

# Seeking conservation partnerships in the Selous Game Reserve, Tanzania

ROLF BALDUS, BENSON KIBONDE AND LUDWIG SIEGE

During the 1980s a rapid increase in poaching led to a significant drop in elephant numbers in the Selous Game Reserve, one of Africa's oldest and largest protected areas. Since 1987, the Governments of Tanzania and Germany have cooperated there in a joint 'Selous Conservation Programme' to rehabilitate the reserve. Other agencies subsequently joined in a seldom-achieved partnership between donors. The programme managed to significantly reduce poaching and enhance management capacity. Income from safari-hunting (90% of the total) and photographic tourism greatly increased. A 'retention fund scheme' has been established, whereby half of the income generated remains with the reserve for management and investment purposes (around US\$ 1.8 million per annum). Consequently, the reserve stands on its own feet financially, although complementary outside assistance is continuing. Collaborative arrangements with private sector investors have been developed as well as with local authorities and 51 communities in the buffer zones, which now manage their own wildlife areas and have a share in the conservation benefits. This experience of 'Community-based Conservation' has largely served as a model for Tanzania's new wildlife policy, now incorporated into the national Wildlife Act.

**THE SELOUS GAME RESERVE** (SGR) with an area of approximately 48,000 km<sup>2</sup>—representing more than 5% of Tanzania's land surface—is the largest uninhabited protected area in Africa. Founded in 1896, it is also one of the oldest. It is a biodiversity hotspot, comprising miombo woodlands (70%) as well as open grasslands, riverine forests and acacia bush. The SGR contains some of the largest and most important populations of elephants, buffaloes, antelopes, cats and wild dogs in Africa.

The late 1980s in Tanzania were characterised by widespread elephant and rhino poaching. The SGR, holding around 60% of Tanzania's elephant population, was hardest hit. Its elephant population was estimated to be at 110,000 in 1976. Ten years later the numbers had dropped to approximately 55,000. Government investment in the SGR was at an all-time low and the game scout force was ill-equipped, unmotivated and ineffective. The immense poaching had its roots in political and business circles, in the villages bordering the SGR and partly within the conservation system itself. During this time the plight of the African elephant became an international issue. Although the SGR was home to one of the largest elephant populations, it remained largely unknown despite a rapidly deteriorating conservation situation.

## **A partnership for the rehabilitation of a World Heritage Site**

The Tanzanian Government commissioned the Frankfurt Zoological Society (FZS), a German NGO, to propose an emergency programme. This study confirmed that the SGR was in "imminent danger of losing its rhino and elephant" (Stephenson 1987) and Tanzania consequently approached the international community for assistance. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany responded, and the jointly implemented 'Selous Conservation Programme' (SCP) was included into the official development cooperation between the two countries starting at the end of 1987. The SCP was established as a partnership comprising the Wildlife Division and donors.

Wildlife conservation and support for protected areas were relatively new topics for governmental development assistance. So far they had been regarded mainly as typical non-governmental tasks, e.g. Bernhard Grzimek's 'Help for Threatened Animals'. There were three arguments why wildlife conservation was accepted for development aid: firstly, maintaining biodiversity internationally became a political objective (United Nations 1992); secondly,



*The dance of the traditional hunters (murumba) ceremonially declares the onset of the hunting season during the annual wildlife budget planning of a village assembly in the southern buffer-zone of Selous Game Reserve.*  
Photo: Rudolf Hahn.

wildlife was increasingly seen as a natural resource with a potential for sustainable use; and thirdly, new concepts combined nature conservation with people-based development strategies. For German development policy, the SCP represented a break-through and similar projects were to follow. Wildlife conservation also became more important for other bilateral and multi-lateral donors.

The cooperation between the two countries in the SGR was based on bilateral agreements and regular joint planning meetings were held at which all the major government stakeholders were represented. Foreign assistance was limited to an advisory capacity whereas the Tanzanian authorities remained in the driver's seat. There was an expectation on the side of the donors that the Tanzanian Government would adapt the framework conditions (organisational structures, legislature) to the new challenges. This finally contributed to a new Wildlife Policy (Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism 1998) in Tanzania, which contains elements of deregulation, decentralisation and privatisation of the wildlife sector.

Technical assistance is usually targeted at capacity-building, the transfer of know-how and structural reform, and normally has a personnel component. This was useful in the case of the SGR as its key problems were structural and management related. The simple provision of funds would not have resolved the fundamental issues at stake 15 years ago. Since 1987, the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), which executed the project on behalf of the German Government, has assigned one to two advisors to work with the SGR's administration and with the communities and district authorities in the buffer zones. In recent years, advisory services to the SGR have decreased to about four man-months per year which reflects the increased capacity of the SGR administration. Consequent to the greatly improved self-financing ability of the SGR, the provision of materials, infrastructure and services by GTZ was correspondingly reduced. It is expected that the German component of the SCP support to the SGR will expire at the end of 2003. GTZ will, however, continue to support Community Based Conservation (CBC) in the buffer zone. Since subsidiary legislation for CBC was introduced in early 2003, this programme has a legal basis and can serve as a pilot area for other parts of the country.

The German Bank for Reconstruction and Development (KfW) has provided further financial resources, and has since 1996, complemented the work of GTZ by financing crucial access and trunk roads in the northern tourist sector, a Geographical Information System including

mapping of the SGR, and 1,000 km of boundary demarcation. In the late 1990s, the African Development Bank, a multilateral donor, also provided a loan for construction purposes, training and CBC.

### **Donor coordination: often proclaimed and finally achieved**

The Stephenson Report (1987) proposed a multi-donor approach, which was adopted by all parties concerned, including the Wildlife Division. FZS supported the SGR with equipment and in particular, an aircraft and road-building machinery. The African Wildlife Foundation assigned a mechanic, equipped with a mobile workshop in the SGR's headquarters in order to help with the maintenance of the growing vehicle fleet and machinery. The Worldwide Fund for Nature provided an elephant and rhino biologist. Together with the Wildlife Division the four donors jointly planned the necessary activities and implemented them in a coordinated and coherent way. In retrospect it can be said that this partnership venture led to a fast but thorough rehabilitation of the SGR and contributed greatly to the tremendous anti-poaching success within a three-year period. In 1999 the European Union joined the partnership by supporting the 'Selous Rhino Trust', a Tanzanian NGO. Mainly for administrative reasons GTZ became the facilitating agency for this aspect.

Donor coordination has been a constant theme of international development assistance in recent decades, but nevertheless has often left a lot to be desired. The SGR emergency programme was a rare example of a conflict-free and equal partnership between donors of differing backgrounds and vastly different budgets. One of the reasons for this was the high level of commitment to a shared and ambitious programme.

*Board members and village game scouts of Jukumu Society—a community-based organisation managing the Wildlife Management Area of 21 villages in the northern buffer zone of the Selous Game Reserve—during the opening of its offices, scout station and campsite. Photo: Rudolf Hahn.*



## **Hands-on intervention: rehabilitation, infrastructure development and capacity-building**

The objectives of the SCP were defined in a joint planning process as follows:

1. to safeguard the existence and ecological integrity of the SGR as a conservation area; and
2. to significantly reduce conflicts between the SGR and the local population by implementing a programme of sustainable wildlife utilisation by local villages.

To achieve these objectives, the SCP focused on assisting in the rehabilitation and management of the SGR, and establishing, in cooperation with local villagers, a programme of sustainable wildlife utilisation in buffer zones adjacent to the SGR.

In the beginning poaching was by far the biggest problem (the elephant population fell under 30,000 in 1989) and the rehabilitation programme started with strengthening the anti-poaching efforts. As no time was to be wasted, an unbureaucratic 'hands-on' approach was followed concentrating on clear conservation priorities. Later a Management Plan was introduced to base all activities on professional procedures and on agreements between the different parties concerned. Coordination processes were complex due to the multitude of stakeholders from the governmental and private sectors. During the rehabilitation phase, the SCP concentrated on the following fields:

- equipping, training and motivating the ranger force;
- extending stations and new outposts;
- improving the standard of living of scouts and their health and social conditions;
- extending and maintaining a basic road system (from 1,700 km to 15,000 km);
- improving communications (HF/VHF radio system) and transport (from three to 47 vehicles and lorries);
- supporting general management, including finance and business aspects;
- planning for tourism; and
- monitoring ecological indicators (including regular aerial counts).

General research was not part of the initial priorities but gained some importance in recent years after the rehabilitation process had been concluded.

### **The road towards financial sustainability**

The SCP was started with the clear understanding between all partners that external assistance would in time be phased out and that the SGR in the long run would have to become self-sustaining. The SGR's budget in 1987 was funded entirely from the Government Treasury and amounted to approximately US\$ 3.00/km<sup>2</sup>. After difficult negotiation processes with the Ministry of Finance it was finally agreed in 1992 that the SGR should be allowed to retain 50% of its income (referred to hereafter as the retention fund). This became effective two years later and since then the SGR's management has had a strong incentive to increase the income from photographic and safari tourism.

Revenue generated from photographic tourism has increased 15-fold over 15 years and now contributes to 10% of overall income and 20% of the retention fund income (Table 1). Hunting revenue has trebled and accounts for approximately 90% of income and 80% of the retention fund income. To maintain sustainability of the hunting revenue, there will be a need to improve the revenue collection system while maintaining hunting quotas at the same level of off-take.

Quotas are set by the Ministry on the basis of aerial counts and available ecological information. They are mostly conservative (well under or at sustainable off-take levels), but growing demand might create pressure to increase quotas. Common species to be hunted are buffalo, antelopes, leopard and lion as well as up to 50 elephants per year. Trophy exports are in line with CITES-regulations.

