



Department for Social Studies
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Bachelor Thesis in Peace and Development Studies

Stakeholders' role in
Sustainable Tourism Development.
A case study in Kenya, linked to Maasai culture.



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Abstract

To keep in mind while reading and focus of the thesis:

- Sustainable tourism, what is it and who is it for?
- How can the tourist industry affect cultures?
- Why do some hosting population fear culture losses but happily receive tourists?
- Why do people choose to travel?
- What and how can I as an individual contribute?

The numbers of international tourists are steadily increasing along globalization, which makes it an important phenomenon to highlight. The tourist industry contributes to global development, which would preferably be done through sustainability's three pillars: economically, socially, and environmentally. Sustainable development and eco-tourism are the main fields for this research. Based on the wish to avoid disturbing peace and harming people, the topic is relevant to investigate. The field study aims to explore and understand the correlations between the development of the tourist industry and the Maasai communities.

Different stakeholders were defined within the tourist industry, to collect various perspectives on this matter through semi-structured interviews and field observations. I choose to investigate the topic by focusing on the world known ethnic group Maasai's. By centering the conditions of a village based in Siana conservancy, which is located next to Maasai Mara in Kenya. The village consists of habitats who practice traditional and culture settlements. Thus, the interest of the study is to explore and explain why Maasai cannot be viewed as an homogenic ethnic group, with the aim to reduce assumptions.

Social Exchange Theory (SET) was applied as a lens to analyze the findings. To discuss possible reasonings when calculating expected outcomes made by the stakeholders, whether to socially interact based on the key principles in the theory: evaluating profits versus costs before socially engaging.

The findings identify complications with the social exchange that the tourist industry implies. However, the Maasai's culture based on livestock came to be a central topic from the stakeholder's perspectives while I was processing and writing the findings. Furthermore, other topics that were highlighted were: education, equity, and education. Lastly, the village members shared a significant fear regarding culture loss, even though they welcomed the root cause of it to continue and even expand - tourism.

Key words

Kenya, Siana conservancy, Maasai, Maasai Mara National Reserve, tourism, sustainable development, stakeholder engagement, Social Exchange Theory.



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Table of Contents

1. Introduction	9
1.1 Structure of the thesis	10
2. Previous research.....	10
2.1 Sustainable development	11
2.2 The tourist industry	11
2.2.1 Positive impact from the tourist industry	12
2.2.2 Cooperate Social Responsibility (CSR).....	12
2.2.3 Stakeholders role in the industry	13
2.3 Case study Kenya	13
2.4 Maasai communities	15
3. Theoretical Framework	16
3.1 History of the Social Exchange Theory (SET)	16
3.2 Definitions	17
3.3 The theory explained by five principals and its statements	18
3.4 Use of framework	20
4. Methodological framework	20
4.1 Qualitative research	20
4.2 A case study of Siana conservancy.....	21
4.3 Interviews	23
4.3.1 The method of semi-structured interviews	24
4.3.2 Sampling	25
4.3.3 The process of my interviews	25
4.3.4 Ethnography as a method of data collection	27
4.4 Replicability, reliability, and validity	27
4.5 Limitations and delimitations	28
4.6 Ethnical considerations.....	29
5. Findings.....	30
5.1 Background of sustainable tourism/ecotourism in Siana conservancy.....	30
5.2 Research question 1: Current situation	30
5.2.1 Sustainable variables.....	30



5.2.2 Cooperation between and among stakeholders in the tourist industry	33
5.2.3 The struggle with manyattas	34
5.2.4 The struggle to maintain the culture of livestock.....	35
5.3 Research question 2: Forecast and visions	36
5.3.1 Attitudes towards the tourist sector	36
5.3.2 Challenges for a sustainable development with tourism as a possible contributing sector.....	37
5.3.3 Interviewee´s wishes and visions for development with tourism as a contributing sector.....	38
5.4 Lifestyles: traditional versus modern	39
5.4.1 Education	40
5.4.2 Equity.....	41
5.4.3 Economy	43
6. Analysis.....	45
6.1 Research question 3: do stakeholders interest match or clash?	46
6.1.1 Sustainable variables.....	46
6.1.2 Stakeholders engagement and associations	46
6.1.3 Same interest with different definition of successful development.....	46
6.2 Research question 4: do social interactions play a major role for the development?.....	48
6.3 Social Exchange Theory, SET.....	49
7. Conclusions	51
8. Bibliography.....	53
Appendix 1 – List of Interviewee´s.....	63
Appendix 2 – Interview Guide	64
Appendix 3 – Ethnical Considerations.....	69



List of figures and table

Figure 1. Research objective and research questions	10
Figure 2. Social Exchange Theory	16
Figure 3. Overview picture of some counties in Kenya	22
Figure 4. Overview of Narok county, Maasai Mara reserve and surrounding conservancies.	23
Figure 5. Stakeholders	26
Table 1. Demonstration of Social Exchange Theory, a possible evaluation of profit vs cost.	49



1. Introduction

The definition of indigenous people can easily be connected to ingrained traditions, nomads, dedication to livestock and community (World Bank, 2022d). Kenya has currently over 50 recognized ethnic tribes, so one ethnic group cannot be defined as the indigenous group (Maasai Wilderness Conservation Trust, n.d.). However, some share of the Maasai population still lives by traditions and social structures, which attracts tourists to travel the world to experience. Therefore, research has for a longer period developed and discussed culturally sensitive approaches, by taking ethical considerations. Which has led to vital discussions regarding tourists' impact on Maasai communities to avoid unconscious harm (Onchwati, Sommerville, Brockway, 2010). Furthermore, by broadly including different perspectives by Maasai's who has different living conditions are crucial to understand the needs to adopt relevant policies. To protect the traditional living Maasai's as well as understanding the diversity within the ethnic group, as it is not a homogenic group (Allegretti, 2015). The published research I came across tend to focus on economic behavior and its influence on the Maasai communities' development, based on a society and community level. However, this thesis is based on individual's social interaction experiences and the attitude it has created towards collaboration between stakeholders for a sustainable development path (Achiba, 2018).

Sustainable development is highly discussed and defined by three indicators; economic, social, and cultural (IISD, n.d). Furthermore, globalization has increased awareness regarding negative trends that affect the environment. The topic has also raised the issue of unfair economic distribution, with arguments that the world's population with economic resources do exploit the population with less or no financial resources (ibid). Sustainable development is a broad field and has multiple triggers that influence the process (Zhenhua, 2003; DFID, 1999). However, time limitation restricts this thesis to mainly be of relevance for two of the seventeenth Sustainable Development Goals by the United Nations; the eight goal - economic growth and the seventeenth goal - global partnership.



Research objective – aim with the study

To get different stakeholders' perspective on the development of tourism that is brought to Kenya of interest in the Maasai culture.

- Stakeholders, internal and external viewpoint.
- How are the relationships between internal stakeholders?
- How are the relationships between external stakeholders?
- How are the relationships between external and internal stakeholders?
 - Add an environmental and a gender perspective

Research questions

- *How does the current situation towards sustainable tourism development look like?*
- *What is the vision of sustainable tourism development?*
- *Do the interests of different stakeholders match or do they clash?*
- *Do attitude and behavior in the interactions play a major role in the outcome?*

Figure. 1, Created by the author.

1.1 Structure of the thesis

The thesis consists of seven chapters. Ch.2 Presents previous research and regarding relevant topics. Ch.3 Defines and introduces the *Social Exchange Theory (SET)* as the *theoretical framework*, a theory that identifies the logic for humans reasoning to socially interact based on expected benefits that's been calculated in form of expected profit versus cost. Ch.4 outlines the *methodological framework* that was used during the data collection, how the sampling was performed and the process to conduct *semi-structured interviews*. **Ch.5** Address the findings with different focuses that are divided into subcategories and answers **research question one and two**. **Ch.6** Analysis the findings based on sustainable indicators and other identified relevant topics, answering **research question three and four**, and applying *SET* to the findings. Ch.7 The last chapter summarizes the findings and suggests future actions and areas of research.

2. Previous research

This chapter introduces the topic through a literature review divided into four sections: *Sustainable development* as a broad topic, narrowed down to the *tourism industry* as an important factor in sustainable development, including *case studies* made in Kenya and lastly previous research that correlates tourism and population with *Maasai* ethnic belonging.



2.1 Sustainable development

The core for the concept sustainable development is measured by; *economic, social, and environmental* indicators (International Institute for Sustainable Development, n.d). The United Nation defined sustainable development during the Brundtland Commission in 1987 as “*meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.*” (United Nations, n.d). Today there is a common interest by 140 countries to enhance a global sustainable development that: promotes the *environment* through conservation, contributes to *economic* growth and concerns about the dynamics of *social* progress. Furthermore, the three pillars of sustainability do not only contribute to one and other, but they also depend on each other (United Nation, 1987). Although, the Brundtland Commission does advocate for the importance of sustainability and equal importance of the three pillars when understanding the tourist industry development. The commission is used for a universal vision to develop global policies and to provide actors with guidelines. The guidelines aim to describe sufficient planning and managing for contributing and promoting sustainable progress (ibid).

Sustainable development is highly discussed but what is sustainability actually? With further layers and questions from the critics, such as: sustainability for whom? Who must sacrifice for sustainable plans/programs? (Martinet, 2012:163-165). Globalization has increased awareness of certain trends that have a positive as well as a negative effect on the environment (Zhenhua, 2003: DFID, 1999). The phenomena have also raised an issue of and if the benefits from a sustainable development do mainly benefit the world’s population that has economic capital and exploits the population with less or almost non-economic capital (ibid). Moreover, the world’s decision makers must calculate and consider benefits versus costs before taking decisions, therefore a relevant question to consider is: who’s reality are evaluated when the benefits are calculated? (Martinet, 2012:161-163). Furthermore, the evaluation, the planning and the implementation processes can trigger conflicts, as disagreement of how it affects societies, communities, households, and individuals (ibid). However, the thesis focus must be restricted further by moving on to the debate of the tourist industry’s role.

2.2 The tourist industry

Globalization has facilitated the movement of people, which the tourist industry benefits from as the numbers of people travelling annually increases. Therefore, the tourism sector



contribution to the global economy has taken a bigger share (Onchwati, Sommerville, Brockway, 2010). The guideline from the Brundtland Commission requires responsibility along with the economic contribution as well as the recognition of possible influence the industry might have. As a result, the concept of ecotourism was introduced to the industry. The concept was implemented to give tourist access to information and provide knowledge in how to travel sustainably. The ideal scenario is to contribute economically without negative impacts on the social spectrums nor the environment of the hosting country. The concept ecotourism even goes beyond that and aims to offer the hosting destination options that results in positive impacts in all three sustainable pillars (Irandu, 2006: Tou, Noer, Helmi, 2022: Carr, Ruhanen, Whitford, 2016).

2.2.1 Positive impact from the tourist industry

The awareness that eco-tourism has brought to the industry has several positive impacts on the hosting population, especially in the discussions to benefit Least Developed Countries (LDC). The awareness has also contributed to a trend that has made tourists becoming more curious about other destinations than just developed urban places (Ellis & Sheridan, 2014). The direct and most obvious impact this trend has contributed to is economic growth. Another beneficial result of the increasing numbers of tourists is the demand of expanding and/or improving the infrastructure (McCool, Moisey, Nickerson, 2001 & Camilleri, 2014). Advancing infrastructure does also benefit the locals, which is another obvious positive impact the industry contributes to. The improved infrastructure does also promote local businesses, which satisfies the economic growth through inter alia local employment, which will be discussed in the next paragraph.

2.2.2 Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)

The presence of tourists and the interaction between the hosting population and tourists has developed the concept of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). CSR contributes to sustainable development. *Environmentally*: calculating and lowering the operations negatively affects the environment. *Economically*: to support economic growth and development. *Socially*: respect human rights, contribute to well-being, promote equity and advocate for improved cooperation with other stakeholders (Khalid et al, 2019).



