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A Maasai Model to Wildlife Conservation

Exploring environmental subjectivities among the Maasai living in and around Naretunoi Community Conservancy and next to Nairobi National Park in Kenya

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Abstract

Objectives: Wildlife in Kenya, much like globally, is under significant pressure. In Kenya alone, there has been a 60 percent decrease in species and the remaining wildlife is faced with habitat loss and climate change, among others. The study of conservation practices - responding to the many challenges underlying the "sixth mass extinction" - has never been more relevant. All the more so is the delicate balance between environmental protection and social justice and equity for indigenous groups residing in wildlife-populated areas. This study investigates the environmental subjectivities - informing the acting and thinking in conservation practice - of Maasai living in and around Naretunoi Community Conservancy (NCC) and next to Nairobi National Park (NNP). It will do so by employing the theoretical framework of multiple environmentalities - a perspective that seeks to explore power dynamics, subject formation, and agency in environmental governance.

Method: A qualitative case study research design has been employed to explore the different perceptions and experiences of the Maasai residing in and around the NCC. The data has been collected using participant observation and 27 semi-structured interviews.

Main findings: The findings suggest there are various environmental subjectivities among the Maasai that have been shaped by wildlife conservation frames and practices by the 'Wildlife Foundation' (TWF) and Kenyan Wildlife Service (KWS) that run NCC and NNP respectively. Yet, there are also environmental subjectivities that emanate from alternative ways to relate to wildlife that, in given constellations, mediate and contest such frames and practices of wildlife conservation. As an exercise of agency, wildlife conservation is re-imagined and practised to serve a collective purpose of maintaining pastoral Maasai practice and identity which is equally under threat by land fragmentation and shrinking space as wildlife.

***Key words**: conservation, community-based conservation, wildlife, Maasai, Kenya, environmentality, subjectivities, agency, pastoralism*

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Louise Gripenberg
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List of Abbreviations

AKP	Athi-Kapiti Plains
AWF	African Wildlife Fund
CBC	Community-Based Conservation
KWS	Kenyan Wildlife Service
NCC	Naretunoi Community Conservancy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NG	National Geographic
NNP	Nairobi National Park
PES	Payment for Ecosystem Services
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SGR	Standard Gauge Railway
TEK	Traditional Ecological Knowledge
TWF	The Wildlife Foundation
UN	United Nations
WCMA	Wildlife Conservation and Management Act (of Kenya)
WWF	World Wildlife Foundation

List of Definitions

Agency	*Refers to the ability to "act or perform an action'' probing the question "whether individuals can freely and autonomously initiate action, or whether things they do are in some sense determined by the ways in which their identity [subject] has been constructed'' (Ashcroft et al., 2007:6).*
Biodiversity	*Refers to all forms of life in a certain area, including animals, plants, fungi, etc., that make up the 'natural' world (WWF n.d.).*
Community-Based Conservation	*Refers to the conservation approach that seeks to protect biodiversity while promoting local development by engaging with, and providing benefits for local communities (Bersaglio & Cleaver 2018; Calfucura 2018).*
Dispersal Area	*Refers to geographical space of wildlife corridors and pathways in which animals migrate, move, graze, and mobilise within, between, and across (KWS 2017).*
Pastoralism	*Refers to a livelihood strategy that involves primarily livestock rearing, yet also represents a cultural practice and identity that typically characterise the Maasai (Little, 2015).*
Payment for Ecosystem Services	*Refers to incentive-based arrangements in which "a user or beneficiary of an ecosystem service provides payments to individuals or communities whose management decisions and practices influence the provision of ecosystem services'' (EC 2012).*
Protected Areas	*Refers to a clearly defined geographical space, "recognised, dedicated, and managed, through legal or other effective means, to achieve the long-term conservation of nature'' (IUCN Definition 2008).*
Subject/Subjectivity	*Refers to a concept which problematises the "simple relationship between the individual and language, replacing human nature with the concept of the production of the human subject through ideology, discourse or language" (Ashcroft et al., 2007:202).*

1. Introduction

1.1. Motivation for Study

Biodiversity continues to decline at rates never witnessed before in human history (Fletcher & Cortes-Vazquez 2020). In only 40 years, there has been almost on average a 60 percent decline in wildlife populations, and many species are currently critically endangered or on the brink of extinction (WWF 2020). Human activity, rather than a natural phenomenon, has been attributed as the main cause for the so-called 'the sixth mass extinction' by the international conservation community. Unsustainable use of land, water, and energy and climate change have resulted in, among other things, immense habitat loss and degradation and species overexploitation (ibid.).

Conservation – a tool to preserve, protect and restore earth's natural resources (NG 2019) – is a vast field with many different types of policies. A range of approaches, including community-based natural resource management and the creation of protected areas, have been implemented in either collaborative or competing manners in different locations with an equally diverse range of proponents and opponents (Fletcher 2017). Yet, the environmental politics of conservation today is ever more complex, especially because conservation policies are not simply ecological endeavours (Shoreman-Ouimet & Kopnina 2015). They are also tools to govern natural resources with social, political, and economic implications for human populations as well (ibid.). Thus, there is a monumental debate concerning the most *appropriate* approach to biodiversity conservation (Fletcher 2010).

A particularly prominent growing body of research that inquiries into environmental governance are *multiple environmentalities* (ibid.), which will be the central theoretical approach employed in this thesis. To introduce, multiple environmentalities is a theory that, for example, explores the links between governance strategies of conservation interventions and the development of 'environmental subjects' among local populations as they gain exposure to, and participate in such interventions (Cortes-Vazquez & Ruiz-Ballesteros 2018; Zhang 2018; Fletcher 2010). A particular quest for scholars within multiple environmentalities is, thus, to elucidate how environmental subjectivity - the process of how individuals construct and reconstruct a set of relationships with 'nature'- is forged (ibid.).

The complex terrain of global conservation politics is particularly evident in Kenya – a country renowned for its ecological diversity and most notably vast savannahs hosting iconic animals such as lions and elephants (AWF n.d.). While there is a profusion of different actors active in conservation, the negative trend witnessed in Kenya in the course of the last 40 years, where 68 percent of wildlife numbers have declined, is still continuing (Ogutu 2019). Designated areas for protecting key species are too small and isolated to encompass wildlife rangelands and accommodate wildlife movement, as 65 to 70 percent of all land-dwelling wildlife in Kenya occur *outside* protected areas where considerable human pressures exist, such as farmland, settlements, and infrastructural development (Ogutu et al., 2016).

Naretunoi Community Conservancy (NCC) seeks to reverse this trend by protecting the dispersal area of Nairobi National Park (NNP) in Kenya, which it neighbours. The strategy is to provide an economic benefit for landowners to leave their land open for wildlife movement and habitation (TWF 2020). NCC is run by a *locally*-based non-governmental organisation (NGO) called 'the Wildlife Foundation' (TWF) consisting of people mostly from the local Maasai community. NNP, on the other hand, is controlled by the state-led corporation 'Kenyan Wildlife Service' (KWS), which also aims to protect the same wildlife but employs a significantly different approach.

The governance institutions and approaches of TWF and KWS towards wildlife conservation are, all-in-all, widely different and highly politicised. They are both located within the same ecosystem and seek to govern a shared resource – the wildlife – that does not recognise juridical borders made by humans (Muiruri 2020). The question is, then, if NCC can serve as an example of a 'bottom-up' conservation strategy that truly amplifies and articulates the voices of involved Maasai people, or if the voices are repressed by the state that instead seeks to exert control over the wildlife through NNP. This question has never been more acute as we are in the midst of the 'sixth mass extinction' and still debating what conservation model works for both nature and humans.

1.2. Specific Aim and Research Questions

As the previous section illustrated, the Maasai living in and around NCC are both exposed to, and participate in, different governance strategies of wildlife conservation by two different actors (TWF and KWS). Therefore, the purpose of this thesis is to understand what environmental subjectivities emerge among Maasai living in and around NCC in relation to the wildlife conservation frames and practices of TWF and KWS. Applying the theoretical framework of multiple environmentalities, particularly elaborated by Fletcher (2010; 2017; 2020), is, hence, central to achieving this aim. More importantly, identifying environmental subjectivities will enable the thesis to explore how the Maasai incorporate, mediate, and/or contest the variegated exercise of power in the wildlife conservation frames and practices of TWF and the KWS towards NCC and NNP, to which they are *subject*. The aim is, thus, twofold, which also lay the basis for the formulations of the following research questions:

> *How can multiple environmentalities be used to explain what environmental subjectivities emerge among Maasai living in and around Naretunoi Community Conservancy in relation to wildlife conservation frames and practices of the Wildlife Foundation and the Kenyan Wildlife Service?*

Once this research question has been answered in the analysis of the findings, the discussion of the findings will seek to answer the following question:

> *How are these environmental subjectivities used to incorporate, mediate, and/or contest the variegated exercise of power in the wildlife conservation frames and practices of the Wildlife Foundation and the Kenyan Wildlife Service?*

1.3. Significance of the Study

This thesis seeks to contribute to, in particular, two academic strands. First, as illustrated by the aim and research questions, the thesis aims to contribute to the theoretical development of multiple environmentalities. Ever since Foucault et al., (2008) elaborated various modes of power and forms of governmentalities, the literature on multiple environmentalities has equally sought to investigate how these modes of power are expressed in environmental politics (e.g., Fletcher 2017; Cortes-Vazquez & Ruiz-Ballesteros 2018). Despite this burgeoning literature, there are, however, still avenues of research that remain fairly unexplored that, for example,

relate to vision vs. execution of conservation, and environmentality and subjectivity. Thus, the thesis will shed light on the literature on environmentalities and especially the fairly new direction that explores how subjects may exercise agency in that context (ibid.).

Apart from contributing to the theoretical development of environmentalities, the second significance of this thesis is its distinctive case. The particularity of the case is mainly expressed in how it captures the *interaction* of different models and strategies of conservation by two different actors and through the perspective of the affected group - the Maasai. Unlike many community-based conservation (CBC) models, often run and regulated by external actors, the Maasai are organising *themselves* (TWF) in a community conservancy (NCC) to protect wildlife and improve rural livelihoods (Cockerill and Hagerman 2020; TWF, 2020). Inquiring into the features of NCC, thus, also shed light on the literature particularly concerning CBC.

1.4. Outline of Thesis

Subsequent to this introduction, the thesis presents the context of state-led wildlife conservation and the Maasai in Kenya, as well as a background to NCC and NNP. In the third part, the thesis provides a literature review of the general debate that problematises conservation, focuses on CBC specifically, and draws attention to the impacts of conservation practices on Maasai in Kenya. The fourth part discusses and introduces the theoretical framework of multiple environmentalities and how it will relate to the findings presented in part six. In the fifth part, the thesis presents the research design and the methodological choices made in relation to the fieldwork upon which the data is based. In the sixth part, the thesis presents the findings and analyses them in relation to different subjectivities stipulated by multiple environmentalities. In the seventh part, the thesis discusses the inferences of the findings with the wider debate on conservation derived from the literature review to answer the second research question. In the eighth part, the thesis concludes by reiterating the aim and answering the research questions of the study.

2. Background

2.1. Wildlife Conservation and the Maasai in Kenya

Being located in one of the most biodiverse regions in the world and specifically in terms of large mammals, Kenya is not only home to the iconic big five – lion, leopard, elephant, rhino, and buffalo - but also to a wide range of other species. They inhabit a diversity of ecological zones and habitats found within the country, such as lowland and mountain forests, wooded and open grasslands, semi-arid scrubland, as well as coastal and marine ecosystems (CBD n.d.). Thus, conservation has long been on agenda in Kenya ever since the first national park of NNP was gazetted in 1946 (KWS 2021a). Protected areas are territorially based and involve different forms, such as national parks, natural parks, and reserved areas (Vaccaro et al., 2013).

Today, there are around 50 national parks and reserves that are state-managed in Kenya, and numerous private sanctuaries and conservancies, which in total cover about 10-22 percent of Kenya's land cover (KWS n.d.). Conservation has, thus, become a cornerstone of the economy that serves as the backbone of tourism in Kenya. Furthermore, many of these national parks and national reserves are located in rangelands, which represent 88 percent of Kenya's total land surface area and support around 70 percent of all land-dwelling wildlife (Ogutu et al., 2017). Rangelands in Kenya are not only home to land-dwelling wildlife but also around a third of the Kenyan population, especially the Maasai residing in rangelands (Homewood et al., 2009:165).