**Table 1.** Tourism, hunting and revenue growth from 1991–2001.

Year	Number of Tourists	Number of Hunters	Tourist Revenue ,000 \$US	Hunting Revenue ,000 \$US	Hunting Retention ,000 \$US	Total Income SGR ,000 \$US
1991	1,150	115	22	1,245		22
1992	1,784	163	40	1,655		40
1993	2,135	198	53	1,831		53
1994	2,415	174	100	1,656	828	928
1995	3,473	168	160	1,706	853	1,013
1996	4,661	325	209	2,674	1,337	1,546
1997	5,455	346	249	2,909	1,454	1,703
1998	4,596	436	285	3,541	1,770	2,055
1999	5,501	343	303	2,718	1,359	1,662
2000	5,267	431	320	3,245	1,623	1,943
2001	4,802	482	299	3,621	1,811	2,110

Source: SGR statistics

It is recognised that Tanzania does not have the resources to adequately manage its extensive network of protected areas (covering 25% of the country). Whereas the National Parks fall under a financially independent para-statal institution, the Game Reserves depend on allocations from the central budget. They are generally greatly under-financed and because of this cannot be properly managed. The SGR is an exception, due to its ability to retain revenues from tourism and the financially successful hunting industry. The SGR currently spends US\$ 2.8 million or approximately US\$ 58.00/km<sup>2</sup> (excluding investment but including salaries). This is exceptional by Tanzanian standards, but still low when benchmarked internationally.

As far as the long-term financial status of the SGR is concerned there are two scenarios:

### **Scenario 1 – basic management on self-finance basis**

The basic functions of management (e.g. anti-poaching, administration of the tourism industry, maintaining the necessary infrastructure, minimal ecological monitoring) can be maintained with the retention fund. This does not, however, allow for an expansion of infrastructure, the provision of services to neighbouring communities or activities like research. This scenario assumes no changes in the present high tourist demand, and this is not an unrealistic assumption as safari hunting tourism is generally more stable than the other types of international tourism.

### **Scenario 2 – some permanent outside support**

In order to attain higher expenditures/km<sup>2</sup>, and consequently a higher level of management, it will be necessary to receive outside assistance on a permanent basis. While maintaining self-sufficiency for general management purposes, the management will seek limited assistance for expensive infrastructure, specific conservation projects (e.g. rhinos), research, sophisticated monitoring and CBC-programmes.

Such permanent support could be justified by the fact that the SGR is a World Heritage Site and consequently the international community should share the obligations. On the other side this refers to the wildlife of Tanzania as a whole, and there are many other important protected areas in the country with significantly lower finance levels.

The important issue, and one that has been aptly demonstrated in the case of the SGR, is that the development of these management options has been the result of an effective partnership

*Duthumi Village along the Ruvu River was awarded a hunting quota for crocodiles after 11 people were killed by crocodiles in less than two years. Photo: Rolf D. Baldus.*



maintained over a long period between various agencies with the will to resolve problems and seek solutions. But is this partnership only about government and donors?

### **The role of the private sector: public-private partnerships and carefully regulated competition**

In line with Tanzania's formerly socialist orientation, the tourism industry, including safari hunting in the 1980s, was largely in the hands of the government. The trend, however, was towards privatisation, as the failure of a state-run economy was particularly obvious in this industry. The SCP greatly supported this trend and encouraged private sector investment rather than state-run businesses as the future source of funding for the SGR. In the case of the SGR, the private sector is represented by the safari hunting companies and a number of photographic tourism investors.

A good number of them were greatly interested in the recovery of the SGR, not least in their own business interest. A protected area with dwindling animal numbers and carcasses strewn all over the place cannot remain a tourist destination. Before the retention fund was in place, funding was sub-optimal. Many essential activities required external support, and a partnership was developed with those companies who were willing to providing funds or in-kind support, e.g. for grading roads or building airstrips.

Over the years the revenues have expanded, partly through higher fees or improved fee structures and partly through increased utilisation. Presently six tourist camps are operational in the northern sector of the SGR and around 20 hunting companies in the 44 hunting blocks of the SGR. Demand and consequently pressure for more intensive tourism threatens to compromise ecologically-justified restrictions for photographic and hunting tourism as laid down in the management plan. It proved difficult to convince the private sector to accept restrictions on business activities. Whereas the idea of a voluntary partnership sufficed for achieving the purpose of the emergency rehabilitation programme, it was idealistic to assume that this level of engagement could govern the relations between the administration and investors in the long term.

The question remains whether and how the administration can best guarantee optimal participation of the private sector. Tourist and hunting companies are concerned with profits in the first instance, and their support for conservation objectives is secondary, and quite naturally so. The strongest tool to force private investors to be efficient might be strong competition, since in a competitive environment investors must be successful in order to survive and to maintain their right to operate in the SGR.

In Tanzania the Ministry reserves the right to allocate user rights in the protected areas. There are presently no competitive bidding procedures in place, but instead a committee distributes the hunting blocks. Blocks cost a flat fee of US\$ 7,500 per year although some are sub-let for much higher amounts, indicating their true market value. The Ministry tries to secure good performance through a set of regulations (e.g. minimum use of quotas by hunting companies) that have to be adhered to and which are expected to allow evaluation of success. A more effective tool, however, might be the allocation of user rights, in particular the use of hunting blocks or campsites, through strict tendering processes. In these public-private partnerships, carefully regulated competition becomes a necessary ingredient for a successful, sustainable relationship.

### **The communities are also involved**

The involvement of neighbouring villages was a fundamental part of the original SCP concept. At the outset, the objectives were to reduce conflict with the community and to address the problem of poaching. At the same time, there was a need to ensure that villagers could benefit legally from the sustainable use of wildlife. The SCP was one of the earliest examples of

practically implementing people-oriented wildlife conservation in Africa. Since then, libraries have been filled with papers containing conflicting opinions on these issues. While taking note of this ongoing debate, the SCP had no alternative in the complex social situation of the SGR than to try out some practical solutions as fast as possible.

Hostility marked the relationship between the communities and the SGR staff and shortly after the start of the SCP, a countrywide joint operation between the Wildlife Department, Army and Police Force, called 'Operation Uhai' or 'Life' was conducted. It helped to bring poaching temporarily under control, but fuelled the conflict. As an initial door-opener, the SCP supported various self-help projects on a 50% subsidy basis, gradually developing some level of cooperation between wildlife staff and villagers. More than 250 self-help projects were carried out in the first seven years. They helped in capacity building, and were gradually phased out after mutual trust had been established.

The SGR staff never intended to introduce joint management of the protected area. Instead the communities were to be given management and user rights over wildlife on their own land, a right that was previously withheld although they suffer important wildlife-related damages. Protected areas in Tanzania are unfenced and local residents suffer loss of life (estimated at 200 casualties per annum country-wide) as well as crop damage.

As CBC was developed by trial and error in the context of the SGR, some basic steps were followed. These included villages carrying out a survey and identifying future Wildlife Management Areas; the establishment of democratically elected Natural Resources Committees for the local management of wildlife and forests; the identification of village game scouts to protect and monitor the natural resources and to carry out the legal harvest of wildlife products. The Wildlife Division supported this by allocating a sustainable annual hunting quota for some common species like buffalo and wildebeest and in some areas also eland, waterbuck, warthog and impala. Quotas are set unilaterally by the Ministry. Villages, however, provide population data, which are collected by village scouts, and can appeal in case of disagreement on a quota. Training for community-based wildlife management is also carried out at all levels at the CBC-Training Centre in Likuyu/ Selous.

Large variations in organisational structures and procedures exist among the villages due to differences in culture, the nature of the resource base, and the quality of leadership at different levels. However, all have elected wildlife committees as part of their village government institutions, where wildlife-related issues are decided. Major issues like the distribution of benefits are decided by the village assembly, in most cases in a transparent and democratic way. The quota set by the Wildlife Division is very conservative and is essentially for local consumption. Bush meat is the major source of animal protein, as livestock is rare due to tsetse flies, and the off-take is presently less than 50 tons of meat per year. As a result of logistical problems and limited purchasing power, villages harvest only 30% to 80% of their quota. Meat is always sold, but for social reasons the wildlife committees keep the prices normally under market levels. The revenue forms part of their income which is used for administration, management and anti-poaching. Profits are saved in the bank or used for community projects.

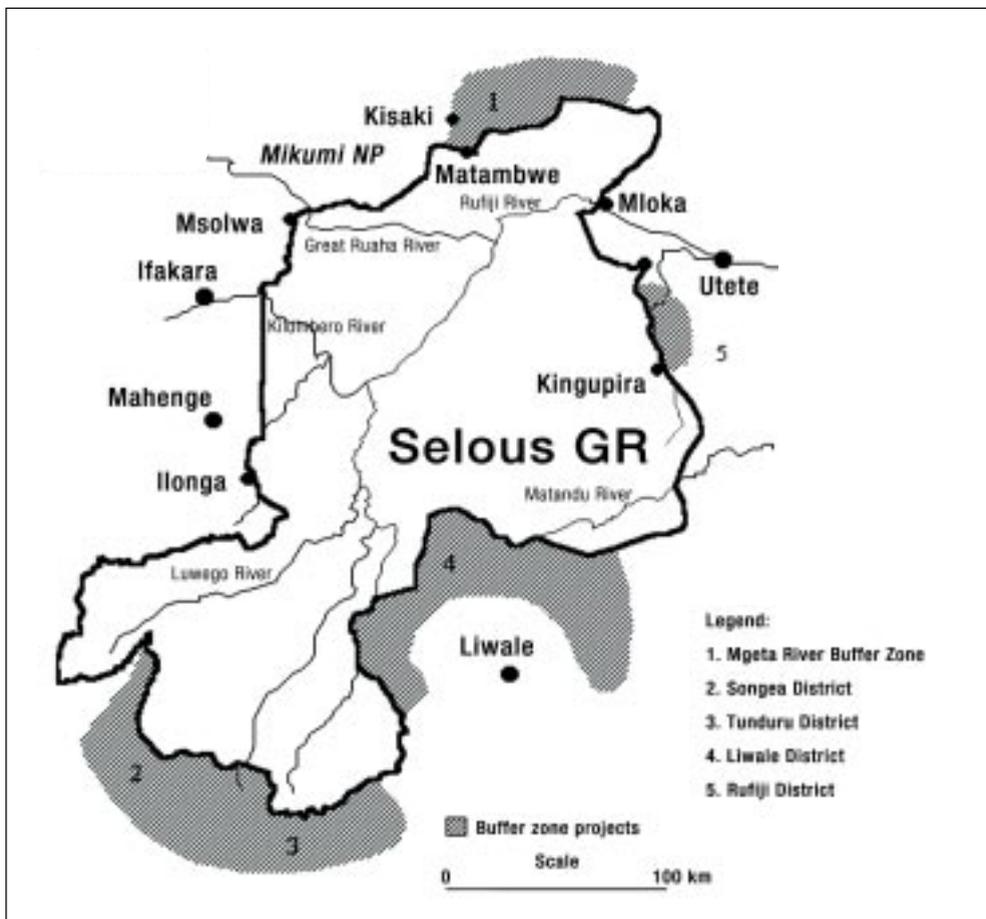
The share of income from other sources is on the increase and presently amounts to 60% of the total. Several villages joined to form a secondary organisation and have a lucrative lease contract with a tourist lodge. Others sell part of their quota to resident hunters. Fees for fishing and lumbering are charged and voluntary payments from hunting companies are received. Tourist hunting is the most lucrative way to use wildlife in the remote *miombo* wilderness areas around the SGR. After the entry into operation of the new subsidiary CBC legislation, the villages will be able to receive a major share of the revenue generated by such hunting on their land. In order to fully develop their resources, the communities will need to establish partnerships or joint ventures with private investors, district administrations, local NGOs and, last but not least, the nearby SGR administration.