2.2.3 Stakeholders role in the industry

The role of stakeholders to reach successful sustainable tourism development is crucial. If the concept CSR is adopted and managed well, the hosting country and communities will benefit from companies' presence in the area (Khan et al, 2021). Although, the discussion of how decision makers are calculating profits and costs is criticizing the unbeneficial results for the hosting communities (Jani, 2018). When calculating profit and cost for an operative company, it goes along with the guidelines for sustainable development but the measurements that are taken contradict the culture. These decisions can be unconsciously made by the management, but it might be made of self-interest. The lack of knowledge or the ignorance regarding the host populations culture is not the main issue. The main cause is mostly rooted in lack of time and financial gain considerate by the business management. Therefore, is the consideration and investment to explore and understand the local culture many times overlooked (Camilleri, 2014). A response to this issue has been to include the hosting communities into the planning and management to tackle the issue and contribute to sustainable development. The inclusion gives the communities a chance to educate and inform what their needs are and how it must be considerate when planning. Additionally, the need of keeping track of stakeholder engagement in development, to explore if the stakeholder's interest is benefitting the communities. (Khalid et al, 2019).

2.3 Case study - Kenya

The tourist industry is the second largest sector of Kenya's economy. Since Kenya changed the constitution by the year of 2010 and had the first election with the new political system in 2013, Kenya has made significant progress and through a sustainable path (World Bank, 2022a). Although, with several challenges on a national basis, Kenya did achieve improvements in areas such as reducing poverty and decreasing the numbers of unemployment through economic growth. However, several global challenges have drastically affected Kenya. The global crisis of the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, the drought due to climate change and the full-scale intervention in Ukraine by Russia has affected Kenya dramatically during the past years. This is three global crisis that still today are affecting Kenya.

Furthermore, the tourism sector was affected by the global crisis mentioned above and that has damaged Kenya's positive trends regarding development. The outbreak of COVID forced the Kenyan government to close the national borders and taking measures such as lockdowns and



curfews, as for the record many other countries in the worlds did. The pandemic reduced the numbers of international tourists, it went from approximately 2.05 million visits in 2019, to 579 thousand visits by 2020 in Kenya. By 2021 the national COVID restrictions allowed domestic tourism, which the previous president Uhuru Kenyatta promoted. The strategy of having an active tourism sector with domestic tourists during this period allowed the industry to gain business and sustain the sector (ibid). As the COVID restrictions was eased globally in 2022 the national borders opened, international tourists were then allowed into the country and Kenya started to recover (World Bank, 2022b).

The drought has affected the agricultural sector which is the main sector in Kenya's economy. Therefore, the tourism sector's role in the phase of recovery and towards successful economic growth has become even more important (ibid). The recovery has not reached the same level of economic growth as in 2019. However, the forecasts for Kenya's economy and development are positive (ibid).

The escalation of the Russian intervention in Ukraine in early 2022 has caused increased food prices as well as making the global economy insecure, by mentioned two factors that affects Kenya's receivment of aid from international donors (ITA, 2022).

Kenya's national parks and game reserves received 1 million visitors in 2020 and increased to 1,5 million visitors by 2021 (World Bank, 2022b). This indicates that the attraction and the extension of the wildlife in the area plays a major role for the tourism sector in Kenya. In 2019 was Maasai Mara the third most visited park/reserve in Kenya. The most visited attraction was the elephant orphan center in Nairobi and followed by the Impala Sanctuary in Kisumu (KNBS, 2022). By 2021 Maasai Mara kept the position of the third most visited attraction, but the first placement was now taken by the Nairobi National Park and followed by the elephant orphan center (ibid). However, the two unique facts about Maasai Mara game reserve among the top three tourist attractions in Kenya is that the Mara is owned by the county Narok. Therefore, the fees that are paid to enter the park go to the county. Unlike the other national parks in the country that are owned and ruled by the national government, where the park fees goes to the national treasury. Additionally, the most obvious unique fact of the Mara is that the land is owned by the Maasai's and most of the landowners stay in the area. Therefore, will the focus on the next section be on the Maasai communities that has remained their traditional lifestyle.



2.4 Maasai communities

When I was reading up on the previous research in this field, I found that the topic is mainly divided into two focus areas. One side discuss the possible impacts tourism has on indigenous people that have remained with a traditional lifestyle and are practicing cultural means and manners. In Kenya a known issue is the exploitation of the pastoral Maasai, especially in the matter of land-owning. By losing the ownership of land without little or if any compensation at all, have made the Maasai struggle (Maasai Wilderness Conservation Trust, n.d.). A response to the exploitation of the Maasai's is that activists have engaged in policy work, to protect the communities. The engagement is also favorable to other ethnic groups and pastorals, which have a similar lifestyle and dependents on land-owning. Progress in terms of policy work has developed security for vulnerable groups and the published research has therefore brought awareness about the existing issue (Ondicho, 2018). The knowledge has educated people from all over the world in how tourism can harm individuals and communities (United Nation, 2016). Moreover, a result of population growth within the Maasai communities has increased the demands of an economic income and have therefore taken an important role in choosing occupation (Ondicho, 2018). The tourism industry is the most expanded and available market for the communities which has recruited Maasai's to the tourism sector (ibid). The curiosity from international tourists of the traditional cultures that some Maasai community's practices, creates a social forum for tourists to interact with the Maasai communities (Allegretti, 2015).

Previous research has explored and mainly discussed whether the industry puts the Maasai communities in a position of being dependent on tourism and its economic contribution. On the other hand, what I have found in previous research is whether tourism threatens the Maasai culture, and if the social interaction is considered being positive or negative for the communities (Ondicho, 2010; Nampushi & Nankaya, 2020; Juvan & Dolnicar, 2014).

The gap I have found in this field is how the attitude and behavior towards cooperation between and among the different stakeholders influence the outcome. The development of the tourist industry and whether the local communities are included in the management. Therefore, the literature review is based on economic impacts, social development, and potential influence on the culture. By widening the understanding of the interest of the stakeholders together with the social interaction with the Maasai communities and tourists could possibly fill some gaps within the field. The closest I have found regarding the topic is the research from Juvan & Dolnicar



(2014), that explores tourists' awareness of their negative impact of traveling on the environment.

An important note before going on, Maasai is an ethnic group but should not be confused as a homogenous group with the same way of living nor demands (Allegretti, 2015). The reader should be aware that individuals with a Maasai ethnic belonging can have various ways of living and different occupations and not only be seen as pastoralist nor tourist guides within the Maasai Mara.

3. Theoretical Framework

The structure of the chapter is: the founders and the history of the theory, definitions of the theory and its concepts, and lastly how the framework will be used in the thesis analysis.

Figure 2, created by the author.

3.1 History of the Social Exchange Theory (SET)

The development and advancement of the theory is mainly from four contributors: John W. Thibaut, Harold H. Kelly, George C. Homans and Peter M. Blau (Stafford, 2015).



The American psychologists Thibaut and Kelly contributed through their work “*The social psychology of groups*”, (1959). A short summary of their conclusions of SET is the claims that people socially interact with other people based on self-interest and to reach their own targets or goals. The calculation is based on reward versus cost reasoning, that is then evaluated through the principle of comparison level and comparison level for alternatives. The authors stated that the decision of comparison level is regarding the evaluation whether to invest in a relationship or in a situation for exchange, is based on what people expect to gain. The calculation will be measured in form of expected rewards and what must be sacrificed in forms of costs. The comparison level for alternatives adds to the reasoning if there are other alternatives that would guarantee the same or more rewards but with less costs.

The sociologist Homans and the work of “*Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms*” (1961, rev. ed. 1974), contributed with concepts and three propositions that he systematized as: deprivation-satiation, stimulus, and success. The three propositions try to explain that the received rewards from the social interaction in line with the different rewards are more valued than what the costs or investments has implied for the person.

The next sociologist Blau arguments were in line with Homans theory of SET. However, the biggest contribution that Blau made through his work in “*Exchange and power in social life*”, (1964) was an even more economic oriented theory. Blau advocated for social interactions between humans to be evaluated, based on expected rewards in relation to exchange purposes. Therefore, Blau argues that the understanding or use of SET should further define and differentiate between social-, economic-, and power exchanges (Stafford, 2015).

3.2 Definitions

Social exchange is defined as an action, transferring something made by and/or between humans (Stafford, 2015). The main objective of SET is just like other social scientific approaches, to understand and predict humans’ behavior. The theory is oriented in a post-positivist approach, which consider humans as rational beings and can therefore be tested. This gives an allowance to analyze and predict outcomes from an interpersonal relationship. The approach aims to calculate the interaction and whether it is valued to be a beneficial interaction. Moreover, the results create further expectations for an individual to decide upon whether to



socially interact. When the evaluation is made the expected reward should then be valued higher than the expected sacrifices that is mentioned as the cost (Stafford, 2015).

There are some slightly differences in the theory, by its concepts and how it is used in the field. The overall common characteristics are the analogous relationship to economic exchange is identified as a possible reward and social interactions are based on self-interest or interdependence (Stafford, 2015). Thus, social exchange is argued to be rooted in goodwill or trust. Additionally, the action of social interaction for exchange is made voluntarily and feasible to be individualized.

The economic aspect mentioned in the previous paragraph, it is important to differentiate between the two exchange concepts within the theory, the economically and socially orientated. The economic exchange approach tends to be more precise when addressing the expected rewards and costs. Therefore, it is feasible to include obligations within the approach that are more fixed, such as legal settings, to be able to point out what the profit exactly is for the people involved in the action of exchange. In this understanding, the profit is mostly defined and do usually also involves an agreement with the conditions set during a period (Strafford, 2015). However, when I will be analyzing the data later in this thesis, an economic aspect will be considered as social interactions is being discussed. Thus, used with a social exchange feature as a possible factor when calculating expected rewards and costs.

3.3 The theory explained by five principals and its statements

For the readers information, the explanations made in this section are based on my interpretations of the theory. Therefore, the explanations made in this section do not necessarily reflect my own understandings nor values on the nature of human's behavior.

First: resources in costs and rewards. Humans naturally calculate the expected profits from social interaction. The perceived value of the expected rewards and cost will then influence the behavior of the individual. If more rewards are expected, the individuals are then expected to put more effort into the interaction (Strafford, 2015).

Second: greatest profit – reward vs cost. All individuals are expected to choose social interaction where the profit is maximized, meaning that the cost is lower than the expected reward. This principle claims that humans are self-interest driven. Additionally, receiving



rewards from others also comes with a feeling of obligation to the other partner in the interaction. Moreover, the assumptions further discuss two main concepts in SET, interdependence, and self-interests. Interdependence describes to which level, if any, a person's expected reward or cost depends on someone's else's profit. On the other hand, self-interest is the resource as a driver for individuals' behavior in a potential exchange, with the expectation to gain from it will also reflect on the individual's behavior (Strafford, 2015).

Third: exchanging rewards. As there are at least two parties engaged in a social interaction, both partners need to expect a mutual exchange from the interaction. As mentioned above, the theory states that humans are naturally self-interest driven. Therefore, the expectation of a social interaction is that all involved in the interaction are expected to gain rewards (Strafford, 2015).

Fourth: interpersonal relationships development/management. The theory is further based on five different reasons, whether there is an interest in putting effort into a relationship and developing a relationship further. A) Outcomes: expected gained profit as a product from the interaction. B) Comparison level: the automatic calculation mentioned above means that individuals calculate the expected outcome to gain rewards or to lose with the cost. C) Comparison level for alternative: what we expect to gain or lose from the interaction will be compared to other possible alternatives, the alternative that seems to result in greater rewards is the one that is chosen and invested in. D) Forecasted rewards and costs: the willingness to remain in a relationship and the effort put into it is based on what the individual believes that they will gain throughout the whole relationship. If the calculation gives an idea of decreasing profits with time, individuals are likely to end the relationship. E) Cumulative rewards and costs are based on experiences with the other individual. If the other partner has not met the required expectations or made mistakes earlier in the relationship, we are then likely to judge future expectations based on that (Strafford, 2015).

Fifth: relationship groups/organizations need for help or advice. The willingness to develop relationships with another human being, is based on the possible need for help or advice in the future. This principle explains the social interactions within groups or organizations, such as colleagues developing a friendship outside work (Strafford, 2015).



3.4 Use of framework

This study has an abductive approach. Therefore, the analysis does not aim to test or advance a new theory. The purpose of using SET in this case study is to explore if there are any theoretical justifications for the empirical findings made in Siana Conservancy. Nevertheless, with the awareness that the collected data might not go in line or just partly related to the framework.

When discussing and analyzing the findings in chapter six, the theoretical framework Social Exchange Theory (SET) will be used as a lens to expand on the issue and may support by providing another point of view to the discussion. As the theoretical framework is built on the assumptions that humans are evaluating the expected profit and cost before socially interacting, as well as the calculation in how to maximize expected benefits. As the whole tourist industry is based on social interactions as well as investments, both financially and socially, the chosen framework seemed to be a great fit.

