

A Consideration of Stakeholders in Current Wildlife Conservation: From the Case of Amboseli "Downgrading" Debate in Kenya

Toshio Meguro*

Graduate School of Agriculture and Life Sciences
University of Tokyo

Abstract

Stakeholder involvement in the management of local affairs is gaining currency. In the case of National Parks and Game Reserves, this is critical – it is linked to management of wildlife resources and income accruing. On 21st November, 2005, the Government of Kenya announced that the Amboseli National Park would revert to a National Reserve. This paper examines the ensuing debate on the change of status of the park. Using newspaper articles as source of data, it is argued that stakeholder involvement is important in making important policy shifts.

Key words: Conservation, Politics, Stakeholder involvement, Amboseli, Kenya
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Introduction

On 21st November 2005, there was a national referendum in Kenya. The referendum was for a new Constitution which among other things dealt with the nature of the powers the President should enjoy. The draft was rejected by 57% of votes cast. Prior to polling day, there were campaigns with one side, the Banana camp, in favour of the proposed constitution while, on the other hand, the Orange camp was campaigning against. The Orange team argued that the draft constitution had gone against the spirit of the draft that originated from the Bomas national constitution conference. During one of the campaigns, on 29th September, the government announced the change of status of the Amboseli from a National Park to National Reserve. That change meant that Amboseli would henceforth be handed over from KWS (Kenya Wildlife Service) to the Local Authority, the Olkejuado County Council.

At first, the decision was discussed in the context of the referendum but gradually after the referendum, the debate changed from a focus on revenue management to wildlife conservation. The purpose of this article is to analyse the issues surrounding the change of status of the Amboseli National Park and to consider the relationships of stakeholders in wildlife conservation. The information about the issues discussed was gleaned from the *Daily Nation*, one of the main English newspapers in Kenya. Amboseli is one of the hot spots for wildlife conservation in Kenya and the author's research field. The government action is not just the first rare case of "downgrading" of a National Park but an important event in which many stakeholders voiced their opinion about wildlife conservation. In this article, people—the various actors (shown in Table 1)—are referred to using their titles at that time.

In order to put the debate into context, it is important to bring out the difference between a National Park and a National Reserve. The primary difference between National Parks and National Reserves is in their management.

¹ Corresponding author: Toshio Meguro, Graduate School of Agriculture and Life Sciences, University of Tokyo, Japan.
Email: meguro@fr.a.u-tokyo.ac.jp

Table 1: Major Stakeholders of Amboseli National Park Debate

Category of Stakeholder	Pro Draft Constitution/ Anti Draft Constitution	Actions
President	Pro	Announced the decision to down grade Amboseli
Minister for Tourism and Wildlife	Pro	Makes special notice of change of status
Member of Parliament for the area	Pro	Supports the change of status for the park
KWS – Organization for managing National Parks and wildlife	Neutral	Nothing (no opinion to the status change)
Former Director of KWS	Against	Comments about the illegal nature of actions by the President and Minister
East African Wildlife Society – International Non-Governmental Organization	Against	Makes a statement and establishes a 'Safe Amboseli Website', initiates a suit against action
World Wildlife Fund – International Non-Governmental Organization	Against	Establishes a 'Save Amboseli Website', starts a suit against action
Olkejuado County Council – Local Government	Pro	Makes a statement, starts a management of Amboseli
Kenya Tourism Federation – Organization managing Tourism in National Parks and Wildlife	Against	Makes a statement and starts a suit against action

National Parks are managed by KWS (Kenya Wildlife Service) while the management of National Reserves is left to the respective Local Authorities in whose jurisdiction they fall. Income from these facilities is left with the managing authority, implying that, in this case, KWS stood to lose its income. For Amboseli National Park, entry fee alone ranges from KSh 250 million to KSh. 300 million annually. If it became a National Reserve as proposed, the Olkejuado County Council (Kajiado District) in

whose jurisdiction the Amboseli is located would get all the money. Some people opposed and criticized the change arguing that it was yet another political "bait" used by government to gain support for the proposed new Constitution. Others feared that after the change KWS would be denied access to Amboseli which would lower management standards at the facility.