The number of villages engaged in CBC facilitated by the SCP increased from 15 villages in 1990 to 51 villages in five districts in 2001. More villages have expressed their intention to join and have requested advisory services. The proposed Wildlife Management Areas of all villages enclose a total area of approximately 8,600 km<sup>2</sup>. These buffer zones bordering the SGR are patrolled by 300 village game scouts.

### The SGR and district administrations as partners: an engine for rural development?

Productive partnerships have developed between the Wildlife Division through the SGR and the surrounding district administrations. The SGR has successfully carried out infrastructure projects in partnership with these districts. This is voluntary and not required by law. Some important major roads have been built or rehabilitated, connecting outlying villages to district capitals. Schools have been constructed and infrastructure put in place. From 1999–2002, a total of US\$ 890,000, or 11% of the total retention fund, has been committed for this purpose. As soon as the requirement for significant investment inside the SGR is reduced, the percentage of support to the communities will be further increased. Communication between the SGR administration and the villages are mostly ad hoc and on a one-to-one basis. The SGR is, however, invited to all relevant district meetings.

**Figure 1.** Map of the Selous Game Reserve and Village Wildlife Management Areas.





*Village Scouts register impounded elephant tusks, Likuyu, Southern Selous. Photo: Cassian Mahundi.*

The voluntary benefit-sharing between the SGR and the communities is complemented by a statutory allocation of a share in hunting revenue (effectively less than 10% of total revenues) from the Treasury, which is paid to the districts. In fact, poverty alleviation is one of the objectives of the national Wildlife Policy and the SGR administration feels that supporting the communities in these development activities will contribute. At the same time it reciprocates the goodwill and physical response of the communities to conservation of wildlife and wilderness of the SGR. The SGR has clearly become a focus for a more cooperative and coordinated set of interventions that create a variety of benefits.

### **Communities and conservation: partnership or participation?**

In Tanzania, as in other African countries, villagers have since colonial times been alienated from wildlife use by restrictive legislation. The prevailing attitude of authorities during this period was that every villager was a potential poacher. On the other hand, local communities widely regarded conservation as a tool of oppression. The government seemed to believe that it was in control of the natural resources and was able to efficiently manage and protect it countrywide. The reality, however, was quite different. Whereas the protection of wildlife inside the parks and reserves was to a certain extent successful, very little effective law enforcement took place outside these protected areas. As a result the wildlife resources were, and increasingly are today, suffering major depletion.

Out of the wide range of 'people-oriented conservation' approaches neither joint management of the SGR nor mere benefit-sharing models were regarded as effective when the SCP started. To distribute only some share in revenue on a voluntary basis, as is now practiced by the 'Community Conservation' concept of the National Parks in Tanzania may be useful, but it does not result in a sufficiently strong motivation to actively conserve. The model finally chosen was one that allows the villages to manage the wildlife on their land in their own economic interest. Conservation success directly influences the benefits accruing to them. Some benefit sharing from the protected area is being practised, but this is only complementary to the main strategic approach.

It has taken time for the government to finally codify the procedures for CBC. The state still retains ownership of wildlife, and neither the degree of autonomy of the communities nor their share in revenue from wildlife has finally been decided. This shows that the process remains complicated and that there is still a long way to go. However, a major policy and legislative reform process is underway, which is likely to change the conservation and wildlife management regime.

Against this background it would be naïve to assume that a partnership between the communities and the conservation authorities is functioning today or will be developed in the near future. In the best case, the conflicts arising from differences in interest have been turned into issues which can be solved by negotiation and collaboration. The process of devolution of power is a lengthy one, not only in the field of natural resources. However, it is possible to foresee that the rural communities and the SGR will increasingly collaborate in conservation initiatives.

### **Where do we stand in 2003?**

The 'retention fund scheme' has allowed the SGR to stand financially on its own feet. Scouts are now well remunerated in comparison with the Tanzanian standard, but staff levels in the Game Reserve have been reduced in the past 10 years due to the combined effects of a government policy that limited staff numbers, and suffered drop outs and transfers. There is still some illegal harvesting of wildlife, but at a level that does not negatively affect the population status. Poaching of elephants was 3,000 to 5,000 cases per year in the 1980s. Confirmed numbers in recent years have been between 30 and 50 annually. In 2002 only one poached elephant has been found inside the reserve, while poaching in other parts of the country is still taking place. Elephant numbers in the ecosystem are well over 60,000 again according to last year's aerial census.

The introduction of the new approach to CBC, now a part of the new Wildlife Policy of Tanzania, centres on the introduction of Wildlife Management Areas, which allow villages to manage and use wildlife on their land on a sustainable basis. Subsidiary legislation to regulate CBC became effective in 2003 and now forms a basis to consolidate the participation of communities in conservation in the coming years.

After 15 years of effort by different partners to conserve one of Africa's greatest wilderness and wildlife areas, the time might be ripe to begin a new chapter, the one of international partnerships. During the last three years game movement patterns between the southern SGR and the Niassa Game Reserve in Mozambique have been studied, partly with the help of satellite tracking. The Tanzanian Government has decided to go ahead with the establishment of a conservation corridor, which will be based on village Wildlife Management Areas. It is hoped that, eventually, this will safeguard the gene flow between two of Africa's most important and the world's largest, elephant ranges which are at present divided by an international boundary.

In summary, the SGR illustrates many types and levels of collaboration and 'partnerships'. Most likely, it will continue to develop new and appropriate means to engage a variety of stakeholders in conserving wildlife.

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# Maasai community wildlife sanctuaries in Tsavo-Amboseli, Kenya

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This paper describes the establishment of community wildlife sanctuaries around the Tsavo and Amboseli National Parks and explores the conditions for their successful implementation. Most Maasai communities support the initiative, but they wish to manage the sanctuaries themselves and do not want to hand over authority to tourist investors. They want access to natural resources guaranteed through transparent, accountable and professional management, as well as equitable distribution of tourism revenues. And yet, the conditions for successful tourism also include access to areas of high large mammal density and diversity in order to attract and maintain the interest of tourists. Developing effective partnerships with other stakeholders such as community leaders, the Kenya Wildlife Service, local conservation organisations, tour companies and tourists is critical for the success of the Maasai wildlife sanctuary.

**WILDLIFE IN KENYA** is under threat from human encroachment, poaching for commercial and subsistence purposes, encroachment of incompatible land uses, loss of migration and dispersal areas, and increasing human-wildlife conflicts. Wildlife-induced damage to human property and life are neither controlled nor compensated – bringing losses to local people, rather than benefits – and leading to strong negative attitudes towards wildlife conservation (Okello and Megquier 1999; Okello and Conner 2000; Okello and Hadas 2000). In contrast, the Kenyan government and other foreign investors continue to draw large amounts of foreign income from protected areas through the lucrative tourism industry. For decades, local communities such as the Maasai in the Tsavo-Amboseli ecosystem felt that their value as stakeholders, their lives, livelihoods and aspirations were conveniently ignored. Today, the establishment of ‘community wildlife sanctuaries’, which confer to communities the rights to manage and benefit from wildlife and contribute to wildlife conservation in dispersal areas adjacent to protected areas, is beginning to address these disparities.

The Tsavo and Amboseli National Parks are Maasai traditional lands that were taken away from them without compensation or consultation. As international tourists enter and exit their backyard, all the Maasai can do is to sell carvings, sing traditional songs and dance for meagre returns while others capture the major benefits (Okello and Hull 2001; Okello and Nippert 2001). Clearly, this situation has to be reversed to ensure that the community benefits accrue from effective wildlife conservation and tourism. This must be seen in the light of current events, which include changes in land use practices (e.g. the development of Group Ranches, which are communal land holdings, usually managed cooperatively by the community), corruption and lack of transparency within Group Ranch leadership, lack of local skills or stewardship of natural resources, and, in general, the widespread consideration of wildlife as merely a burden to local livelihoods.

Several options have been identified for transforming wildlife into an economically useful resource and bridging the gap between community interests and wildlife conservation (Sindiga 1995). These include:

- providing consumption user rights to the local community;
- designing a proper land use plan to allow multiple land uses that maximise community benefits;
- establishing a conservation fund to lease ranges for wildlife (alongside pastoralism) from the Maasai at current market prices; and/or

- encouraging communities to tap into the lucrative tourism industry by establishing their own community wildlife sanctuaries.

The establishment of community wildlife sanctuaries has gained support from conservation organisations, tourism investors and government. In 1996, the Kimana Group Ranch became the first formally established community wildlife sanctuary in Kenya. Other Group Ranches are now voluntarily following this example, with high expectations of converting disenfranchised local communities into legitimate stakeholders and partners in wildlife conservation. This paper examines the conditions necessary for the successful development of these sanctuaries, and uses the Kuku Community Conservation Area (KCCA) as a case study. In KCCA, the following three lessons were documented:

*Local communities are key stakeholders and the real owners of wildlife in most African countries. For the Tsavo-Amboseli Ecosystem the Maasai are also a cultural attraction for tourists. Photo: Brian Peart.*



1. the views of the local community must be acknowledged and respected in the ongoing planning and management of the sanctuary;
2. the potential for revenue generation from tourism depends on the area's ecological and physical endowments as well as its socio-cultural and economic context; and
3. a partnership among all stakeholders needs to be skilfully woven and maintained.