The Maasai are one out of 70 distinct officially recognised ethnic groups in Kenya that are traditionally semi-nomadic pastoral people (Little 2015). Pastoralism has been the main livelihood strategy characterising Maasai people for centuries, which refers to a form of animal husbandry that is understood as both an economic activity and a cultural identity (ibid.). It is a livestock production system that utilises the characteristic instability of rangelands for grazing and is simultaneously a source of, for example, prestige, wealth, dowry, and settlement of family disputes that govern socio-cultural relations within a given community (Homewood et al., 2009:71).

Livestock has, thus, been grazing alongside wildlife for centuries - but the relationship between wildlife and Maasai has profoundly changed over time due to colonialism, state conservation, and land policies (Unks 2021). Land previously used by pastoral Maasai was set aside for game reserves for European and American hunters that were later transformed into national parks

used for tourism. Wildlife became the property of the government, which the Maasai came to refer to as “cattle of the government” (ibid.). Today, the national parks of Amboseli, Nakuru, and Nairobi are all located in previous Maasai rangelands and the Maasai have been pushed to reside in surrounding areas (Lankester & Davis 2016).

Furthermore, pastoral livelihood and views of community law regarding natural resources have gradually been considered within contemporary conservation models in Kenya. The new constitution recognises community land and the right for communities to claim natural resources (Hazard & Adongo 2015). Simultaneously, the Wildlife Conservation and Management Act (WCMA) of 2013 established community conservancies as a new wildlife conservation model (Government of Republic of Kenya 2013:1275). As defined in the WCMA, a community conservancy “[…] is a sanctuary for wildlife established by any person or a community who owns land that is inhabited by wildlife” (ibid.). In 2006, the first conservancies were established with Olare Orok Conservancy and Ol Kinyei Conservancy and numerous conservancies have since then been established (Osano et al., 2013).

2.2. Nairobi National Park

Nairobi National Park (NNP) is the oldest park in Kenya that was gazetted in 1946 by the previous British colonial government to designate an area for nature protection (KWS 2021). Today, it is managed by the national government through KWS (ibid.). The park covers an area of 117 km^2 and borders the capital city of Kenya, Nairobi, making it unique in how it is the only natural park in the world adjacent to a major urban area and capital (ibid.). Despite its relatively small size and proximity to the city, there are various vegetation habitats within NNP (Mwangi et al., 2022). These habitats host a large and varied wildlife population with around 100 mammal species and 500 migratory and endemic bird species (ibid.). Also, the park operates as a huge carbon sink and provides critical ecosystem services such as fresh air and clean water, especially to neighbouring residents (ibid.).

The NNP is fenced on its northern, eastern, and western borders where there are concentrations of permanent industries, such as cement plants and steel works, as well as residential and commercial development. The southern border formed by the Mbagathi River is kept open that the wildlife uses to migrate in and out of the park (see figure 1). The limited size of NNP constrains the park to remain ecologically viable. Thus, the area to the south known as the

Kitengela dispersal area plays a critical role as a wildlife corridor and migratory route (Ogutu et al., 2013). As part of their biological imprints, large mammal species seasonally migrate to the Kitengela dispersal area during wet seasons for breeding and feeding purposes and remain in the park during the dry season. Thus, NNP is not an ecological separate entity but part of the larger Athi-Kapiti Plains (AKP) covering an area of 2200 km^2, which comprises the Kitengela dispersal area (ibid.).

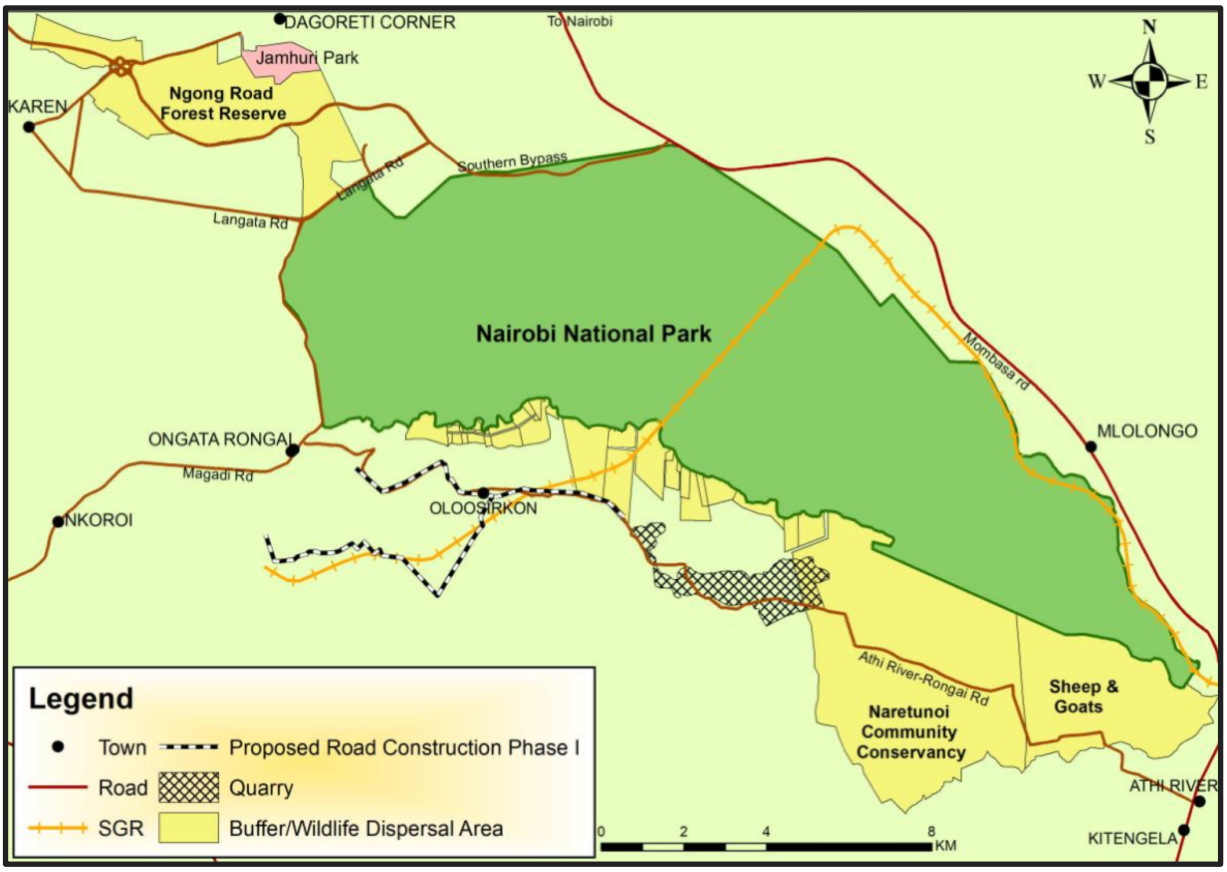

Figure 1: Map of Nairobi National Park and Naretunoi Community Conservancy (KWS 2021)

Although the park is a designated area for nature preservation, there has been land-use change occurring inside the park in the last few years. Infrastructure developments such as roads, pipelines, underground power cables, and most notably the Standard Gauge Railway (SGR) passing through the park are examples of land-use changes with environmental impacts, such as air and noise pollution (Mwangi et al., 2022). Also, the new Management Plan for Nairobi National Park 2020-2030 proposes to, for example, fence the southern park boundary and build a high-end eco-lodge within the park to enhance the visitor experience, among other things

(KWS 2021). These aspects have been met with strong reactions (Mwangi et al., 2022), many of which are evident in the findings of this thesis.

Land-use changes are also largely taking place in the dispersal area of NNP that threatens wildlife roaming inside and outside the park through habitat loss and fragmentation due to, for example, rapid urbanisation and infrastructure development (Ogega & Mbugua 2019). The proximity to Nairobi has encouraged land subdivision and sales to wealthier investors from elsewhere (gentrification) as well as land speculation due to potential high resale profits (speculation). Such land is increasingly fenced and converted to mining and quarrying, commercial agriculture, and infrastructure development, which obstruct or completely block corridors for wildlife migration and seasonal movement (Tyrrell et al., 2021).

2.3. Naretunoi Community Conservancy

To address the threats to wildlife as exemplified in the section above, Naretunoi[1] Community Conservancy (NCC) was established in 2016 with the mission to keep the dispersal area open for wildlife movement (TWF 2020). As illustrated by the map in figure 1, NCC is located next to the southern border of NNP constituted by Mbagathi River and, thus, within Athi-Kapiti plains (AKP) (see map 2 for the entire map of AKP). The individual landowners that are part of NCC have set aside land in the Kitengela dispersal area for wildlife protection where they also reside, which define the spatial boundaries of the conservancy. NCC covers an area of 2200 acres but was expanded to 6250 acres at the turn of 2022 (TWF 2020).

The Kitengela dispersal area is, furthermore, the traditional home to Maasai pastoralists that have used the land to rear livestock for centuries. In the mid 1970s, the land in the Kitengela dispersal area and generally in AKP was privatised when the Kitengela Group Ranch was created that around a decade later subdivided the land into individual landholding (Matiko 2014). Despite privatisation of land and increased sedentarism, the Maasai are still engaging in livestock production as their main livelihood strategy but are, similar to the wildlife, experiencing a shrinking space to access water and forage for livestock rearing as pastoralism depends on open land (ibid.).

[1] The word ‘Naretunoi’ means “to support each other” in Maa.

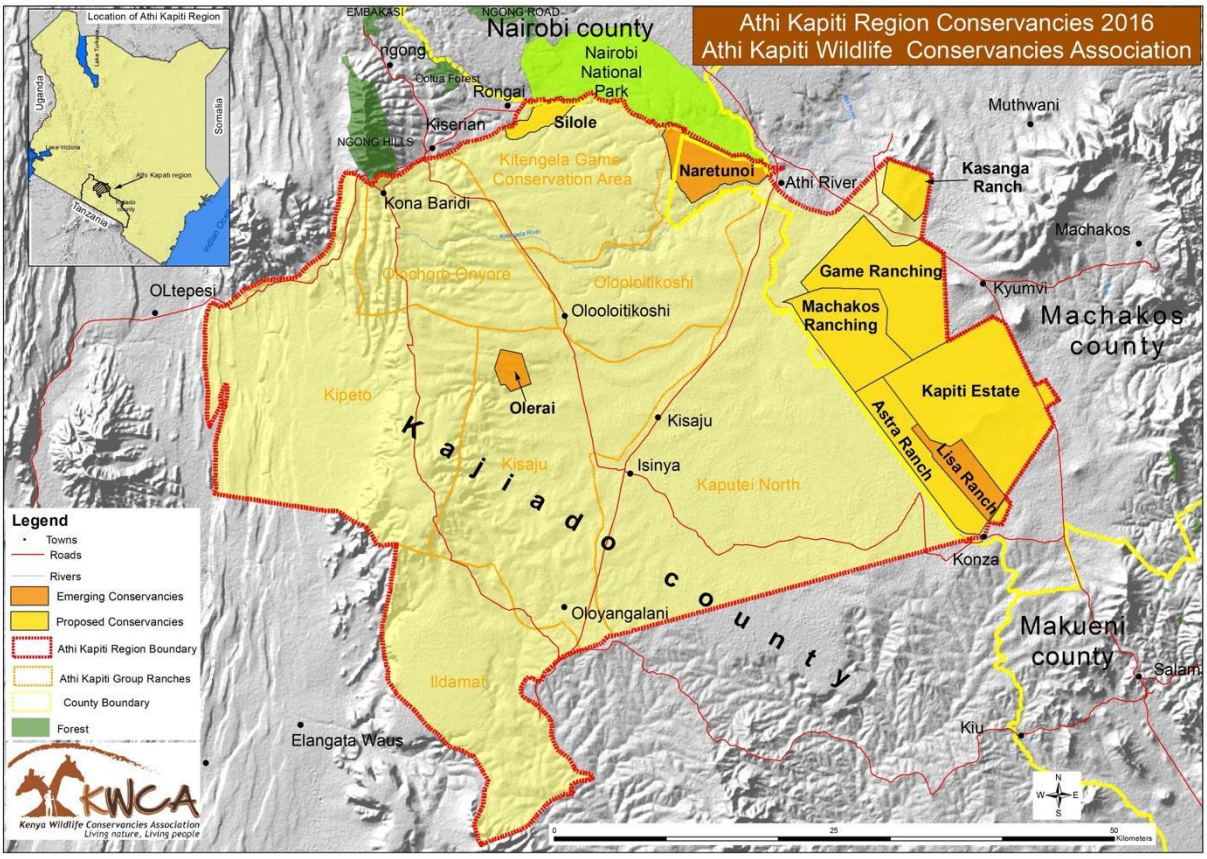

Figure 2: Map of Athi-Kapiti Plains (KWCA, 2016)