Development of the Amboseli Debate

In this paper, the development of the "down-

grading" debate is documented using articles published in the *Daily Nation*. Writings in the *Daily Nation* are classified into 5 categories. First are the **article reports** (a report of what happened or words of parties and concerned people), the **editorial** (an analysis and comment about recent news, in this case news relating to the Amboseli debate), **column** (an analysis and comment which is much longer compared to the 'editorial' with names of the author), **readers' contribution** and **advertisement and notice** (a space for companies, government and other organizations to advertise and notify).

Below is a series of key events starting from 29th September which culminated in a Court case challenging the 'downgrading' of the Amboseli.

First news

It was 29th September when the President met Attorney General Amos Wako and other Members of Parliament. On that same day the decision to downgrade Amboseli was communicated. Tourism and Wildlife Minister Morris Dzoro issued a special Kenya Gazette Notice indicating that the Amboseli National Park had reverted to a National Reserve, the next day the MP for Kajiado South where the Amboseli is located, expressed his approval of the decision. There was, however, criticism from those who were opposed to the new draft Constitution. The latter group opined that there was questionable relationship between the decision of "downgrading" the Amboseli and the Referendum itself (*Daily Nation* 2005/10/1).

Intrusion of "conservationists"

In the *Daily Nation* 3rd October 2005, it was reported that a former KWS Director, David Western, said that the Minister's Kenya Gazette Notice that ordered the "downgrading" of Amboseli National Park was illegal. The following

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day, on Advertisement and Notice spaces, there was a statement by the East African Wild Life Society (EAWLS), one of the leading wildlife conservation NGOs. EAWLS stated that the government had not followed formalities stipulated in the Wildlife (Conservation and Management) Act. In a newspaper article on the same day it was mentioned that there was a problem in the manner in which the changes were being made, the legitimacy of procedure used by the President and the Minister was immediately brought to question. The *Daily Nation* further reported that KWS, which is responsible for Wildlife and National Parks in Kenya, was overlooked and never consulted (*Daily Nation* 2005/10/4). EAWLS warned it was dangerous to allow a County Council to manage Amboseli. In the *Daily Nation*, David Western and EAWLS were named "Conservationists" and it was about this time that the debate over Amboseli turned into one focusing on wildlife conservation.

On 6th October 2005, the EAWLS together with World Wildlife Foundation (WWF) and other wildlife conservation NGOs appealed to the President not to hand over Amboseli to the County Council. They also established a website named 'Save Amboseli'. It is on this website where they expressed their serious concern about "downgrading" Amboseli in the light of legal issues and called for support from across the world to help stop the transfer management. The *Daily Nation* (2005/10/7) reported that there were 28 lobby groups that were related to 'Save Amboseli' and 'most of them' were foreign-based organizations. The debate had moved beyond Kenya's borders.

Strong-arm-tactics by the Olkejuado County Council

While NGOs led anti-"downgrading" movement, Olkejuado County Council started the management of Amboseli "National Reserve". On one hand 'Save Amboseli' established on

7th October 2005 and other NGOs made a worldwide appeal for e-mails and submissions against the decision to change Amboseli's status, on the other hand, the Council had a talk with KWS about the transfer of Amboseli so that they could take it over quickly. The Council Chairman Julius ole Ntaiya said that the Council did not trust KWS averring that KWS might act in cahoots with NGOs in order to stop "downgrading", but KWS announced, on the same day, that they had no relationship with the different groups agitating against the transfer and they were just waiting for the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife to give them instructions (*Daily Nation* 2005/10/8).

There was another statement on the Advertisement and Notices space of 9th October. It was by the Kenya Tourism Federation (KTF), which is a representative of national tourism-related industries and is comprised of KATO (Kenya Association of Tour Operators), ESOK (Ecotourism Society of Kenya) among others. KTF declared their opposition to "downgrading". Their reasons for opposing the move were threefold. First, they argued that the process of handing over the National Park to the County Council was illegal. Second, they doubted the Council's management ability and third, Amboseli was going to become a bad example of decision making. The opinions of KTF were similar to those of the 'Save Amboseli' group, but what was different was that KTF was basically Kenyan.