### **Respecting the community views and ensuring community ownership**

The KCCA was jointly promoted and developed by the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) and the Maasai community, who expressed a strong desire to be involved in and benefit from wildlife conservation. The first and critical step towards the establishment of the sanctuary proved to be the effective consultation among all parties, with particular reference to the local communities and the expression of their needs and aspirations. For the proposed KCCA, pertinent information and insights were gathered from the local community. For example, survey results indicated a trend away from pastoralism to agriculture and it emerged that community members strongly supported agricultural expansion (Table 1). Most of the people surveyed believe that agriculture is more beneficial than wildlife conservation (Okello and Hull 2001; Okello and Nippert 2001). More people in the Group Ranch support Group Ranch sub-division, despite recognising the potential negative effects of land sub-division on pastoralism and wildlife. These findings confirm the disillusionment of the local community with non-beneficial wildlife conservation and declining pastoralism and their embracing of agriculture as an alternative means of livelihood. This is a major threat to the future of wildlife conservation in the ecosystem as agriculture takes over wildlife range and fuels human/wildlife conflicts. Fortunately, despite the tendency to shift their livelihood base towards agriculture, the Maasai tolerance for wildlife and their expectations of potential benefits from wildlife conservation are still evident. The majority of them still believe that wildlife conservation is important, and do not mind wildlife roaming freely on their land (Table 1).

### ***Ensuring community ownership versus Group Ranch sub-division***

Support for a wildlife sanctuary is dependent upon securing community ownership, benefits and responsibility. In the interviews we carried out as part of our study, a majority of local community members supported the establishment of community wildlife sanctuaries (we cannot exclude the possibility that this was in appreciation of their potential economic benefits rather than because of a genuine concern for conservation). Furthermore, the majority of local people wanted the sanctuaries established before the Group Ranch sub-division took place (Okello and Hull 2001; Okello and Nippert 2001). This is important, as the wildlife sanctuary initiatives should retain community ownership, with benefits spread to the entire community. Establishing it after Group Ranch sub-division would confine ownership and benefits to the few landowners willing to establish the sanctuary, and conflicts regarding compensation of wildlife damages from the sanctuary to the rest of the community would likely ensue.

### ***Offsetting human-wildlife related costs***

Linked to the support for the establishment of a community wildlife sanctuary must be an understanding of the nature of the benefits desired by the community, whether general to the community or specific to an individual household. Currently, losses due to human/wildlife conflicts are generally being solved through fencing and translocation, although a small proportion of respondents indicate that a community wildlife sanctuary would be an option (Table 1). This implies a desire for 'separation' of wildlife from local people in order to manage the wildlife-related damage. At the household level, a key ingredient towards supporting conservation initiatives would be to address these wildlife-related damages.

## Establishing a tourism industry within the wildlife sanctuary

To achieve conservation goals and to target tourists, the ecological and physical endowments of the community wildlife sanctuary must be appropriate. Unfortunately, many community wildlife sanctuaries are based on the model of a National Park (IUCN Category II) (MacKinnon *et al.* 1986) nested within a lived-in landscape with similar characteristics to a protected landscape (IUCN Category V) (Beresford and Phillips 2000). This 'imitation' of a National Park does not conform to the realities and needs of the communities. The lack of consideration of alternative models that allow a landscape level conservation of resources as well as retaining human presence and activities may lead to future failure and difficulties in establishing community wildlife sanctuaries.

In considering the suitability of the KCCA, two aspects in particular were investigated:

1. **Size of the area** – community wildlife sanctuaries are usually too small in area to be viable conservation units or to meaningfully contribute to the conservation of the larger dispersal

**Table 1.** Summary of results from interviews with local community members regarding a wildlife sanctuary and interactions with wildlife.

Key information sought	Possible Responses	Data for April 2001		Data for Nov. 2001	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Effect of Group Ranch sub – division	Will have an effect on wildlife	50	74.63	41	74.55
	Will have an effect on livestock	52	77.61	44	77.19
Means of earning a living using various land use practices	Practice only agriculture	0	0.0	1	1.82
	Practice only pastoralism	8	11.6	5	9.09
	Practice both agric. and pastor.	61	88.4	49	89.09
	Support agricultural expansion	65	94.2	54	96.43
	Against agricultural expansion	4	5.8	2	3.57
Group ranch subdivision	Support sub-division	43	62.3	49	85.96
	Against sub-division	24	34.8	8	14.04
About wildlife roaming freely on the ranch	Wildlife roaming freely is good	41	59.4	39	61.90
	Wildlife roaming freely is bad	22	31.9	23	36.51
Suggested solutions to human-wildlife conflict	Fencing	50	72.5	27	42.19
	Culling	3	4.3	4	6.35
	Translocation	25	36.2	21	32.81
	Establishment of wildlife sanctuary	11	15.9	4	6.25
Attitudes toward wildlife conservation	Wildlife conservation important	56	81.2	53	92.98
	Wildlife conservation not important	13	18.8	4	7.02
	Agriculture more beneficial	56	84.8	41	73.21
	Wildlife more beneficial	10	15.2	9	16.07
Support for wildlife sanctuary	Support sanctuary in Kuku	46	68.7	42	77.78
	Against sanctuary in Kuku	21	31.3	8	14.81
	Establish it before sub-division	46	68.66	32	66.67
Natural resources the community need access to for the proposed KCCA	Dry season grazing	49	73.1	50	87.72
	Water	27	40.3	30	52.67
	Firewood	24	35.8	27	47.37

area. They represent a fragment of the entire ecosystem and violate good design approaches based on principles of island biogeography (Western and Ssemakula 1981). When these community wildlife sanctuaries are established in isolation and without corridors they are unlikely to be viable conservation units. It was clear that KCCA would benefit by being linked to the adjacent National Park but that the National Park would equally benefit by being buffered by the adjacent dispersal area. However, the size of the sanctuaries are constrained by the land the community is willing to give up. The proposed sites must have limited human settlement to prevent human/wildlife conflicts but must not necessarily exclude it altogether. A landscape approach (Beresford and Phillips 2000) and the interconnection of community wildlife sanctuaries and existing National Parks would benefit both, and provide a larger area for conservation.

- 2. Location of the area** – assessments of animal distribution and numbers, as well as the identification of a diversity of species, including unique and rare species, were undertaken. It was also necessary to examine options for linkages with other areas and particularly the protected areas, so that home ranges and critical habitats were included. From a tourism perspective it was necessary to consider the presence of species that are highly attractive to tourists and areas where sightability (the likelihood of the species being viewed by tourists) was optimum. To this end, animal counts have been done during various seasons to establish the ecological endowment and the key physical features. The number, density and diversity of species need to be compared with those of existing National Parks. The animal counts establish which unique and rare animals could be promoted as special attractions for the sanctuary and give an estimate of their sightability. Once a highly-endowed area has been selected, a viable and used corridor linking it with other protected areas in the ecosystem must be provided. The size of both the proposed wildlife sanctuary and corridor must be large enough to include wildlife home ranges and critical habitats. As before, the size of the sanctuary is however constrained by the land the community is willing to give up. The proposed site must have limited human settlement to prevent human/wildlife conflicts but must not necessarily exclude it altogether. These considerations and findings for the KCCA are described in detail in Okello and Hull (2001); Okello and Nippert (2001); Okello and Adams (2002); and Okello and Garnett (2002).

### ***Understanding the tourist market***

Community wildlife sanctuaries target tourists as clients. Creating a viable tourist industry within the sanctuary requires that: the biological, physical and cultural attractions that can be effectively marketed are identified; the provision of infrastructure and services, including accommodation that caters for tourist needs are ensured; a reliable communications-network is provided. In addition partnerships with tour companies as well as other tourism investors are critical for the community wildlife sanctuary, especially at the beginning when attracting tourists to the sanctuary. Estimates have to be made on the projected revenues from tourism, both to attract investors and convince decision-makers that the proposals are viable. For the proposed KCCA, all the tourists using the Tsavo-Amboseli access road were considered to be potential clients (Table 2). A correction factor based on the percentage likely to visit a sanctuary and incorporating a saturation factor (as tourists will not visit all available protected areas) modified the estimates. The net revenue for KCCA was estimated at Ksh. 9,066,740 (US\$ 116,240) per year. This revenue was much higher than any existing community venture in the ecosystem, except for Amboseli National Park that earns Ksh.150 million.

### ***Marketing the community wildlife sanctuary***

Successful marketing requires an understanding of the target market. To this end a survey was undertaken to identify the opinions of potential tourists to the proposed KCCA. Overall tourist

**Table 2.** Projected annual tourist revenue of the proposed Kuku Community Conservation Area (KCCA) based on actual tourist numbers in the Tsavo-Amboseli Ecosystem (November 2001–March 2002).

	Conservation Area (CA)			
	Amboseli NP		Tsavo West NP	Proposed KCCA
	Iremito Gate	Kimana Gate	Chyulu Gate	(Kimana & Chyulu Gates–double counted)
Mean number of non-resident tourist visitors per month	717.8	859.6	1,093.8	1,528.55
Potential number of tourists (based on 65.28% willing to visit community-owned CA)	–	–	–	997.84
Tourism saturation factor (56.5% of potential)	–	–	–	563.78
Adult non-resident (96.1% admissions)	US\$ 27/ 2,106 Ksh.	US\$ 27/ 2,106 Ksh.	US\$25/ 1,950 Ksh.	US\$ 25/ 1,950 Ksh.
Children/discounted price (3.9% of admissions)	US\$ 13.50/ 1,053 Ksh.	US\$ 13.50/ 1,053 Ksh.	US\$ 12.50/ 975 Ksh.	US\$ 12.50/ 975 Ksh.
Estimated monthly tourism revenue (Ksh.)	–	–	–	1,077,932.50
Estimated annual revenue for the proposed KCCA (Ksh.)	–	–	–	<b>12,935,190.01</b> <b>(US\$ 166,066.54)</b>

opinions of the initiative were positive with indications that they would be willing to visit the KCCA (Table 3). The KCCA's advantage is that it is located in an established area including the Tsavo and Amboseli National Parks, and would benefit from this association and proximity to an existing tourism market.

