better. I don't know how many days the cottages were occupied. We have the control recorder with the hospitality manager. My role, as a treasurer, is to keep the money in cash until to deposit it in the bank. The hospitality manager has all the recorders. She can tell you or to everyone who ask." (Mama 34)*

*"I think that we still need a lot of training in management and leadership. I think that each member need no learn what is their role. I also think that we need to be training about finance and records, take notes and keep information organized. Nowadays we have 4 committee members that are able to write and read." (Mama 22)*

Informants are quite confident on the TCM's transparency, every person who said something about transparency expressed a clear thought on the decision making process to manage the TCM's money. However, it does not mean they are free of conflicts around this theme. Some committee members said that it was not so easy to establish a protocol to manage the money, and even now, there are some people who don't accept these decisions.

*"Most of members are illiterate, and they don't understand many things. I remember it was very hard for me to manage the money in the beginning. When we started I was the manager and I had the responsibility to have the financial records. It was very hard to record the money because they just used to take the money and spend it, without any record. Then we sat down as a committee and I said that we don't accept payments in cash, we need check. They said no, it is very difficult. Then I went in the ACC office, we had a meeting with all our partners and they came to a committee meeting and the committee didn't understand again. I said that we needed to work under a bylaw. We needed the check form, and they should be deposit fast in a bank account, before we use it. Consequently, we will be able to account. A majority of committee became against me. However, because the partners trained them, trained them, they started to think that it could be not so bad. (...) The first time I share dividends, they said: 'Oh! Mama! Thanks for this! We are proud of you. We thought you have gave our money away!'. We used to give the deposits receipt to committee meetings; they don't even pay me a faith. Now all members understood that the check will not be used for somebody, I am not able to use my signature, and so on." (Mama 37)*

*"When there are visitors, we should go sing and dance. We are supposed to be there, when the visitors are there. But few of us come. There are other causes they don't go to work. That is because they expect to be paid, to work for us. We share the money after 6 months. They agreed and they don't work. The one who are working are supposed to be benefited by dividends. Many of them*

*expect to receive the money immediately after they work. Because (in the day) it is a small amount of money... Because of this, we decided to save the money and share twice a year.” (Mama 34)*

Nowadays the money’s management is made by the TCM Committee and, in summary, has the following steps:

1. After each economic activity, the money is collected, the treasurer and hospitality manager take separate notes and the money is immediately deposited in a bank account. Every payment equal or higher than KSH 20,0000 (USD 193.80 nowadays)<sup>3</sup> is not accepted in cash, just in check.
2. Twice a year the TCM calls a general meeting where the committee presents the reports and the dividends have to be shared according to the following rule, under bylaws: 20% goes to the TCM board to repair and replace broken equipment and materials, 10% goes to support the girls’ education and 70% is shared among the members or among the six women subgroups, consistently to the number of women.
3. The subgroups decide, independently, how to use and share the money among its members. They can use for collective or individual purposes. The members who worked in the TCM’s activities will receive more money than those who do not.

*“We follow the Twala Bylaw. Before share dividends we take 20% to Twala hoard. 10% go to girls. Then we go back to remaining now and calculate how much each member will receive, if we share as individuals. Then we call for a meeting and people say: “we have members who have never been in Twala and we cannot share equally.” After that, the committee meet again and discuss how much each activity take, that is what we do. Last time the 20% of hoard went entirely to the girls. The girls are many and the money are little.” (Mama 37)*

Since the committee decides the uses for money, sometimes the roles are broken and this represents a threat to the good management.

*“20% of our money we collect to Twala hoard. It is the money for Twala activities. We use this money for Twala needs, like repairs. But most of the time, the committee can get this money and they failed to give me the 20%. I just wait and say that I am waiting the 20% as the bylaw says. Consequently, if the bee house have a problem, we don’t have the money to repair. If bee houses, aloe, toilets or any other facility (need repair, we don’t have money.) Sometime they say we will not gonna do this, we will just give this money to share dividends. Normally I say please, please, please... we need to do this and that... They say: “No. let’s do this another year”. That is a big, big challenge.” (Mama 37)*

One consequence of the decision to recompense the members who worked more then those who didn’t is to stimulate men to support TCM’s activities.

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<sup>3</sup> Source: Central Bank of Brazil’s official website in 08/18/2015: <http://www4.bcb.gov.br/pec/conversao/conversao.asp>

*“The men are very positive about TCM activities. They are happy about it. TCM are developing dividends, they share twice a year. If you don’t come to work you will not receive the same money as who worked harder. So, the men give them permission to come, otherwise his wife will not receive money from dividends.”(Mama 33)*

### **Marketing**

Marketing is definitely a bottleneck in the TCM’s management process. Most informants indicated that this is one of the reasons for the low number of customers. To compete in the tourism market, an enterprise should be well prepared to conquer its clients. The Twala’s women have no skills in marketing, which is done by the partners, especially ACC. The TCM has no advertising material, and do not even have its own website.

*“The main barrier the women face to run the lodge is the lack of marketing to attract tourists and the marketing for their products. To sell them out of Naibunga, out of Laikipia and even the international market. I am referring to the beadwork and Maasai arts. (Papa 25)”*

*“If we get more visitors we can get more money. The lack of visitors is a problem. If the visitors get many information, they will come here. We can do this through websites, for example. And brochures. I think it will be a good idea to see how other lodges work. We need marketing training.”(Mama 22)*

### **Formal Education**

The low level of formal education among pastoralists Maasai’s community is well known. The women are the worst affected by illiteracy because in this culture the women are designated to stay in the private domain of the social organization, responsible for domestic works. The informants understand that it is an important barrier for the TCM.

### **Leadership and Women and Children Rights**

In the past, the ACC and World Vision Kenya promoted capacity building activities on leadership, in order to facilitate the flourishing of genuine community women leaders, in the TCM. They also supported meetings and seminars about women & children rights. In result, a significant number of interviewees strongly believes that the most important theme in further trainings is leadership, combined with women & children rights.

*“(…) In addition, we need to be training in leadership. I have been in a leadership seminar, provided by ACC. It was very helpful.”(Mama 23)*

*“Someone can training us about the importance of the culture, the culture is good. But just half part of this. The dangerous part of this culture, especially the FGM (Female Genital Mutilation) and deny of girls education. And also the early marriages.” (Mama 37)*

### **Other opportunities**

Together, the interviewee listed some themes that they believe the community needs to take the TCM to a higher level of development and success. Here I compiled all these ideas they had to improve knowledge, skills and attitudes.

1. Hospitality. To welcome the visitors, cooking and make beds, clean and organize the facilities, plan cultural and ecotourism activities. They believe the women can organize themselves much better to receive and service the visitors and that this can increase the number of clients. If the TCM offers better services, visitors will come back and share their experience for other potential client.
2. Beadwork. Improving the beadwork quality can open new markets inside and outside the country.

*"I have been in Maasai Mara and we saw different beadwork we want to learn." (Mama 36)*

3. Aloe production and processing. Some women have been trained in aloe production and how to make soaps, shampoos and other products. Besides this, a neighbor women's group is already commercializing aloe products. Consequently, several interviewees cited the need to involve more women on the aloe's products manufacturing. In addition, some women also manifested an interest in learning about aloe's medicinal attributes.

*"We need to know what the importance of aloe is. We don't know how to use, how to process soaps and how to protect them from animal's attack. Many people say that aloe have medicinal properties but we don't know. I want to know about this." (Mama 30)*

4. Honey production and processing. After several honey badger's attack, the apiary was destroyed, but they did not lost their interest in improving the honey production and processing.

### **2.2.3.2 Cultural Barriers**

Patriarchy is a characteristic of the traditional Maasai communities. The Il Polei and the Munishoi group ranches are not an exception. The families are commonly polygamous. The division of work roles between genders is strict and structural in their society. Women are responsible for the domestic work, such as fetching water and firewood; building, repairing and cleaning their shelters; cooking and milking camels, caws and goats; taking care of the children, the sick people and the elders. Woman also have to obey their husband and all the family's properties belong to the man. Men are supposed to bring food, take care of the animals and provide

security to their families, however men can delegate these functions to others and it is common to see young boys or women taking care of the animals. These social and cultural rules bring consequences for the TCM since it is a women organization created to aim gender equality. To fight against these harmful aspects of their culture, the Twala's women constantly face difficulty and conflicts.