On 10th October 2005 the Council declared that KWS would continue managing Amboseli, but it also reserved the right to take over management once they were ready. In two days, the Council started to control gates and formed their own game scout team. The following day, the County Council published a statement on the Advertisement and Notice space expressing their opinion against the position of EAWLS and others.

Beginning of a trial

Against the Council's firm opposition, EAWLS took another measure. They, with other NGOs, took the matter to court on 12th October and called for a temporary order to stop the Government from changing the status of Amboseli Park. The order sought was not immediately granted by the Judge; it was to become the beginning of long trial. At that time the Council and KWS had reached a compromise that Amboseli would be managed by KWS while the Council retained supreme authority over it. *Daily Nation* (2005/10/15) had an article in the paper titled "KWS to hand over park to county council", but the opponents did not stop their movement and the beginning of October was the most active time for this debate (Table 2 below).

Daily Nation reported the President's comment that Amboseli status should be reviewed to a National Reserve (*Daily Nation* 2005/10/22) but on 28th October 2005, the High Court issued an order to suspend "downgrading". The process of handing over the Park to the County Council was deemed as unlawful. KWS was directed to continue discharging its duties of managing the Park until the case was fully determined.

The court scheduled the next hearing for 15th November 2005 but because of the Referendum it was rescheduled for 24th November 2005. Also there was a hearing on 30th November but in these two occasions, there were no substantial discussion because after the defeat of the Banana Camp during the Referendum, the President dissolved the Cabinet. On 30th November, the Court ordered that the hearing of the case would be in February 2006. This was to give the new Minister of Tourism and Wildlife time to prepare for the case. On 15th February 2006, the court set the next hearing for 9th May but later changed to 14th July 2006.

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Table 2. Action done by major stakeholders about the Amboseli Debate

Date	Stakeholders	Actions
29-Sep	President Minister	Decision of "downgrading" of Amboseli National Park to National Reserve Declaration of the Ministry order of "downgrading"
30-Sep	Member of Parliament MPs opposing to the	Announcement of support for "downgrading" Announcement of opposition to "downgrading"
3-Oct	Former Director, KWS	Pointing out of illegality of the Ministry order, Announcement of opposition to "downgrading"
4-Oct	EAWLS	Publication of statement of opposition to "downgrading" on
6-Oct	EAWLS, WWF and Other NGOs	Establishment of the web site of 'Save Amboseli'
7-Oct	Olkejuado County Council, KWS	Meeting and talking about management of Amboseli
8-Oct	KWS	Announcement of their no involvement in the decision of "downgrading"
9-Oct	KTF	Publication of statement of opposition to "downgrading" on <i>Nation</i>
11-Oct	Olkejuado County Council	Publication of statement of objections against EAWLS, KTF etc. on <i>Nation</i>
12-Oct	Olkejuado County EAWLS, WWF and Other NGOs	Start of management of Amboseli Filing a suit about the Ministry order
14-Oct	Olkejuado County	Transfer of Amboseli from KWS to the county council
22-Oct	High Court	Judgment of illegality of the Ministry order and decision of suspension of "downgrading"
15-Nov	High Court	Postpone of a hearing to 24th November
21-Nov		National Referendum and victory of opposition
23-Nov	President	Dissolvement of the cabinet
24-Nov	High Court	Decision of unification of 2 cases about Amboseli
30-Nov	High Court	Holding a hearing and making a decision of stop of the suit because of absence of a ministry after the dissolution of the cabinet

Source: Nation

Issues and analyses

The debate over Amboseli is analyzed from three perspectives. First, the relationship of the transfer order to the new draft Constitution. Second, the legal procedures involved in the process of "downgrading". Third, the managerial ability of the County Council.

Relationship to the National Referendum

The Vice President and other Members of Parliament who were in favour of the new Constitution argued that "downgrading" of the Amboseli had no relationship with the ongoing Referendum debate (*Daily Nation* 2005/10/9). However, perusing through the *Daily Nation*, it seemed that almost everyone thought there was a relationship between the referendum debate and the change of status of the Amboseli (*Daily Nation* October 2005 & November 23rd 2005).