The majority of tourists come to the Tsavo-Amboseli area to see wildlife as the primary attraction (Okello and Nippert 2001; Okello and Adams 2002; Okello and Garnett 2002). In addition to these wildlife attractions, some tourists indicated that they also visit the area for its scenic beauty and culture. A majority of tourists coming to the ecosystem indicated that they would be willing to visit a community-owned wildlife sanctuary, preferring that a portion of the fees they pay would directly benefit the local people and contribute to conservation (Table 3).

Currently, most tourists erroneously think that local communities are already benefiting from wildlife. Many tourists want local communities to benefit from their revenue as a way of rewarding their stewardship of the wildlife. They recognise wildlife as a local community heritage that should be used to uplift a community's socio-economic livelihood. From these surveys it is evident that any marketing strategy for attracting tourists to the KCCA must exploit the uniqueness of seeing local people living alongside wildlife as well as the notion of community ownership of the wildlife sanctuaries and its direct impact on community development and wildlife conservation. For this to succeed, ongoing education of tourists about the role of communities in conservation is required.

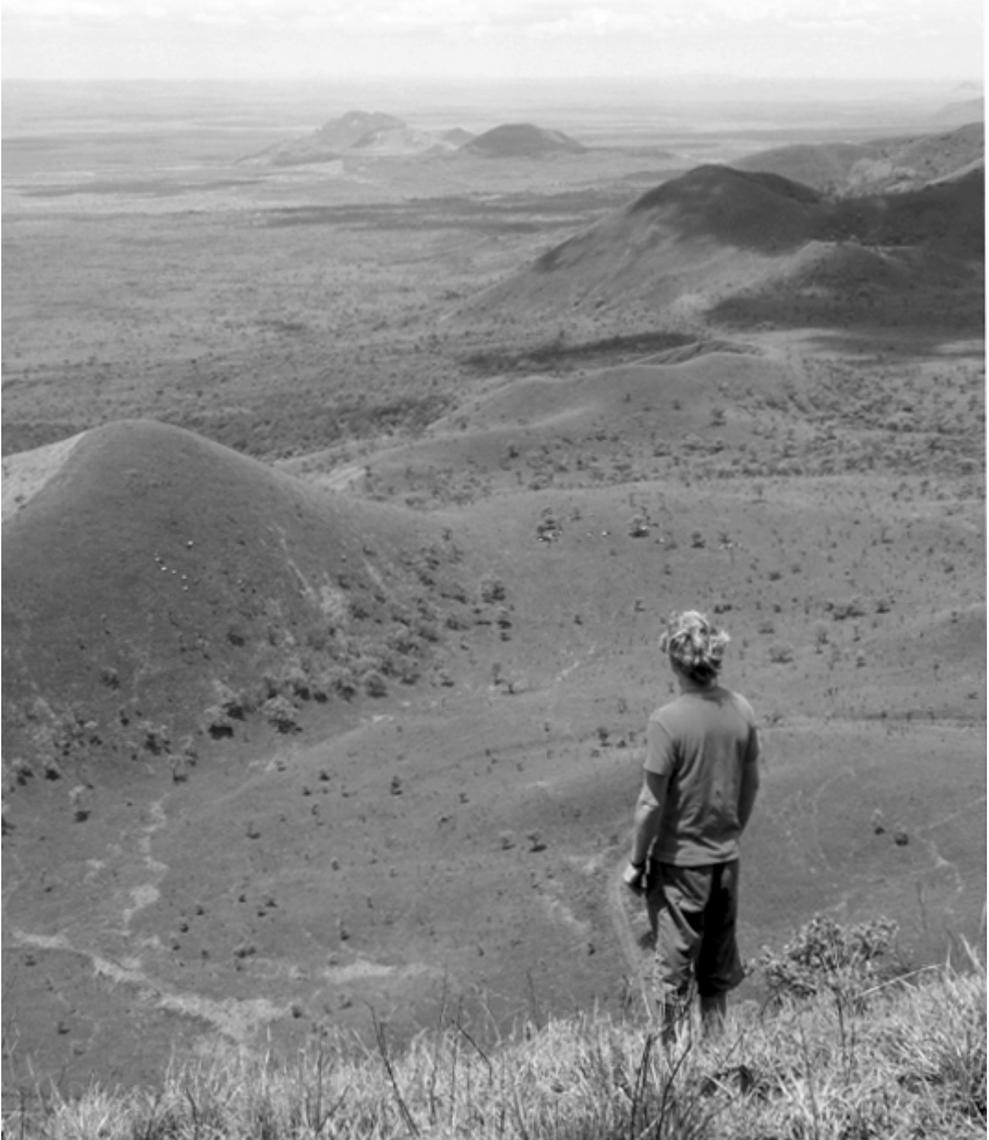
**Table 3.** Assessment of tourist opinions in regards to the proposed KCCA and other conservation issues in Tsavo-Amboseli Ecosystem, Kenya.

Main information sought	Responses from tourists	%	%	%
		Nov. 2001 (n = 80)	April 2002 (n = 98)	Nov. 2002 (n = 92)
Reason for visiting Tsavo-Amboseli area	Pleasure	97.00	88.71	91.95
	Business	3.00	11.29	8.05
The number one tourist attraction sought	Wildlife	68.80	70.79	56.67
	Multiple attractions	25.60	17.98	33.33
	Culture	18.20	7.87	5.56
	Physical features	7.80%	2.25	3.33
Souvenirs preferred for purchase by tourists	Wood carvings	55.70	44.83	54.55
	Multiple souvenirs	21.50	24.14	15.58
	Jewelry	24.40	17.24	10.39
	Clothing/attire	13.50	10.34	3.90
	Tools/weapons	6.40	3.45	1.30
Party responsible for travel arrangements of tourists	Tour company	85.50	31.18	82.56
	Personal/self	14.50	68.18	17.44
Types of accommodations used by tourists while visiting Tsavo-Amboseli area	Lodge	88.70	87.23	88.51
	Camping	9.20	11.57	5.75
	Both of above	2.10	1.20	5.75
Advertisement channels that tourists came to learn of the Tsavo-Amboseli ecosystem as a tourist destination in Kenya	Travel literature	25.50	23.75	28.26
	Travel agent	20.40	21.25	18.48
	Multiple sources	18.80	18.75	17.39
	Television	15.50	3.75	14.13
	Personal comm.	10.40	21.25	9.78
On whether tourism revenue should benefit the local community	Internet	9.40	1.25	3.26
	Yes	87.70	59.46	70.37
	No	12.30	32.43	22.22
On whether tourists are informed of local communities role in conservation	No	88.60	73.91	54.55
	Yes	11.40	26.09	45.45
On whether the tourists think that the local communities are benefiting from tourism	Yes	65.30	60.32	57.69
	No	22.30	28.45	28.21
	Do not know	12.40	12.22	14.10
On whether tourists have visited a local Maasai cultural manyatta	No	67.70	63.74	54.43
	Yes	32.30	36.26	45.57
Willingness of tourists to visit a community-owned wildlife sanctuary just as they would for a NP	Yes	82.50	65.28	74.36
	No	13.20	8.88	20.51
	Do not know	4.30	22.22	5.13
Opinion of tourists on how and on what the most revenue from tourism should be spent	Conservation	75.70	70.49	49.25
	National pool	15.90	22.95	38.80
	Do not know	9.40	6.56	10.45

### ***Avoiding competition with the National Parks through market segmentation***

Having established the willingness of tourists to visit the sanctuary, there is a need to avoid potential competition with the adjacent National Parks. Solutions to this are approached by considering a diverse set of activities for the sanctuary, investigating the provision of complementary activities to the National Parks and exploring specific niche markets through market segmentation. Among such 'diversified activities' are bird hunting, walking safaris, camel and horse safaris as well as marketing the area as a cultural attraction. A partnership arrangement with the National Parks has been considered, which had potential for marketing the entire ecosystem as a package. There is potential for tourism activities to be diversified and the increased tourism revenue shared between the National Parks and the adjacent sanctuary.

*The spectacular scenery and landscape of Group Ranches in Tsavo-Amboseli Ecosystem are popular with tourists. Within view of each other are Mt Kilimanjaro and Chyulu Hills. Photo: Noah Cardeira.*



An examination of the profile of tourists coming to the area, indicated that most are foreign tourists and in older age categories. There is clearly a potential to consider targeting a completely different market segment, by including younger visitors, backpackers and domestic visitors. (Table 2).

### ***Developing partnerships with existing tour companies***

The success of community wildlife sanctuaries can be enhanced by entering into negotiations and partnerships with existing tour companies that attract tourists from abroad (Okello and Garnett 2002). This would require that the sanctuaries address the concerns of tour companies regarding such partnerships. These concerns (Table 4) include insecurity and unpredictable institutional arrangements in Group Ranches. The survey indicated that all tour companies are prepared to assist with the marketing of the local community sanctuaries, and even to form partnerships with them to enhance their marketability.

### **Involving stakeholders**

A number of stakeholders influence the success and viability of any community wildlife sanctuary. Key among them are the community elders and leaders, who hold powerful social positions and provide guidance on important decisions. Their support and opinions are critical.

A second group of key stakeholders are the members of the elected committees legally recognised as being in charge of the Maasai Group Ranches. They usually explain new initiatives using culturally acceptable language and approaches, and build consensus regarding these initiatives. Their insights are critical in understanding subtle community socio-economic constraints and attitudes. A critical first step is to have new initiatives to pass through these committees and any other formal and informal community institutions.

The third key stakeholder is KWS. In Kenya, all wildlife belongs to the state, and is managed by KWS. Their support and technical advice for the establishment of community wildlife sanctuaries is vital, and they have supported the KCCA because the initiative meets two complementary goals, namely securing wildlife range and dispersal areas, and ensuring the protection, through community involvement and benefit, of wildlife in community lands. In this area, during the dry season most wildlife concentrates in the National Parks, (especially Amboseli) but disperses into the Group Ranches during the wet season, when water and fresh pasture are not a limiting factor. KWS offers support for training rangers to establish the community wildlife sanctuaries and ensure the security of wildlife and the tourists (Okello and Adams 2002).

A further group of key stakeholders are the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) involved in conservation who supplement the efforts of the government and communities by providing support, technical advice, implementation funds and research expertise. Local Maasai conservation NGOs support the establishment of the community wildlife sanctuary as one way of diversifying the income of the local community. Further, partnership with environmental research institutions (such as the globally-oriented School for Field Studies and national public universities) help provide socio-economic and ecological research information needed for decision-making.