Against this background, the locally-based NGO 'the Wildlife Foundation' (TWF) is running several projects that seek to preserve the Kitengela wildlife dispersal area through benefit sharing with local communities. Most notably, the lease programme provides 8 dollars per acre of land to landowners for keeping their land unfenced in return for hosting wildlife in their privately owned land parcels. The payment occurs three times a year at the start of the school semester.[2] There are certain conditions to be met such as not being able to sell land, keep it unfenced, and not cultivate, mine, or quarry the land being leased under the agreement, albeit not being binding (see appendix 1 for the lease agreement). In case of breaching the conditions at any parcel of the land, that specific parcel of land will not be taken into consideration for the next payment.[3] The programme included at first 21 members but was expanded to cover 56 households along with the expansion of NCC (see appendix 2 for lease information sheet) (TWF 2020). It should be noted that the current lease programme is not the first programme of its kind

[2] This information was collected during the fieldwork conducted by the author of this thesis. The information is not digitally available.
[3] This information was collected during the fieldwork conducted by the author of this thesis. The information is not digitally available.

being implemented in the Kitengela dispersal area with the local inhabitants. The World Bank, above all, sponsored a lease programme that ran from 2000 to 2012 that was managed by the Wildlife Foundation (Matiko 2014).

3. Literature Review

This section will outline and discuss the literature of relevance to this thesis. The first part brings together a comprehensive review of the diverse conceptual contributions that problematise conservation by illustrating how power, through narratives and execution, operates. The second part explores previous literature in relation to CBC that involves and provides benefits to local communities. The third part includes previous literature specifically focusing on the interrelated dimensions of conservation, pastoralism, and the Maasai in Kenya.

3.1. Problematising Conservation

A vast body of work has focused, in particular, on the role of the state in conservation and its rationality and structures in attempting to govern access to, and control of, natural resources (Vaccaro et al., 2013). Early literature in this context, produced by scholars such as Adams and McShane (1992) and Brockington (2002) have critically scrutinised the ways former colonial administrators justified territorial interventions and land acquisition in the name of 'conservation'. Inherent in the Euro-American colonial discourse were the ideas of an unspoiled 'wilderness' untouched by humans that simultaneously portrayed land usage of locals as causing environmental degradation (ibid.; Murombedzi 2003). Thus, scholars often pointed to how colonial states displaced local communities by suppressing their ontologies as well as historical and local land usages while asserting control over natural resources (see e.g., Brockington 2002; Cock & Fig 2000; Kamieniecki 2001).

Increasingly, the role of the state in conservation by creating strict protected areas is regaining momentum among the international conservation community, and there is subsequently a growing body of work that traces colonial expressions in such contemporary strategies (Domínguez & Luoma 2020; Jones 2021; Kashwan et al., 2021). For example, Domínguez and Luoma (2020) argue that strict protected areas perpetuate colonial notions of individual land ownership to maximise economic returns; cultivation as the only 'productive' land-use practice worth legal protection; and indigenous people as irrational and uncivilised actors that degrade the environment. Subsequently, indigenous communities have been restricted access to and

traditional use of their ancestral lands, with determinantal effects on indigenous livelihoods (ibid.).

Furthermore, nature was constructed by colonial powers as a collective heritage in terms of intergenerational patrimony, a 'collective public good' or a 'scientific entity' (Fairhead & Leach 1996; Roigé and Frigolé 2011). These narratives provided legitimacy to the claims made by the state to have a monopoly on the conservation of nature, which still underpins how many contemporary nation-states attempt to assert control over natural resources (Domínguez and Luoma 2020; Jones 2021; Roigé and Frigolé 2011). Building on this work, there is a body of literature that in particular scrutinises how the 'public patrimony' narrative has also enabled a *commodification of nature* by state as well as non-state actors in conservation which has, in turn, disempowered and displaced local communities from their lands (e.g., Louder & Bosak 2019; Sullivan 2006). Brought forward by these scholars is how the portrayal of nature as 'exotic', 'unpeopled', and 'picturesque' enabled the materialisation of nature as a commodity to be consumed by creating an image that is marketable and desirable (Igoe 2010; Sullivan 2011; Büsher 2010).

Sullivan (2006) and Louder & Bosak (2019) argue how framings and praxes across the world that describe a distinct human-nature relationship *beyond* consumption and dualism are, thereby, silenced. Consequently, the relationship people have with the given land and ultimately their identities are negatively impacted (ibid.). For example, as showcased by Louder and Bosak (2019), people and 'nature' or 'wildlife' coexist according to the narratives of local people living around Patagonia Park in Chile, which is disregarded by park administrators that instead perpetuate the narrative of the park as an asocial, pristine, and wild place with no previous human affiliation. Also, Sullivan (2011) argues that people inhabiting conservation landscapes are displaced by means of their cultures and identities by becoming objects of tourism that consume nature as a saleable spectacle.

The commodification of nature as a presentable, consumable, and manageable object has also directed previous literature toward emerging neoliberal strategies within conservation into how economic growth is constructed as a *necessity to protect nature* (Igoe 2010; Sullivan 2011; Büsher 2010; et al., 2012). Features of neoliberal conservations involve, for example, how capitalist markets are created for natural resource exchange and consumption, and how resource

control within those markets is privatised (Fletcher 2010). Even in cases where there would be a lack of significant market engagement, Fletcher and Büscher (2015) argue that strategies such as ecotourism and payment for ecosystem services can still be viewed as neoliberal, meaning there is still the monetary payment that aims to *incentivise* conservation. Putting a price on nature in order to 'save' it has been extensively scrutinised to centralise wealth and power in the hands of foreign and local elites by legitimise the appropriation of land and, thus, dispossessing local communities (e.g.; Fairhead et al., 2012; Igoe & Brockington 2007). For example, neoliberal conservation has suppressed local environmental knowledge and undermined local environmental initiatives, and widened existing inequalities (Igoe & Brockington 2007; Matose 2014).

3.2. Community-based Conservation

Community-based conservation (CBC)[4] spurred in the 1980s and rose to prominence in Africa during the mid-1990s. CBC seeks to achieve biodiversity conservation while engaging with and providing benefits to local communities (Bersaglio & Cleaver 2018; Brooks et al., 2013; Galvin et al., 2018). Although it is not a new phenomenon, there is a growing trend to establish CBC and especially community conservancies.[5] Like other CBC models, it is meant to devolve control over natural resources and financial resources to local communities (Bersaglio & Cleaver 2018). Despite having been vastly scrutinised by scholars, the academic debate around CBC is growing because of the promise of development (Brooks et al., 2013; Galvin et al., 2018; Kashwan et al., 2021).

First, there is a significant body of literature that demonstrates, through empirical investigation, the positive social outcomes of community conservancies (e.g., Silva & Motzer, 2015; Snyman, 2012). Such outcomes include employment opportunities, increased household incomes, increased social status and extended social networks, reduced vulnerability to other livelihood strategies, and diversification opportunities (ibid.). In cases where community conservancies facilitated inclusive participation in decision-making, it translated into the equitable distribution of benefits, built trust, and supported conflict resolution (Sheppard et al., 2010; Dyer et al.,

[4] Community-based conservation (CBC) goes under various labels such as community conservancy, community-based conservancies, community-based natural resource management, and integrated conservation and development but commonly rests on the notion of people and nature coexisting (Galvin et al., 2018).
[5] Community Conservancies are centralised around common property arrangements managed to improve biodiversity conservation, land managements and rural livelihoods (Bersaglio & Cleaver, 2018).

2014). However, Silva & Motzer (2015) and other scholars (see e.g., Nkhata & Breen 2010; Bersaglio & Cleaver 2018) have also highlighted that the equitable distribution of benefits and social capital is not always prevalent in CBC. In these cases, scholars have showcased how authorities, such as local elites and the government, either captured a disproportionate percentage of economic benefits or ineffectively or incompletely devolved their powers to local communities (ibid.).

As demonstrated above, the problems frequently associated with CBC are usually linked by scholars to the wider political and economic structures and the issue of power imbalances (Bersaglio & Cleaver 2018; Nightingale 2019). As highlighted by Bersaglio & Cleaver (2018), seemingly adaptive, creative, and progressive institutional arrangements for managing communal lands and natural resources through community conservancies are instead facets of subtle 'green grabbing'[6]. In this case, community institutions governing communal lands and natural resources were overhauled and rearranged to align with the ideas and aspirations of an external conservation organisation that advocated for *their* design to conservation (ibid.). Bersaglio & Cleaver (2018) view it as a 'green grabbing' because it stems from an authoritarian process shaped by historical patterns of access and accumulation and corresponding power relations that reproduce and reinforce inequality by altering integral community institutions. In the same line, Nightingale (2019) explores the operation of power among a community that communally manages forestry based on the premise of exclusion and inclusion. Commoning efforts[7] are, thus, not apolitical because it is governed by relations of sharing and collective practices. Such relations are always renegotiated and reconfigured and, thus, "contingent, ambivalent, outcomes of the exercise of power" as Nightingale (2019) phrased it.

Relating to this body of literature, is the notation of 'romanticisation' that has been used by various scholars to demonstrate the colonial narratives that perpetuate CBC, despite seemingly 'progressive' (see e.g., Attwell & Cotterill 2000; Kuper, 2003). Indigenous peoples are frequently held by the international conservation community as the best custodians of environmental preservation because their land-use systems are seen as the most compatible with

[6] Green grabbing denotes the process where land and resources are appropriated resources for environmental ends (Fairhead et al., 2012).
[7] Commoning efforts refer to the collectivisation of governance and use of, for example, natural resources such as water and forest and livelihood resources (Nightingale 2019).

nature preservation. Attwell and Cotterill (2000) and Kuper (2003) argue that the discourse reflects a western romanticisation of pre-colonial societies that they still need to intervene in order to instruct how CBC can be properly managed. In so doing, indigenous peoples are portrayed as 'primitive', 'uncivilised', and/or 'backward' that necessitates an *intervention* by means of the 'appropriate knowledge and technology' of the westerner (ibid.).

This body of work on the issue of power imbalances and romanisation of CBC has opened another direction of literature that seeks to disclose the possibility for structural transformative conservation approaches and practices (Büscher & Fletcher 2020; Cortes-Vasquez & Ballesteros 2018). For example, Büscher and Fletcher (2020) argue that conservation can only be decolonised and equitable if conservation is pursued as an *outcome* of social interaction rather than as an *intervention* that claims to be neutral, apolitical, rational, and neatly packed. Thus, these authors imagined a different way to practise conservation that, among others, moves from protected areas to promoted areas; from saving nature to celebrating human and non-human nature; and from privatised technocracy to common engagement (ibid.). In this vein, Cortes-Vasquez and Ballesteros (2018) illustrate that local people residing in different protected areas of Ecuador and Spain exercise agency by neither breaching nor adhering to conservation regulations of the government. Instead, people managed to retain their environmental views and practices, even if not seemingly compatible with nature conservation. Thus, people have the capacity to "negotiate, adapt, and combine different forms of practice, incorporating their own interests, affects, and habits" (ibid:241).

3.3. Conservation and Maasai Pastoral Livelihoods in Kenya

The broad perspectives problematising conservation, and especially the conservation approach of CBC has been critically scrutinised in the context of the Maasai in Kenya (see e.g., Homewood et al., 2009; Goldman 2011; Oduor 2020). It has especially been a subject of inquiry as conservation strategies in Kenya are increasingly adopting human-wildlife coexistence approaches by providing direct or indirect benefits to especially Maasai that inhabit rangelands where wildlife also exists (Broekhuis et al., 2020). Within one body of literature, some scholars have pointed out a profusion of challenges to the interactions between wildlife and traditional pastoralism. These challenges include human-wildlife conflicts arising from competing competition for space, crop destruction, livestock depredation, and threats to human life by wildlife (Ogutu et al., 2017); restricted access to key resources that wildlife and livestock

require due to shrinking space (Weldemichel & Lein 2019); as well as habitat fragmentation due to e.g., fencing by individual Maasai and/or other livelihood strategies such as agriculture (Said et al., 2016).