4. Methodological framework

This chapter will define qualitative research, followed by a description of how I implemented the research strategy along the data collection. The latter section will discuss this research validations, limitations/delimitations, and ethnic considerations.

4.1. Qualitative research

The chosen topic sustainable tourism development will be explored through a qualitative research strategy. Qualitative approach mainly focuses on objects, images, and words (Bryman et al, 2021:350). Through field study and by taking part in people's experiences was the aim to generate a deeper understanding of stakeholder's perspectives within the tourism field. Therefore, a qualitative approach is suitable for this research, its data collection and analysis (Bryman et al, 2021:59-61). The strategy uses to be divided and explained into three subcategories: inductivist, constructionist, and interpretivist.

Firstly, *inductivism* is how academic theories are used throughout research. Qualitative research tends to be carried out in an abductive approach. Abductive approach aims to generate theories and uses a theory as a lens to analyze the findings.



Secondly, *constructionism* is linked to ontology, which is how we tend to view the world. A qualitative understanding is more likely to view the human's interaction as a fundament of the result of social properties. Thus, an individual's values and beliefs embedded with a culture will affect e.g., the structure of institutions.

Thirdly, *interpretivism* believes that the social world cannot be studied through scientific measurements. The belief argues that the social world is constructed through interactions and the world that we are living in is an outcome of social exchange and is a result of people's experiences and cultures (Bryman et al, 2021:24,31-32, 350).

Finally, the choice of method made by a researcher or an author tends to reflect their own viewpoint. Worth keeping in mind based on the criteria mentioned above, it is a general explanation using stereotypes in qualitative research. Therefore, it is not a must in a qualitative methodology to include all these three stereotypes (Bryman et al, 2021:350).

4.2 A case study of Siana conservancy

I chose to focus on the Siana conservancy by a case study design. The area involves several stakeholders with a common interest: tourism. A case study design aims to get detailed information to be able to analyze the complexity of a certain issue (Bryman et al, 2021:59). By exploring a *macro* topic as sustainable tourism development in a bachelor thesis requires to limit the topic further. As a bachelor thesis are restricted in resources, such as time and finance. Furthermore, by narrowing down the topic, it concerns a meso level by interviewing key informants. Key informants are defined as stakeholders in this thesis that are directly or indirectly involved in the tourism industry and linked to Maasai's. Stakeholders are both government and non-government ruled for a meso level e.g., institutions. Lastly, this study aims to get *micro* perspectives by investigating household issues through individual's lenses and a single case design.

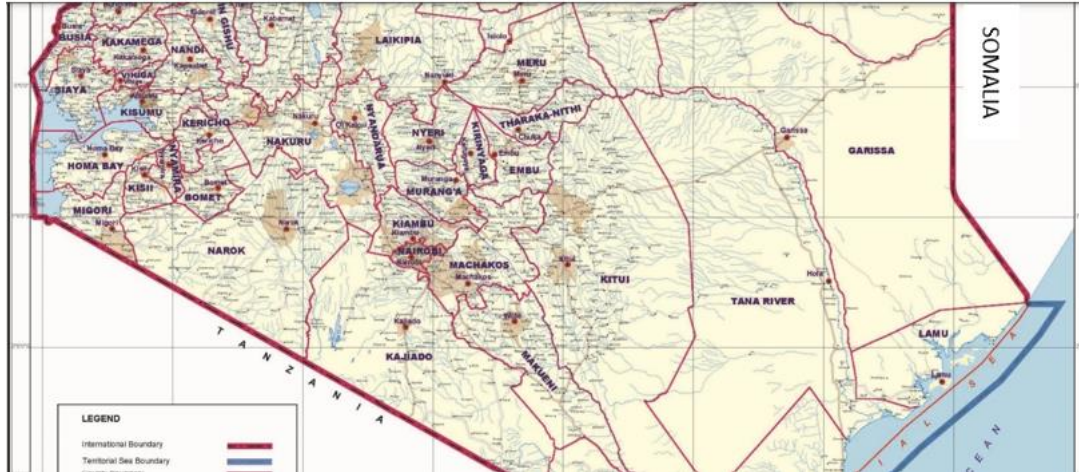


Figure 3, Picture of some of Kenya's counties (Kenya Revenue Authority, n.d.)

Siana conservancy is part of Narok county, which is located Northeast of Maasai Mara National Reserve. Siana is one out of fourteen recognized conservancies that connects to Maasai Mara. Siana covers an area of 29,000 acres of land and is owned by 15,000 individuals. However, most of the landowners are leasing their land to the conservancy association and get paid annually. Moreover, the area of Siana hosts a rich wildlife, multiple Maasai villages and several camps and lodges (MMWCA, African Mecca Safaris, Kenya Wild Parks, KWS). The conservancy is a hotspot for the tourism industry and is therefore accurate to choose the region as a case study for this thesis.

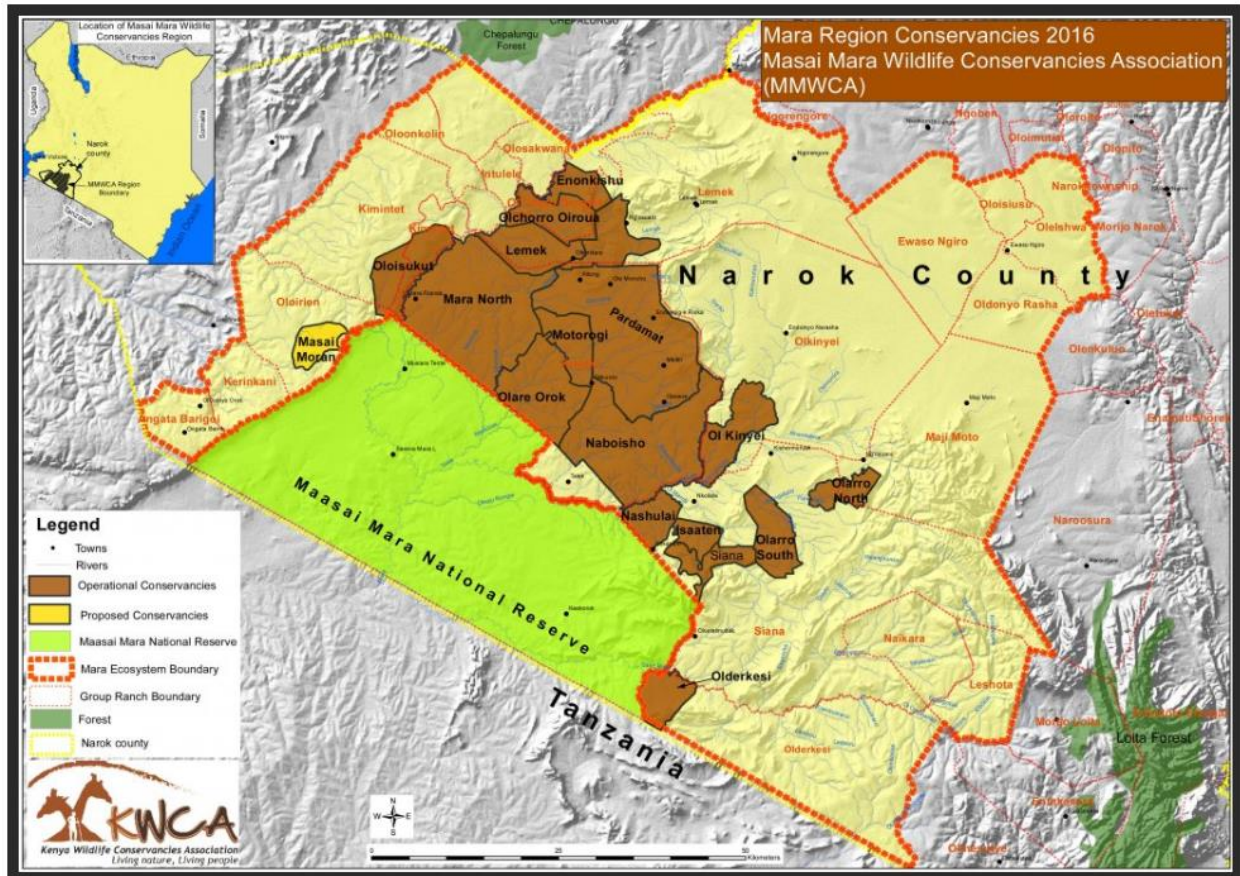


Figure 4, Narok County, Maasai Mara and surrounding conservancies (KWCA, (2017))

4.3 Interviews

The most common method used in qualitative research might be interviews, probably because of the attractive features the method offers. It allows the researcher to explore and develop an understanding based on social interactions in the field of interest. When interviews are conducted the interviewees tend to witness the beliefs of social interactions is also a key cause to many issues we are facing in our societies (Bryman et al, 2021:424-425). Therefore, by understanding the people within a certain context or a region will help to create the solution. The logic of that argument is that when troubleshooting an issue by focusing on the central actors, the solution will be designed to suit that specific context. Moreover, interviews are further divided into four subcategories: structured interviews, standardized interviews, unstructured interviews, and semi-structured interviews. Despite the fact that the four methods are somehow different they do have similarities in the constructions to support the researcher with the data collection. Although, qualitative methods are generally dominated by unstructured and semi-structured interviews. Meanwhile structured and standardized interviews are mainly



used for quantitative approaches (Bryman et al, 2021:425-427). The use of method is mostly based on what approach the researcher chooses. By a quantitative approach, the method is a grounded theory which by nature test theories with hypotheses. Meanwhile, a qualitative approach is mainly used to discover new theories and aims to be more exploitative and discover undiscovered knowledge (Bryman et al, 2021:6-7). So, the method must be applicable to the outline of the research.

4.3.1 The method of semi-structured interviews

Interviews give an allowance to be more specific and flexible in the data collection. The flexibility by being able to ask accurate follow up questions and gain deeper understanding (Bryman et al, 2021:426-427). The objective of my thesis is to explore and understand different stakeholders' perspectives based on their experiences. The semi-structure method is systematically suitable to analyze the responses according to my research questions. I identified different stakeholders in the tourist industry that have an interest in an active operation that involves either the Maasai culture or the land owned by Maasai. Although, to be able to analyze the data fairly, an interview guide was developed and used throughout the interviews (Bryman et al, 2021:428-431). The interview guide consists of fourteen questions, eleven open-ended questions and three open questions. I began all the interviews with the same open question - what they viewed to be the core of Maasai culture, to enabling the culture preservation. The two open ending questions were more related to the thesis topic. First, if I had missed asking something that they would like to add. Secondly, if they had any questions for me. The aim of having open-ended questions is to make the interviews more flexible and to widen our understanding of the current situation. Also, with an aim to understand the interviewee's reality reflected on the worldview they have.

Moreover, I encouraged the interviewees to respond freely and not in a way they thought I might wanted them to, as I valued their own opinion. To increase the chances of getting the interviewees real experiences, emotions etc., face-to-face interview were held (Bryman et al, 2021:425-428, 436-441). However, if you as a reader now have any presumptions that interviews with traditionally living Maasai through phone or any method that requires a network are impossible, then I would like to inform you that most of the Maasai owns a phone. A huge contribution to the ownership is due to the mobile payment method M-Pesa. Which will be elaborated a bit more on later in the thesis.



4.3.2 Sampling

In general, purposive sampling was used throughout. Meaning that the researcher bases the case or population of a sample to gain knowledge, to analyze the data in a suitable way to answer the research questions and the purpose of the research. The term sampling is widely used in qualitative research, and it is a collective term that involves different types of sampling (Bryman et al, 2021:378-380). Stratified purposive sampling, snowball sampling and quota sampling were used for this thesis. As I identified different stakeholders in the tourist industry and Siana conservancy, with the common interest of tourism. To later identify the unique and shared perspectives from the interviewee's, that strategy is mentioned as stratified purposive sampling (Bryman et al, 2021:379). Moreover, I used snowball sampling and quota sampling when interviewing in the field and particularly in the village. After interviewing a stakeholder who was identified in advance I used snowball sampling, by showing the figure of identified stakeholder that I wished to interview and if they knew someone who had that profile (Bryman et al, 2021:383-385). Lastly, quota sampling was spontaneously used while conducting interviews in the Maasai village. Of the reason that the contact I had in the village only recruited he's friends, which all were middle-aged men. Therefore, I had to identify qualifications and request for certain profiles for possible interviewees to gain diversity within the sampling.