### **Managing access to resources, tourism and the distribution of benefits**

The Maasai are rural people, whose livelihoods depend entirely on natural resources (Seno and Shaw 2000). They wish to establish wildlife sanctuaries that guarantee them access to resources such as water, pasture, plant resources and land for settlement, especially in the event of severe scarcity. For the proposed KCCA, few community members (less than 2%) want their land leased to foreign investors (Okello and Hull 2001; Okello and Nippert 2001) because these investors may not appreciate the Maasai culture or allow them access to natural resources. On

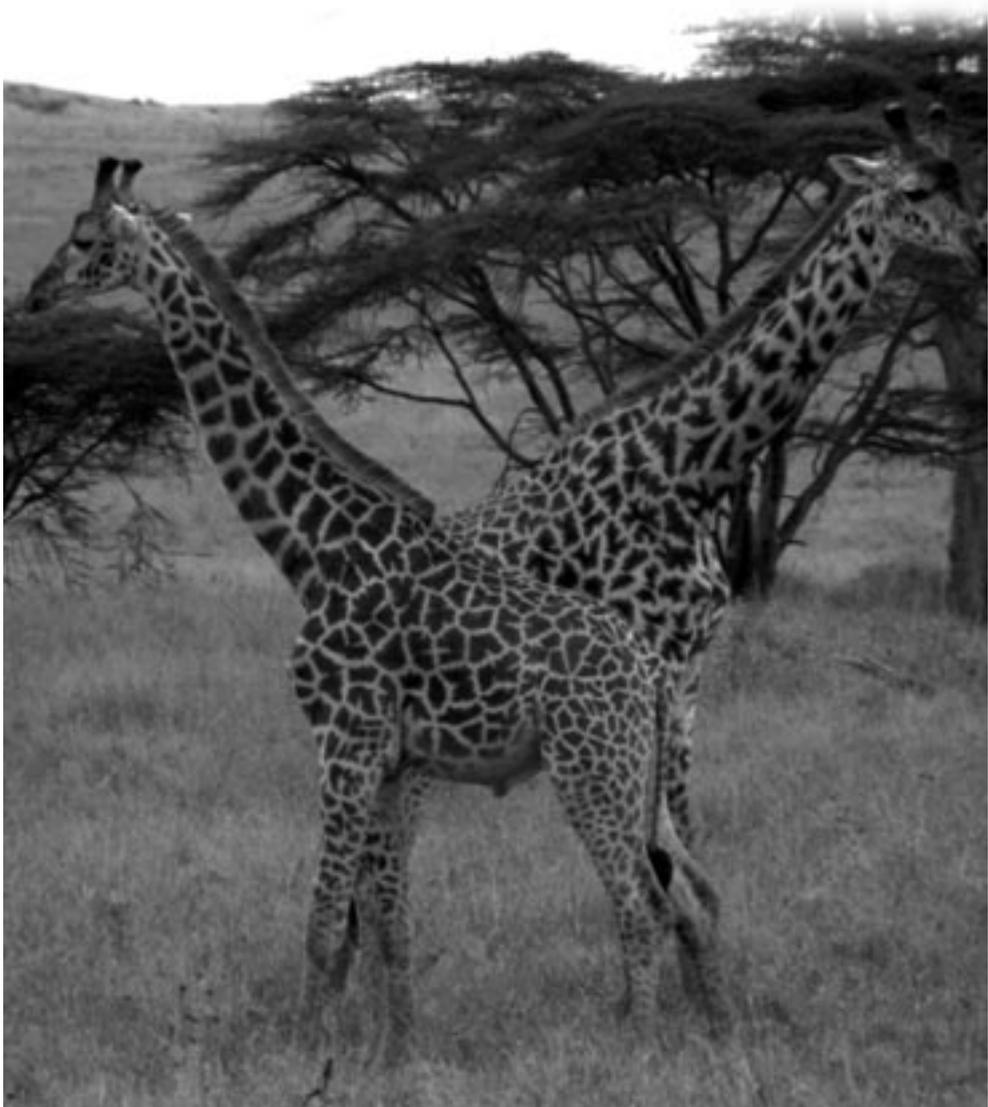
**Table 4.** Tour company perspectives on tourism activities and community wildlife sanctuaries in the Tsavo-Amboseli Ecosystem, Kenya.

<b>Information sought</b>	<b>Response of tour companies</b>	<b>Frequency of response</b>	<b>Total number of respondents</b>	<b>%</b>
Clients nationality	North America	7	19	36.84
	Europe	7	19	36.84
	Asia/Middle East	3	19	15.78
	Africa	2	19	10.52
Travel into and around Tsavo-Amboseli Ecosystem	Use Tsavo-Amboseli road:			
	Yes	6	9	66.67
	No	3	9	33.33
	Fly tourists into the ecosystem:			
Yes	7	9	77.78	
No	2	9	22.22	
Visited community-owned wildlife sanctuary	Yes	6	9	66.67
	No	3	9	33.33
Tour companies can help market	Yes	9	9	100.00
Marketing can be done in partnerships with sanctuaries	Potential of forming partnership:			
	Yes	7	9	77.78
	No	2	9	22.22
	Willing to form partnership:			
Yes	5	9	55.56	
No	4	9	44.44	
Reasons for not forming marketing partnerships with Community Wildlife Sanctuaries	Don't want to be involved	1	5	20.00
	Logistical complications	1	5	20.00
	Poor security in some sanctuaries	1	5	20.00
	Poor road infrastructure	1	5	20.00
	Lack of technical management	1	5	20.00
Community sanctuaries competition with NPs	Yes	7	10	70.00
	No	3	10	30.00
Constraints to success of community sanctuaries	Management/security	2	4	50.00
	Poor road infrastructure	1	4	25.00
	Poor marketing	1	4	25.00
Marketing methods used by tour companies	Travel brochures	4	13	30.77
	Personal communication	4	13	30.77
	Media	3	13	23.08
	E-mail/Internet	2	13	15.38
Importance of marketing	Yes	7	10	70.00
Maasai culture	No	3	10	30.00
Difficulties in marketing Kenya	Money/too expensive	6	16	37.50
	Political instability	4	16	25.00
	Lack of security	4	16	25.00
	Poor infrastructure	2	16	12.50
Solutions to marketing problems	Improve security	4	14	28.57
	Improve infrastructure	3	14	21.43
	Government involvement	2	14	14.29
	Increase funding for tourism industry	2	14	14.29
Domestic tourism can help during the low season	Yes	9	10	90.00
	Possibly	1	10	10.00

the other hand, tourism revenue is needed to supplement household income, educational, health and pastoralism services. In this sense, it is essential that the community wildlife sanctuary allows for multiple land uses and maintains decision-making within the community. The Group Ranch members indicated that they wanted a new professional, transparent and accountable local committee to handle the wildlife sanctuary and ensure equitable revenue sharing. This contrasts with the experience of the local management of the Kimana Community Wildlife Sanctuary, where revenue sharing was not achieved, and the sanctuary is now leased to a tourism investor.

Key to establishing a management structure and identifying human resource requirements is the need to bridge the tension between local aspirations and the practical realities of managing a wildlife sanctuary. For the proposed KCCA, community leaders support the initiative (Table 5)

*The Tsavo-Amboseli Ecosystem is a hub of tourism in Kenya because of the leading attraction: wildlife in their natural habitat. Density, diversity and the probability of seeing large mammals is important to tourists.*  
Photo: Noah Cardeira.



**Table 5.** Opinions of Kuku Group Ranch officials regarding the establishment of Kuku Community Conservation Area (KCCA) in Tsavo-Amboseli ecosystem, Kenya.

<b>Information sought</b>	<b>Kuku A Group Ranch</b>	<b>Kuku B Group Ranch</b>
Support for the establishment of the proposed KCCA	Does not support Fear government stealing of land if turned into a CA Community not educated about conservation Support dependent on investor funding to start implementation	Supports Tourism from wildlife will lead to direct benefits for the community Will benefit community Wildlife is a valuable resource
Groups that would oppose establishment of KCCA	Agriculturalists who want to cultivate Pastoralists will not want to lose grazing access	Pastoralists will not want to lose grazing access. Agriculturists who want to cultivate
Tourism potential for KCCA	Chyulu Hills have tourism potential because of their scenery Lots of wildlife in area will be key attraction The interesting world-famous Maasai culture will be an attraction	Lots of wildlife in area Serves as wildlife corridor between Amboseli and Tsavo National Parks But successful implementation needs extensive marketing
Other ways Maasai can benefit from tourism	Walking safaris Bush camps Cultural manyattas and cultural centres	Campsites. Handicrafts. Cultural manyattas
Importance of investors in helping the community sanctuaries to succeed economically	Needs to manage KCCA for unskilled community Important for external funding and marketing	Not necessary as they do not understand needs or culture of the community Though their skills and funding is desired, they also exploit the community Outside income-source helpful
Investor-community arrangements to include Maasai	Investor comanagement with community Should not lease land to the investors Investors help with setup and marketing	Comanagement between community and investors Management solely by community
Maasai benefits from conservation versus benefits from pastoralism	Tourism industry more stable than livestock industry Conservation can provide more benefits to the community Conservation provides long-term benefits	Wildlife provides more benefits than pastoralism Inflation hurting livestock industry Livestock industry unprofitable Tourism can provide more benefits
Factors that would cause KCCA to fail	Poor management by the community. Legal status of conservation within Group Ranch system not understood. Lack of cooperation between investors and community Lack of community involvement in KCAA Poor marketing	Selling land to outsiders Subdivision of Kuku Group Ranch Lack of significant economic benefits to the community Lack of local skilled management Poor marketing Funding to start KCCA
Access to resources in the KCCA	Allowed access to: – water sources; – grazing for livestock; – dry season grazing; – medicinal plants	Allowed access to: – water sources; – dry season grazing; – no access needed as this leads – to over-utilization of resources

under the conditions that community interests, such as resource access, user rights and economic benefits, are safeguarded (Okello and Garnett 2002). The elders wanted sanctuary management to involve local participation through community ownership or comanagement with a tourism investor. Despite strong dislike for foreign investors (because of fears of exploitation, disrespect to cultural values or hindrance to resource access), the elders acknowledge that the investors bring capital, skills and marketing contacts necessary to make the community sanctuaries economically profitable. In seeking middle ground, comanagement arrangements are proposed where the investors' experience and resources may complement the local knowledge and community involvement in management (Okello and Garnett 2002). It is also envisaged that the investors help to develop local manpower in ecological and tourism management to effect a future hand-over.