From the onset, the opponents criticized the President. Maa Civil Society Forum, a civic group representing the Maasai, called for a NO vote for the Referendum just because of "downgrading". They argued that according to the draft Constitution, all National Parks and Reserves would be managed by the State. So if one voted for the draft to make Amboseli a National Reserve (owned by Local Government) it made no sense because it is still the State's (*Daily Nation* 2005/10/1). As in the article of 9th October 2005, it was the common opinion that the timing of the decision was enough to provoke doubt).

It was the President who announced the "downgrading", but after this there was no more explanation from him. On the other hand, the Vice President denied the relationship with the Referendum. Amboseli was registered as a

National Park in 1974 and it caused fierce opposition from local Maasai (Western 1994). From that time it is a fact that the local people and the County Council continued to request the Government to revert Amboseli back to the County Council, but there had never been a specific discussion on this. Taking these situations into consideration, the “downgrading” was sudden and it could be argued that there was good reason to believe that the decision was linked to the Referendum.

Validity of procedure

Below is the provision of *Wildlife (Conservation and Management) Act* CAP 376 Section 7. (1) and (2), which was the subject of controversy.

7. (1) Subject to subsection (2), the Minister, after consultation with the competent authority, may by order declare that any National Park, National Reserve, local sanctuary or a specified part thereof, shall cease to be a National Park, National Reserve, or local sanctuary.
- (2) No order shall be made under subsection (1) unless:
 - (a) a notice of the intention to make the order, with details thereof, and inviting objections thereto within a period of not more than 60 days, has been published in the Gazette and in at least one newspaper circulating throughout Kenya; and
 - (b) not earlier than sixty days after the last date of such publication a draft of the order has been laid before the National Assembly and the National Assembly has by resolution approved the order.

This was first pointed out by the former KWS Director, David Western and implied by the EAWLS in its statement. EAWLS and other NGOs pointed out this problem through the website of ‘Save Amboseli’ as well. In addition, another former KWS Director, John Waithaka, and some national organizations like

KTF, Kenya Land Alliance joined this side and opposed the “downgrading”. *Daily Nation* also, in its editorial, supported this view.

The President did not appear to have followed the procedures that were provided for in law such as ‘consultation with the competent authority’ or ‘a notice of the intention to make the order’ (*Daily Nation* 2005/10/6, 21). On the other hand, Olkejuado County Council insisted that the status of Amboseli National Park itself was illegal (*Daily Nation* 2005/10/9, 11, 14 and 11/12). According to the Council, when Amboseli became a National Park in 1974, the then Government did not consult, neither did it make any assessment and compensation to the local people, which were provided by *Trust Land Act*. Therefore, the Council said that it had the proprietary rights to Amboseli. They claimed “downgrading” would correct the earlier mistakes made by the Government in its order to make Amboseli a National Park. The Council published their statement in *Daily Nation*’s ‘Advertisement and Notice’ space, and in it, they said that, in the course of trial which was brought by the County Council in 1974, the Government once admitted that it was not the State but the County Council that held the proprietorship over Amboseli (*Daily Nation* 2005/10/11). Besides, the Council said that the above provisions should be applied to cases in which some wildlife conservation areas (National Park, Reserve, Sanctuary) lose such status. The Amboseli, even after “downgrading,” would keep the status of conservation area (as a National Reserve), so the council stated there was no need to follow the provisions.

The court observed that the order of “downgrading” made by the Minister was illegal and there seemed to be no more room for further arguments. It may have been the precedence set in 1974. According to Western’s (1994 and 1997), then President Jomo Kenyatta seemed to have changed Amboseli to National

Parks without consulting with the local community.

Another problem relates enforcement of judgment by the Court. Would the Government for example agree to carry out the orders of the Court? The *Daily Nation* reported that President had returned some land in Nakuru district to the local community even though the Court ruled to stop the action (*Daily Nation* 2005/10/16). Clearly, it is quite possible for the President to ignore the Courts. Would the Council follow suit? Once the President gave it mandate over the Amboseli, they would as well go ahead and disregard any Court orders.