*“One of the biggest challenge is language barrier, because of lack of education. It takes me a long time for the women understand what I was saying, before. But now, because they (partners) have started something in Twala, It is now very easy to them to respond to the meeting... we are now fighting the a harmful cultural practice that affect girl child's life. Like earlier marriages, FGM (Female Genital Mutilation) and deny girl's education. But, it is very hard to them to accept this, since they are old women and say 'nothing is bat with this. There is nothing bad. This is our culture. So, why we have to say no to our culture? What we have to say no to what the men say?' It is very hard! I usually say 'I am a Maasai woman, I am proud of our culture, but I hate the harmful part of it. Let's say no the harmful part of our culture, because it affect our girl's life.'”(Mama 37)*

Changes in the cultural aspects are perceptible for some interviewees. The pressure inside the community for education access, combined with the increase of a settlement, induce the growth of the formal education's levels among the Maasai people in Kenya. There is a common understanding that education is the most important tool for gender equality and that guaranteeing the girls' education should be priority. In the meantime, it is necessary the women's rights have to be understood and respected, so that girls and boys have the same access to formal education.

*“If they understand their rights... they have rights as the men have. They are equal. The constitution does not favor anybody. The children are both equal, a boy and a girl. That can help, especially for the girls. I am crying for girls, because actually those girls are not in the board schools. After school, they never get time to do their homework. They just imitate what the mother is doing. They go to the kitchen cooking, fetching water and firewood. Doing everything her mother does. But a boy child has right to do whatever they want. I actually say to them to give equal time. If it is time to get water time or homework, let's put both to do. But, according to the culture it is not good to all, a boy should to do this and this. If you don't like to change, change will force you to change.” (Mama 37)*

Cultural barriers generate several other barriers, such as the low level of Twala members' engagement.

### **2.2.3.3 Low level of engagement**

The low level of engagement among the TCM's members is a problem mentioned by a group of informants; in spite of different opinions about the origins, it is a challenge to increase commitment, cooperation and volunteer work. Without hierarchy, the causes pointed by the interviewees are: 1. Women are too busy and do not have time to work for the TCM. 2. Women have low levels of education and training, consequently, they do not consider that this is important

for themselves. 3. Some members expect to be paid immediately after every activity is done. 4. The Free Rider Dilemma: since there are too many members, some of them wait for the job to be done by others because they know that everyone will be benefited. 5. Alien projects crash with the traditional Maasai lifestyle.

*“For example they started to build one house. The women are very many but how many come to work here? 2 or 3.”(Papa 26)*

**Women are too busy** with their home responsibilities; it is not easy to incorporate more work into their daily schedule. This is pointed as a cause for the low levels of engagement.

*“The women are involved in TCM’s work in subgroups. So few women go to Twala to work because when the children go to school, the women have to look for the goats and other domestic animals. (...) We don’t have any problem to collaborate, but we don’t have time to do more.” (Mama 35)*

*“I organized a trainings for today and I expected twenty women, but just 2 women came. Something should happen at home, maybe they took children to school, they should take care of livestock... After they do all work, it will be the time to come here. I am still waiting. They have a lot of homework. Most of women are married and their husbands say ‘today we have this and this , so, maybe they have this problems. They need their husband permission to come here. When there are visitors, they come because they can sell their beads and make money fast.” (Mama 33)*

*“I agree that one of the main barrier for the women get together to work for Twala is because we are too busy with homework. Today is school day, so the majority of women are in the bush, looking for the animals. When they come home, from the bush (...), they bring firewood. They come with the livestock and go to fetch water, to make food. It is very difficult.”(Mama 37)*

*“The other great barrier is the homework. Maasai women is very busy, they have a lot of to do at home. So, they have not time to work on their own business. They have children and housework.” (Papa 25)*

**The Free Rider Dilemma:** since there are too many members, some of them wait for the job to be done by others because they know that everyone will be benefited.

*“Interviewee: We have many challenges in the committee. We have many women to work with, and it is a big problem. We work with the hospitality manager and Farm Manager, the people who are working there. We have many women but not all of them are working. Some of them are ignoring. Some of them can talk what they want but can’t work. Some of them have a good heart, they work and they listen to the committee. They (women who don’t work for the project) know the TCM’s benefit. But I think that they don’t understand.”*

*Soraya: “What should be done to make them understand?”*

*“Interviewee: Telling them. The committee have some activities but it does not works. Some time it works, but soon comes the time when they start to ignore. I think it happen because they are so many. They think that the others will do the work. We have so many work there. We have to work in the manyatta, in the houses, to make it look good.”(Mama 34)*

### **Alien Project**

The strategy to diversify the economic activities developed by the TCM is based on the concept to increase the organization’s resilience, against the climate or economic harmful events.

For example, if the tourism market faces a crisis, the women still have the aloe and honey production. If they go through a drought, the tourism activities can hold the organization. However, a consequence is that some projects bring responsibilities and demand knowledge and skills completely unfamiliar for the pastoralist Maasai community, so, the TCM has to deal with the low levels of engagement and a lack of cooperation, as well as the low levels of technical knowledge and professionalism among the members.

*“The women here are Maasai women. We are trying to do permaculture. To do this beadwork is quite easy because they have been doing this for generations. But permaculture they are trying. We are providing many training... it is not such hard, but is not there. They are livestock keepings, not farmers. So they are not interested, but since they are seeing the harvest export to Canada, to Japan... they are getting money. Since they are generating income, they are trying to work hard.” (Mama 33)*

### **Financial compensation**

Some members are not willing to engage in a project from which they don't see a financial compensation.

*“The TCM members, in general, don't see the importance of aloe and honey projects because they don't see the money. The money comes but it is a small amount. In their minds, it is not important. The fact to be pastoralists influence their vision about this project. Sometimes ago they were not interested on this project. But it is changing.” (Mama 34)*

### **2.2.3.4 Infrastructure**

#### **Internal infrastructure barriers**

The TCM is continually expanding its infrastructure, with the support of external partners plus the Munishoi and Il Polei group ranches. However, they are facing setbacks on their projects, as well as planning their next steps to grow up, which demands investments on infrastructure.

#### **Water supply**

This is a real problem in the community, but surprisingly just a few informants mentioned it spontaneously. The TCM is located in a semi-arid region with a restrict water supply. The community has a borehole water, but according to the informants, it is not capable to supply the demand. In water resides several problems to better manage the tourism, aloe and greenhouse production. Regardless, just a few interviewees mentioned the water supply as a problem, in fact, in terms of infrastructure this is the main bottleneck for the economic activities' development.

*“We have a greenhouse and they used to grow vegetable and potatoes. But, since we have no water there is nothing there. They produce for consume, not so sell. When I came, I ask them: ‘A green house? Seriously? For what? Is it not producing?’ Nothing is there! I don't explain this. World*

*Vision just brought that. If they want to make a donation of a green house, they should first work on water. Otherwise, they should bring something else, something useful. The greenhouse is not producing anything. But is all water issue. If we work on water, then it will be useful.”(Mama 33)  
“We wish a person that can give us enough water.” (Mama 35)  
“Another big challenge is lack of water. We have just one borehole which is often used by the whole community, by the two schools (primary and secondary), by the people in the chopping center, and also by the animals. All domestic use is just from this same borehole, also Twala is there. This is a very big challenge. It impact our activities, the aloe and the resource center.” (37)*

### **Apiary and Aloe Plantation.**

The apiary was built on 2012 by the ACC; it has 80 beehives but none is colonized, so it means that the apiary, during this research, is not productive. This is a consequence of poor management, which allowed several honey badger’s attacks that destroyed the colonized hives and damaged the apiary structure. The beehives need to be repaired and the apiary needs a better protection from the honey badger’s attacks. The TCM also plans to buy more beehives in order to provide at least one hive to each of its 140 members.