However, these land-use practices of the Maasai, such as fencing and/or the pursuit of a diversified livelihood portfolio, are often attributed to historical processes of land division and inequitable land policy by the government and multilateral agencies, among others (Hemingway et al., 2022; Weldemichel & Lein 2019). As Hemingway et al., (2022) and Weldemichel & Lein (2019) showcase, the unfolding policies of decentralisation, commercial ranching, and land privatisation have pressured and shaped the uptake of such livelihood strategies and land-use practices among the Maasai. Weldemichel and Lein (2019) illustrate how these policies reflect a colonial discourse as in the 'end of pastoralism' that portrayed pastoralism as an obsolete practice and inefficient use of the resources. Thus, Weldemichel and Lein (2019) found fencing to be a consequence of privatisation and marketisation of land but also an active form of resistance to dispossession in the name of conservation.

Building on this body of literature is the focus on the implications of certain discourses on Maasai ontology. According to Toogood (2012:262), Maasai ontology is further suppressed by colonial discourses of Maasai as noble primitives and guardians of the savannah and yet stuck in the past with poor management of rangelands. The discourse assumes that Maasai lack knowledge to either seize the opportunities of exploiting resources from their land or maintain pastoral practices that do not interfere with the ecosystem through pastoralism (ibid.). Unks et al., (2021) also demonstrate that Maasai ontology concerning human-human and human-nonhuman relations has been reconfigured by conservation intervention to instead facilitate a desire to spatially separate Maasai and their livestock from wildlife. This change in attitude towards wildlife is attributed to a history of political marginalisation, uneven power dynamics, and land alienation connected to conservation interventions (ibid.).

In line with Unks et al., (2021), there are scholars that have critically scrutinised wildlife and human interactions among the Maasai people as being inherently related to the politics of conservation (Broekhuis et al., 2020; Goldman et al., 2013). Rather than a mere cultural ritual or retaliatory behaviour against predation on livestock, Goldman et al., (2013) attribute the killing of lions by Maasai as an act of resentment towards the government. The resentment

arose due to increased alienation from decision-making, restriction on grazing for livestock, and limited benefits from, e.g., tourism enacted by the state-led wildlife conservation. Similarly, the cost of livestock depredation was not a factor influencing attitudes towards predators among Maasai in conservancies across the Maasai Mara, as shown by Broekhuis et al., (2018). People with a more positive attitude towards predators that supported the notion of people, predators, and livestock coexisting also had a stronger sense of ownership over the wildlife and community engagement, were members in a conservancy, received benefits, and/or worked in the tourism industry (ibid.).

A final related body of literature attunes the effects of conservation strategies not only on human and wildlife interactions but also on pastoralism that has for centuries characterised Maasai livelihood (Archambault 2016; Hazard & Adongo 2015; Pas Schrijver 2019). Conservation goals and resource practices they proclaim tend to clash with pastoralists activities and resource uses. Instead of facilitating community development, the shift to community management has further marginalised pastoralists from accessing resources they depend on during dry seasons (Hazard & Adongo 2015). Community conservation has also been shown to change the governing access to grazing land by instead granting grazing rights through membership in formal territory-based institutions. Consequently, pastoralists viewed conservancies as means to secure exclusive access to land that exacerbated the conflict between pastoralists and other land users, and diminished traditions of reciprocity and cultural rules of inclusion and exclusion (Pas Schrijver 2019). Archambault (2016) demonstrates that reciprocity and social networks play a crucial role to facilitate access to natural resources when responding to land fragmentation due to privatisation of previously communal land. Thus, the reciprocity and social networks enabled pastoralists to sustain mobile livestock despite privatised land, which Archambault (2016) describes as ‘re-creating the commons’.

4. Theoretical Framework

The literature review has demonstrated a vast academic field focusing on conservation. Yet, it also demonstrates that despite unfolding conservation strategies that have equally been critically scrutinised by scholars, local communities are seldom the *stewards* of conservation but rather frequently at a loss. Understanding why this is the case and how to revert it is a quest of considerable academic and practical pertinence. Multiple environmentalities as a theoretical framework can, in this vein, help to realise this quest, which will be presented in this section and later used to structure the findings and discussion of the thesis.

4.1. Multiple Environmentalities

Multiple environmentalities depart from a post-structuralist political ecology perspective that scrutinises how economic and political power relations drive ecological change (Robbins 2011). While political ecology draws focus on power in environmental governance, it is still enmeshed with several distinct ways of perceiving power in terms of how to define it, where it is located, and how to recognise it (Nightingale & Ahlborg 2018). The specific conceptualisation of power according to multiple environmentalities is based on Foucault's seminal concept of governmentality. Governmentality denotes the subtle ways power operates by making subjects, those who are to be governed, internalising the responsibilities and norms of those who govern, which paves the way for populations to govern themselves and others in the form of self-governance (Robbins 2011:76). Foucault drew attention to principally state authorities in how they govern or 'conduct' subject populations that internalise this conduct and act accordingly (Fletcher & Cortes-Vazquez 2020).

Foucault later revised governmentality in his lecture series from 1978-1979 entitled 'the birth of biopolitics' to entail various modes of power for directing the 'conduct of conduct', and thus, different forms of governmentalities (Foucault et al., 2008). However, the lectures were not translated into English until 2007, which sparked a new direction of research in applying various environmentalities. Fletcher (2010) is one scholar that has considerably substantiated the concept of environmentalities that, in turn, has been applied by scholars such as Deutsch (2020) and Maguire-Rajpaul et al., (2022). Inspired by Foucault, these environmentalities entail sovereign, disciplinary, neoliberal, and 'truth' modes of power. To respond to the critique towards multiple environmentalities that it assumes environmentalities always achieve their

aim to foster subjects, Fletcher (2020) further elaborated on a fifth environmentality, that Foucault also briefly theorised, known as 'communal environmentality' that is 'liberatory'.

Additionally, Fletcher (2020) further established a synthesis and common conceptual language to be able to capture the complex forms of environmentalities in both policy and practice and how these modes can be bridged. This conceptual language as provided by Fletcher (2010; 2020) will be the central typology employed in this thesis.[8] In this synthesis, environmentalities are elaborated to contain (a) an overarching environmentality, (b) the particular forms of rationality (principles) this embodies, (c) the specific technologies (policies) through which it is implemented, and (d) the particular forms of subjectivity that a given environmentality seeks to nurture (see table 1) (Fletcher, 2020). Sovereign environmentality[9] was not identified in the findings and, thus, will not be presented in this section. The remaining environmentalities will be elaborated in separate sections that follow.

Table 1: Multiple Environmentalities, Principles, Policies, and Subjectivities

Environmentality	**Principles**	**Policies**	**Subjectivities**
Discipline (Ethical injunction)	Normalisation	Education Surveillance	Normality Self-discipline
Neoliberalism (Incentives)	Privatisation Commodification	Direct markets (e.g., ecotourism) Payment for Ecosystem Services	Self-interest Rational Benefit-cost analysis
Truth (The order of things)	Divine revelation Spiritual practice Traditional Knowledge (TEK)	Religious decree Taboo spaces Spiritual possession	Vehicle for the divine will Spirituality
Communal	Communal production Commoning Socialisation	Common property regimes Gifting	Affective relations Care Collective responsibility

Table modified from Fletcher (2010; 2020). Created by L. Gripenberg (2022).

[8] While many scholars have *employed* multiple environmentalities in different cases, Fletcher (2010; 2020) has been consistently referred to as one of the most influential authors in developing this typology from Foucault et al., (2008). For consistency, Fletcher's conceptual contributions will be the main departure point for the analysis of this thesis's findings.

[9] Sovereign environmentality is a top-down form of power that operates through constructing and enforcing codified and creating a subjectivity that is obedient to the sovereign due to threat of punishment (Foucault et al., 2008).

4.1.1. Disciplinary Environmentality

Disciplinary governmentality exercises power by invoking fear among individuals to appear deviant or immoral through the propagation of social norms and ethical standards (Foucault 2008). Conversely, as understood by Fletcher (2010), disciplinary power is exercised within conservation through invoking an environmental ethic in the subject to start caring for the environment. Environmental education would be a tactic within disciplinary environmentality that constructs norms advocating for natural resource preservation, which the target population would internalise by means of self-discipline. Creating 'environmental subjects' by inculcating a particular ethical orientation in its subject is central to the tactics of disciplinary environmentality (Fletcher 2010).

4.1.2. Neoliberal Environmentality

Neoliberalism is a concurrent term used within political ecology and beyond to denote market-oriented reform policies (Robbins 2011; Fletcher 2010). Rather than being viewed as merely a capitalist economic process, Foucault et al., (2008) perceive neoliberalism as a strategy for governing human actions. Neoliberal economists even called for pervasive government intervention and regulation in order to establish and sustain an apparent 'free market' (Fletcher 2010). The state, thus, plays an active role to establish the conditions or 'rules of the game' of the market and monitor its outcomes in the form of 'regulatory actions', which denotes price stabilisation through control of inflation and 'organising actions' stipulating conditions such as the legal system and state of technology according to Foucault et al., (2008).

Thus, Foucault et al., (2008) viewed neoliberalism as governmentality in how it is a political project that acts according to a claimed social reality it has constructed. The individual is portrayed as a rational actor who seeks to maximise their material utility through cost and benefit analysis and can be "[…] motivated to exhibit appropriate behaviours through manipulation of incentives" (Fletcher 2010). In terms of neoliberal environmentality, thus, external incentive structures would be constructed and manipulated by conservationists to 'motivate individuals to choose to behave in conservation-friendly ways' (ibid). Such an external incentive structure would most commonly be directed towards economic growth as an encouragement within conservation policy. Thus, a commodifying and market-based approach to conservation is embedded within neoliberal environmentality (ibid.).

4.1.3. Truth-based Environmentality

Instead of streaming from rules, norms, or incentives, power through truth-based environmentality flows from claims that certain prescriptions for appropriate behaviour are in line with particular conceptions about the nature of life and the universe (Foucault et al., 2008). According to Fletcher (2020), the 'truth' is thus constructed as revealed through sacred texts, divine revelation, and the order of the world. The proposed subjectivity according to 'truth-based' environmentality is forged when it recognises this truth and serves as a vehicle for its execution (Fletcher 2020). Fletcher (2010) raises the example of a variant of truth environmentality grounded in so-called traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) that constitutes alternative resource use regimes by indigenous peoples.

4.1.4. Communal Environmentality

Fletcher (2020) introduced communal environmentality to showcase how Foucault was, contrary to the critique raised against him, exploring the possibility of a subject that is able to exercise agency. Indeed, Foucault et al., (2008) discussed a distinctive socialist art of government that would enable a space of freedom beyond power and resistance altogether, which Fletcher (2010) interprets as an art of governance in pursuit of liberation when external authority is absent. Thus, communal environmentality was coined to denote the "[…] diverse forms of self-governance prescribed by various communitarian projects" (Fletcher 2020) that emphasises democratic self-governance and egalitarian distribution of resources. Fletcher (2020) views affective relations grounded in a logic of gifting, reciprocity, and care as elements of communal environmentality as power, according to Fletcher, has a liberatory dimension as well.

4.2. Applying Multiple Environmentalities

As underlined by Fletcher (2020), the framework of multiple environmentalities can be used to rigorously and comparatively analyse the complex intersecting and overlapping approaches to governance within a given context as well as among interrelated sites. It is a useful framework to understand how governance strategies embody different principles, rationale, policies, and forms of subjectivity – environmentalities – and how these environmentalities "[…] overlap, lean on each other, challenge each other and struggle with each other within particular institutions and processes" (ibid.). The framework also provides the possibility to explore how local communities participating in, or are exposed to, conservation strategies incorporate,

mediate, and contest the governance approaches promoted by different organisations (Fletcher & Cortes-Vazquez, 2020).