Council's ability to manage

Some approved the decision of "downgrading" from the aspect of local development (*Daily Nation* 2005/10/2 & 14), but Western and EAWLS disagreed with it because they thought the Council did not have enough ability and experience to manage the Amboseli (*Daily Nation* 2005/10/4). Especially, EAWLS mentioned the fact that the Council had managed Amboseli between 1961 and 1973, during which time they were unable to do it properly. David Western, too, supported this view. He argued that the Council could not use income of Amboseli adequately in the past and that led to the bad relationship with the local community, the Maasai (Western 1994). In a reader's contribution of 10th October 2005, a travel consultant made an objection. He wrote that the current bad environmental situation of Maasai Mara National Reserve was a good example of the inadequacy of the Council to manage the reserve.

Against this opposition, Maasai Environmental Resource Coalition asserted that the bad situation in Maasai Mara was simply a result of wrong use of tourism industry and strongly criticized KTF. They also said that tourism industry had violated the Maasai's economic, environmental and human rights aspect, and to

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recover it, "downgrading" had to be approved (*Daily Nation* 2005/10/14). Olugulului Group Ranch, a Maasai community bordering Amboseli, supported the Council and expressed the view that wildlife conservation NGOs should leave Amboseli and let the Council carry on. Amboseli is located in Maasai land and historically had been an important place for their livestock, and Maasai had used it until 1973. For adult Maasai, Amboseli is something close and they appear not to be able to stand those who oppose "downgrading".

About the Council's ability for proper management of the Amboseli, there were other opinions. For example, David Lovatt Smith, a man who managed Amboseli during the colonial era, said that the environment of Amboseli had become degraded after becoming a National Park and it was just because the Government was not able to make a good relationship with local people (*Daily Nation* 2005/11/22). He also pointed out that in KWS there were many unenthusiastic staff who just wanted a good salary, so transfer to the Council was a better choice and agreeable. Then, the Council itself acknowledged that they did not have the ability and experience at that moment but said that it was just because Amboseli had been taken from them suddenly in 1974, so it was not justifiable to disagree with "downgrading" due to management concerns. They insisted that the Council was a potential management body (*Daily Nation* 2005/10/11).

EAWLS expressly 'champions the concept that the people living among wildlife should benefit from that wildlife' (*Daily Nation* 2005/10/4). On this score, EAWLS and the Council share the same view. However, they differed on how to evaluate the Council's past and future management. EAWLS believed that the past management by the Council was bad and opposed "downgrading." Regarding the current ability, it must be true that the Council does not have enough ability, but it is also a fact

that KWS has become a competent institution through international aid and there was a lot of support for it. It cannot be denied that the council is able to manage Amboseli in a good manner with assistance from national and international organizations.

Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE (Communal Area Management Programme for Indigenous Resources) is famous as a case of transfer of wildlife management from the state to local government. The programme has increased its benefit six-fold in 10 years (in 1989: 350,000 US\$ from 2 districts, in 2000: 2,100,000 US\$ from 16 districts and it made a lot of contribution to build management structure by local communities (Child 2000). The objections of the programme are sustainability of natural resources, benefit to local people and improvement of local capacity. In preceding researches, such problems were pointed out as the conflict between the County Council (resources management) and local people (livelihood, daily use), ignorance of education and benefit for the local people (Alexander and McGregor 2000, Metcalfe 1994). In these cases County Councils functioned in a top-down way, same as a state, so to suppress local people. While in other cases, local motivation to participate was enhanced through local education or decentralization (Child 2000, Metcalfe 1994). So there were some failures and some successes and it was revealed that with good preparation, the Council can manage adequately.

Now thinking about Amboseli using those cases as examples, EAWLS opposed "downgrading" just because of one past failure, but KWS and CAMPFIRE has never made perfect success from the beginning. Rather than thinking a failure of 30 years ago, it must be more desirable and productive to make use of past 10 years community activity with cooperation with the County Council. If "downgrading" is realized all income from Amboseli is used at the district, and local people can feel it more

directly. NGOs just denied Council's request of cooperation and did not reveal the reason but it was necessary for them to explain what they thought the current problem was and why they were so negative to the council, in order to get local understanding.