The LWF has a program that promotes the honey production among the Laikipia rural areas, as an alternative to increase income and improve pollination. Besides providing training and equipment, the LWF also provides a market to the honey production, guaranteeing the commercialization, one of the biggest challenge for rural communities. LWF

The Aloe plantation started probably at 2010, the interviewees couldn’t precise the date. It was initiated by an Italian catholic sister, who brought the idea and the ACC bought the first seeds. With the Laikipia Permaculture Centre’s assistance, they began in 2012 to introduce the permaculture’s principles into the aloe plantation, to increase the production through agroforest systems. The LPC also provides a market for the harvest, selling all the production to abroad. The biggest barrier for the aloe to become a real change in the TCM’s income is to increase the productive area, while increasing the community’s engagement on this idea. The work executed by the Farm Manager and its assistant is not enough to make both the aloe and the apiary a significant source of income.

The interviewees suggested more training for both activities, more land for the aloe and more beehives.

### **Tourism infrastructure**

#### **1. Beds**

The need to rebuild the traditional houses and build some more cottages are two recurrent suggestions from the interviewees. They believe that, by increasing the number of beds, the TCM

will be able to create more opportunities for visitors, whether they are looking for recreational or work purposes.

During this research, the TCM had six traditional houses, but none in conditions to host clients. The Twala also had two cottages with one double and one single bed each. The women want to restore the traditional houses and build at least five more cottages.

## 2. Kitchen

The TCM has no kitchen. When they have costumers, all meals are prepared in the traditional houses or in the patio, in smalls “*jikos*”, a kind of traditional stove. Many of the interviewees recognized that building a proper kitchen is a priority to increase the number of visitors and offer a competitive tourism service.

## 3. Curio Shop

The Curio Shop is a rustic building, with the purpose to store and sell all the crafts produced by the Twala’s members. Some interviewees said that the building needs some repairs because the goods get wet and durst due the fragility of the structure. They also said that a bigger place could better accommodate the entire member’s works, since during this research the members rotate who will have a small space to expose their crafts.

## 4. Campsite

The campsite is a small area designated to accommodate a few visitor’s tents. No one mentioned any needs for the campsite, consequently I infer that my interviewees did not have a properly vision about how the campsite can be better organized to meet the visitor’s needs.

### **External Infrastructure barriers**

The external infrastructure cited were electricity and better cover phone service. In the Manyatta there is no phone signal, so, to make a call, a visitor has to go to the village and pray for a signal. It is hard to mobilize the community for a meeting or to come to work in the TCM when a visitor appears unexpectedly. In addition, the reservations, as well as the logistic for hosting, have a challenging routine, involving many people outside de community. In conclusion, the poor resources for communication is a barrier for the TCM. We point out that, despite the bad service, many families have at least one member who owns a cellphone.

## 2.2.4 Benefits

The interviewees easily listed many benefits that the community gains with the TCM's actions. Some benefits are directly provided by the Twala's activities, such as income by selling handicrafts or cottages occupation. Some other benefits come from partner organizations that support the women group to achieve its goals, such as employment or improving the farm activities by providing technical assistance. The benefits cited by the interviewees are listed below, grouped in five categories without hierarchy: Formal Education; Income; Employment; Conservation and Gender Equality.

### 2.2.4.1 Formal Education

The payment for school fees to girls is pointed as an important benefit from the TCM's activities. According to some informants, despite just 10% of the Twala's income being mandatorily applied in the girls' education, the majority of the respondents said that this is the best use for the money. However, the TCM does not pay for education fees. They chose a few girls who are more needy, to pay for secondary schools fees, such as orphans or very poor families. The remaining money is designated to buy hygienic items, such as soap, pads and shampoos, to every girl who is in secondary school.

*"For example, we discussed about how to give the bursaries for the girls. I think we have 10 girls supported by TCM in secondary school. Each one receive Ksh\$10.000 per term. They are elected to be sponsored because their parents are not able to pay for the school fees. The members of committee decide who will be sponsored." (Mama 3)*

*"When women stated to talk about TCM idea I was in the school. My mother is one of 140 members of TCM. My family was directly benefited by TCM. I was paid by the money the women get from here (TCM), since then I was in the school until now." (Mama 22)*

Some women, who received money from the dividends shared or by selling the beadworks in the TCM's Curio Shop, use it to pay for their children school's fees.

*"My family have been directly benefited by TCM. When we sell our beadworks, we pay school's fees for our children. When we have big money by sharing dividends we buy a goat." (Mama 27)*

Some interviewees believe that the Twala Cultural Manyatta should designate all its profits to support the girls' education.

*"I think that the money from TCM should be used prior in education. Girls education, to support them fully. Maybe orphan girls. I think they have to look for the girls who is the less fortunate in the community, and gave them with full education, it will be very positive." (Papa 26)*

### 2.2.4.2 Income

In 2013, the TCM started to share the dividends among its 140 members, twice a year. All members interviewed confirmed that they received a certain amount of money. The most rentable source of the Twala's profits comes from the tourism activities, such as the renting the Auditorium (Resource Center) and the two cottages. Tourism activities also generate income by the sale of the handcrafts; cultural performances, such as dancing and singing can be paid for. The apiary is not producing, but the aloe plantation was harvested twice. Based on the technical assistance provided by the Laikipia Permaculture Centre, most interviewees are optimistic for the future of the aloe plantation and the honey production.

#### **2.2.4.3 Employment**

The umbrella women organization TCM does not employ any person by itself; however, the partner organizations that support the women group employ 14 people directly from the community. In addition, the PRI/LPC hires a person to give technical assistance for farm activities.

The Permaculture Intitute/Laikipia Permaculture Center: This organization employs two women to work in aloe plantation, restore degraded areas and apiary. One is a community member. The other is a technical assistant that have the position of Farm Manager of TCM.

African Conservation Center employs four community men to work as scouts. They also employs the Hospitality Manager and the TCM's secretary.

Ol Jogi Ranch is a neighbor conservancy that pays nine community women to work directly in the TCM. It is a small amount of money (KSH600.00) but it is an incentive to them. They used to be inside the manyatta to attend the visitors.

#### **2.2.4.4 Conservation**

Just two people cited the conservation as a benefit and both of them were directly involved with the TCM's administration.

One of the conservation's activity is the Twala's engagement in the Uaso Ngiro Baboon Project, conducted by the ACC, which consists in tracking and protecting a baboon troupe and conserving its habitat. The Baboon Walk is an ecotourism product offered, through which the visitors have the chance to interact with the troupe and learn about its habits, threats, habitat and leave-no-trace's ethic. At the same time the project protects its flag species, the visitors are involved on the environmental education, and all of this generates income to the community.

One other conservation activity is the introduction of a permaculture to combine the aloe plantation, the agroforest system and the honey production. Introducing the permaculture's principles, the community will be able to produce healthy products, protect the soil and the water, restore degraded areas and improve its productivity. They have a nursery tree plantation to grow and to test several local species to fix nitrogen and increase the soil's fertility without any chemical products. The plan is to avoid the aloe monocrop, introducing agroforest systems and providing blossoms for the bees.

*"We work with aloe because it is all this called permaculture, it is a sustainable project to help people and environment. Conserve the environment and don't destroy the soil, we don't use chemicals. People in the community try to use the resources they have to generate income. I am interested the women grow their aloe, make their soaps and shampoos to generate income. I help the women, as they have no knowledge of permaculture. They don't use any fertilizer, I show them how to use organic things." (Mama 33)*

#### **2.2.4.5 Gender Equality**

The main purpose of the Twala Cultural Manyatta is to improve gender equality. All work is done with this single resolution. The pursuit for gender equality brings cohesion and sense for all the activities developed by its members and partners. The informants believes they are changing behaviors and perceptions, while bring livelihood improvement. The Twala's members are proud of what they have done and extremely optimistic with the future. They also know they have a long way to achieve gender equality, but they believe it is possible due to what they have already conquered. Before the Twala's existence, the women in both Group Ranches were not allowed to speak in front of a men without his authorization. Even in a meeting, the women were not allowed to speak. Nowadays they feel more respected, despite the long way they still have until they reach an ample gender equality.