For the KCCA, the proposed management structure includes a board of directors representing all stakeholders (Okello and Nippert 2001; Okello and Adams 2002). Reporting to the board is the Sanctuary Manager and a team of staff who deal with financial matters and ecological management.

### **Looking to the future**

An aspect that so far has not yet been dealt with sufficiently, is the fear of the Maasai of a possible loss of the community sanctuaries to the government. This feeds on the Maasai anger over the systematic loss of their land to protected areas and other tribes before and during independence. Since wildlife belongs to the government and communities have no user rights, they fear that the government may seize any land (public or private) wherever wildlife exists. Although this is unlikely due to heightened awareness of community rights, such concerns can still inhibit establishment and management of community wildlife sanctuaries.

Added to this concern is that community wildlife sanctuaries lack a clear legal status. Group ranches are recognised in Kenyan law and their management institutions have legal status. With impending Group Ranch sub-division, members will have individually-owned parcels of land with all user rights. Any community wildlife sanctuary within this Group Ranches will be left without legal status providing an opportunity for some community elites or foreigners to 'grab' sanctuaries as individual property. This is an important potential constraint to the establishment of community wildlife sanctuaries (Okello and Garnett 2002). A potential solution is to establish sanctuaries as community welfare organisations whose membership is the entire membership of the former Group Ranch. Its board of directors and management would then be installed or changed based on the law that governs NGOs.

The development of the KCCA indicates the complexity of the emerging situation where communities become involved as partners of the state in wildlife management and revenue generation. It illustrates the need for cooperation of a wide range of stakeholders with very different perspectives, but building on a common vision. The case study demonstrates that these changes must be brought about in an inclusive way, and that there are many fundamental issues that emerge that must be dealt with in parallel, such as the widely divergent policies and laws which govern tenure and access to natural resources, in order to put in place a new institutional framework that achieves the vision but also meets the aspirations of both the community, state and investors.

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# Résumés

## L'expérience des Conseils d'Administration Locaux au KwaZulu-Natal, Afrique du Sud

SIDNEY LUCKETT, KHULANI MKHIZE ET DEREK POTTER

Cet article relate les initiatives prises par Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, le département pour la conservation de la faune et de la flore au KwaZulu-Natal, en Afrique du Sud, pour impliquer les communautés voisines d'aires protégées, en les considérant comme des partenaires et des décideurs à part entière de la gestion de la conservation de la nature. Cet article souligne le développement et le rôle joué par les Conseils d'Administration Locaux, sur fond de transformations sociopolitiques importantes en Afrique du Sud. Malgré des progrès importants, l'initiative demeure fragile, comme on peut s'y attendre dans ce contexte politique complexe et en évolution constante. L'avenir des Conseils d'Administration Locaux dépend en grande partie de décisions concernant les choix politiques et la répartition des ressources qui échappent au contrôle du Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife. Cet article raconte « l'histoire » du développement des Conseils d'Administration Locaux et évoque aussi bien les succès obtenus que les difficultés rencontrées. Les auteurs espèrent que les enseignements tirés de ce processus amèneront les communautés disposant de peu de ressources à participer à la conservation de la nature.

## La démarche d'une Aire de Conservation Communautaire au Niger

BACHIR AMADOU, GILL VOGT ET KEES VOGT

Cet article décrit un processus par lequel des communautés locales et d'autres acteurs concernés se sont organisés et ont négocié avec l'Etat le droit exclusif de gérer la Réserve de la forêt de Takiéta au Niger. Ce faisant, ils ont créé *de jure* et *de facto* leur propre Aire de Conservation Communautaire, comprenant des institutions de gestion et des règles particulières qui sont aujourd'hui entièrement reconnues par l'Etat. Cet article s'étend longuement sur les enseignements qui sont à tirer de ce processus, en particulier pour les agences extérieures souhaitant soutenir des initiatives similaires ailleurs. Ces enseignements peuvent certainement être appliqués dans des situations similaires de gestion des aires protégées, lorsque ces situations affectent et sont affectées par des acteurs locaux. En fait, quel que soit le contexte, le défi principal à relever est de réussir à créer un environnement dans lequel les communautés locales elles-mêmes peuvent se responsabiliser et agir.

## L'utilisation des ressources naturelles par les communautés dans les Parcs Nationaux de Kibale et Mont Elgon, Ouganda

PURNA CHHETRI, ARTHUR MUGISHA ET SEAN WHITE

Kibale et le Mont Elgon sont deux Parcs Nationaux en Ouganda, appréciés pour leur biodiversité et leur potentiel touristique, ainsi que pour le rôle d'écosystème qu'ils jouent pour les communautés voisines (en servant de réservoirs d'eau par exemple). Comme beaucoup d'autres parcs en Ouganda et ailleurs, Kibale et le Mont Elgon ont été confrontés à des conflits avec les communautés voisines, qui ont eu pour conséquence de poser de sérieux problèmes en matière de conservation. Au cours de la décennie passée, de nouvelles stratégies de conservation ont été adoptées à Kibale et au Mont Elgon pour tenter de résoudre ces conflits au travers de la mise en place de partenariats entre l'Autorité ougandaise pour la faune et la flore (Uganda Wildlife Authority ou UWA), les communautés voisines et les administrations des gouvernements locaux. Cet article rend compte de l'expérience vécue par l'UWA lorsqu'elle a mis en oeuvre une telle approche de la conservation, centrée sur l'innovation et la collaboration. Les premières observations semblent indiquer que ce type d'approche est efficace, qu'il permet de résoudre les vrais conflits en proposant un ensemble d'options, et qu'il est avantageux aussi bien pour les populations locales que pour la conservation. Cet article examine les composantes de la nouvelle approche, ainsi que les questions et les problèmes qui sont soulevés.

## Un partenariat de co-gestion au Congo : impressionnant mais encore vulnérable

MARCEL TATY, CHRISTIAN CHATELAIN ET GRAZIA BORRINI-FEYERABEND

Le Parc National du Konkouati-Douli, Congo nous offre un exemple riche d'enseignements en ce qui concerne la façon dont un partenariat de gestion réussi peut être mis en place alors même qu'il se trouve confronté à des conditions parmi les plus difficiles au monde. Cet article en tire des enseignements pratiques et présente les résultats concrets qui ont été obtenus. Malgré l'enthousiasme et le travail acharné des divers participants, ces résultats demeurent vulnérables. Certains acteurs extérieurs ont

encore trop de pouvoir. Ces derniers peuvent facilement renoncer à l'approche participative et adopter des méthodes « répressives » contre les activités illégales, qui s'avèrent contreproductives. Il faut une politique nationale claire défendant les paramètres d'un mode de gestion participatif, ainsi qu'un soutien renouvelé, cohérent et qui s'inscrit sur le long terme, aux initiatives de terrain. Car ce sont celles-ci, à l'instar du Konkouati-Douli, qui ouvrent la voie des partenariats de gestion véritables.

## **Le développement des partenariats pour la conservation dans la Réserve de Gibier du Selous, Tanzanie**

ROLF BALDUS, BENSON KIBONDE ET LUDWIG SIEGE

Pendant les années 80, des activités de braconnage de plus en plus intenses ont amené une forte réduction du nombre des éléphants de la Réserve de gibier du Selous, l'une des aires protégées les plus anciennes et les plus étendues en Afrique. Depuis 1987, les gouvernements de la Tanzanie et de l'Allemagne y coopèrent dans le cadre d'un programme commun de conservation du Selous ayant pour but de réhabiliter la réserve. D'autres agences se sont ensuite ajoutées au programme, formant ainsi un partenariat quasiment unique entre bailleurs de fonds. Grâce à ce programme, le braconnage a considérablement diminué et les capacités de gestion ont été renforcées. Les revenus tirés de l'organisation de safaris (90% des revenus) et du tourisme photographique ont fortement augmenté. Un « système de rétention des fonds » a été mis en place. Celui-ci prévoit que la moitié des revenus générés restent dans la réserve pour couvrir les frais de gestion et pour réaliser des investissements (environ 1,8 million de dollars US par an). En conséquence, la réserve subvient à ses propres besoins financiers, ce qui ne l'empêche pas de bénéficier encore d'aides extérieures complémentaires. Des accords de collaboration ont été mis en place avec des investisseurs du secteur privé, avec les autorités locales et 51 communautés dans les zones tampons, qui gèrent maintenant leurs propres réserves de faune et ont droit à une part des bénéfices tirés de la conservation. Cette expérience de « Conservation communautaire » a en grande partie servi de modèle pour le développement de la nouvelle politique de conservation de la faune et de la flore en Tanzanie, maintenant incorporée dans la Loi nationale sur la faune et la flore.

## **Des sanctuaires de gibier des communautés Maasai autour de Tsavo et Amboseli, Kenya**

MOSES OKELLO, SIMON OLE SENO ET BOBBY WISHITEMI

Cet article décrit la mise en place de sanctuaires de gibier communautaires autour des Parcs Nationaux Tsavo et Amboseli, et explore les conditions d'une mise en oeuvre réussie. La plupart des communautés Maasai soutiennent cette initiative, mais souhaitent gérer elles-mêmes ces sanctuaires et ne veulent pas céder le pouvoir à des investisseurs touristiques. Elles demandent que l'accès aux ressources naturelles soit garanti par un système de gestion transparent, redevable et professionnel, et que les revenus du tourisme soient distribués équitablement. Cependant, le développement d'un tourisme prospère passe en particulier par l'accès à des zones où il y a une forte densité et diversité de mammifères de grande taille, afin d'éveiller et d'entretenir l'intérêt des touristes. Les sanctuaires de gibier Maasai ne pourront être une réussite que si de réels partenariats sont développés avec d'autres parties prenantes comme les dirigeants communautaires, le Département pour la faune et la flore du Kenya, les organisations de conservation locales, les tour-opérateurs et les touristes.