Consideration

Lacking viewpoint: the difference between 'local people' and 'victims'

In respect of local benefit, it is certain that a National Reserve is better than a National Park. Now, Amboseli is one of the rare parks in Kenya whose bank balance is healthy, however that surplus is not only used for Amboseli but also, and mostly, for other parks in the red. But in the case of National Reserve, all income goes to the County Council and it is appropriated for the district and it means local people enjoy much more benefit.

Yet it deserves deliberation on who should be regarded as 'local people'. Most of earlier studies did not make clear definition of 'local people', and in some studies targeting Amboseli area (southern Kajiado district, for example Okello 2005, Western 1994) 'local people' means just Maasai or its group ranches that occupy a quarter of the district. Around Amboseli there are 7 group ranches and many of them (local Maasai) have got few benefits from wildlife and received more damages (damage to fields, livestock etc.). As far as I have researched, almost all Maasai living near Amboseli have had their property damaged by wildlife, so it is not too much to say that there is a relation, 'local people = victims'. However, that relation is established if thinking about Maasai group ranches and if it is expanded to the Kajiado district or, beneficiaries of Amboseli National Reserve, the story changes. Then beneficiaries are district residents and they are wider than 'victims'. There is criticism for CAMPFIRE. That a County Council ignores local opinions and one cause of it may be

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the different assumption for 'local people' or beneficiaries between a council and a researcher. For the former, 'local people' must be those who live in that district and the latter tend to pay more attention to 'victims' and not 'non-victims'. When it is thought 'local people = district residents', 'victims' become minority in 'local people' and there is risk for them to be neglected. This relationship is summarized in Figure 1.

In wildlife conservation, there are so many stakeholders and relationships among them and it is usually nested and complicated (Murphree 1994). In this case, there is the President, Ministers, Members of Parliament, Non-Governmental Organizations, 'conservationists',

Kenya citizens and local people. But in the debate, the issue that attracted people's attention was tourism-related income (the state or the district) or management body (KWS or the County Council). Of meaning of 'local people' ('district resident' or 'victims'), who would get benefits and who bear damages, there was no positive discussion.

About benefit sharing, sometimes a district is not a reasonable area for one National Park or ecosystem, but it is difficult to find an organization or institution below the district level. Local communities, for example group ranches in Kajiado, are not competent in wildlife conservation and they are not monolith.