*"Yes, it (TCM) changed my life. What I was thinking before we built this homes was not the same. Now we are able to sale our beadworks. We have changes because this Twala Cultural empower the women. We can even join the Group Ranch Committee and we can be leaders." (Mama 20)*

## **HIGHLIGHTING SOME FINDINGS – TWALA CULTURAL MANYATTA**

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### **2.2.5 Opportunity of Tourism is abundant**

Twala diversified its economic activities and is trying to offer different kind of tourism products, such as business and cultural products, as well as ecotourism. The Twala's surrounded area has potential for development of other tourism products but it depends on carefully planning and training. The great potential is for adventure products such as mountain biking, rock climbing, rappelling, bush-walking, camel safari and wild camping. A program of "tourism combined with volunteer and study works" can be other great potential to Twala, hosting students/guests to enjoy and learn about immeasurable themes of academic interests, such as tourism, permaculture, gender equality, traditional Maasai culture, environmental studies, and so on.

### **2.2.6 Economic Sustainability is still a challenge**

Despite the intent to diversify economic activities, including honey and aloe production besides tourism goods and services, TCM is still dependent on external partners' support. All employees working for TCM are paid by partner organization. For the near future, Twala have the challenge to make all its activities be profitable enough to hide the employees needed to run the lodge and other activities. Another option is to increase the engagement and volunteer work. The diversification of economic activities, such as honey and aloe production, appear as an alternative to increase Twala's profit, driving the organization to economic sustainability and independency from external partners. To become more productive, the CBTE have to advance elaborating medium and long-terms strategic plan. To achieve economic sustainability is necessary to treat tourism as a business and this is not easy for Maasai women, because their culture delegates to men the business' tasks. It makes even more important to support girls education for the Twala's future.

### **2.2.7 Twala Cultural Manyatta supports girls education**

It is a consensus in TCM that education is the most important tool to achieve gender equity. The women groups associated to TCM support girls education defining 10% of their profits to help girls directly. The resources applied in education is low and few girls are benefited. Some interviewees (including men) defended that Twala should allocate a bigger part of their money to

support girls education. Some leaders are trying to build a consensus, but some members still resist to give the same chance to girls and boys. Advocating in favor of girls, they argue that investing in girls' education is an effort to give a chance for future changes in women conditions and gender relations, as well as increase women social, economic and political participation. The success of Twala Cultural Manyatta is closely linked with women capacity to participate on decision-making process in equal condition to the men. In this case, it is very significant that some members are willing to advocate in girls education defense.

### **2.2.8 Alien Projects**

The greenhouse, the apiary, the permaculture and the baboon project are examples of projects brought to the community by external partners, with the intent to increase the TCM's resilience and economic autonomy. Besides the opportunities, the projects also brought more work for the women who were already busy, as well as many challenges for the capacity building throughout several new issues, skills and knowledge. To create a new environment for cooperation, the TCM and its partners have to keep continuously investing on capacity building. Nevertheless, this is not enough; the TCM and its partners should create a good environment for the decision-making process, which can be able to incorporate the women's real needs, to avoid alien projects without the community's support and engagement.

## CHAPTER III – COMPARING THE TWO STUDIES CASE

Twala Cultural Manyatta and Ol Gaboli have similarities and differences in management history and perception of barriers and benefits. In this section, we will highlight and discuss some of these aspects. The table below gives us an idea about some important similarities and differences between the two case study. For this paper, we will focus on the key findings to explain why one community was successful and the other fail, in their community-based tourism enterprise.

Description	Similarities		Differences	
	Ol Gaboli	TCM	Ol Gaboli	TCM
First Proposal to build the lodge	I. The lodge have been built to empower Maasai women. II. The women group was founded in order to manage the lodge.		I. External partners brought the proposal and convinced the women engaged in the lodge's project.	I. The women group brought the proposal and external partners support women to build the lodge.
Management History			II. A man was contracted to manage the lodge. III. A tourism operator company lease the lodge. IV. Nowadays women do not feel able to manage the lodge V. Women have low power to influence decision making process in lodge's management. VI. Ol Gaboli Project fail.	II. A women have been contracted to manage the lodge. III. The women group operates by themselves tourism activities. IV. Nowadays women feel very comfortable to manage de lodge V. Women have power to control decision making process in lodge's management. VI. TCM is successful.
Conflicts	III. Some pastoralists men did not support the first proposal because they were afraid to lose pastures. IV. The lodge changes gender relations empowering women, however it is a source of cultural conflicts.		VII. The political local groups dispute the lodges control. VIII. A group of men took the control of lodge's management.	VII. The political local groups support TCM. VIII. The women group maintain the control of lodge's management.
Barriers	V. Women are too busy to engage in women group activities. VI. Low level of formal education. VII. Lack of infrastructure (roads, power and water supply, phone and internet services), and facilities' needs (refurbish, new buildings, repair...)		III. The lodge needs to be totally restored to operate again. IX. Lack of network and partnership support. X. Lack of accountability and transparency	IX. The lodge needs some restoration and new buildings, but it is working. X. TCM has good network and partnership. XI. Good transparency. Accountability can be Improved.
Benefit	XI. All informants believe the lodge is good or the community, providing income and employment. XII. Supporting children education is the most important benefit from the lodges. XIII. The lodge's operation generate income to women. XIV. The lodge contribute to biodiversity conservation.		IX. Women lost its power to control the lodge. X. No evidence that the lodge increased awareness about women & children rights. XI. Lack of genuine leadership.	XII. The lodge empowered women Group. XIII. The lodge Increased community's awareness about women & children rights. XIV. Flourishing genuine leadership.

Future view	V. The majority of informants is optimistic with the future. VI. The most important benefit from the lodge have to be investments on children education	XII. The majority of informants defend that the lodge should be leased to an external tourism operator	XV. All informants believe that the women group have to be in the control of tourism management.
Capacity Building	II. Women have to be trained in several issues in order to improve the lodge's management.	III. IMWG had few experiences of training IV. Women had no training in leadership	VI. TCM had several training experiences. VII. Some women had been trained in leadership

As I said previously, most conflicts that persist in Ol Gaboli have its roots in the lodge's creational process, which was remarkable different from Twala. The first proposal to build the lodge came in the ground throughout different path. While Ol Gaboli received the first proposal from external stakeholders, Twala Cultural Manyatta nurture the proposal in the heart of women organization. This difference, in the beginning of process, gave different characteristics to the relationship between women groups and the rest of their community. In Ol Gaboli, the women had no strategy to gain autonomy and independency from men. In other hand, TCM began fighting for social recognition and autonomy.

In the beginning of the process, the external partners had different role in the two cases: In Ol Gaboli, external partners controlled the decision-making process, since to build until to stablish the first period of management, contracting a men from outside the community to manage and leasing the tourism activities to a foreign investor. In Ol Gaboli, women group had a secondary role. In another way, in TCM external partners worked to increase women group protagonism, supporting them in their decision. In Twala, a community woman was contract to manage the lodge. The strength of TCM and the weakness of Il Motiok Women Group are inborn on the beginning of these two projects, and the external partners had a great responsibility on this.

Despite both initiatives faced initial conflicts with pastoralists, who was afraid to lose pastures land, TCM demonstrated to be more capable to offer consensual solution. In Ol Gaboli it took more time to convince a significant part of community to support the lodge's project. In the same sense, Ol Gaboli faced a local political conflict that drove the project to collapse. The inability to build a collaborative management opened the Ol Gaboli's door to private interest and corruption, followed by the failure. Twala Cultural Manyatta has a different story to tell us: they organized a network, involving local and external partners, who supported collaborative management. Twala also stablished a strategy to foment awareness on women & children rights, understanding that the women empowerment should be the core of TCM's objective. Once again, external partners had fundamental role to promote collaborative management.