4.3.3 The process of my interviews

As previously mentioned, all 36 interviews were held face-to-face and recorded. The interviews were conducted from 6th December to 24th December 2022. Face-to-face interviews are preferable for the researcher to bond with the interviewee better as well as capture the interviewee's body language and the way of responding to the questions (Bryman et al, 2021:440). I tried to make the interviewees comfortable by letting them decide where to be and when to meet. The meeting places varied from cafes, camps, offices, to a blanket under a mango tree out in the conservancy.

I informed the participants before the interviews that I wished to record and secured stated consent before starting. The two reasons behind the recording were told to be based on effectiveness as well as I wished to pay full attention into the conversation instead of taking notes (Bryman et al, 2021:441). All the participants gave consent to be recorded, but before leaving I gave all the interviewees my number, in case they wanted to add or remove anything from the interview. Although, no one wished to adjust their responses afterwards.



However, the only intervention I had was a village member who changed his mind to participate when he was informed that the thesis would be published and accessible to the public. The issue was the public publication and not the recording, I decided to respect the decision and cancel the interview on the spot. Thus, we agreed to exclude him from the research, but we did however have a good conversation that focused on the Maasai culture and its history instead.

The duration of the interviews varied between 11 to 86 minutes. All the interviews have been transcribed into a separate document. The transcription has taken a large part of the time from this project as I decided to transcript every single interview. Although, some advice for this process is to listen through the interviews two or three times and then choose important parts from the interviews. The advice is based on the time consumption the transcription part requires (Bryman et al, 2021:444). The interviews have been divided into groups and the participants have been given codenames. The coding was based to facilitate the analysis process and to make the text easier to read for the reader (Bryman et al, 2021:441-444).

Stakeholders

When the code starts with an E it indicates that it is an external stakeholder. Starting with an I it indicates that it is an internal stakeholder. The following letter(s) do then divide the participant into the subgroups based on the position the person had. Lastly, the number that each code name ends with is specified by the respondents. The numbers were given randomly and without any reason. A list of interviewees and codes are attached to the thesis.

Figure 5, created by the author.



4.3.4 Ethnography as a method of data collection

The data collection had an ethnography angle, wishing to explore the correlations between the tourism industry and the Maasai communities. Although, this thesis and the time spent in the field for the whole project is too short to be considered as a full-scale ethnography (Bryman et al, 2021:393-395). Therefore, a micro-ethnography of observations was applied to the analysis of my findings. In this context the meaning of micro-ethnography was to be part of an everyday life setting within the tourism industry, played out in the Siana conservancy and with different stakeholders.

Observations are the secondary source of data collection, to complement the sources for the analysis chapter. While in the field, the first impressions might assuming me to be a tourist, mainly in the Maasai village by the locals. Which can imply strong contributions as well as barriers to the data collection and the analysis. The answers I received from the interviewees could be highly influenced by that fact. However, important to bare in mind is that previous research nor my findings cannot validate or represent the full view of Maasai communities. Furthermore, the understanding or values of sustainable development may not be shared from different individual's nor a shared demand within different Maasai communities. Values whether tourism contributes, or drains can vary based on informants' values and earlier experience (Bryman et al, 2021:112). Although my observations in the interview settings aim to read through the lines and analyze whether the interviewee's were influenced by my heritage.

4.4 Replicability, reliability, and validity

Quality criteria for replicability from qualitative research and case studies is well discussed in the academic field on its own. Whether the sources can be reliable but most importantly, if generalizations can be drawn from a single case study (Bryman et al, 2021:61). I am aware that the findings for this thesis may not be accurate when exploring sustainable tourism development elsewhere, based on many variables and contributing factors. Although, the case study research could be evaluated and developed by others as an inspiration of how it was enrolled (Yin, 2009).

To consider when evaluating the reliability and validity of the findings in this thesis is the use of methods. Bare in mind that the data collection is based on first source information through the interviews. Therefore, the results will reflect on individual's perspectives that are based on their experiences and expectations (Bryman et al, 2021:363). Thus, the purpose of this study is



to get individuals and key informants' opinions. The consequence might question if the case study can be considered as valid or being reliable somewhere else as the truth. Additionally, regarding the trustworthiness for the answers of the interview guide. I was able to interview thirteen village members and additionally four village members with a key role in the tourist industry of the village. Even though the answers given from the village members were very similar, it cannot represent opinions of the whole village, nor members of the Siana conservancy and most definitely not of all Maasai's living by traditional settlements.

4.5 Limitations and delimitations

There are several factors to consider regarding limitations and delimitations in research. An interesting thinking is that all factors that can be viewed as limitations can also be viewed as a bridge for delimitations in other situations. However, it depends on the perspective and how the situation is viewed, considered experiences, norms and values the interacting individuals have.

For example, my heritage could result in both limitations and delimitations. The interviewees' decision regarding an interview or receiving me could be based on my heritage. However, the fact that I did not have political power nor economic capital to make direct actions for change to benefit the traditionally living communities, could be disadvantaging. On the other hand, giving a humble impression from my end did hopefully help me get into situations that could benefit the analysis by raising the interviewees' interests (Bryman et al, 2021:112-113). Even though hope or expectation to gain something by participating in the research was maybe calculated from the participants. Moreover, the limitation of sources such as time and finance for the project did also limit the units of interviews and situations to observe.

The interpreters that support me to interview six elder Maasai women living in the village called Orbama, is also under considerations in the matter of limitations and delimitations (Desai & Potter, 2006:174-178). However, I did consider hiring a professional interpreter and compared the scenario of paying someone local in the village to translate. My reasoning went as followed, by hiring a professional interpreter could be profitable to receive support from someone who had a high level of skills in both English and Maa. Another factor was that an outsider interpreter could have less influence in the answers, consideration power relations. On the other hand, as I checked the boxes for the stereotype of being a tourist, combined with for them an unknown interpreter, as well as the village I conducted the interviews in was very busy because



of the tourist industry, the village members did not have the time to interact with me before the interviews. I would therefore not have the chance to build trust before the interviews, as trust could make the interviewee's comfortable to then respond freely and honest. Additionally, the village highly values local employment and could on top of that show respect to the locals. Therefore, I concluded that the possible downsides of hiring an outsider by risking not getting the reality were of bigger concerns.

The reasoning above made me to hire locals to interpretate, who stayed and worked in the same village as the interviewees. Afterwards I do know for a fact that I gained trust quicker in at least some interviews based on that we were connected through mutual friends. Although, I am aware that the interpreters were made from three different young men. Two of them were in their early twenties and the third was in his early thirties. The need to change interpreter was based on some obligated tasks to accomplish in the village that interfered with the timing of interviews. The three interpreters had somehow an impact on the interviewee's responses. The most basic impact is the translation made between me and the interviewee's, based on their language skills. Even though I judged it to be very good. Although, also as a nonnative English speaker. Another factor to consider in this situation, is men's positions in the village and the relationships towards the women. This is crucial for the outcome, and I will never know if there would have been differences in the result because of that. Just as I will never know if the responds would have generated other findings if I would have been able to interview them without language barriers. Last elaboration for consideration is if the results would have differed if the interpreter would have come from another Maasai village or by hiring a woman as an interpreter. Although the option of having a woman to interpretate was not an option considering skills in English.

4.6 Ethical considerations

Social research regarding ethnicity is well discussed and complex. The main reason for the complexity is that the theory wants to study human behaviors, which might be complicated to evaluate whether someone may be under risks by the research. It raises the question – who decides if there is a risk or not and for who? Two examples of possible factors that might affect are: the interest behind the research and the dynamics of the topic sensitivity in research. For example, when the data collection is made there are no risks for harm, but the results from the research could trigger the topic to be sensitive and harm the participants (Bryman et al, 2021:107-130). However, I have tried to be very sensitive and aware regarding ethical



considerations before and during the interviews, as well as in the final step in the process of writing the findings. The background and the core of this thesis is to give back to the Maasai communities after my visit as a tourist in the year of 2022. Although, even if the intention is to do good but it can end up harming the communities. Therefore, I filled out a sheet of ethnical consideration before this study was carried out. To demonstrate the guideline I used throughout the process to avoid doing any harm, the sheet will be attached under appendix in this thesis.

5. Findings

The objective of this chapter is to answer **research question one** (*current situation of the STD in Siana*) and **research question two** (*expected development and visions for the development in the area*). The two research questions will mainly be answered based on the 36 interviews conducted and supported by my field observations. The aim to understand the current situation in Siana will be based on findings by retelling the interviewee's expected forecast. This grounded in the objective to seek understanding for the tourist industry's role in development. The chapter will wrap up by sharing the stakeholder's own wishes in how the industry should support Siana's development.

5.1 Background of sustainable tourism/ecotourism in Siana conservancy

The awareness of the concept of sustainable tourism or ecotourism in Siana conservancy was nothing new to any of the interviewees, as no explanation for what sustainability consist of was needed during the conversations. Furthermore, the camp that I conducted three of the interviews in had been rewarded with an ecotourism certificate. The certificate was given by the national authority and recognized the camp's operation as the second highest level possible. Moreover, the co-owner of the camp promoted the development of the tourist sector to avoid mass tourism and he would rather receive tourists that travel consciously (IA1).

5.2 Research question 1: current situation

This section aims to address stakeholders' take on the current situation of the tourist sector.

5.2.1 Sustainable variables

A finding made from the interviews was that the view on the tourism sector was mainly positive. However, the positive responses were mainly made by the interviewee's who was directly



involved and based in Siana conservancy. Meanwhile the interviewees that were identified as external actors were more critical regarding the tourist sector and its social interaction.

The *positive* outcomes and the findings that will be covered in the *economic* pillar of sustainable development was mentioned in several forms. The tourist industry was mentioned as the main driver to a source of income or increasing an existing income of the interviewee's. Not only the obvious such as creating business opportunities and chance for employment was mentioned. The industry also contributed to improved infrastructure, scholarships, and school fees. Moreover, the tourist sector is the second largest in Kenya's economy, this stresses the importance of the industry in and for the country (World Bank, 2022a). Although, the largest contributing sector in Kenya is agriculture. Which was and still is in a certain degree also part of the Maasai communities' traditional economy. In this region the Maasai communities are not grain farmers but to a higher extent farmers that livelihoods on livestock.

However, the *negative* effects in the economic pillar were only addressed from five out of thirty-six interviewee's (EG1, ER1, EN1, IN1, IRO2). All five responded the same negative aspect in this matter, the communities are paid too little in line with the amount spent in the tourism sector. Corruption was an additionally aspect addressed from three out of the five mentioned above. The three who mentioned corruption were all in various ways involved in Siana area. One is working as a tourist guide, one is a manager of an NGO, and one has been having a position with a lot of influence in decision making in communities around the Siana conservancy (IV1, IN1, IRO2). Lastly, one of the tourist guides who was interviewed raised the issue of investors with bad intentions and will therefore act against community members will and wishes of development (II1).

The *positive* outcomes covered in the *social* pillar that was mentioned were that social interactions with tourists benefitted the communities in several ways such as gaining wide broad knowledge, development opportunities and preserving the Maasai culture (EG1, IV1, ER1, ESA1, EI1, II1, IEI2, IRO2, IRO4, IR3, IR4, IV1-IV4, IVM1-IVM13).

The *negative* effects were addressed in two perspectives. Firstly, as the tourist industry contributes to sources of income, one interviewee stated that the same money flow that has a positive economic influence for the communities also has a negative social impact. He stated



that the improved living standards has also increased the teenage pregnancies cases. The interviewee meant that the money the tourists brings to the communities also goes to irresponsible young men, as they are the ones who are welcoming the visitors and share the culture. The “easy” money as he expressed it makes young men drop out of school, spend time at the local pubs and marry several young girls. Then these young men end up marrying several wives and getting more kids than they can provide for. The current conditions in Kenya made it worse, where he was mainly referring to the drought and its impacts on the livestock. The amount of milk decreases which results in increasing poverty within the Maasai communities (IEI2). Secondly, negative changes within the culture. Five examples of loss in traditions were mentioned. (1) The lack of respect from young Maasai’s towards elder’s (II1, IEI1.). (2) Young girls which had started wearing “inappropriate clothing” (EG1, IEI1). (3) Lack of traditional education that has led to disrespectful behaviors (IR3). (4) Losing social codes and social contracts with the communities as community members leave the social setting to work elsewhere, mainly to the tourist industry (IEI1). (5) Attitudes regarding livestock and values changes for being a pastoralist. Arguments stated that external actors pressured for change/stop the culture of livestock (IV1, ER1, II1).