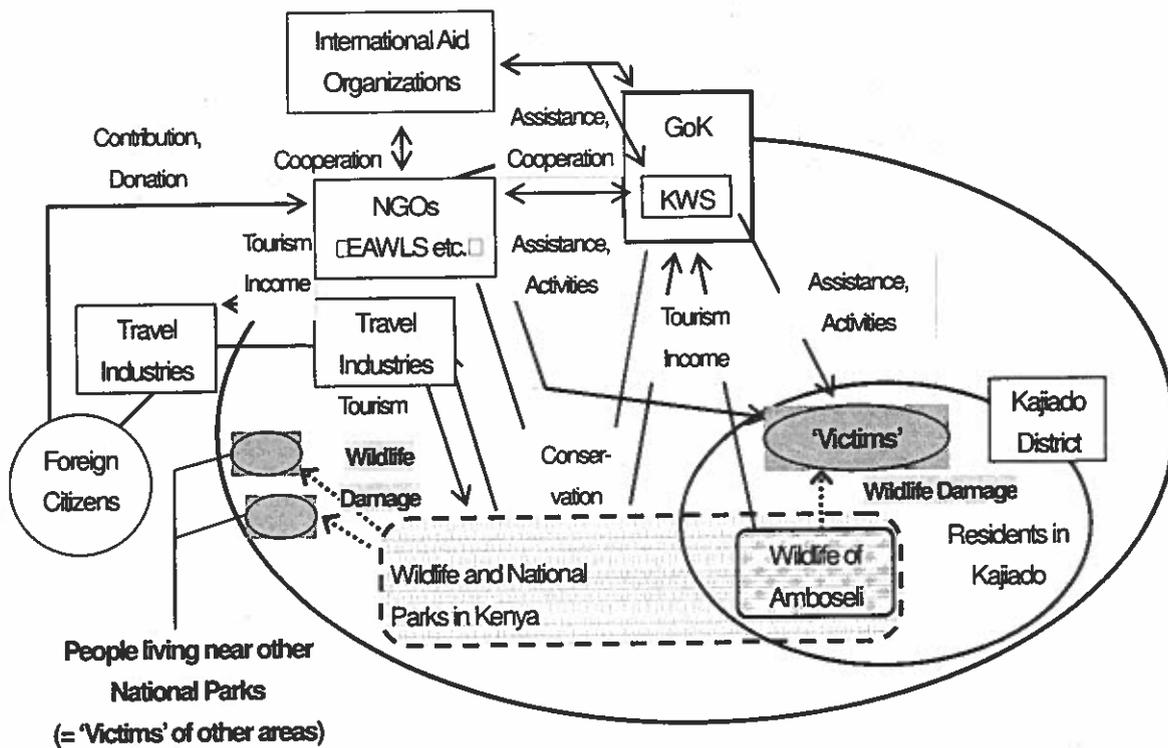


Figure 1: Position of 'Victims' in Wildlife Conservation

Dynamic relationships among stakeholders: roles of 'volunteers' and 'outsiders'

Berkes (2004) and Brown (2003) said that in the last 20 years wildlife conservation has changed from top-down style of management and conservation to community level. They stress the importance of decision making through mutual trust and learning among many stakeholders (Berkes named such new approach 'adaptive co-management' and Brown 'deliberative inclusion process'). While in the battle of 'downgrading' neither NGOs nor the council showed the attitude to mutual respect and there were just reproach, not discussion.

Miyauti said that in the conservation of natural or historical environment 'it is those who have actually done or who hold will to do it, namely 'volunteers', that should be first respected'. He further pointed out the importance of 'investment of legitimacy', which is accomplished by those who have any relationships to the environment admit the representation and leading role of 'volunteers' (Miyauti 2001: p65). In the realm of wildlife conservation, under the colonial order wildlife conservation was shouldered mostly by non-African people and local people were ignored and excluded from it. Those who did conservation were supported mainly by *wazungu* (white people or foreign people) and Africans were disconnected from 'investment of legitimacy'. In due time, there was struggle for Amboseli between 'those who have actually done conservation (KWS) and 'those who hold will to do it' (the Olkejuado County Council). Each side had its supporters (NGOs and local people) but after the problem was brought to the Court, the judgment was entrusted to it and it has not been discussed who can be 'volunteers' of wildlife conservation, how 'investment of legitimacy' is to be done and who should participate in that investment (Figure 2).

One contributor wrote to the *Daily Nation* that whether the decision over Amboseli was