In terms of barriers, besides the political conflicts and personal interests overlapping communal interests, there are some cultural barriers that both studies case have to address. The most important is that Maasai women are too busy to be engaged in women group activities. This sentence I listened repeatedly. It is a consensus, in both sites, that Maasai women organization are so challenged due the home work residing exclusively on women responsibility. However, just in Twala Cultural Manyatta women group has a strategy to address this barrier. They understand that this reality will change through capacity building for adults, and children formal education access. They are very optimistic that new generations will be able to change some hazardous aspects of Maasai culture, specially gender equality. Il Motiok Women Group are still trying to build consistent body members to go ahead on some primary steps to strength its organization. They also are optimistic with future because they believes that the community recognized that the men intervention in Ol Gaboli's control collapsed the project and also they believe the new generation is getting education and will be much more prepared to manage the lodge. But there are other way to address this barrier: improving fresh water supply and alternative fuel for domestic uses, as well as more efficient stoves, for Maasai women, could represent a great upgrading on women's welfare. It can be addressed through a collaborative effort among public, private and NGOs partners.

In addition to political conflicts, personal interests and cultural barriers, both lodges face the lack of infrastructure (roads, power and water supply, phone and internet services) that hind them to offer better tourism goods and services. How can the community-based tourism enterprises compete with the luxury lodges inside private conservancies everywhere in Laikipia County? They don't. In private conservancies (and its lodges) offer different king of tourism goods and services, for certain consumer group. Ol Gaboli and TCM have to target other niches of tourism market. However, some essentials infrastructure must be present to satisfy the guests' basic needs. Fresh water, power and security must be there. The absent of public administration is evident, so an effort to combine public policies with private contribution can address the lack of infrastructure and other structural problems, such as transportation, education and health. In addition, Ol Gaboli, after many years of poor management, is seriously damaged and many equipment have been stolen. To work again, the community have to allocate resources to rebuild it. TCM have to refurbish the apiary and Curio Shop. They also want to build five more cottage and a kitchen.

Low level of education is a barrier encountered in both studies case. In Il Motiok Women Group it is worst. At the beginning of Ol Gaboli Project, there were no literate woman in its management committee. Not even one. Nowadays there are one literate, who is the Ol Gaboli Management Committee's Secretary. As it was said before, in TCM the situation is better. In Twala's Committee, two women are able to speak English fluently, and three are able to read and write (one in Kiswahili and three in English and Kiswahili). In addition, they have other literate people working close the Committee, such as the Hospitality Manager and the Farm Manager. Education is a structural problem in Kenya's rural area. In Maasai communities formal education is a source of cultural conflicts because many elders believe that pastoralists don't need education. Nevertheless, in both studies case I found a consensus that the formal education is good and necessary.

To run a lodge is to administrate a business and it implies in many knowledge and skills. Ol Gaboli and TCM faced the challenge to prepare a crew to run the lodge with different strategies. Ol Gaboli gave to external stakeholders the lodge's management and leased the tourism activities to a foreign investor. The decision-making process have never been in women group hands. When a local political group, to defend private interests, stormed the administration of the lodge, the women group had no power to stop them. Nowadays, Il Motiok Women Group still feel unprepared to manage the lodge and waiting for someone else to do all necessary steps to give life again to Ol Gaboli bandas. Twala Cultural Manyatta faced the lack of knowledge and skills in another manner. With the support of external partners the women group organized several seminars, meetings and workshops to build capacity among the members. They still think that much more training will be welcome and they have several suggestion about topics they want to learn about. Twala invested in capacity building in order to straighten women autonomy and promote gender equality. In result, TCM's women groups have the control of decision-making process of its lodge's management than IL Motiok Women Group has over their Ol Gaboli Bandas.

The management's history, as well as the external partners' role, give us some important facts that influenced the women's empowerment and organization. In the same sense, the capacity building actions that happened in both cases also provide us some facts to understand why one the cases was successful, but not the other. Women groups associated to the TCM had more training than the women groups associated to the Ol Gaboli. The TCM's women feel more confident to manage their Community-based Tourism Enterprise, and the training contributed to build their

confidence. In both sites, the interviewees' statements lead me to defend the necessity to develop a consistent long-term program of capacity building. It is evident that, in the TCM, the training produced a significant improvement on the women's confidence, developing knowledge and skills. It is essential to highlight the investment on leadership and on women & children rights, because, by increasing awareness on these themes, the whole community was affected and became more willing to collaborate with The CM's project. In addition, Twala shows a high awareness regarding the need to foment the flourishing of a genuine leadership. That is an obvious difference from the Ol Gaboli. The presence of leader established an atmosphere of trust, favorable to the community's organization around a common goal, which was the promotion of gender equality. Capacity building in several topics and leadership gave the women a social cohesion. I believe that this condition can explain why in the TCM there is no opposition against the women's initiatives. Capacity building actually encouraged women to go ahead with their desire to build gender equality and now the entire community understand that the TCM benefits everyone.

### **3.1 CONCLUSION**

Tourism and conservation are two concepts that, in Kenya, cannot be separated. The Laikipia County is the second destination for wildlife-based tourism, behind only the Maasai Mara National Reserve. Laikipia is home for a great biodiversity, including big five species (rhino, elephant, lion, leopard and buffalo), and the tourism market is leading private investors and communal landowners to create protected areas for conservation purposes and combine this to tourism economic activities. The most common model of tourism enterprises in Laikipia is the type based on private conservancies and luxury lodges, campsites and hotels to service tourists with a high purchasing power, most of them being foreigners. Despite many investors reverting part of their profits to charity or to build schools and small hospitals, the local community is rarely benefited by the tourism sector. In fact, pastoralists' community are negatively affected, because commonly they lose their pastures for conservancies.

However, in the last two decades – with the support of international agencies, NGOs and conservancies – some Maasai communities established their own communal conservancies and their own community-based tourism enterprise. It is a big venture for rural traditional Maasai communities. This people got involved in this great adventure in the business world and now each one of them has a different story to tell us. This study included two initiatives of the CBTE at the

Laikipia County: The successful Twala Cultural Manyatta and the Ol Gaboli, which failed. The causes to explain why two communities so similar, cultural and geographically, had such different outcomes, is rooted in the management decisions-making process's history that weakened or strengthened the women groups involved in this process. Both initiatives were designed to be managed by the Maasai women groups and the projects' main goal was to promote gender equality through tourism and conservation.

This study revealed that, by introducing a foreign economic activity into a local culture, the stakeholders who control the decision-making process should pay attention to the barriers present in order to reduce the risk of failure. In this comparative study, it became clear that cultural barriers are the ones that offer more risk, seeing that the promotion of cultural changes depends on many aspects that are not under the stakeholders' control. The patriarchy is one example. Traditional Maasai women have a social role limited to the private sphere, and furthermore are very busy with their domestic activities, so the lack of time and willingness to engage in political, social or economic activity greatly affects this women's community organization.

In addition to the cultural barriers, the lack of knowledge and skills required to manage a business imposes a responsibility to this people far beyond their own capacities. Therefore, the first step to be taken when proposing the introduction of a new economic activity in a traditional community is to make sure that all the stakeholders are aware of challenges ahead. Only then, they will be able to make a balanced decision, based on the community's history, needs and dreams.

Cultural barriers and the lack of knowledge and skills are probably the greatest barriers that both study cases have faced. And because they had different strategies to address these barriers, they also had different results.

To address their main barriers, the TCM chose to invest in capacity building and in enhancing the women's autonomy. In result, the women gained confidence to control and participate of the decision-making process. In addition, the TCM build a great network, involving several external partners, and increased the community's cohesion by gaining support from two Group Ranches' board of directors (male political groups). Twala still has problems related to the low levels of education and the lack of knowledge and skills, however, the majority of women under the TCM's umbrella, believes that the future will be better because they are taking the right steps to improve their activities and the women's engagement.

On the other hand, the Ol Gaboli chose to lease the lodge to a foreign tourism operator and to hire an external man to manage the place. As a consequence of this decision, the women lost the power to influence the decision-making process and did not invest in capacity building. In the Ol Gaboli story, women always had a secondary role. In the beginning, the lodge gave money to the women group, but the leaser company had the greatest profit. When a group of local men decided to take over the lodge's control for their personal advantage, the women had no resources or power to resist against their intervention. After the lodge was ransacked, the women took back the control, but now there is no condition to work. After this setback, the external partners have gone away because there is no trust anymore. The intervenors left a legacy of destruction, not only physical but also moral and institutional. The Il Motiok Women Group have a long way to rebuild the community's cohesion, a network of partnership and even physically refurbishing the lodge.