The *positive* outcomes covered in the **environment** pillar that were mentioned was generally linked to four broader topics: grazing planning, coexistence with wildlife, valuing the environment and knowledge. The implemented grazing plan has made significant improvements of the livestock’s quality, especially during the dry seasons (IEI2, IV2, IV4, IVM9, IVM11, IVM12, IVM13). The need and will to coexist with wildlife have benefitted the communities in two major areas: increased attraction of tourists (IVM13, IVM12, IVM10, IVM9, IV3, IEI2, II2, ESA1, EG1) and the provision with innovations and advancement in accurate research to enable the coexistence. Those investments were mainly made from foreigners (IVM10, IVM9, IV3, IEI2). Knowledge as the last example of a positive outcome was widely mentioned and interlinked to the other three topics addressed in this paragraph. The arguments seemed to be the core of the environmental pillar and the transformation as a game changer. The social interactions that the tourism industry entails have been the basis for the change of the community members’ mindset to start valuing the environment. Those social interactions have brought the key knowledge, “in how to”, to be able to make environmental friendly decisions.



The *negative* effects were mentioned in six consequences made from different interviewees, the first three addressed will be further elaborated in the next paragraph. (1) Human wildlife conflict. (2) The exploiting of communities made by foreigners. (3) Decreasing number of livestock. (4) Noise- and air-pollution. (5) Dependency on tourists, which could also lead to irresponsible actions with a negative impact on the environment in the desperation for an income. (6) Litter and uncontrolled waste.

(1) The human wildlife conflict consequence was claimed to be a result of the implemented concept of conservancies. The prevention of the environment has made the wild animals moved from the park Maasai Mara into the surrounding areas, which has increased the numbers of wild animals within the conservancies where the communities are located (IV1). As poaching are strictly forbidden and the use of electric fences is seen as harmful, the Maasai communities is in a difficult situation. Therefore, no functional solution has been developed to protect the community's coexistence with wildlife. (2) The exploitation of community members by foreign investors was stated that the investors are well educated and know how to maximize their profits when leasing the land by an uneducated and desperate Maasai (ER1). The claim by the interviewee continued the argument by questioning the conservancies, by who and for whom are the conservations? The main reason behind the statement was that the annual leasing fee is not even enough to buy a cow, whereas the same size of land could be enough to feed the livestock. (3) To build on that discussion regarding livestock, the implementation of conservancies requires the livestock to reduce. This argument was made as a negative effect for the community members, as previously mentioned – livestock is the core of the Maasai culture. The more livestock, in particular cows, the higher social status within the communities (IVM5, IVM8, IVM112, IV3, ER1).

5.2.2 Cooperation between and among stakeholder in the industry

All the interviewees' responses were diverse and without any significant trend, regarding stakeholders' cooperation. It might be viewed as a finding on its own, why there is no common understanding about stakeholders' collaboration. However, it makes it impossible to address one answer in this regard. Although critical responses towards stakeholder cooperations were stated, where corruption was the central issue. It was claimed to be an issue on all different levels of stakeholders, such as the national and local government, investors, and camp owners. The root cause was claimed to be self-interest driven agendas. Therefore, there were no efforts



put into building and/or strengthening collaboration with other stakeholders. Thus, the maintenance of the corruption was claimed to be caused by the desperation of community members without financial capacities. Interviewees explained that the community members' acceptance of unbeneficial offers by other stakeholders was rooted in a desire for another type of lifestyle (EG1, ER1, ESA1 EN1, IA1, IEI1, IEI2, IRO2, IR1, IR4, IVM4, IN1).

On the other hand, there were a few interviewees who shared positive experiences with stakeholder's collaboration and were therefore very satisfied (II1, II2, IRO4). A third group of respondents mentioned the appreciation of stakeholder's effort for cooperation and had a positive attitude about future improvements (IV2, IVM5, IVM8, IV3). The positive attitude was rooted in the realization of dependency among the stakeholders and that all actors involved would gain more benefits by strong collaborations. An additionally contribution that feeds positive attitudes was claimed to be the Mara Ecosystem Plan developed by the Maasai Mara Wildlife Conservancy Association (MMWCA) (IA1). The idea of the plan was to create a common forum for all stakeholders in the conservancies around Maasai Mara, with the objective to jointly address challenges they all are facing and invent possible solutions. Where a common strategy plan might be the solution for some challenges. In terms of capacity support to reach the common goals, the forum could be a platform for other stakeholders to recognize the need and give the required support. The Mara Ecosystem plan is completed and presented for legislation, so the current state of the plan is pending for approval (IA1).

Lastly, two interviewees wished for less cooperation between and among stakeholders – one works as a ranger and the other works as a local guide in the Siana conservancy. The argument from the ranger was that it is natural for stakeholders to have different interests in the tourist industry and different levels of capacities. Therefore, the access of resources will then reflect the ability to provide and meet the needs of the industry (IR3). Furthermore, the wish by the local guide was mainly from a belief that separated work among stakeholders would result in more development opportunities for the communities, as stakeholders would invest in different projects (IV3).

5.2.3 The struggle with manyattas

The overall wish by the community members was to settle in a modern house and not in a traditional manyatta, which is the Maasai's traditional form of accommodation. The manyattas



consist of wooden sticks as studs, which then are covered with a mass made of cow dung, clay, and water. By tradition, the constructions and maintenance work should be made by the women in the villages (IV2).

All the interviewees who were under 30 years old and stayed in the village wished to improve their living standards. When I then asked what higher living standards meant to them, they all mentioned the opportunity to live in modern houses (IVM1-IVM4, IVM7-IVM8, IVM12). However, the manyattas attract tourists and that created a feeling for the interviewees that they did not have the choice to change the settlement (IV1, IV2, IV3, IV4, IVM5, IVM7, IVM8, IVM12). To further elaborate on the feeling of not being able to improve living standards. The fascination from tourists of the traditional lifestyle of the Maasai's, that involves staying in a traditional manyatta that is in a Maasai village, makes the community members wish to maintain it as a dream, rather to be seen as a possible achieved goal for the future. As the dependency of the foreign currency for survival and a decent living. All the community members did rather stay in a manyatta to be able to provide for themselves, their families, and the whole community.

A contradictory statement made from an interviewee who claimed that the manyattas are used as a displayed object rather than an actual house for most of the community members in the conservancies. The interviewee explained that most of the community members had reached a financial capacity to build a modern house somewhere else and the village was rather used as a working place visited during the daytime. Thus, a system of rotation among the community members is set in play, to split the tasks and overnighing in the villages. The system has been developed to maintain the villages as a tourist destination. The interviewee behind this statement requested this statement to be made anonymously. This request made me take the decision of not investigate nor discuss this information further with other interviewees.

5.2.4 The struggle to maintain the culture of livestock

The internal actors that mainly expressed a positive attitude towards the social interactions tourist industry implies with an expressed fear of the threat against the Maasai culture and mainly regarding the livestock. The interviewees shared testimonials based on either bad experience as the main cause of the feeling of threat that they felt. They expected a development that would work against the core of their cultural beliefs that involves livestock and pastoralism. Regardless ethnic tribe belonging, all Kenyans that I have interacted with during my time in



Kenya has mainly described the Maasai people related to their livestock as well as recognized the threat against it.

5.3 Research question 2: forecast and visions

This section will focus on the industry's possible impacts on the community's development, based on the interviewees' rational forecasts and later based on the interviewees' wishes.

5.3.1 Attitudes towards the tourist sector

An optimistic view for future cooperation among stakeholders was shared and claimed to be the correct way forward. Some examples that were given to encourage stakeholders to cooperate, which would benefit the communities, were: enable the communities to coexist with wildlife, more employment opportunities, promoting sustainability, further development opportunities, access to formal education, and women empowerment (IA1, IEI1, IEI2, II1, II2, INI1, IRO1-IRO4, IR1-IR4, IV1-IV4, IVM1-IVM14).

All the interviewees who expressed the most positive attitude for collaboration were community members. Although, the realization that it would contribute and require a transformation for the communities to change habitats towards a more modern living path were recognized as their responses reflected hope. The majority even shared an acceptance towards that transformation, as the expected profits were more of value than the loss of culture as the cost (IVM1-IVM13).

A development that would provide the Maasai with formal education was welcomed and seen as a positive effect. Although, the transformation would introduce the future generations to a western culture and the community members believed that this change would add to the trend they have seen, that the traditional culture is fading away. Western culture would, for example, replace the manyattas with modern houses, skills in foreign languages would replace the Maa language and livestock as a livelihood would be replaced with other sectors. Moreover, the tourist sector was expected to be the leading sector in the future for this region. The tourist industry was claimed to promote the Maasai culture, as the preservation of their culture has become commercialized (IV1-IV3). Knowledge about the culture must be passed on to future generations to be able to maintain and increase tourists' visits. As the tourism sector generates employment and promotes businesses, the industry is seen as a positive contributor for the community members.



The critical viewing for what further globalization and modernization would mean for the communities was addressed around benefit sharing (EN1, ER1, IN1). They expected the development to continue be unfair and that the exploitation of the Maasai's would even increase. One external actor stated that the reason was the lack of favorable policies implemented, which he considered to be a strategic decision, made by the decision makers, as they gain profit by exploitation (EN1).

5.3.2 Challenges for a sustainable development with tourism as a possible contributing sector

There were several challenges mentioned by the interviewees, but three main challenges were recurring. Although, some of the arguments mentioned from a positive perspective were then mentioned from a negative perspective by another interviewee.

The first challenge was a more unique fear, he predicted a risk for possible conflicts between Maasai's and other Kenyan ethnicities, or between Maasai's and foreigners (IRO3). Both scenarios were stated from a believe that as the Maasai's get more formal education they will learn about their rights, which would empower the communities to fight against the exploitation (EG1, IRO3, EN1, EG1).

The second challenge stated was dependency, that the industry will be the major income and the main source for development (ER1, ESA1, EG1, IA1, IEI1, IEI2, IRO1, IR1, IV1-IV3, IVM9, IVM11). The example from the COVID-19 pandemic was highlighted. The pandemic forced for instance restrictions on how people travelled, the restrictions came as a global reminder of how fragile the tourist industry is and how it boosts the issue of dependency. This challenge was mentioned with no ideas of alternative solutions. However, an interviewee stated that the pandemic was a trigger for people to be more creative in finding alternatives to create several sources of income. He stated that a lot of people became more creative and productive during that time and people remain with several livelihoods even if the restrictions have been removed (IRO3).

The third challenge was again the fear of losing the culture of livestock. The development and how it was expected to act was a bit diverse regarding the livestock. Although the result was shared in the same description: a result that would mean reducing or completely losing the



culture of livestock. Some of the interviewees expected a future where the livestock as a livelihood will disappear, instead the tourist sector will require, attract, and recruit Maasai's (IA1, IEI1, IEI2, IR1, IRO2, IVM1, IVM5, IV3, IVM8, IVM12). The interviewees who stated this challenge did not forecast a future where the sectors could be balanced to promote and benefit each other (IV3, IR1, IR4). The interviewees who also expected the livestock as a livelihood to be wiped out from the tourist sector had other perspectives on how that would play out. They expected formal education to change values and norms, which would change mindsets about pastoralism and make it a profession with a lower-class status. Therefore, they shared expectations in how the interest for the profession of looking after livestock would be the last option (IRO2, IR3, IV2, IVM1, IVM8, IV3, IV4).

5.3.3 Interviewee's wishes and visions for development with tourism as a contributing sector

All the interviewees shared a common wish for the future, to empower the communities and its members. With some different ideas on how the community members could be empowered and maximize their benefits. In overall there were four general methods of doing so and one more unique mentioned by only two interviewees.