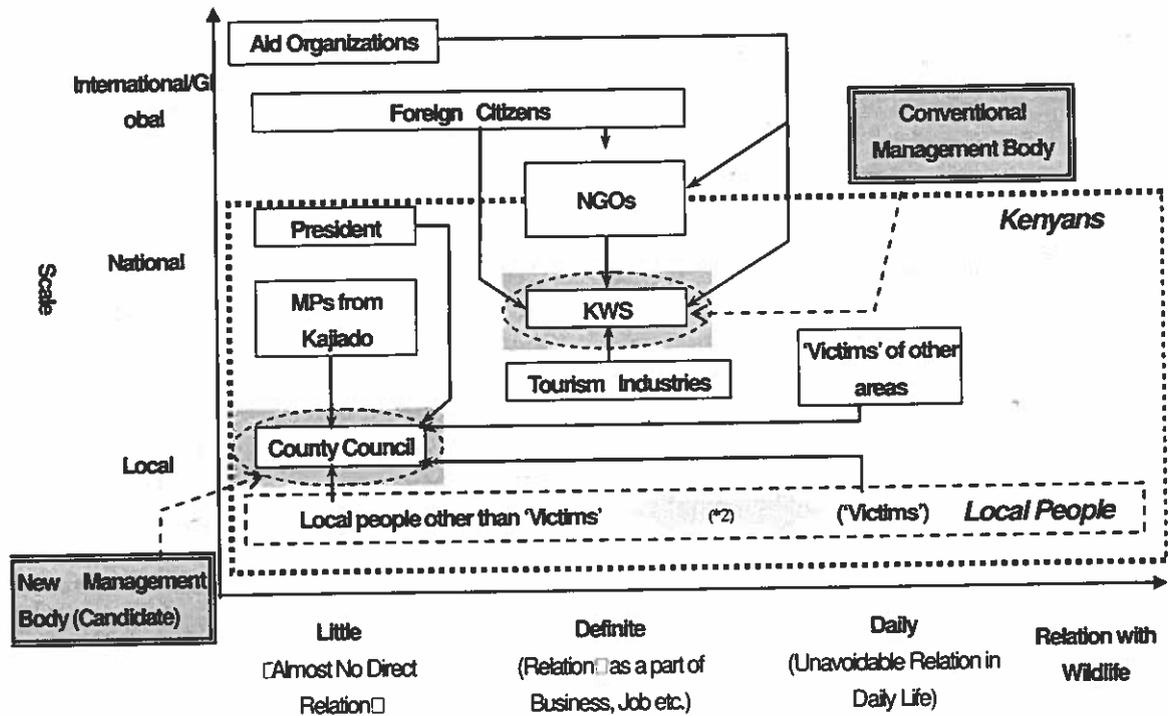
illegal or not, it should be solved by Kenyans (*Daily Nation* 2005/10/17). This opinion appeared extreme but it is also a fact that the perception of wildlife conservation is different between Kenyans and non-Kenyans and their opinions are varied. Kitou, an environmental sociologist, notes that in order to establish environmental movements it is important to put the universal viewpoints of 'YOSOMONO (outsiders)' and 'local' viewpoints together (Kitou 1996, 1998). For Kenya or Africa, the Government and NGOs tend to speak about endangered species, biodiversity or economical benefit like Ecotourism, but for daily life of 'victims' such stories are so universal and uncommon. For them wildlife damage happens just next to their home, while conservation and tourism are done by 'outsiders'. The distance from local to universal is still far.

Both Miyauti and Kitou regard relationships of stakeholders ('volunteers' and 'people', 'outsiders' and 'local (people)') as something dynamic (Kitou 1998: p53, Miyauti 2001: p66). Who should be 'volunteers'?, What is the ideal relationship between universal and local viewpoints? Transfiguration or fluctuation of stakeholders, change of local communities, these should be fed back to themselves. In the Amboseli debate, however, KWS and the County Council were set as alternatives, so that no discussion for mediation and cooperation between them has been tried and the gap between 'local people' and 'victims', universal viewpoints and local ones has remained.

Epilogue: future of wildlife conservation

Iwai (2001) applied the Japanese environmental sociology to the analysis of a Tanzania case. She pointed that the discussion of 'viewpoints of people' (local viewpoints) was lacking. Her opinion differs from recent European discussion, for example Berkes (2004) or Brown (2003) who argue that the equality of

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(*1) The directions of investment of legitimacy (support for a management body of Amboseli) is showed by arrows
 (**2) The range of 'victims' is not stable, but changeable according to each year's damage distribution or degree, and time span, area, livelihood of people and so on.

Figure 2: Scale of stakeholders and 'investment of legitimacy' (*1)

multiple stakeholders is a future issue. Of course, every stakeholder should be treated with respect, but in reality it is 'viewpoints of people' that have been (and still often are) neglected or ignored, therefore we have to keep paying more attention to them. One of the important challenges in wildlife conservation is to deal with universal viewpoints of 'outsiders' in a relativist way so as to integrate them with local ones. As concerns "downgrading", EAWLS and other NGOs have given a deaf ear to the Olkejuado County Council. To break this

impasse, it is not enough just to turn an eye to 'viewpoints of people', but to see universal viewpoints which have supported the idea of wildlife conservation historically with relativism and regard these two viewpoints as mutually complementing.

In this article, I have considered Kenyan environmental sociology with reference to Miyauti, Kitou and Iwai. So far, wildlife conservation has been discussed by European and American researchers, but there have been only limited mention of local cultures or sense

of value and it seems to be a weak point. In this aspect, environmental sociology in Japan is helpful. It is crucial to compare backgrounds about Japan and realities, localities and peculiarities in Africa but social environment will bring a new angle to wildlife conservation and it advances these debates.

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