Aside from the risks related to the cultural barriers and the lack of knowledge and skills, the two case studies also faced some conflicts generated from the women receiving money. This happened because the community was affected by the possible changes in the established balance of power. The women's empowerment process – both through training programs, and through income generation – created a resistance reaction from men. In the case of the Ol Gaboli the reaction was so violent that women were fully left out from the decision-making process and the women's money was usurped. In the TCM it was different because women, supported by partner organizations, were able to neutralize the negative reaction, building awareness on women & children rights.

These two stories show us that the CBTE can be a way to equitably share the conservation benefits and also promote gender equality in the traditional Maasai communities. However, the success or failure of the CBTE depends on several obstacles related to cultural, economical and political aspects. The women's empowerment process, anywhere in the world, will confront the unequal balance of power set in that society, which will be a source of conflict that needs to be anticipated and addressed. The external partners have a key role to promote the participation and the good governance, in order to build the community's autonomy and confidence to control the decision-making process, giving the vulnerable population the capacities to participate with equal conditions.

The richness of biodiversity in Laikipia is considered a major appeal for tourism development. I'll add that this development can only benefit Kenya if the local communities are

benefited. The primary tourism type in Laikipia is exclusionary and it increases the vulnerability of the semi-nomadic pastoralists' populations. Conservation cannot end in itself. The strength and resilience of the nation lies in the cultural richness of various ethnic groups in Kenya. The community-based tourism enterprises can be an alternative to share benefits, protect the biodiversity and the cultural heritage.

## **3.2 RECOMMENDATIONS**

The goal of this section is to inform the partners and the community leaders, as well as the public authorities, in order to address the problems and enhance the opportunities, collaborating to the achievement of Ol Gaboli and Twala Cultural Manyatta's purposes.

### **3.2.1 Capacity building**

The management of the community-based tourism enterprises requires knowledge and skills that are alien to the traditional Maasai communities. To respect the principles of good governance, the communities need to acquire and produce knowledge, as well as acquiring and developing skills. The community's capacity building is a fundamental tool to promote engagement and guarantee equal conditions for participation. In both study cases, the interviewees listed several topics that should be worked on during the trainings activities. In any initiative of the CBTE, partners and community leaders have to pay a special attention to plan a long-term capacity-building program to address both the barriers and the potentialities present in the community. The TCM shows us that capacity building promotes social cohesion, collaborative spirit and enhances the women's confidence to make decisions and act in favor of their dreams. In this sense, I strongly recommend that the partners and the community leaders must commit themselves to capacity building programs that promote sovereignty, critical thinking on their reality and the ability to make decisions.

Leadership and women & children rights seem to be significant to empower women and increase their awareness on gender equality.

Environmental education is important to create an atmosphere of collaboration at the conservation, enhancing the existing conservation initiatives inside and outside the three Group Ranches. Despite of the several conservation initiatives developed by the Group Ranches and their neighbors, just a few of the interviewees showed awareness about this issue.

If they really want to successfully run the lodge, the women groups have to acquire an entrepreneurial behavior and the ability to formulate a business plan to manage their community-based enterprise. Therefore, specific skills to manage the lodge are more than appropriate, they are essential, for example: computing, finance, book keeping, hospitality management, business, marketing & advertising. Some other complementary subjects are cited: cuisine, beadwork and jewelry.

The diversification of the economic activities require specific training, such as greenhouse vegetables production, aloe production & processing, honey production & processing.

Besides the capacity building, it is vital for the lodge's success that the community, the partners and the state agencies invest in the children's education. The future of gender equality's improvement depends on the formal education's investment, combined to the public health's increment. It is evident that only the lodge's efforts to support the children's education will never be enough. The public sector has to take over this responsibility and offer a better education in the area.

### 3.2.2 Tourism attraction.

It is very opportune to elaborate an inventory of ecotourism's attractions on both places, as well as the potential tourism activities that the two CBTE can incorporate on their tourism's portfolio. Associated to this inventory, a capacity-building program has to be designed in order to offer jobs opportunities to the community's members, specially focused on the new generations. Home hosting



*Photo 18. Luiz Coslope and his tent, inside a manyatta in Il Motiok Group Ranch.*



*Photo 19. Mirimi Losho Village, a CBTE close to Maasai Mara National Reserve, Kenya.*

can be an interesting opportunity for the visitors to genuinely interact with the local community. I was hosted in an Ol Gaboli's Manyatta and it was one of the most interesting experiences in my life. Home hosting can also be directly benefit the community by improving the hosting offer and

decreasing the pressure on the Lodge's cottages or bandas. This kind of home hosting is a tourism product that can be offered exclusively by the community, to attend a very specific niche of consumers. However, like every new product, the community has to be willing to engage in this activity and also well trained. Similarly, this occurs in other Maasai communities, such as Mirimi Losho Village, at the Maasai Mara region. Home hosting can become a source of income to the TCM members and to the Il Motiok Women Group.

### 3.2.3 Infrastructure

Ol Gaboli and Twala have similar external infrastructure's problems, but differ on their internal infrastructure's needs. Both suffer with the lack of public polices and services. To make their products and services more competitive in the Laikipia market, they need to improve their fresh water and power supply, as well as better roads access and signaling. When compared to the Ol Gaboli, the TCM is closer to Nanyuki, the county's capital, and it is easier for a visitor to reach the lodge by himself. Improvements on the roads and signs will make it easier for the visitors to



*Photo 21. Solar hot water system is broken. In Ol Gaboli.*



*Photo 21. All bathrooms are damaged. In Ol Gaboli.*

get to the place.

In terms of internal infrastructure's needs, the Ol Gaboli has no conditions to operate before a reconstruction and replacement of equipment. The community has to face the challenge to design a consistent plan to repair the damages. There is a huge investment in the Ol Gaboli. In addition, there is a fantastic potential for tourism. It would be unfortunate if the Ol Gaboli was abandoned forever. The IMWG nourishes the hope of rebuilding and regaining their lodge.

Twala needs fewer repairs and it can be a good investment for partners, because they are very motivated to increase their tourism activities and their other economic activities. In terms of



*Photo 23. "Jinko" is a traditional stoves, where TCM prepare the visitor's food.*



*Photo 23. The Curio Shop, inside TCM.*

refurbishment, the traditional houses have to be the priority. It can increment their capacity to host visitors immediately. The campsite has to get basic infrastructures. The bathroom needs some repairs. Building a proper kitchen is very important to offer a better service. The Curio Shop needs a new roof and some other small repairs. An apiary can be a good source of income, but they need to build a protected area to keep the colonized hives away from the honey badger's attack.