First, wish to get access to formal education through scholarships from tourists that have been to the village (ESA1, IV2, IEI2, IVM4, IVM5, IVM10, IVM13, II2). Second, to receive support from tourists that run a charity with focus on starting programs or funds for school fees. A suggested source for the program or fund could be a percentage of the Maasai Mara park fee (ESA1, IEI2). The solutions could contribute to economic growth and maintaining the traditions, as the whole tourist industry in the communities started from curiosity about the culture. Therefore, the industry should not be the main cause for culture loss (IRO2, IEI2, IV2). Third, policymaking to benefit the Maasai's, as they are in a higher risk of exploitation the wish was stated as a well needed legal protection (IA1, EN1, EG1, IN1, ER1). Fourth, requirements of corporate social responsibility in operations within the Mara and the surrounding conservancy. This wish hoped for more local employment but also created opportunities for development projects for the communities. Interviewees who claimed this said that this should be the locals right, as the community members are those who must cope with the need to coexist with the wildlife and forced to be part of the tourist attraction (II1, II2, EI1, ER1). Last, provoking sustainable tourism development by considering the capacity and not focusing on



mass tourism. This wish was made with the argument that by being mindful of the inflow of tourists within the region would also benefit the communities. The belief was to change the focus from quantitative to qualitative, to benefit the stakeholders. Furthermore, the wish elaborated that this will also give conditions for decision makers to make proper planning. Additionally, a qualitative tourist stream would also improve the advertising as well as advocating for better planning for the destination. Which again would benefit the communities. Lastly, social interaction would also improve between the tourists, the community members and staff that worked in the industry. The results could generate knowledge, as time is a scarcity when the tourist visits the communities. They must rush elsewhere to be able to see all the things that they have planned to maximize their experiences during the visits. Which also has made the community members rush the tourist visits as they expect more to come (IA1, IRO3).

5.4 Lifestyles: traditional versus modern

As mentioned earlier in this paper, the Maasai ethnicity are globally known and admired because of a traditional lifestyle. The assumptions are that the Maasai's only consist of nomads. Today the culture is somehow preserved to attract tourists to the villages. As tourists travel the world to experience the big five (leopard, rhino, lion, buffalo, and elephant), there are also many tourists who are eager to experience an authentic Maasai village. Therefore, some stated that the Maasai adds a sixth category to the big five (EN1). Although, this is a bit misleading as that recognition only presents a homogenic group and not the reality. The Maasai is just as every other ethnic group with representatives in different sectors and titled on different levels. Even though there are some Maasai's who fulfills the stereotypical picture. By following the culture, sticking to traditional settlements, and dedicating to livestock. Thus, to pass on traditions and culture to the next generation the knowledge must be taught through traditional education within the communities (IEI1). Moreover, the history of traditional living within the villages did not practice nor welcome formal education. As the tourist sector requires foreign languages skills as the tour guides are made through social interactions, the mindset has changed.

The tasks within the village were divided, for the village members who had a formal degree and English skills preformed tasks related to the tourist industry, meanwhile the village members who lacked those skills preformed tasks that were related to the villages functions. Moreover, elder women in the village who danced for the visitors but couldn't socially interact because of language barriers were regardless satisfied with their life's within the village. Even



though they all expressed a wish for their own children to get the resources and opportunities for a life with modern settlements, something they never had been able to do (IVM5, IVM6, IVM9, IVM10, IVM11, IVM13). The village members below 30 years old with some degree of formal education and had the English skills to interact with the tourists did all wish to get the chance to live their lives in western and modern settings (IVM1- IVM4, IVM7- IVM8, IVM12). I will therefore address these findings further in three coming sections where the traditional versus the modern lifestyle's clashes: *education*, *equity*, and *economy*.

5.4.1 Education

Education was the most frequent word in all interviews and all dialogues I had during the data collection. Education was seen as the main solution for several challenges such as: early marriages, conservation issues, lack of collaboration and community empowerment. As stated in previous chapters in this thesis, all interviewees wished for the communities to access formal education.

The vision of formal education was inter alia to educate about early marriages and why it should be unacceptable. Another hope was to provide girls with formal education with an aim to empower them (EN1). They would then understand the importance of not selling their bodies for basic needs, such as sanctuary items. Of various obvious reasons such as they could be infected with a venereal disease or become pregnant, both scenarios but mainly the latter would make them drop out of school (IN1). Nevertheless, several interviewees stressed the importance of giving young people a degree and a title. It would make them more attractive on the market when applying for jobs (II2). Not least in the region for positions within hospitality, as in the tourist industry (II1). The starting point with a degree would support them to be self-sufficient as well as providing for their family members (ESA1, IVM1-IVM3).

Education to solve conservation issues was mentioned to be a solution, as the knowledge could remove the main barrier, which was stated to be the root cause in the lack of understanding of the need to preserve the environment (IR1). The grazing plan was developed to be a contributing strategy to preserve the environment, benefiting livestock and wild animals, which would also boost the tourist industry (IA1). The importance of preserving the environment could be spread to the community members through social interactions with all stakeholders as well as formal education, it has made a significant difference and made community members to come onboard for the concept (IV2). The challenge of a wide collaboration was as well stated to be occurring



from lack of knowledge, as the other stakeholders could be well informed of all the positive outcomes but did or could not work closely with the villages as the knowledge gap became a barrier (ESA1). Thus, giving the communities access to formal education would empower them to know their rights and could then hinder the risks of being exploited and taken advantage of (IRO2).

All the possible *positive* outcomes with education as the most vital tool for the future, there were some interviewees who raised the issue of formal education. Mainly made by the elder Maasai women, although they all hoped that their children would be able to attend the formal school system and graduate. The Maasai women stated that the current formal education has a *negative* impact on the youths by not being culture sensitive. For example, the threat for the existence of the local Maa language. As the children are staying elsewhere when the schools are open. They have therefore no one to speak the language with and there is no school with Maa as a subject (IVM9). One of the community members shared that it has tried to be worked on by educating the youths during their breaks with traditional education and speaking the language as they come back to the village during the school breaks. Although, not all parents can afford to pay for transportation for their children to get back to the village if they stay elsewhere. Which affects the learning process about the culture and the language (IVM9).

Another factor to add to this was that none of the interviewees thought that the communities should invest and develop the educational systems around them. The wish was that the tourists that interacted with the communities should support the locals or that the tourist industry with the different stakeholders should be the ones funding the development of a formal education system.

5.4.2 Equity

The role from the two female rangers and a female tourist guide expressed that they all felt proud of their work and saw themselves in a position to inspire other girls to take another position within the communities (IR3, IR4, II1). The rangers shared the experience of being treated and looked at differently from the community members, they both had experienced that they are valued into a higher ranking in communities discussions and in the process of decision making (IR3, IR4). Although, they shared that this was not the case from the start when they got the job as a ranger. They were widely questioned, mainly by males. Experiences of young



boys that were looking after livestock that were grazing in areas that was not in the period of allowance. Experiences of elder men within the communities that refused to take order from a female ranger. Both shared that they had to get support from a male colleague when they had to give them orders to relocate the livestock to the areas that were in the period of grazing.

The female tourist guide shared her experiences of a 60-percentage acceptance from male tourist guides in the Mara (II1). Which had increased significantly since she started as a guide at the camp four years ago. She shared that she has experienced comments questioning if she is able and why she works as a tourist guide, of the reasons being a woman and the job claimed to be for men. On the other hand, she did share experiences of very cheerful comments as well, that have complimented her for being a female tourist guide in the park and being welcomed by other male tourist's guides. Moreover, when I asked her what she felt about the 60 versus 40 percent she smiled even bigger and with a proud and untamed voice that she did not care about the negative 40 percent. She said that her supportive colleagues at the camp, the guides in the park with a positive attitude as well as her growing confidence, is what makes the work joyful. All the three ladies who had a job position in the male dominant sector in Siana were very positive and grateful for how the tourist industry had empowered them and other Maasai females in the region. Additionally, they all shared that the colleagues that they worked closely with were very supportive and that they treated them equally and fairly (IR3, IR4, II1).

Two male responders that were a bit more unique was one that is a CO-owner, active in the MMWCA board and the chairman of Mara Siana conservancy management and the other is a principal of a college located in the region as well as the manager for Nashulai conservancy. Both men work actively to empower women and as they have influential positions within the conservancy's they felt responsible. The first interviewee mentioned is Maasai by ethnicity and had a bachelor's degree (IA1). The other interviewee mentioned is Kamba by ethnicity and had a master's degree (IEI2).

Asking the community members what they felt and thought about women empowerment and the general view were positive or at least no one of the interviewed community members expressed a negative mindset about it. The responses were either connected to the women empowerment that the tourist industry has embraced by creating work opportunities and created an independent income. Another type of empowerment was that the tourists brought an idea of



“bad and good” cultures. The knowledge and empowerment from the tourists to the locals were inter alia about Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). As the value and norms has transformed the traditions into tabus, and the community members claimed that it does not happen in their village anymore. Three of the interviewees under 30 years shared that none of them had been exploited of FGM (IVM1-IVM3). The female community members that were interviewed shared different views on the women empowerment that the tourist industry is bringing (IVM1-IVM6, IVM9-IVM11, IVM13). The responses seemed to be influenced by the age, as the five respondents below 30 years expressed a positive attitude towards women empowerment in the communities whereas the five respondents that were 30 years or older shared that they did not feel any different in their position within the community. All the ten female respondents from the village shared that the tourist industry has created an opportunity for the Maasai women to have businesses and earn their own salaries. To add into consideration was that no one of the five female respondents above 30 years had skills in English, therefore an interpreter in the interviews were needed. Additionally, none of them have had the chance to socially interact with tourists. Also, something else that differentiated the two groups of interviewees was that all girls under 30 years had attended a formal school whereas none of the respondents older than 30 years had ever attended school for formal education.

One viewpoint and perspective on women empowerment was that it might lead to divorces or make it difficult for Maasai to accept each other to be able to marriage (EG1). He claimed that Maasai men do not know how to act nor treat an independent woman. Thus, if a married Maasai woman gets empowered and more independent, it might threaten her husband and he may feel offended, which would end the marriage. Another argument with a negative tone against women empowerment in the Maasai communities was lack of knowledge on how to spend money (IV1). The male respondents had a general positive attitude towards women empowerment but addressed the challenge of lacking education and knowledge in how to spend money that they earn through the tourist industry. This would make the women innocently spend them unconsciously. Meanwhile they argued that the men would invest or at least know how to spend the money in a wise manner to maximize its value.

5.4.3 Economy

The historical traditional lifestyle for the Maasai communities did not involve an economy with cash. Earnings were made from the livestock and if you wanted something from someone it



was made in the form of barter. As mentioned earlier in the text, the Maasai ethnicity is known for being proud of their culture and therefore resisted the western influence towards modernization, including the formal economy. As the tourist industry has been introduced and expanded as now part of their daily lives, they did not have much of a choice but to take part in the formal economy. To be paid for the entertainment and information that they shared with the tourists. The payment service m-pesa provided by the company Safaricom has also facilitated economic inclusion for the villages. Almost everyone from the age of a teenager has a phone in the communities around Mara.

Although there has been progress in the inclusion into the formal economy, the community members in the Maasai village I interviewed do still mainly invest in livestock. In case of saved money, they will buy livestock and keep their savings in the historical traditional manners. However, three young girls in the village that I interviewed shared that they thought differently about savings and shared with me that they used to encourage their parents to place the money in the bank instead (IVM1-IVM3). They told me that they had been taught this in school and understood the importance of it as keeping the savings in livestock was equal to gambling. They have experienced the consequences of the droughts and have witnessed their parent's livestock dying because of it. Which influenced them as the families had to struggle to provide the basic needs (ibid). Additionally, the same girls who saw the importance of this change of behavior did share the view of social status remained by traditions within the communities if someone owned livestock. The more livestock a person owns, the higher social status within the communities the person will have. In the same dialogue with these Maasai girls between the age of 18-20 years, they all shared that when a girl gets married in the community, her family will receive dowry from the future husband. The girl's level of education and beauty would be reflected in the proposed and accepted dowry (ibid). Furthermore, the historical traditional way would be that the girl will not decide on her own who to marry, that is decided for her by her family. *"That has changed now, I will decide on a husband on my own. But I still want my family to receive a dowry"* (IMV1). I asked if the dowry also has been modernized and if the bride's family would now receive cash for their daughter instead, but they all started to giggle and they all agreed that the dowry should be in the form of livestock (IVM1-IVM3).

One of the insights I had during the data collection was when one of the camp's security guards joined me to the village one day, where he also grew up and where his mom was still staying.



The security guard taught me an important lesson and an important reminder, that my perspectives are formed by western values, which are reflected in views, values, and how to measure wealth. I had been told that Maasai's do not brag about the number of livestock their owns. However, it will somehow be reflected in the hierarchy within the community.

I was emotionally affected by the visit that day, on our way back to the camp I had a feeling of guilt and recognized the privilege I have in life. I live a life with great conditions which mainly is because of being born somewhere else. I felt that it was unfair to the village members I had interacted with, who I thought deserved better living conditions.