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# Resúmenes

## La experiencia de los Comités Locales, KwaZulu-Natal, África del Sur

SIDNEY LUCKETT, KHULANI MKHIZE Y DEREK POTTER

Este artículo detalla las iniciativas tomadas por Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, el servicio de conservación de la naturaleza en KwaZulu-Natal, África del Sur, para incorporar las comunidades alrededor de áreas protegidas como asociadas totales en la toma de decisiones para el manejo de la conservación de la naturaleza. Con el telón de fondo de la significativa transformación sociopolítica de Sudáfrica, se subraya el papel de los Comités Locales establecidos. A pesar del importante progreso, la iniciativa permanece frágil, como es de esperar en un ambiente político complejo y siempre cambiante. El futuro de los Comités Locales permanece dependiente, en gran medida, de las decisiones políticas y de la asignación de recursos que están fuera del control de Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife. Este informe cuenta la historia de los Comités Locales en vías de desarrollo y reflexiona tanto en los éxitos como en las dificultades encontradas. Es de esperar que las lecciones aprendidas en este proceso contribuirán al futuro involucramiento de las comunidades de escasos recursos en la conservación de la naturaleza.

## El desarrollo de una Área de Conservación Comunitaria en Niger

BACHIR AMADOU, GILL VOGT Y KEES VOGT

Este artículo describe el proceso por el cual las comunidades locales y otros actores interesados se organizaron ellos mismos y negociaron con el estado el derecho exclusivo de administrar la Reserva Forestal Takiéta en Niger. En esto ellos crearon *de jure y de facto* su propia Área de Conservación Comunitaria, con sus reglas e instituciones administrativas específicas, que hoy en día son totalmente reconocidas por el estado. Las lecciones aprendidas en este proceso y en particular las lecciones aprendidas para las agencias exteriores que desean dar soporte a iniciativas similares en otros lugares, están ilustradas en este informe bastante extensamente. Estas lecciones se pueden aplicar con confianza a otras situaciones de manejo de áreas protegidas que afectan y son afectadas por actores locales. Cualquiera que sea el contexto, de hecho el desafío clave es el de crear un entorno en el que se permita a las comunidades locales mismas tomar la responsabilidad y actuar.

## El uso de los recursos naturales por las comunidades en los Parques Nacionales de Kibale y Monte Elgon, Uganda

PURNA CHHETRI, ARTHUR MUGISHA Y SEAN WHITE

Kibale y Mount Elgon son dos Parques Nacionales en Uganda, valiosos por su biodiversidad y el potencial turístico así como por la provisión de su servicio de ecosistemas a las comunidades vecinas (por ejemplo: embalses de agua). Al igual que muchos de los otros parques en Uganda y otros lugares, Kibale y Mount Elgon se han visto enfrentados en conflictos con sus comunidades vecinas, lo que ha resultado en serios desafíos a la conservación. En la última década se han adoptado algunas estrategias nuevas de conservación en Kibale y Mount Elgon para atender a esos conflictos a través de asociaciones entre la autoridad de la Fauna y Flora en Uganda (UWA), las comunidades vecinas y las administraciones gubernamentales locales. Este artículo describe la experiencia de la UWA y la implementación de una aproximación innovadora y colaborativa a la conservación. Las observaciones preliminares sugieren que la aproximación es efectiva, que toma en cuenta los conflictos reales a través de la provisión de un paquete de opciones y que brinda beneficios tanto a la población local como a la conservación. El artículo habla de los componentes de este nuevo enfoque y también de las cuestiones y preocupaciones que surgen.

## Una experiencia de co-manejo en el Congo: sorprendente pero vulnerable

MARCEL TATY, CHRISTIAN CHATELAIN Y GRAZIA BORRINI-FEYERABEND

El Parque Nacional de Conkouati-Douli, Congo ofrece un rico ejemplo de como se puede desarrollar una experiencia exitosa de co-manejo, aún cuando deba enfrentar algunas de las más desafiantes condiciones del mundo. Este artículo ilustra un número de lecciones prácticas en el proceso y describe los resultados concretos obtenidos. A pesar del trabajo duro y del entusiasmo de las partes interesadas, estos resultados permanecen vulnerables. Demasiado poder está todavía en las manos de los actores externos que pueden decidir volverse atrás en la aproximación de participación y adoptar formas contraproducentes de "represión" de las actividades ilegales. Se necesita una política nacional clara que apoye los marcos de administración de

participación, así como un apoyo coherente, renovado y de relativo largo plazo de las iniciativas en el campo que, como en Konkouati-Douli, están abriendo paso a asociaciones de administración real.

## **En busca de asociaciones para la conservación en la Reserva de Fauna du Selous, Tanzania**

ROLF BALDUS, BENSON KIBONDE Y LUDWIG SIEGE

Durante la década de los ochenta el rápido aumento de la caza furtiva acarreó una baja significativa en el número de elefantes del Coto Selous, una de las áreas protegidas más grandes y antiguas de África. Desde 1987, los gobiernos de Tanzania y Alemania han cooperado allí en conjunto en un Programa de Conservación de Selous con el propósito de rehabilitar la reserva. Otras agencias se unieron posteriormente en una asociación muy raramente lograda entre donantes. El programa consiguió reducir la caza furtiva de manera significativa y mejoró la capacidad administrativa. Los ingresos de la cacería en los safaris (90 % del total) y la fotografía turística aumentaron considerablemente. Se ha establecido un sistema de "retención de fondos", por medio del cual la mitad del ingreso generado permanece en la reserva para ser usado en administración y en inversión (alrededor de \$US 1.8 millones por año). Como consecuencia, la reserva se mantiene a sí misma financieramente, aún cuando la asistencia exterior complementaria continúa. Se han desarrollado acuerdos de colaboración con inversores del sector privado y también con las comunidades locales y 51 unidades en las zonas amortiguadoras y éstos ahora administran sus propias áreas de fauna y flora y tienen participación en los beneficios de la conservación. Esta experiencia de la "Conservación basada en la Comunidad" ha servido, en buena parte, como modelo para la nueva política de la fauna y flora de Tanzania que ahora ha sido incorporada dentro del Acto Nacional de la Fauna y de la Flora.

## **Los santuarios de fauna de las comunidades Maasai alrededor de Tsavo-Amboseli, Kenia**

MOSES OKELLO, SIMON OLE SENO Y BOBBY WISHITEMI

Este artículo describe el establecimiento de santuarios comunitarios de fauna alrededor de los Parques Nacionales de Tsavo y Amboseli y explora las condiciones para su implementación exitosa. La mayoría de las comunidades Maasai soportan la iniciativa pero desean administrar los santuarios ellos mismos y no quieren entregar la autoridad a los inversores en turismo. Quieren acceso garantido a los recursos naturales a través de una administración transparente que rinda cuentas y que maneje todo profesionalmente, así como también una distribución igualitaria de los ingresos del turismo. Para que los santuarios de fauna de las comunidades Maasai tengan éxito es crítico que se desarrolle una asociación efectiva con otros interesados tales como los líderes de la comunidad, el Servicio de la Fauna y de la Flora de Kenia, las organizaciones locales de conservación, las compañías de excursiones y los turistas.

### **IUCN – The World Conservation Union**

Founded in 1948, The World Conservation Union brings together States, government agencies and a diverse range of non-governmental organisations in a unique world partnership: over 950 members in all, spread across some 139 countries.

As a Union, IUCN seeks to influence, encourage and assist societies throughout the world to conserve the integrity and diversity of nature and to ensure that any use of natural resources is equitable and ecologically sustainable.

The World Conservation Union builds on the strengths of its members, networks and partners to enhance their capacity and to support global alliances to safeguard natural resources at local, regional and global levels.

*IUCN, Rue Mauverney 28, CH-1196 Gland, Switzerland. Tel: ++ 41 22 999 0001, fax: ++ 41 22 999 0002. Email: <mail@hq.iucn.org>*

### **World Commission on Protected Areas (WCPA)**

WCPA is the largest worldwide network of protected area managers and specialists. It comprises over 1,300 members in 140 countries. WCPA is one of the six voluntary Commissions of IUCN – The World Conservation Union, and is serviced by the Protected Areas Programme at the IUCN Headquarters in Gland, Switzerland. WCPA can be contacted at the IUCN address above.

The WCPA mission is to promote the establishment and effective management of a worldwide network of terrestrial and marine protected areas.

### **IUCN Commission on Environmental, Economic and Social Policy (CEESP)**

CEESP, the IUCN Commission on Environmental, Economic and Social Policy, is an interdisciplinary network of professionals whose mission is to formulate effective policies for equity and conservation rooted in successful practice. CEESP members are driven by a common objective to understand the dynamic social, political and economic factors that underlie the interaction between people and nature. CEESP's 700 members span all regions and its secretariat is based at CENESTA, an Iranian NGO. For more information, please see <http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp>

### **IUCN – Union mondiale pour la nature**

Fondée en 1948, l'Union mondiale pour la nature rassemble des Etats, des organismes publics et un large éventail d'organisations non gouvernementales au sein d'une alliance mondiale unique: plus de 950 membres dans 139 pays.

L'IUCN, en tant qu'Union, a pour mission d'influer sur les sociétés du monde entier, de les encourager et de les aider pour qu'elles conservent l'intégrité et la diversité de la nature et veillent à ce que toute utilisation des ressources naturelles soit équitable et écologiquement durable.

Afin de sauvegarder les ressources naturelles aux plans local, régional et mondial, l'Union mondiale pour la nature s'appuie sur ses membres, réseaux et partenaires, en renforçant leurs capacités et en soutenant les alliances mondiales.

### **IUCN – Unión Mundial para la Naturaleza**

La Unión Mundial para la Naturaleza, fundada en 1948 agrupa a Estados soberanos, agencias gubernamentales y una diversa gama de organizaciones no gubernamentales, en una alianza única: más de 950 miembros diseminados en 139 países.

Como Unión, la IUCN busca influenciar, alentar y ayudar a los pueblos de todo el mundo a conservar la integridad y la diversidad de la naturaleza, y a asegurar que todo uso de los recursos naturales sea equitativo y ecológicamente sustentable.

La Unión Mundial para la Naturaleza fortalece el trabajo de sus miembros, redes y asociados, con el propósito de realizar sus capacidades y apoyar el establecimiento de alianzas globales para salvaguardar los recursos naturales a nivel local, regional y global.