#### **3.2.4 Lessons learned**

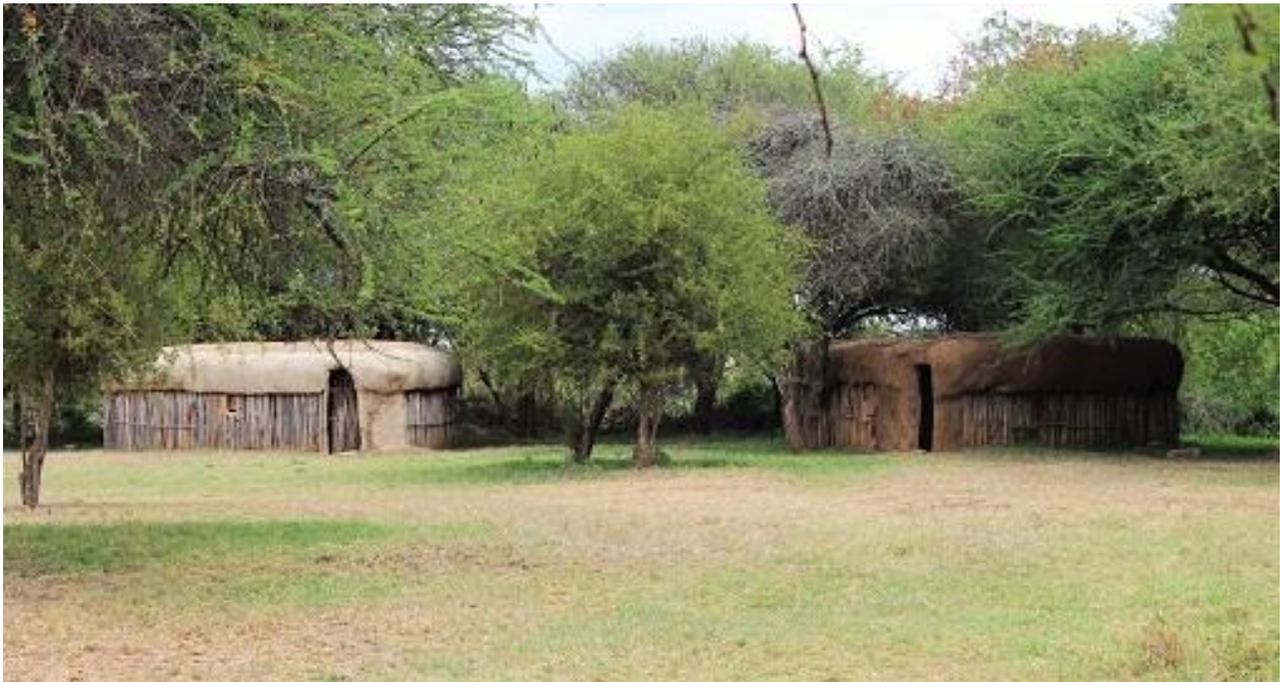
Ol Gaboli failed. However, the community believes that they learned many lessons and now the Il Motiok Women Group are better organized to control the lodge's profits. They still believe that the women group is not able to manage the lodge directly, instead they suggest leasing the lodge to an external investor, who will pay a percentage of their profits to the IMWG. In my humble perception, a consistent capacity-building program, including the community's young people, can create a good team to manage the lodge from within the community, to benefit the community. The IMWG learned that, when they gave the responsibility to manage the lodge to external players, they lost the power to influence the decision-making process and increased the women's political vulnerability in their community.

Considering the experience the community had with leasing, the decision to give the lodge to an external investor can be a reasonable decision, but only if it respects a few rules. 1. The agreement has to be for a short-term (no more than 5 years) and the process to write the agreement should be under the women's control, advised by a reliable external lawyer. 2. The agreement has to establish clear rules about the conditions in which the lodge must be returned to the community;

how much money the community will receive from the lodge's profits; which investments will be the investor's obligations; 3. The management should be transparent and provide easy access to all financial records; 4. IMWG has to be the only community's organization benefited by the lodge.

In a short-term leasing contract, the community would have time and resources to invest in capacity-building and to create a dynamic to undertake the responsibility over the OI Gaboli's management. After the agreement ends, the community could be able to control the lodge's management and achieve their dreams for the future, consolidating their CBTE. However, this is an extreme alternative, seeing that the OI Gaboli is practically destroyed and that the community lost their partnership. Consequently, the community has no resources (financial, knowledge, political) to rebuild the lodge in short-term. The leasing can be a tactical transitory alternative, but not a permanent and definitive strategy.

Twala Cultural Manyatta succeed. Despite the many challenges faced, the TCM benefit its 140 members and has the support of a strong partnership network. They know that capacity building is the key for success and they want to keep learning, developing their infrastructure and diversifying their economic activities. Leadership and women & children rights are the main topics in capacity building to promote gender equality and strengthen the community's cohesion. The TCM aims to achieve the women's sovereignty and they believe that the tourism activities, associated with several other economic activities, is a good strategy to achieve their goals. The



*Photo 24. The traditional houses built by women. Inside TCM.*

most important lesson learned by the TCM is: it takes a lot of hard work, but the Maasai women are able to manage their own CBTE.

### 3.3 FURTHER RESEARCH

A few questions emerged from this paper, which can be focus of a further research.

It would be interesting to understand the community perception's on young people regarding the lodge's potentials and how they can contribute to the CBTE's success. Are the young people willing to engage in their CBTE's project? Which types of capacity building they think is important?

Does the introduction of an alien economic activity in the Maasai culture, such as the CBTE and the aloe production, put the traditional pastoralist's culture in danger? Semi-nomad pastoralists are losing pastures due to the land privatization, as we discussed before. How does the introduction of an economic alternative that induces the settlement of semi-nomadic communities affects their resilience and interfere on the traditional Maasai's culture?

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## APPENDICES

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### APPENDICES I. QUESTIONS FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

1. How was the process to create the OI Gaboli/TCM?
  - a. Who decided to create the lodge and how the whole community reacted?
  - b. Did you participate on the creation process?
  - c. What were the objectives to construct the lodge?
  - d. Do you remember if other organizations played any role in the process? Can you describe their role?
  - e. Do you know the money's origin to build the lodge?
2. Can you tell me the history of management of the lodge?
  - a. Can you describe the role of women groups in the lodge management?
  - b. Can you describe the role of external organizations in the lodge management?
  - c. Nowadays, how is the process to manage de lodge?
3. What are the benefits of the lodge to the community?
  - a. Have your family ever been benefited by the lodge? How?
  - b. Do you have any suggestion to increase the benefits to the community?
  - c. Who manage de money and who decides how the profits will be used for?
  - d. How profits were used?
  - e. Do you have any suggestion to make better use of this money?
4. What do you think is the main challenges faced by the lodge?
5. How do you evaluate the success of the lodge? Justify.
6. Do you think the lodge can be better in the future? How?

Which community training subjects you think could be helpful to increase lodge's performance?

## APPENDICES II – OL GABOLI MEETING REPORT

### REPORT FOR THE MEETING HELD AT OL GABOLI.

20<sup>th</sup> September, 2014.

#### **Historic**

Ol Gaboli Community Lodge is a complex of five Bandas (rooms) built on 2003 with support of European Union, owned by the Il Motiok Women Group, an umbrella organization that gather 4 women subgroups. The community is compound by Maasai ethnic people, pastoralism of subsistence is the main economic activity. The community belongs to the Il Motiok Group Ranch, located in Laikipia County in Kenya. The Group Ranch is 15.000 acres of communal land. The lodge was created simultaneously with 5.000 acres of communal conservation area, to protect wildlife and create a corridor to connect other private and public protected areas. In 2006, after 3 years the lodge suffered an intervention of a men group that excluded the women from the management and decision make process. Many social and cultural factors contributed to the conflict, such as the men ambition for the money, the women's empowerment growth through the economic autonomy, the traditional condition of submission, among many others. After the men intervention, the lodge has entered into a poor management period. Consequently, there was a depletion of physical structures and poor governance. Public and private organizations that helped the community also walked away with the loss of trust. Through an internal movement, the lodge was returned to the Women's Group one year ago. In degraded physical conditions, without management tradition and lost partners, women feel powerless and disorganized to rebuild the necessary governance for the future.

#### **Objective**

A meeting was facilitated by Soraya Fernandes Martins and was held at September 20<sup>th</sup> of 2014, with the purpose of understanding the dynamic behind the downfall of Ol Gaboli Lodge. Eighteen women drawn from different women groups within the Il Motiok group ranch attended the meeting.

The target of the meeting was to drive the women through a deep discussion about their challenges and potential solutions and then stablish a feasible strategy to the near future. I perceived that the knowledge would enable the women to think big again and restart the lodge and run it on their own. I had this perception after several interviews when the women expressed their wish to rebuild the lodge and run it again, however they assumed they were not able to plan strategically, stablish priorities or even work together. When I offer to facilitate a meeting to draw a primary strategic plan, they accept and start to mobilize the women groups involved on the Ol Gaboli's history.

I had to adapt the methodology because they just gave me three ours' meeting. The women are very busy with domestic works. We didn't run the whole SWAT properly, in few hours we focus on identify the principal problems, imagine some solutions and then try to set the actions that the women are ready to take in order to start a process to rebuild the enterprise.

They decided that men would not be allowed to attend the meeting.