Thus, this framework provides a common foundation for the discussion of difference, which can guide how environmental subjectivities emerge and how these are used to incorporate, mediate, and/or contest variegated exercise of power. Multiple environmentalities will be used to first structure the findings based on the environmental subjectivities present as reflected by various environmentalities in relation to TWF/NCC and KWS/NNP to which they are subject. Secondly, the identified environmental subjectivities will be brought together with previous literature to understand how these are used to incorporate, mediate, and/or contest variegated exercise of power in the wildlife conservation frames and practices of TWF and KWS. This will enable the exploration of the possibility of agency.

5. Methodology

This section will discuss and reflect on the research design and the subsequent methodological choices made. First, an overview of the research design is provided, followed by the research method and data including sampling, and the method of data processing. The last part will focus on ethical considerations and methodological limitations of the applied research design.

5.1. Research Design

The study departs from a qualitative case study design since the thesis departs from their perceptions and experiences of the Maasai living in and around NCC. A qualitative case study design allows for an in-depth exploration of a specific complex phenomenon based on how people interpret the given phenomena, which is crucial to comprehend the environmental subjectivities among Maasai in relation to the wildlife conservation frames and practices of TWF and KWS, and how these are used to incorporate, mediate, and/or contest the variegated exercise of power by TWF and KWS (Bryman 2016:881). Hence, the unit of analysis is limited to the specific case of the Maasai living in and around NCC, which implies an idiographic approach that distinguishes a case study from other research designs (Bryman 2016:69-70). Despite constituting two distinct administrative areas, NCC and NNP are approached as one case because the unit of analysis is both impacted by local resource conditions and flows stemming from the management of NNP by being neighbours to the park, and the management decisions of NCC by being beneficiaries of their lease programme or residents (Galvin et al., 2018).

5.2. Research Method and Data

5.2.1. Semi-structured Interviews and Sampling Process

As the thesis seeks to disclose the perceptions and experiences of the Maasai living in and around NCC, the research was conducted through fieldwork from this site and carried out over two months. The data was collected predominantly through 27 semi-structured interviews (see appendix 3 for the list of interviewees) with the Maasai living in and around NCC and complemented with participant observation (see below). The method of semi-structured interviews is effective when inquiring into how people perceive, construct, define and attribute meaning to their realities, which allows for flexibility and in-depth information about the interviewee while at the same time covering topics relevant to the research question (Punch

2015:168). Only 4 interviewees out of 27 have not enrolled various proportions of their land in the lease programme but fulfil the criterion of becoming a member (see appendix 1 for the lease contract) and, thus live around NCC. Interviewing potential beneficiaries facilitated a more profound understanding of how community members enrol land in the lease programme. It should be noted that 4 of the interviewees that are beneficiaries of the lease programme occupy a role within TWF such as rangers.

The questions departed from an interview guide as the thesis intends to cover specific topics relevant to wildlife conservation (see appendix 4 for interview guide). The questions were open-ended to capture the interviewee's point of view since the method employed was semi-structured interviews (Bryman 2016:468). Having a flexible approach when conducting the interview is particularly important when the sample is made of an indigenous group to recognise indigenous worldview (Stewart-Withers et al., 2014:72). With the permission of the interviewees, all interviews were recorded.

The sample emerged through purposive sampling according to the criteria of being a beneficiary or a potential beneficiary of the lease programme by virtue of their relevance to the research question (Bryman 2016:418). Initial interviews were scheduled with a few beneficiaries of the lease programme following purposive sampling. Based on these initial contacts, the sample also emerged through a snowball sampling approach to further sample respondents that are either beneficiaries or potential beneficiaries of NCC to broaden the scope of the thesis (Bryman 2016:424). The sampling process ceased when the data had reached theoretical saturation as there was no new and relevant data emerging (ibid:421).

5.2.2. Participant Observation

Furthermore, participant observation was conducted to detect everyday practices and actions as they naturally unfold to disclose complex patterns of behaviours, interactions, and events at the research site (Punch 2015:179-180). During the field visit, I participated in various events such as game drives with rangers around the conservancy and community meetings that have provided a more in-depth understanding of the governance strategies of TWF. I used field notes to detail the observations including summaries of events, behaviour, and my initial reflections (Bryman 2016:447). Furthermore, to fully immerse myself in the research context, I employed an unstructured and open-ended approach to participant observation based on the invitations to

events that were occurring during my stay (Kapiszewski et al., 2015:239). This was particularly crucial to establish direct contact with various respondents instead of merely relying on key informants in terms of the people working at the TWF to access people and events (Bryman 2016:439).

5.3. Data Analysis

The thesis employed a thematic analysis to organise and interpret the data based on common themes in the interviews, which is a common strategy within a qualitative case design (Stewart-Withers et al., 2014:75-76). The data gathered through semi-structured interviews and participant observation were analysed throughout various stages, which already commenced during the process of collecting data to start organising general themes based on raw notes. Thus, the research process was iterative by moving back and forth between data collection and analysis which also helped to sharpen the focus of the fieldwork (ibid.). Upon finalising the data collection process, all interviews and relevant field notes were transcribed and the first round of analysis was subsequently carried out through the software NVivo. The first round in NVivo identified common themes based on the interviewee's general experiences and perceptions. Multiple environmentalities as the theoretical framework was later applied in the second round of data analysis to structure the themes according to this lens. These themes were later revisited and the refined in a third round of coding (see appendix 5 for the coding scheme).

5.4. Limitations

To understand under which conditions the findings should be interpreted and to better inform future studies, certain considerations of the limitations of this thesis must be made. First, one limitation concerns the involvement of people working at TWF that helped to facilitate access to the research area and acted as interpreters. Responses might be affected to romanticise the perceptions and experiences in relation to NCC and NNP because I was seen to be associated with TWF by staying at the TWF centre and getting help from employed rangers to translate. Similarly, based on my positionality as a foreign researcher, it is not unreasonable to think that this also influenced the responses. For example, as a "mzungu'' (white person) that I was commonly referred to, the community under study might expect direct benefits or donations for supporting this thesis, which could exaggerate their responses (Schech et al., 2018). Therefore, I sought to be transparent about my intention behind the study and my role as a student, and the

association with TWF that are community members themselves eased acceptance of my position.

Having interpreters from the local community was also an enormous asset to better build trust, guide appropriate behaviour, and identify possible research participants (Mclennan et al., 2014:153). Also, by staying at the research site and participating in various events beyond what was relevant for the research, I managed to establish direct contact with community members myself to minimise the influence of the interpreters dominating the form of data collected (ibid.).

The language might also be a limitation to the study as the cultural and linguistic biases of English might not fully capture their picture of the social world. Therefore, I made sure to learn the native language of Maa and the national language of Swahili as much as possible, which helped to facilitate a more sensitive, appropriate, and enjoyable interaction and understanding of different viewpoints (Mclennan et al., 2014:156). Learning to very partially express myself in the native language was particularly important to reduce the language barrier since eight of the respondents did not speak English.

Lastly, this thesis focuses primarily on the *perceptions* of the Maasai community living in and around the NCC and the data has, therefore, been collected accordingly through fieldwork. While the fieldwork enabled to capture the governance strategies of TWF, the thesis does *not* include data on the governance strategy of the KWS (the government), as stipulated by the NNP Management Plan of 2020. This further limit the possibility of acknowledging and analysing *sovereign* environmentality - since the concept derives solely from state authority, power, and governance - and is therefore *not* included in the analysis. The different environmentalities, such as outlined in part four, therefore will be limited to those which are theoretically appropriate to the data collected.

5.5. Ethical considerations

Due to the sensitive political nature of this study, certain ethical considerations must be made. First, the collection of data was made bearing in mind the sensitive political position many interviewees might be situated in, whereby procedures of anonymity and privacy were relevantly put in place. Prior to every interview, each participant received a brief in the nature

of the study and the context to which their participation contributes. Subsequently, all informants gave verbal consent before the interview started. Written consent was not sought after, because my translator advised against it due to a history of land grabbing resulting from deceptively signing documents, thus illustrating, again, the importance of having translators from the community. No names can be found in the findings analysed below, nor in the appendices. The data was collected through informed consent and reciprocity by informing the interviewees of the ethical dimensions and intentions of the thesis prior to the interview. The data was treated with confidentiality and stored securely (Scheyvens et al., 2014:184-189).

Since the thesis focuses on disclosing the perceptions and experiences of the Maasai through multiple environmentalities, it is of enormous importance to re-emphasise that my positionality as a non-Maasai limit the study to fully capture the ontology and epistemology of the respondents. By fully recognising ontological and epistemological biases and the possibility to further diversify power inequalities and academic paradigms in indigenous research due to my positionality, careful attention was given to the process of data collection (Scheyvens et al., 2014:196-197). Participation observation and informal discussions were critical to immersing into the cultural setting and providing a critical perspective of the thesis (see Bryman 2016:393). The interview guide was carefully developed with regard to contextual sensitivity, and to mitigate ethnocentric understanding and give voice to the interviewee (Sheyvens et al., 2014:196-197). Furthermore, having community members as interpreters helped not only to build trust, guide appropriate behaviour to follow customs and traditions, and access interviewees but also to guide what language is the most appropriate to use. It also helped to avoid using labels of people living in poverty in the local language that might internalise the way they are spoken about (Eyben et al., 2008).

6. Analysis of Findings

This section presents the findings of data analysis, to respond to the first research question: *How can multiple environmentalities be used to explain what environmental subjectivities emerge among Maasai living in and around Naretunoi Community Conservancy in relation to the wildlife conservation frames and practices of the Wildlife Foundation and the Kenyan Wildlife Service?* Subjectivities emerging from neoliberal, disciplinary, truth-based, and communal environmentalities emerged from the data as the most prominent subjectivities at play among the Maasai. To present a comprehensive and clear overview of the findings, each subjectivity is presented in separate subsections and the data presented herein revolves exclusively around the inferences between the interview data and the theoretical framework. These environmental subjectivities are later brought together in section seven – discussion of findings - to answer the second research question of this thesis and revert to the broader academic literature on the issue. Before delving into the analysis of findings, a background into the livelihood strategies and challenges as identified by the interviewees and observed during fieldwork will be provided. This section will end with a summary of the major takeaways from these findings to answer the first research question.

6.1. Setting the Scene: Livelihood Strategies and Challenges

All of the interviewees are from the community and identify as Maasai. As per the tradition of Maasai culture, all the interviewees engage in pastoral livestock husbandry as a source of livelihood, which was also observed. The majority also utilise a proportion of the land they own for cultivation, mostly on a subsistence level. Apart from subsistence farming and livestock rearing, some of the interviewees are also formally employed through either TWF or other forms of occupation. The interviewees discussed various constraints to livestock rearing including droughts aggregated by climate change and shrinking rangelands associated with increasing settlements, and infrastructural development, among others. These challenges were held as some reasons that have pressured people to fence or sell a portion of their lands to secure pasture during the dry season or get an income. Similarly, when there is a drought and insufficient access to pasture, people with larger herds either buy forage for livestock or migrate further away to other people's land they gain access to through leasing or kinship.

6.2. Incentivising Conservation: Neoliberal Environmentality

To recall the theoretical framework, neoliberal environmentality entails creating external incentive structures that motivate the subject to choose to exhibit appropriate behaviours accordingly. It assumes a self-interested rational actor who seeks to maximise their utility through the most promising avenues available, and, thus, respond first and foremost to incentives (Fletcher 2010). To reiterate the background of NCC, the main strategy of TWF toward NCC is to keep land unfenced through the lease programme - a 'payment for ecosystem service' (PES) – to enable the free movement of wildlife and livestock that will, thereby, contribute to their conservation (Fletcher 2020; TWF 2020). Thus, TWF assumes individual landowners will *choose voluntarily* to enrol land in the lease programme because of the payment offered in exchange to protect their land in ways that ensures the provision of pasture, water, and habitat for wildlife and livestock. Indeed, the findings suggest that the economic incentive is a prominent aspect among the interviewees as to why they decided to enrol various proportions of their respective land in the lease programme for wildlife conservation, which is illustrated below:

" Right now, I do not sell my livestock to survive or to feed my children and take my grandchildren to school, because I am able to use that money to pay for all that" (interviewee 11).