We had a conversation later in the vehicle and he told me about his wife and their five-month-old baby. Then suddenly as a sidetrack he told me that he owns land, and he was rich. I was firstly chocked about the expression as I had been told that Maasai's do not express themselves in that manner, but also after seeing the living conditions of his family, I did not see the wealth. He continued to explain that he went from owning one cow that he received as a gift and by now he owns around 70 cows, 40 sheep and 30 goats. After doing some quick math of the value of his cattle's, I got the insight – he had more money than I ever have had on my bank account. The difference is that I would have saved the money in my bank account which in my normal context gives the status of wealth. Meanwhile his normal context is to invest in livestock, that gives the status of wealth.

6. Analysis

This chapter aims to analyze the findings addressed in chapter five, from the interviews and observations made in the Siana conservancy. The objective of this chapter is to answer **research question three** - *do stakeholders' interest match or clash?* And **research question four** – *do social interactions play a role in the outcome?* The strive is to gain further understanding regarding sustainable tourism in Siana conservancy. The theoretical framework Social Exchange Theory (SET) will be applied as a lens at the end of this chapter, to provide a perspective with an additional layer into the discussion. Although, an abductive approach is chosen for this study, in other words - the analysis does not aim to test nor to develop a theory. The use of SET is rather to investigate if there are any grounds within the theory that explains the empirical findings made in Siana conservancy. However, I have made the realization



beforehand that the conducted data may not relate mutually or just partly to the framework, therefore the chosen structure of the chapter.

6.1 Research question 3: do stakeholders interest match or clash?

A simplified answer based on the findings is that the stakeholders interest matches, but the sacrifices it entails to reach the common interest clashes. The interest and goal were generally to develop the area as well as the Maasai communities, but at what cost and who must pay for it?

6.1.1 Sustainable variables

It was clear that all stakeholders recognized the benefits of tourists present in the area regarding all three sustainable variables. The earlier experiences of the internal actors, that had a direct link to the Siana conservancy, were mainly satisfied with the presence of the tourist industry. Although, the satisfaction was also stated with the recognition and acceptance of the threat towards the traditional Maasai culture. The threat stated to be a side effect of the positive contribution the tourist sector evolves in the area. The external actors recognized the development that has been made and its improvements to benefit the communities in recent years. Although the criticism of the tourist industry was mainly claimed by the external actors, no one wished tourism to end in the area.

6.1.2 Stakeholders engagement and associations

Internal actors viewed the future of the industry positively. Most of the internal actors forecasted the future for all stakeholders involved positively as common forums were developed and established. Optimistic thoughts related to the area's associations, where the stakeholders were gathered. The experience of the associations was that stakeholders came together to address challenges and possible solutions. The associations are used as a channel to share knowledge and are a good source to access information, which the interviewees were hopeful to be continued.

6.1.3 Same interest with different definition of successful development

The interest of sustaining and preventing the Maasai's culture is recognized in the concept of e.g., ecotourism. To gain knowledge and recognize how to avoid possible harm of the receiving population in the tourist industry is covered in that concept. However, the recognition from the



different stakeholders to support and develop the Maasai communities with this support of tourism did go in line. Thus, the definition of successful development and the requirements did not go so much in line. By further investigating the topic, it seems to be complex.

To demonstrate where different levels of stakeholder's interest clashes with the communities some examples will be given that I came across: national government versus community, local government versus community and tourists versus community.

National government versus community – formal economy and informal economy. The national government promotes a development towards a formal economy, by promoting the tourist activity in the area it could then generate to include the formal economy. On the other hand, the traditional economy for the Maasais involves barter, which contributes to an informal economy. Both categories of stakeholders strive to improve living standards and conditions for the communities, but they use different strategies in the hence of different beliefs, values, and views on wealth.

Local government versus community - the local rangers in the Siana conservancy was trained, employed, and paid from the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS). They all shared the vision of protecting the environment with a grazing plan that would benefit the Maasai communities in the long run, as it would feed their cattle. The village members recognized the need and appreciated the work that the rangers were doing, but the rangers admitted the challenge of the implemented grazing plan in Siana. The rangers went from the task of preventing poaching to keeping the local livestock out of the area that is not according to the grazing plan, that were agreed and implemented. The reason for the change of tasks is mainly because the issue of poaching has been defeated and the grazing plan has to be supervised. Moreover, the grazing plan has recognized consequences, inter alia by being fined if caught grazing on land that is not according to the plan. Thus, the main issue for the rangers is that they grew up in this area and the village members are their families and relatives. Which makes it impossible for them to give out a fine to their own families. Although, all the village members acknowledged the importance of the rangers and the grazing plan for a successful development and a successful future.



Tourists versus community – the tourists that visit the villages get their assumptions of poverty fulfilled and of goodwill takes actions to development. Either to financial support access to formal education or development for the communities. What the tourists with their goodwill do not see is that their contribution feeds on the issue but in a way, they do not measure wealth nor progress. When more tourists visit the villages, the more financial support they receive. With the core of the belief regarding livestock, the economic profits are invested in cattle. Regarding population growth and increased number of livestock, sharing less area of land since Maasai's are leasing their land as well as the rapid increasing numbers of wild animals in the same surface to be shared, there is a growing issue that tourists with western perspectives would not realize.

6.2 Research question 4: do social interactions play a major role for development?

As previously mentioned, the internal actors seemed to be more satisfied with the current situation of the presence of the tourist industry within the communities. The internal actors also gave a more hopeful and optimistic view of the development of the communities supported by the tourist sector. As the identified external actors in this study were much more critical towards the industry's presents among Maasai communities as well as the influence it might have on the development. However, the views associated with western belief and values such as: women empowerment, formal education, and formal economic growth was not criticized by external actor. Rather expressed pessimistic views for how it could influence the traditions and cultures.

Why exactly this is cannot be stated as a fact nor a finding in this thesis as that should require more time in the field and further questions to the external actors as well as including a more variety in the preventatives defined as external actors. However, a brief elaboration on the reasons why the internal actors were more satisfied than the external actors could be explained through several reasons. First, social interactions that the tourists and the internal actors has creates space for trust and understanding. Secondly, the internal actors might feel more rewarded as they can see the direct impact of the presents of the tourists. Thirly, it might reflect that external actors have other experiences and knowledge as they have moved out or never been staying within Siana conservancy, and therefore have seen another reality. The second and third reasons could also explain why the external actors did not question the development of western beliefs and values within the Maasai communities.



6.3 Social Exchange Theory, SET

A simplified model to demonstrate the use of the theory with a possible evaluation from a community perspective. Five chosen variables to take into consideration and expected profit versus cost, with a brief explanation of possible outcomes in each category.

A. Economy	
1.	Profit – formal economic inclusiveness and economic growth in the tourist sector.
2.	Cost – erasing the culture and traditions regarding livestock, as the status of wealth.
B. Social	
1.	Profit - gives development opportunities and access to knowledge.
2.	Cost - less resources and interest of working with the livestock.
C. Environment	
1.	Profit - conservation and advancement of a grazing plan for the livestock.
2.	Cost - requirements and pressure to reduce the numbers of livestock.
D. Equality	
1.	Profit - women empowerment through the industry.
2.	Cost – women empowerment is contradictive against the culture.
E. Education	
1.	Profit – promote and provide formal education for the community.
2.	Cost - formal education replaces the traditional education and lifestyle.

Table 1, created by the author.

This example illustrates the possibilities and expectations from the community’s perspective. The evaluation is based on expected profits and costs when taking part in the tourist sector, and the social interaction it involves. The objective of this case study was to get a better understanding of the tourist sector’s role in the development of Siana conservancy. The strategy to interview different stakeholders in the industry aimed to get a broader understanding of the current state and forecast of the area's development, with an influence from the tourist industry. The theory was chosen to explain why the stakeholders chose to socially interact through and within the industry.



However, table 1 demonstrates the theory only from a community perspective. The reason why is that the whole theory of social exchange is grounded in the matter of freely choosing with whom to interact with, based on an evaluation that is made in advance to calculate the expected benefits. In other words, all the other identified stakeholders involved in this study have another starting point in the interaction. The other stakeholders clearly evaluated that the profits are valued higher when interacting in the industry. Another status of choice to begin with, whether to socially interact with the communities or not. As for all the other stakeholders, they have the power to decide if the expected profit is worth the predicted cost. As the evaluation within the community cannot be made to the same extent. The community members do not know what or whom to expect. They only have the previous visits and experiences to base their evaluation on, which is part of the five principles in SET addressed in chapter three. Therefore, will this section analyze the possible reasoning from the community to decide to be a stakeholder in the tourist sector and agree with everything that goes under the industry.

All the expected profits and costs in figure 3 are answers from the community members that I conducted during the data collection. All expected profits have a clear cost, which is taking on the behalf of their culture. Although, the expected profits must be evaluated to significantly benefit the communities, as they agree to tourists visiting. If the theory is used as an explanation to further social interaction and engage in the industry, the experiences of the interactions has resulted more profit than costs for the community. Although, the recognition of threat of the traditional culture to be replaced by a more modern living seems to be considered as more beneficial, when evaluating the expected profits versus the expected costs.

The culture that was mainly mentioned not worth sacrificing in the expected development of the area was the culture of livestock. All the community members independently stated that the culture of livestock should not be accepted for change. Therefore, my interpretation is that there are no imaginable scenarios where the expected outcome could be evaluated with higher profits than what the livestock brings for the community members satisfaction. Thus, the idea of reducing the numbers of livestock that has been suggested by some of the stakeholders was too early to draw conclusions on.



7. Conclusions

Sustainable tourism development is vital and promising in Siana conservancy from concerned stakeholder's perspectives. The stakeholders have jointly recognized the significance of balancing economic growth with environmental conservation and social responsibility. Although, the findings have explained parts of the complexity to consider and preserve the culture as the society is modernizing.

From the perspective of local communities, sustainable tourism development offers substantial opportunities. It creates employment opportunities, empowers community members to participate in the tourism industry, promotes formal education and improves their livelihoods. The tourism initiatives do contribute partly to cultural preservation and the engagement from the local communities within the industry requires transmission of traditional knowledge and practices to future generations. However, the economic growth in the formal economy the industry contributes to seems to be the threat against the culture.

Tourism operators did also recognize the value of sustainable practices in Siana, by adopting responsible tourism strategies, such as eco-friendly accommodations, supporting and advertising the local's businesses and organizations, and encourage community engagement programs as well as employment. Additionally, if the operators offer an authentic and educational experiences to the tourists meanwhile their ecological footprint are minimized and contributing with a footprint into the local economy, they support the concept of sustainable tourism development and promote the vision the community members shared.

Stakeholders engaged in conservation organizations or discussions are essential in the sustainable tourism development in Siana. Not only for the main objective, to protect flora and fauna, they do also support the protection of the village members' wellbeing and conditions. The stakeholders that I engaged with seemed to be grassroot driven by the locals from the area, their collaboration could ensure minimal negative impacts on the local communities, the environment, and the wildlife. Additionally, could these stakeholders play a vital role in educating other stakeholders who show interest of cooperations or to be the bridge function between and among the different stakeholders. As they initiated the forum for all stakeholders in the Mara region.



The stakeholders who had a government position could with their role of authority play a major role in facilitating the work of implementing and scaling up the sustainable tourism development. As they are responsible for developing and implementing policies and regulations that promote the communities through environmental conservation, social inclusion, and economic growth. Through effective governance and collaboration with the other stakeholders could the authorities be working as a valid and promoting stakeholder to inform the benefits for acting sustainably.

All the stakeholders represented a collective commitment and goodwill to preserve the nature, culture, and community welfare. To achieve a harmonious balance between economic development and environmental conservations, everyone must embrace sustainable practices for all.

Although the general and most of the stakeholders were positive about the presence of the tourist industry, there were major challenges and sacrifices, especially from the village member's end. As they shared the insight and recognition of cultural loss, it is interesting to investigate it further. Based on SET or a similar theory, by deepen the understanding of why they consider the profit of a presence by the tourists to the cost of losing their culture.

Furthermore, when developing global policies to protect for instance indigenous people, I strongly believe after this study that investment to explore the perspectives from the indigenous people, not by influencing their responds to identify what to protect to preserve their culture. But rather investigate it from a narrow approach and collect evidence to develop suitable legislation. As strategic planning, for either the economic growth or the grazing plan, the communities should be highly involved in the process. Although, a huge challenge has and still are the knowledge gap to involve the communities effectively, in time and financing.