The meeting started with one hour and half delay because there were elephants in the way and some of them had to walk much more to arrive. Some women walked more than 15km to attend the meeting.

I provide fresh water, tea and a lunch for all participants.

#### **Methodology used.**

The meeting started while everybody assembled at the hall. It begun with word of prayer, and then the Group Ranch's Chairman welcomed everybody. The Chairlady for Ol Gaboli women group also welcomed the participants, the facilitator, and explained how important that meeting for the community was. Soraya was welcomed and began by explaining the method that was going to be used.

The women were divided into two groups of nine, each lead by an interpreter who would write down their views and inputs and finally translate to the facilitator. For the group discussions there were three sessions allocated 20 minutes each. They discussed about problems, solutions and actions to be taken of which problems. After each work group section, the plenary met again and the translators presented their finds, that were systematized visually by the facilitator. Together, the women debated and rated each topic for the first five most important points, (that is; problems, solutions and actions). After the discussion, the whole group had lunch prepared at the venue and afterwards people dispersed to their homes.

All problems, solutions and actions were settled by the community members without any help or influence from external agent.

Below was their input:

The meeting covered three areas from which the following report was realized.

- (a) Problems/challenges facing the lodge.
- (b) Possible solutions and,
- (c) Required actions.

In a plenary session the following problems/challenges emerged;

- Complete vandalism of all property within the lodge.
- Lack of proper investment plans resulting to lack of reserve capital to pay workers.
- Sewerage system.
- Lack of capacity building of women groups on issues related on lodge management.
- Role overlaps; men intruding into lodge running and reaping women off.
- Conflict of interest by some women; some women would involve men into their committees with a personal interest which was always turned to be the root course of a major problem which derailed the whole idea.
- The vacuum left by the lodge investor after a misunderstanding with the community.
- Lack of proper landscaping and access signaling.

#### **Proposed solutions.**

To reverse the above situations within the OI Gaboli lodge the following measures were proposed and considered necessary;

- A complete renovation of the entire lodge should be done. This clearly calls for soliciting of funds to carry out the renovation.
- After a successful renovation, the lodge need to be handed over to an independent investor who should enter into a legal agreement with the women group. The agreement should clearly spell out both parties terms of references which should followed to the dot by both parties.
- Advertising the lodge to the outside market through the creation of a website.
- The women group should be capacity build on areas of organizational development and institutional strengthening (ODIS). This will ensure sustainability in running the lodge without men.
- By laws should be developed and clearly harmonized to the entire membership of the group ranch.
- Women should be given total freedom in running the lodge.

#### **Actions.**

To reach to the outlined solutions the group identified the following action points that need to be taken;

- a) Solicit for one willing to lease the lodge.
- b) Organize for a fundraising to reconstruct and run the lodge.
- c) Embark on cooperation as a team on issues related to reviving the lodge.
- d) Look for assistance of one to write down the rules to govern the women.
- e) Hire a woman manager to run the lodge.
- f) The chairlady to organize and chair one first meeting when all potential partners will be invited.

#### **Evaluation.**

At the end of the meeting, evaluation was done and it was clear that problems were easily identified but actions were not easily accorded to anyone. The meeting was of paramount importance to the women group and it also revamped new hopes of rebuilding the lodge to the women group.

They express verbally that to identify the problems are the easiest part and the difficulty was increasing as we went through the solutions and actions. They also express that the results were very important to show that they can think, analyze and propose by themselves, and they are ready to run the lodge again. They also said that in the meeting they were forced to think about many topics for the first time and they will keep thinking because the meeting flourished

lots of questions and thoughts. I explained that the management process should be reviewed periodically because they can discover new views, change their minds and experiment different solutions.

## Appendices

- I. Photo report
- II. Diagram of problems, solutions and actions.

### I – Photo report



*Figure 1. Cooker crew. Preparing food for the meeting.*



*Figure 2 Preparing our lunch.*



*Figure 3. Group work: to find problems is easier than solutions!*



*Figure 4. The translator recording the discussions.*



*Figure 5. Working in groups: sharing the words.*



Figure 6. Visual systematization.



Figure 7. How to organize the information? It helped me a lot!



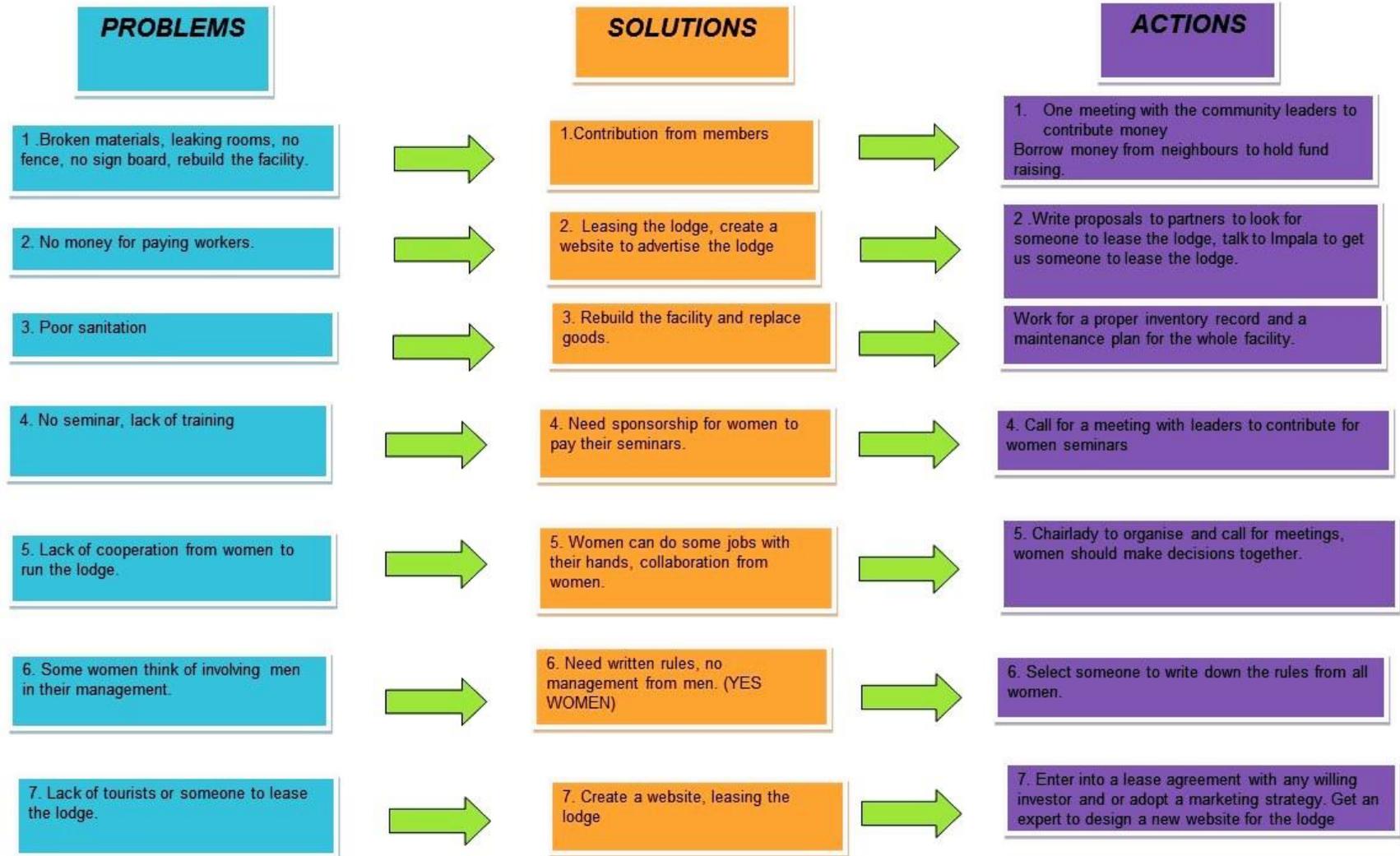
*Figure 8. Working in group.*



*Figure 9. Thinking ahead.*



*Figure 10. Beautiful women. I am so grateful for the opportunity.*



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