As illustrated in the quote, education for the interviewees' children emerged as the most prominent benefit enabled through the lease programme. Simultaneously, some of the interviewees underlined that the lease programme supports the dominant livelihood strategy of pastoralism by not having to sell livestock or land to cover school fees. These sentiments align with the stated aim of the lease programme to support the community and wildlife by making wildlife conservation a source of income to diversify community livelihoods, sustain mobile pastoralism, and invest in human capital (TWF 2022). TWF, thus, assigns a monetary value to wildlife and constructs economic growth as a necessity to protect it, which indicates how wildlife has been *commodified*, which is a central principle of neoliberal environmentality (Fletcher 2020). By also underlining the economic benefits gained through wildlife, the interviewees implicitly recognise this commodification of wildlife and act upon it. In so doing, a neoliberal subjectivity emerges that aligns with the neoliberal environmentality embedded within the lease programme.

However, despite the economic incentive of enrolling land in the programme, it has seemingly not been sufficient to motivate interviewees to choose to enrol *all* their land. Most of the interviewees have enclosed – by *fencing* - a portion of their land, a few plans to enclose additional acres, and one interviewee has completely enclosed their land (and thus, is not an eligible member). The need to secure pasture for livestock, cultivate crops, sell hay, and reduce predation or wildlife diseases from spreading to their livestock were common themes across the interviews that emerged as reasons behind the decision to enclose a portion of their land. These alternative land-use practices were perceived by the interviewees as possible and imperative strategies to support pastoral livelihood that would not have been possible if keeping the land open, which is also prohibited by the lease programme (see appendix 1 for the lease contract). Thus, wildlife conservation was not seen as the most cost-effective and profitable land-use practice despite benefits such as education, which made them decide not to lease all acres of land:

"I can see it does not benefit me more than fencing my land and getting some food there, or cutting the grass and selling the grass. It will give me more benefit than the money which they are giving me" (interviewee 9).

By *choosing* to fence because of the stated reason in the quote and above, the interviewees articulate a neoliberal subjectivity that evaluates wildlife conservation against other alternative courses of action to decide which one maximises utility, which typically characterise a "rational and self-interested subject" deriving from neoliberal environmentality (Fletcher 2010). The possibility to lease all acres of land was not a *choice* since the interviewees applied a cost-benefit analysis to the lease programme. Hence, not acting upon the incentive offered by TWF and exhibiting appropriate 'wildlife-friendly' behaviour according to their desire equally reflect neoliberal subjectivity. Preventing wildlife from overgrazing, damaging crops, or predating livestock was perceived to yield more benefits. Thus, the interviewees implicitly self-perceive themselves to respond to incentives first and foremost, which had already been ingrained at the onset of the lease programme as illustrated below:

"Naretunoi was actually formed after all this land had already been fenced. And it was a bit difficult for us to bring down our fences when we actually did have alternatives of what to do" (interviewee 10).

In line with this statement, there was a common perception that the payment was not sufficient to outweigh the costs of keeping land *fully* open for wildlife. Thus, a majority called for the payment to increase through either aid, tourism, or the government to strengthen the incentive for themselves to lease additional acres in the programme or for other community members to also lease land. Above all, the majority of the interviewees expressed a desire for KWS to financially support the lease programme, compensate when predation or crop damage occurs, and provide a range of other economic benefits such as paying for acracies. The main argument was that it would reduce the costs exemplified above, which was commonly discussed as 'lessening the burden' of sharing their land with the wildlife. The call to strengthen the economic incentive to make wildlife conservation the most profitable land-use practice of all alternative courses of action further reasserts a neoliberal subjectivity, which is evident in the quote below:

"If the KWS could give some percentage that they're getting from tourists to the locals, then we too, on our end, will preserve and take care of the wild animals that we have within our ecosystem" (Interview 8).

What the interviewee is demonstrating in the quote is that protecting wildlife is conditioned based on the profit it generates, which illustrates again how wildlife as a commodity is ingrained in the mindsets of the interviewees. Indeed, none of the interviewees reported having been financially supported by KWS, especially when experiencing predation, which constrained the motivation to lease additional acres and provide ecosystem services for the wildlife. Along the same line, there was a strong sentiment among the interviewees that the wildlife conservation benefits from NNP generated through ecotourism were *unequally distributed*. Despite raising the issue of wealth concentration, the criticism towards KWS, nonetheless, derives from a neoliberal subject that desires to reap the benefits of the capital generated through wildlife by NNP as illustrated above.

Another prominent finding across the data is the dissent expressed in relation to the management of NNP by KWS. There was a strong majority that condemned KWS for allowing infrastructural projects such as the SGR and Southern bypass inside the perimeters of NNP. What triggered the most dissatisfaction among almost all the interviewees was, however, the proposal to *fence* the NNP along its southern border that is adjacent to NCC. A few of the

interviewees expressed their dissent because it would now allow wildlife to move out of the park into their lands. Thus, it was viewed as posing a *threat* to the existing economic incentive facilitated through the lease programme by TWF as wildlife conservation would not be a possible source of income, which is illustrated below:

"When they do the fencing, the migration of animals will be affected so we may end up losing because people who used to benefit from the lease programme will be affected if they fence the park" (Interviewee 16).

At the same time, a few of the interviewees also argued contrariwise that enclosing NNP would constrain wildlife from returning to the park, which would result in the wildlife population increasing and further competing for natural resources inside NCC. Thus, the proposal to fence was not only seen as removing the benefits through the lease programme but also increases the cost of sharing land with wildlife. Despite negatively viewing the proposal to fence NNP in various ways, neoliberal subjectivity is still prominent among the interviewees because it would, in both situations, make the lease programme a less cost-effective course of action to take. Indeed, by employing ecotourism as a governance strategy for NNP, KWS is equally exercising neoliberal environmentality as TWF does through the lease programme. Thus, both TWF and KWS utilise economic growth to 'protect' wildlife within their respective territories.

Thus, a neoliberal subjectivity emerges among the interviewees in a multitude of ways. However, what is also evident in the findings is that the interviewees indicate a *will* to engage in conservation practices. Yet, the interviewees would only do so when the economic incentive of wildlife conservation outcompetes the costs of sharing land with wildlife. Why, then, the interviewees lease land despite demonstrating a neoliberal subjectivity that acts based on the most cost-effective course of action will be elucidated in the subsequent section.

6.3. Internalising the 'Value' of Conservation: Disciplinary Environmentality

While neoliberal environmentality manifests in the subjectivity among the interviewees in how they think about, and act in relation, to the lease programme and the management of NNP, there are findings illustrating the presence of a disciplined subject who self-regulates via an internal ethical compass towards wildlife. To recall, disciplinary environmentality injects social norms

and ethics into the subject to self-discipline accordingly by not wanting to appear deviant or immoral (Fletcher 2010). A central finding, in this context, is that many of the interviewees reported that TWF made them *understand* the 'value' of wildlife conservation, using words such as 'eye-opener' and 'informed'. Wildlife became something to cherish mostly because it was perceived as an instrument - a source of income – to improve their livelihoods through investing in education and enabling more space for mobile livestock herding, which the following quote illustrates:

"This money from the conservancy comes because of the wild animals. So, you see the value now, the wild animals are getting value because I get something to educate my children" (Interviewee 14).

As illustrated in the quote, the lease programme made the interviewees perceive wildlife as valuable. Indeed, the lease programme was not the only strategy employed by TWF to encourage wildlife conservation. Environmental education was facilitated simultaneously. Observational findings during a community meeting with new potential beneficiaries in the lease programme, showed that TWF sought to induce a *desire* to become a member by explaining the benefits of keeping land open not only for wildlife but also for livestock that serves their direct interest. In the same meeting, TWF also instructed how to engage in 'conservation-friendly behaviour' by, for example, not disturbing or killing the wildlife, and helping to monitor poaching, which is also described in the lease contract (see appendix 1).

Thus, educating about the importance of the lease programme for wildlife and livestock and how to act in a 'wildlife-friendly' manner is an ethical and normalisation practice that seeks to promote a particular value orientation following disciplinary environmentality. Demonstrating a newfound understanding of the 'value' of wildlife as illustrated in the quote above by interviewee 14 can arguably be seen as reflecting a self-disciplined subject among the interviewees that have internalised the ethical importance of conserving land for wildlife, and livestock. Indeed, this will to engage in wildlife conservation was expressed by the 3 of 4 interviewees that were not beneficiaries of the lease programme because of not fulfilling the requirements in the lease contract.

Another finding points to how the attitude and behaviour towards wildlife have *improved and changed* since enrolling various proportions of land in the lease programme. The shift in attitude and behaviour can be seen as having been internalised through the ethical propagation of TWF towards wildlife because it aligns with the aspiration of wildlife-friendly' behaviour of TWF, which is illustrated below:

" Because we have been able to ask the people outside the park to keep their land open, not chase away the wildlife. Also, now people don't kill lions. So, people are becoming friendlier and more habitation for wildlife" (Interviewee 19).

"It has changed somehow. Some years back we were not friends with them. But now because there's something coming out from them, we are friends" (Interviewee 24).

As evident in the quotes, there is a profound shift in attitude and behaviour because wildlife is valued based on its premise to improve their livelihoods. It, thus, echoes an 'environmental subject' that *cares* about the welfare of the wildlife, which stems from TWF through its disciplinary practices of education. Apart from education, another observational finding is the means of *surveillance* by TWF through the ranger programme, which is another disciplinary practice to govern the aspirations and behaviour of the subject (Fletcher 2010). Indeed, it is even stated by TWF (2020) that the purpose of the ranger programme is to "monitor and report wildlife movement, diversity, and density, human-wildlife conflict, compliance to lease programme agreement, and poaching and criminal activity against wildlife". By monitoring the behaviour of the community towards wildlife, the disciplinary practice further governs the action of the interviewees by invoking a fear of appearing deviant or immoral if the norms are not followed and/or respected. One interviewee attributed the reduction of poaching to the ranger programme stating: *"They know there is someone keeping an eye on the wildlife" (Interviewee 3).*

Thus, leasing land for wildlife conservation of NCC can be seen as acting based on an injected ethical compass and not only an incentive, which also becomes particularly prevalent as a norm when the interviewees discuss the management of the NNP. The management of the park, and especially the proposal to fence the border, was widely perceived as negative because it would not only disrupt the leasing programme, but above all interfere with the ecosystem. Enclosing

NNP was perceived to, for example, facilitate overgrazing, inbreeding of the animals inside the park, and infringe on the imprinted biological migratory patterns of wildlife. The proposal to fence and infrastructural projects occurring inside the park were also perceived to threaten the instrumental value of NNP by being a carbon sink and hindering Nairobi city from expanding into the adjacent dispersal area. The critique, thus, not only derives from impacting the cost-benefit ratio of sharing land with wildlife but also undermining the '*importance'* of the park. A few of the interviewees even highlighted the park as a natural heritage that, therefore, should be protected, as underlined below:

"The government should not continue building within the park. To me, that is the worst thing that is happening, we now have a road. We have a railway that cuts across an important heritage of our country" (Interviewee 10).

By underlying the intrinsic and instrumental importance of NNP for wildlife and humans alike, the interviewees are further emphasising the *value* of conservation. Indeed, the critique of the government is directed towards *undermining* this value rather than challenging the existence of NNP. A disciplinary subjectivity that has normalised and internalised the importance of wildlife conservation, thus, also emerges when perceiving NNP as a place that ought to protect wildlife by KWS. Indeed, some of the interviewees also acknowledged the mandate of KWS over wildlife by arguing that the KWS should manage the park differently rather than removing its mandate, as illustrated below:

" KWS, they are mandated by the law to take care of wildlife, to protect the area. But their policies or their researchers are the ones who are supposed to look forward and see the future of the park. They are not doing their work" (interviewee 26).

As illustrated in the quote, the custodianship of KWS over wildlife is not challenged but normalised. A self-disciplined subject among the interviewees with internalised norms and values of wildlife conservation in general (NNP and NCC) might be conducive to conducting them to lease land for TWF for the same purpose. However, additional findings are pointing to other subjectivities at play, which is the focus of analysis in the following section.