To conclude, by expanding and advancing the tourist industry in a sustainable path, Maasai Mara and the surrounding conservancies will ensure a long-term viability and competitiveness in the global tourism market which will benefit on a local, regional, national, and global level.



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Appendix 1 – list of interviewees

Names	Interview Nr.	Age	Ethnicity	Gender	Education
Isaac Lemoaka	EG1	52	Maasai	Male	Bachelor
James Ole Nampushi	ER1	40	Maasai	Male	PhD
Francis Meshuko	ESA1	45	Maasai	Male	Bachelor
Samba Benson	EI1	39	Luhya	Male	Bachelor
Agnes Lena	EN1	54	Maasai	Female	N/A
Rimoine Ole Kararei	IA1	50	Maasai	Male	Bachelor
Wilson Olekoei	IEI1	56	Maasai	Male	Bachelor
Thomas Muema	IEI2	45	Kamba	Male	Master
Isaac Parsaloi Kasura	II1	44	Maasai	Male	Diploma
Purity Sanchu	II2	24	Maasai	Female	Diploma
James Nanka	IN1	50	Maasai	Male	N/A
Samuel Kararei	IRO1	48	Maasai	Male	Bachelor x2
Peter Sena	IRO2	36	Maasai	Male	High school
Peter Komol	IRO3	28	Kalenjin/Luhya	Male	Bachelor
Esther Gibendi	IRO4	26	Luhya	Female	Bachelor
Jackson Koriata	IR1	32	Maasai	Male	Form 2 + paramilitary KWS
Saruni Kool	IR2	28	Maasai	Male	Class 7 + paramilitary KWS
Stacy Nashipai	IR3	22	Maasai	Female	Ongoing form 4
Beatrice Lepore	IR4	24	Maasai	Female	High school + paramilitary KWS
Paul Ole Montet	IV1	60+	Maasai	Male	Primary school
Daniel Lempojo	IV2	38	Maasai	Male	Bachelor
Peter Revia	IV3	28	Maasai	Male	Grade 8
Mark Naeku	IV4	25	Maasai	Male	Primary School
Florence Naisimoi	IVM1	19	Maasai	Female	Primary school
Jane Naini	IVM2	20	Maasai	Female	High School
Ann Sironik	IVM3	18	Maasai	Female	Ongoing High School
Eunice Sintei	IVM4	19	Maasai	Female	Ongoing College
Nkoiie kiu	IVM5	35	Maasai	Female	No School
Kimmiri Nkova	IVM6	65	Maasai	Female	No School
Kasale Sangingo	IVM7	22	Maasai	Male	Ongoing University
Dickson Rinka	IVM8	23	Maasai	Male	High School
Narikunkera Keture	IVM9	55	Maasai	Female	No School
Nailepo Lempojo	IVM10	30+	Maasai	Female	No School
Magdali Keriu	IVM11	30	Maasai	Female	No School
Emanuel Naeku	IVM12	18	Maasai	Male	High School
Dorkas Keture	IVM13	30+	Maasai	Female	No School



Appendix 2 – interview guide

- Local government
 - Do you mind telling me about something you feel is important to sustain within the Maasai communities?
 - How does the current situation look like (STD)?
 - Do you believe that the tourism industry has an impact on the development: economically, socially, and environmentally?
 - How have and do you experience your position have/can play a role in the development of the tourism industry linked to the Maasai communities?
 - Do you find any main challenge(s) for a sustainable development?
 - Do you think that the tourism industry facilitated or exacerbated these challenges?
 - What is the vision of STD?
 - How do you think the development of the industry will affect the communities?
 - How do you wish the development should look like?
 - Relationship among the community?
 - Do you feel that the social network among the communities is affected by the tourism industry?
 - Relationships with other stakeholders?
 - Do you find that the tourism industry has an impact on the interest of the stakeholders?
 - How do you see and experience relationships to other stakeholders?
 - Do you think that better or less cooperation with other stakeholders would benefit a path towards a sustainable tourism development?
 - Do attitude & behavior in the interactions play a major role for the outcome?
 - Who decided in the past and decides in the present the allowance for tourism visits?
 - Do you feel that I have missed something that you want to add?



Appendix 2 – interview guide

- **Academia**
 - Do you mind telling me about how you started to research in this field?
 - **How does the current situation look like (STD)**
 - Do you believe that the tourism industry has an impact on the development: economically, socially, and environmentally?
 - Do you find any main challenge(s) for a sustainable development?
 - Do you believe that the tourism industry facilitated or exacerbated these challenges?
 - **What is the vision of STD?**
 - How do you think the development of the industry will affect the communities?
 - How do you wish the development should look like?
 - **Relationship among the community?**
 - Do you feel that the social network among the communities are affected by the tourism industry?
 - Do you find that the tourism industry has an impact on the interest of the community?
 - **Relationships with other stakeholders?**
 - How do you see and experience relationships to other researchers/stakeholders?
 - Do you think that better or less cooperation with other researchers would benefit the research and the outcome in the field?
 - **Do attitude & behavior in the interactions play a major role for the outcome?**
 - Who decided in the past and decides in the present the request of research on tourism visits?
 - Do you feel that I have missed something that you want to add?
 - Do you have any advice for me when I start this field study?



Appendix 2 – interview guide

- External/Internal NGO
 - Do you mind telling me about something you feel is important for the tourism industry to sustain within the Maasai communities?
 - How does the current situation look like (STD)?
 - Do you believe that the tourism industry has an impact on the development in this area: economically, socially, and environmentally?
 - How have and do you experience your position in the NGO for playing a role in the development of the tourism industry linked to the Maasai communities?
 - Do you find any main challenge(s) for a sustainable development?
 - Do you think that the tourism industry facilitated or exacerbated these challenges?
 - What is the vision of STD?
 - How do you think the development of the industry will affect the communities?
 - How do you wish the development should look like?
 - Relationship among the community?
 - Do you feel that the social network among the communities is affected by the tourism industry?
 - Do you find that the tourism industry has an impact on the interest of the communities?
 - Relationships with other stakeholders?
 - How do you see and experience relationships to other stakeholders?
 - Do you think that better or less cooperation with other stakeholders would benefit a path towards a sustainable tourism development?
 - Do attitude & behavior in the interactions play a major role for the outcome?
 - Who decided in the past and decides in the present the allowance for tourism visits?
 - Do you feel that I have missed something that you want to add?



Appendix 2 – interview guide

- **External superagency/Internal industry/Internal rangers**
 - Do you mind telling me about something you feel is important for the tourism industry to sustain within the Maasai communities?
 - **How does the current situation look like (STD)?**
 - Do you believe that the tourism industry has an impact on the patterns of development: economically, socially, and environmentally?
 - How have and do you experience the importance of your position and the destination you offer, to play a role in the development of the tourism industry linked to the Maasai communities?
 - Do you find any main challenge(s) for a sustainable development?
 - Do you think that the tourism industry facilitated or exacerbated these challenges?
 - **What is the vision of STD?**
 - How do you think the development of the industry will affect the communities?
 - How do you wish the development should look like?
 - **Relationship among the community?**
 - Do you feel that the social network among and to the communities are affected by the tourism industry?
 - **Relationships with other stakeholders?**
 - Do you find that the tourism industry has an impact on the interest of the stakeholders?
 - How do you see and experience relationships with other stakeholders?
 - Do you think that better or less cooperation with other stakeholders would benefit a path towards a sustainable tourism development?
 - **Do attitude & behavior in the interactions play a major role for the outcome?**
 - Who decided in the past and decides in the present the allowance for tourism visits to the communities?
 - Do you feel that I have missed something that you want to add?



Appendix 2 – interview guide

- **Community members**
 - Do you mind telling me about some of the Maasai traditions regarding the livestock?
 - **How does the current situation look like (STD)**
 - Do you believe that the tourism industry has an impact on the development: economically, socially, and environmentally?
 - Have or do the tourism industry influence/change the dynamics and prioritizing in regards of your daily tasks and living?
 - Do you find any main challenge(s) for a sustainable development?
 - Do you think that the tourism industry facilitated or exacerbated these challenges?
 - **What is the vision of STD?**
 - How do you think the development of the industry will affect you, your family and the village?
 - How do you wish the development should look like?
 - **Relationship among the community?**
 - Do you feel that your social network among the community is affected by the tourism industry?
 - Do you find that the tourism industry has an impact on the interest of the community?
 - **Relationships with other stakeholders?**
 - How do you see and experience relationships to other stakeholders?
 - Do you think that better or less cooperation with other stakeholders would benefit you?
 - **Do attitude & behavior in the interactions play a major role for the outcome?**
 - Who decided in the past and decides in the present the allowance for tourism visits?
 - Do you feel that I have missed something that you want to add?



Appendix 3 – ethical considerations

Checklist 1: Issues

Concerns		<u>Yes</u>	No	Comments/
1.	My research involves contact with human subjects.	Yes		
2.	I intend to collect personal data of living human beings.	Yes		
3.	My research has the potential to cause social harm if it is reported.	Yes		I must be humble with social codes that I may not be aware of
4.	I intend to collective potentially sensitive information about subjects, for eg. Sexuality, ethnic identity, etc.	Yes		To have Maasai ethnicity is not something that I've understand to threaten someone, but I've to be humble once again
5.	I intend to work directly with a group of respondents that could be considered vulnerable in relation to me and my work.	Yes		Two perspectives; I will be considered as a tourism by first impression by my look and heritage. Secondly, I investigate an industry that may contributes to their living and survival
6.	My study involves the participation of individuals who are not considered competent to give informed consent (eg legal minors).		No	
7.	My research potentially entails animal welfare issues.	Yes		Not directly but the Wildlife in Maasai Mara is also a major attraction for the tourist industry
8.	I intend to study illegal behaviour.	Yes		Not only but the informal economy can be part of some peoples living
9.	I intend to conceal the purpose of my research from research participants.		No	
10.	I intend to work with non-public data without the explicit knowledge and consent of the owners of that data.	Yes		Partly as the answers will be based on personal interests and experiences
11.	My research potentially involves personal risk.	Yes		In the meaning if the system fails the participators may have come up to a solution that involves the informal economy or strategies



Checklist 2: Remedial measures

In this section you should point to measures you plan to take to help to reduce the ethical risks you have identified in checklist 1.

Comments/concerns

Yes No

1.	I have identified an appropriate code that I can base my ethical strategy on.			
2.	I will undertake a local research ethics application to a competent authority before beginning <u>fieldwork</u>	Yes		In sense of asking ethnical questions to researchers and key informant I will broader my understating before interviewing individuals that can be vulnerable at the field
3.	I will use informed consent in my project and will develop a procedure for confirming it, before undertaking fieldwork. For eg , Consent form, verbal consent, information sheet etc.	Yes		I will inform and get conformation verbally
4.	I intend to highlight that participation in the project is voluntary and there will be a practical right of withdrawal available to participants up until the point of submission.	Yes		
5.	I will offer anonymity and confidentiality in the handling of personal data, with the exception that my supervisor will have access to data.	Yes		
6.	I have identified additional measures for <u>minimising</u> harm.	Yes		Both by reading broadly to understand how I can harm without my <u>conscious</u> but I have also contacted a Kenyan professor at an university that has research experiences in Kenya and to gain knowledge how I can minimizing harm in the research



Additional information

1. Do you have previous experience and/ or background knowledge in relation to the research subject(s) that will help you as a researcher to mitigate ethical risks?
Yes, I have previous experience by being a privileged Western in situations that I may get seen as superior or have interests that will exploit communities' interests. I have a good network and friends that has heritage from this communities and also to other African countries. Additionally, I did a research method course in international relations by a Kenyan university during the spring 2022, which will help me be more aware of the importance of how I act in my positions as a researcher in the field.
2. What is your own position in relation to the research subject(s)?
A privileged Western, the first impression may be a tourist but hopefully of informing me being a student will benefit the situation as the understanding of me trying to learn from the situation.
3. What specific potential harms to participants can you identify? What are the potential harms to you?
May be the consideration of me investing and discussing an interaction that leads to economic benefits for communities or individuals. My heritage can both put participants in a situation were then feel forced to answer or answering in a certain way based on my heritage. The potential harms for me as a researcher or as a Western in Kenya are the terror threats towards Western. I do not identify harms from Maasai communities towards me.

To provide your supervisor with relevant additional information, please fill out these