6.4. Co-existence and Custodianship: Truth Environmentality

Truth environmentality moves beyond norms and incentives as techniques to govern the thinking and behaviour of the subject. Instead, power derives from claims about the nature of life and the universe as revealed through religious decree and order of the world, and the subject behaves accordingly when recognising this truth (Fletcher 2010). A central theme that emerged across almost all interviews is the perception that wildlife, livestock, and Maasai coexist. Wildlife and pastoralism are commonly viewed as compatible because they have shared the same land since time immemorial as "*a way of life*" (interviewee 1). By perceiving human-nonhuman relations in this way, it can be seen as departing from a particular conception about the order of the world - or a 'truth'. This truth is grounded in Maasai ontology, or what Fletcher (2020) would call TEK. Several of the interviewees documented not only how they recognise this truth by accepting or even valuing the presence of the wildlife but also how they act accordingly, as illustrated below:

"So, we were taught how to stay with the wildlife by our forefathers and we are still staying with them because we are Maasai" (interviewee 2).

The quote illustrates that there is a sense of belonging attached to wildlife that is embedded within their identity, because "they are Maasai''. Wildlife, thus, also carries a 'cultural' value or 'spiritual possession' as Fletcher (2020) would describe it, which is imbued in Maasai identity. This perception illustrates that wildlife is not only a 'resource' that provides various ecological services and other benefits as held by the disciplinary and neoliberal subjectivities illustrated previously. Although the findings pointed to a change of attitude due to the governance strategies of TWF, a similar number of the interviewees demonstrated how the positive sentiment towards wildlife has not changed from before because of the lease programme. To stress its 'cultural' importance, wildlife was even described by some as distant or female livestock or brothers, and livestock was commonly perceived as integral to Maasai culture. Thus, wildlife is installed meaning across the interviewees precisely because of the shared history of the place that has shaped their socio-ecological relationships, which was even used by two interviewees to explain why a large proportion of the wildlife in Kenya can be found in Maasailand:

" In most areas where you have wildlife, you will find that Maasai lives in that area. My father will tell me that God has mandated us as Maasai to live with the wildlife, to coexist with our wildlife" (interviewee 7).

As illustrated above, the special connection between Maasai and wildlife does not only stem from the cultural value of wildlife as revealed through Maasai ontology but also from a *religious* decree. A majority of the interviewees view the existence of the wildlife to serve a purpose based on the divine will of God. God has mandated the Maasai to be the *custodians* of wildlife, and thus, it is *intrinsic* to protect the wildlife. A sense of custodianship was also commonly perceived as being enacted through Maasai ontology and the notion of coexistence that was previously demonstrated. Thus, leasing land for wildlife conservation and engaging in 'wildlife-friendly- behaviour' was also seen as acting upon this custodianship. Correspondingly, the interviewees position themselves again as a "vehicle for divine will" according to the subjectivity fostered by the 'truth' grounded in this religious decree and Maasai ontology.

Another 'truth' that emerged across the interviewees was the taboo of not consuming wildlife meat, which is an innate feature of Maasai culture. It was commonly discussed as a reason for not retailing harmful behaviour towards the wildlife but rather accepting or valuing their presence. Hence, engaging in 'wildlife-friendly behaviour' is also enacted by conforming to taboo spaces, which one interviewee (3) used to argue that "*our culture forces us to do conservation, whether they like it or not"*, which is also illustrated in the quote below:

"I feel like there's a special connection between humans, livestock, and wildlife. The fact that we Maasai don't eat wildlife shows that we value them and like them just being there. Seeing them there, they coexist with our livestock and ourselves" (interviewee 11).

The so-called 'spiritual' subject that acts based on the truth revealed by TEK, a religious decree, and taboo spaces also emerges when discussing how the interviewees relate to the management of NNP. Most of the interviewees challenged the claim made by KWS to legitimise the suggestion to fence the southern border based on their contrasting understanding of the interaction between the wildlife and themselves. As captured by the interviewees and evident in the NNP Management Plan (KWS 2021), human-wildlife conflict, poaching, and limited and inhabitable space for wildlife due to human activities and settlement are all explained by KWS

as *threats* that *justify* enclosing the park to '*defend'* wildlife. For example, some interviewees recalled the arguments of the park managers telling the interviewees that "*wildlife fears or hates permanent houses,*" (interviewee 1), "*you were saying there is open space and inside the conservancy but you have subdivided the land into plots"* (interviewee 26), and "*we want to reduce the conflict between the wildlife and humans*" (interviewee 2).

Underneath these arguments by the park managers lie a contrasting 'truth' of wildlife behaviour that constructs wildlife conservation as 'scientifically' unfeasible in landscapes where human activity and settlements occur. The interviewees challenged this claimed reality by KWS by raising *their* notion of coexistence which is commonly understood as *involving* predation, wildlife diseases, livestock rearing, and sedentary settlement. Thus, human-wildlife conflict and coexistence are not representing two endpoints of a continuum according to the 'truth' proclaimed by the interviewees. As such, there seem to be two conflicting 'truths' that conceptualise wildlife conservation and human-wildlife relationships distinctively. Indeed, there is a consensus among the interviewees that sharing landscape with the wildlife is a burden in the sense of, for example, predation and wildlife diseases. Yet, they would still opt for living with wildlife because their interaction with wildlife is embedded within their sense of being Maasai, and being linked to the environment:

"They coexist. I can't see them causing any problems. We have been living with wildlife around for as long as I can remember. Though we get a lot of challenges with them in the form of predation and spreading of wildlife diseases, we still find it a better living" (interviewee 10).

As illustrated by the interviewee, the socioecological relations between wildlife and Maasai constitute a desire of remaining in the landscape despite the challenges identified above. The proposal to fence the southern border of NNP by the government also stems from a critique that it would dispossess this 'truth-based' subjectivity by threatening wildlife that is part of themselves. Following this perception, some of the interviewees stressed that the proposal is incomprehensible because they are protecting wildlife themselves, and view wildlife and the park as *theirs*. Thus, the spiritual subjectivity recognising their custodianship over both wildlife and land as revealed by God or Maasai ontology is further invoked in response to the actions made by the government, which also challenges claimed ownership over wildlife through NNP.

"I feel like the park is being snatched from the Maasai and technically taken to other tribes. This park belongs to the Maasai. So, the government putting a railway there without our consent is wrong. The park is ours" (Interviewee 6).

Underneath this quote is a perception of NNP that is linked to their spiritual subjectivity grounded in notions of coexistence and custodianship that have been derived through Maasai ontology, a religious decree, and taboo spaces. Thus, these findings additionally explain why interviewees enrolled land in the lease programme for wildlife conservation because it aligns with their 'spiritual' self. Yet, another central theme revolving around a sense of communality also shed light on the reason to engage in wildlife conservation, which the next section will explore.

6.5. Sense of Communality and Affective Relations: Communal Environmentality

Apart from 'truth-based' or 'spiritual' subjectivities, 'communal subjectivities' through the principles of communal production and 'commoning' is also embedded in the narratives of the interviewees. Communal environmentality is a form of power that operates from 'below' through self-governance in line with a subject that emerges through, for example, affective relations grounded in care and reciprocity, according to Fletcher (2020). The perceived interaction between themselves as Maasai and wildlife through the notions of coexistence and custodianship can also be seen as invoking *collective memories* built through history in relation to the given place. From this perspective, the 'truth' that governs their perceptions and interaction with wildlife is also an expression of a *communal* subject deriving from a *shared* Maasai identity.

Furthermore, another finding that illustrates this sense of communality is evidence of sharing and collectivising practices based on reciprocity and/or care towards the community and wildlife. Although the land is privatised and owned by individual landholders, a majority of the interviewees expressed how they rely on reciprocity and kinship to access land beyond their own properties for mobile livestock rearing. Thus, there is a sense of resource *communality* among the community as land is perceived as a common resource. Enclosing the whole property with a fence would, thus, remove this mandate endorsed through reciprocal access arrangements and, in turn, undermine social relations. It was even discussed by some of the interviewees as a

reason why they would not opt for complete enclosure even if having the financial incentives to do so:

"I will not fence because for the number of cattle I have here the land is not enough. It will not sustain the cows, so the cows will need to go outside to other people's fields. And when I fence the land, other people will not accept me to feed my cattle outside (interviewee 6).

What the interviewee is illustrating is that reciprocity is crucial to sustaining mobile livestock rearing. Yet, the reciprocal access arrangements are *conditioned* based on fencing. A few interviewees also demonstrated that they would only share their land with people who have not fenced and/or have established social relations with, e.g., neighbours, family, or friends. Yet, a few of the interviewees also demonstrated the role of care, for both the community and wildlife, as facilitating collective and sharing practices. The sense of resource communality, thus, stems from conditional reciprocity as well as affective relations, which is illustrated below by an interviewee who has not enrolled any portion of land in the lease programme:

" You know, we are not all blessed equally. There are some people who are disadvantaged in one way or the other, someone has fenced small portions of land and they also have some livestock. So, you have to give them room for grazing because we have to share these things because it is God-given, no man has created land" (interviewee 27).

Keeping land open for wildlife movement and grazing, thus, not only stems from acting upon an incentive (neoliberal), an ethical injunction (disciplinary), or according to the order of things (truth) but also from caring equally for the community and wildlife because of a sense of communality. This communal subjectivity is expressed because of the cultural relations with land and livestock that are central to Maasai identity. Along these lines, NCC was also viewed as supporting the community as a collective entity, although the design of the lease programme that constitutes NCC is targeted toward individuals, as illustrated below:

"The name Naretunoi means helping. So, you give me 50 acres, another one 70 acres, and so on to make us each other. That is why we say Naretunoi. It is helping one another because I cannot be alone" (Interviewee 12).

NCC was, thus, perceived as supporting the community and building a "*sense of togetherness*", as one interviewee (21) put it. Indeed, a few interviewees even argued that seemingly 'individual' gains such as employment also benefited them because they are part of the community. Caring for the community is, thus, forged based on a collective subjectivity that comes into being through affective relations, which Fletcher (2019) denotes as 'becoming-in-common'. The 'becoming-in-common' subject with strong communitarian relations is also expressed when discussing the reason for engaging in NCC. Indeed, the lease programme equally supports wildlife conservation and mobile pastoralism by securing an open space that provides pasture, water, and habitat for both wildlife and livestock, which is illustrated below:

"Wildlife and livestock, they're compatible. So, we think if we keep all of them, we are securing land. Because I always think that life is kind of like a pyramid. You have livestock, wildlife, and land. And if you break one, you lose all and that's why we're all trying to struggle to make sure that we secure land for livestock and wildlife because we think that's where the future is even for the community" (Interviewee 3).

Sharing land with wildlife, thus, interlocks with the findings that underline the cultural notion interviewees place on livestock and land (see figure 3 for the pyramid that interviewee 3 drew in the sand for me as an illustration). The strong sentimental connection to land and livestock because of Maasai pastoral identity facilitated a desire to secure open land and wildlife conservation was seen as the *solution*. In this way, wildlife conservation by means of keeping land open supports collective pastoral resource practices enabled through reciprocity and affective relations. Wildlife conservation was a commonly expressed desire because of the cultural values of livestock and land as well as the sense of collectivity arising from being a Maasai pastoralist. Thus, leasing land for wildlife conservation is also out of care for themselves and the community to sustain mobile pastoralism. The importance of maintaining mobile pastoralism was commonly discussed as one of the reasons why the interviewees are against the proposal to fence the southern part of NNP as subsequently illustrated.

"So, if I'm fenced inside this pack, I will not be allowed to bring any other livestock, either mine or any other persons you see. So that we will start interlocking with our way of life in our culture" (Interviewee 7).

The proposal to fence would deprive them of accessing the only reliable water source in the area – the Mbagathi river - that delineates the park and the dispersal area. The proposal to fence is, thus, rejected because it would not only threaten wildlife but also undermine livestock rearing and, thus, dispossess their collective pastoral identity.

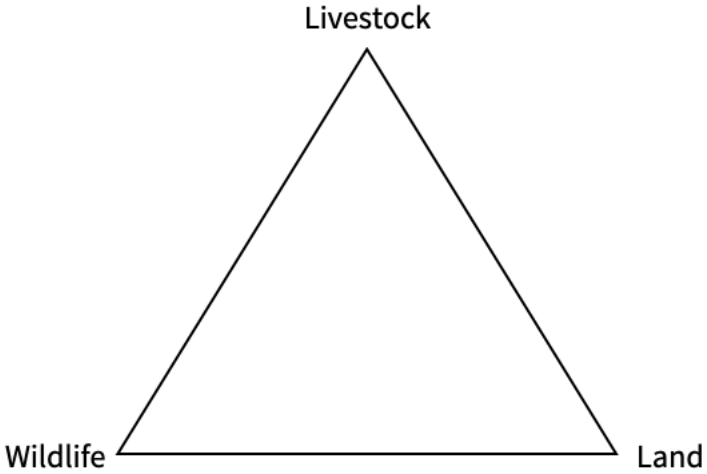

Figure 3: The pyramid between livestock, wildlife, and land.

6.6. Summary of Findings

The findings suggest there are four prominent subjectivities (neoliberal, ethical, spiritual [truth-based], and communal) that emerge in various ways. First, a neoliberal subjectivity is manifested as wildlife was perceived to have a monetary value that incentivised interviewees to enrol land in NCC in exchange for payments. A cost-benefit ratio was also applied to demonstrate that leasing land did not outweigh the cost of keeping land open, including their livestock being more receptive to predation and wildlife diseases. Thus, the insufficient incentives stemmed from the low rate of payment from TWF and lack of financial distribution of revenues gained from NNP by KWS propelled interviewees to decide to fence a portion of their land because alternative courses of land-use practices maximise their utility.

Second, the interviewees demonstrated a newfound understanding of the 'value' of wildlife conservation and how to behave in a 'wildlife-friendly' way that aligns with the aspiration of TWF. This finding suggests TWF has been successful in disciplining the interviewees – the subject - through education and surveillance to desire wildlife conservation. An 'environmental subject' that cares about wildlife is also expressed when demonstrating the instrumental and intrinsic importance of NNP and criticising KWS for not protecting wildlife as the park ought

to do. This finding indicates that the interviewees have internalised the ethics and norms of wildlife conservation in general. Thus, enrolling land in the lease programme can be seen as an 'ethical' subject that behaves based on the fear of appearing deviant or immoral if the norms and ethics of wildlife conservation are not followed/respected.

Third, leasing land for wildlife conservation aligns with the 'spiritual' subjectivity that serves the 'divine will' of God and acts in line with Maasai culture and ontology. The order of the world is constructed around the notion of co-existence between the Maasai, wildlife, and livestock that they act upon. Similarly, the notion of custodianship over wildlife is raised to explain why leasing land is behaving according to the religious decree. The taboo of not eating wildlife also serves as a ground to protect, co-exist, and share the land with them to which they conform. Acting based on this 'truth' is also expressed in how the interviewees contest the proposal to fence NNP because the claimed justification departs from a different 'truth' that challenges their notion of co-existence and custodianship.

Fourth, leasing land for wildlife conservation also departs from a 'communal' subjectivity invoked through collective sharing practices and a sense of resource communality that is governed through reciprocity, kinship, and Maasai pastoral identity. Keeping land open is not only serving wildlife but also the community by securing open land to ease mobile pastoralism and, thus, be able to maintain the shared collective Maasai pastoral identity. The interviewees are largely against the proposal to fence the southern border of NNP because it would remove access to natural resources that constitute their sense of being and belonging, and, thus, dispossess them culturally.

7. Discussion of Findings

This section seeks to discuss the findings with help of previous literature to answer the second research question: *How are these environmental subjectivities used to incorporate, mediate, and/or contest the variegated exercise of power in the wildlife conservation frames and practices of the Wildlife Foundation and the Kenyan Wildlife Service?* To be able to answer this research question, the environmental subjectivities identified in part six are brought together into a discussion to understand how those subjectivities can also reflect the exercise, or lack of, agency by means of incorporating, mediating, and/or contesting the variegated exercise of the power of TWF and KWS through conservation.

7.1. Wildlife Conservation: A Conduct of the Conduct

As illustrated in the findings, leasing land for wildlife conservation reflects, among others, a self-interested *rational,* and *ethical* subject that *chooses* and *desires* wildlife conservation. Indeed, such behaviour suggests that TWF has been successful to govern people in wildlife conservation through incentives (lease programme) and ethics and social norms (education and ranger programme). Simultaneously, forging such subjectivity can be seen as leaning on the governance strategies of KWS as a neoliberal and ethical subjectivity was equally invoked when relating to NNP. Criticising KWS for accumulating wealth in an unequal manner that should be distributed to motivate Maasai people to lease more land for NCC reasserts a neoliberal subject that acts first and foremost on incentives. Also, criticising KWS for not protecting wildlife through NNP because it would undermine its instrumental and intrinsic value reflects a self-disciplined subject that has internalised the norms and values constituting NNP.

Thus, the neoliberal and disciplinary exercises of power by TWF to pursue their goal of wildlife conservation seem to lean on each other and lean on the neoliberal and ethical subjectivities expressed in relation to NNP and KWS. Correspondingly, the findings imply that the interviewees have incorporated the subjectivities formed through the wildlife governance strategies of TWF and KWS. A particular evident rationality departing from neoliberal environmentality that TWF and KWS promote is the presence of individualism and a growth mentality where wildlife is inscribed meaning by being an economic resource to capitalise. However, contrary to previous literature on neoliberal conservation schemes, the findings

illustrate that commodification of wildlife did not seemingly produce wealth concentration, prompt land grabbing, or widened social inequalities (Fairhead et al., 2012; Matose 2015). Neither did the economic value placed on wildlife alter Maasai ontology and socioecological relations as previously documented (e.g., Igoe & Brockington 2007; Sullivan 2006).

Indeed, communal, and 'spiritual' subjectivities grounded in notions of coexistence, custodianship, and communality, among others, also emerged in the findings. These subjectivities were neither framed in the conservation strategies by TWF nor perceived to be expressed by KWS. The lack of this can be due to the inherent colonial legacies of conservation such as individual land ownership to maximise economic returns, nature versus society dichotomy, and local land-use practices degrading the environment (Domínguez and Luoma 2020; Brockington 2002). Thus, the persistence of Maasai ontology and identity being linked to the environment can be seen as an alternative way of perceiving conservation that *mediates* subjectivities promoted by TWF but *contest* frames of practices by KWS.

In relation to KWS, notions of custodianship and coexistence embedded within Maasai ontology and epistemology were invoked to *challenge* the underlying distinctive rationalities of KWS towards wildlife. As suggested by the findings, KWS sought to create an environmental subject through discursive practices that would recognise the constructed 'truth' of pertinent and dire 'human-wildlife conflict' caused by poaching and human infrastructure, among others. In so doing, KWS seeks to exercise truth-based power that echoes colonial-rooted narratives of nature as a 'public patrimony', 'untouched', and separable from society, which has previously been used by authorities to assert control over nature for various ends (e.g., Louder & Bosak 2019). In contrast, by retaining a *different* reality where Maasai and wildlife engagement in the form of coexistence *entails* 'human-wildlife conflict', KWS can be seen to fail in its aim to nurture a subject of the Maasai that would recognise this truth and act accordingly by agreeing to fence.

The struggle over power between the Maasai and KWS over the 'truth' of what constitutes human and wildlife interaction can be seen as the Maasai are insinuating agency. As illustrated by the conceptualisation of agency according to Cortes-Vazquez and Ruiz-Beallesteros (2018), it is in the moment of mediation between conservation environmentalities and the formation of environmental subjects where agency comes in. The difference is that conservation

environmentality and formation of environmental subjects by KWS is not only mediated but also *contested* through contrasting human-environment engagements. In another context, KWS is arguably conducting the conduct by virtue of the *lack* of contest towards the hegemony nature/culture dichotomy that can equally be seen to revolve around NNP as it has done with other colonial and post-colonial conservation projects of protected areas (e.g., Fisher 2002; Domínguez & Luoma 2020). By emphasising the value of NNP and criticising KWS for its managerial practices, the Maasai are implicitly recognising this dichotomy and state monopoly over nature that they have come to internalise as self-disciplined subjects. Thus, the possibility for agency seems to be *contingent* upon when environmental subjectivities departing from Maasai ontology and culture are experienced as being threatened or not.

In relation to TWF, the multitude of environmental subjectivities present within the perceptions and actions of the Maasai seem to rest upon inherent *contradictions*. For example, communal and spiritual subjectivities seem to co-exist by being both imbued in Maasai ontology and epistemology. Yet, the lease programme and the ranger programme run by TWF rest upon the notion of the *need* to orchestrate conservation strategies to incentivise and instruct 'appropriate' behaviour. This contradicts the spiritual subjectivity of self-perceived *custodians* over wildlife to explain their engagement with the lease programme. As previous literature has demonstrated, custodianship is also a discursive practice placed upon indigenous peoples, including Maasai, by external actors to legitimise *their* conservation interventions (Atwell & Cotterill 2000; Kuper 2003; Toogood 2012). Along these lines, the Maasai might have *internalised* a romanticised identity of indigenous people that could explain the lack of contest to being instructed on how to properly manage natural resources that align with conservation goals emanating from global conservation practices (ibid.). Conversely, the spiritual and communal subjectivities grounded in custodianship and co-existence might not necessarily reflect a subject that is *liberated,* but rather *self-disciplined.* The fact that the instruction is facilitated by Maasai themselves, upon themselves, might signal mechanisms of discipline and conformance.

It begs the question if the Maasai from TWF have equally internalised not only a custodian subjectivity that legitimises their cause but also conformed to a neoliberal subjectivity that perceives a 'cost-benefit rationale' to ultimately dictating action. Indeed, prior to TWF, the World Bank was running another lease programme applying the same neoliberal strategy and principle (Matiko 2014). As evidenced by the findings, the decision to fence a portion of land

that occurred hitherto to leasing land into the programme suggests a pre-established cost-benefit rationale exploring the most promising avenue. Situating the findings in a historical light illustrates how the interviewees might be a conduct of a colonial and neoliberal history manifesting nature as a material, presentable, consumable, and manageable object (Louder & Bosak 2019 Igoe 2010; Büsher 2010).

Indeed, as demonstrated by Weldemichel and Lein (2019) and Unks et al., (2021) diversification pattern and fencing by Maasai was attributed to historical injustices linked to land division and privatisation, the introduction of wildlife conservancies, and the materialisation of an age-old discourse about 'ending pastoralism'. Yet, viewing fencing as an active form of "resistance to dispossession in the name of conservation" (Weldemichel and Lein 2019) implies that a neoliberal subjectivity among the Maasai is also a consequence of privatisation and commodification and a *resistance* to external pressures that threaten pastoral practices.

As demonstrated by the findings, such pressures include droughts, climate change, shrinking rangelands, infrastructural development, among others. Incorporating a neoliberal subjectivity that seems to enclose land to maximise utility, might likewise be *resistance* to external pressures that constrain their pastoral livelihood and interrelated culture. In this sense, a neoliberal subjectivity has been shaped as an active form of resistance to *maintaining* communal and spiritual subjectivities that are linked to pastoral identity. In contrast to Weldemichel and Lein (2019), enclosing a portion of land might not be resistance to conservation but an active form of resistance to dispossession in the name of 'land-use change *against* conservation'. If this expression of 'resistance' translates into agency will be explored in the subsequent section.

7.2. Wildlife Conservation: An Exercise of Agency

Through communal and spiritual subjectivities, the interviewees can be seen as engaging in wildlife conservation by leasing land because it does only serve the wildlife but also sustains mobile pastoralism by maintaining an open landscape. As evidenced in the findings, the presence of a communal and spiritual subjectivity grounded in communality, affective relations, reciprocity, and coexistence showcase wildlife conservation as a means to facilitate a collective outcome.

However, as illustrated by Nightingale (2019), communal relations seemingly governed beyond economic and political metrics are not per definition free of power. Indeed, the findings illustrate that resource access is granted based on the *condition* of leaving the land open or having strong social ties, which also rests on the premise of exclusion and inclusion. Although grazing rights are not granted through membership of formal territory-based institutions as in the case raised by Pas Schrijver (2019), the lease programme can still be seen as directing the rules of collective sharing practices by being exclusionary in its design. Indeed, TWF and its community employees dictate who is *invited* and who is *excluded* from the lease programme. Thus, contrary to Fletcher (2010), communal subjectivity does not imply per definition liberation as power imbalances still exist between the Maasai within the community.

Furthermore, the strong presence of communality and spirituality did not *contest* a neoliberal subjectivity. All were ingrained into the mind and actions of the interviewees, and yet, communal and rational self-interested subjects that premise communality versus individualism seem to be *inherently* contradictory. Indeed, previous literature underlined this point clearly by illustrating that where there is accumulation realised through neoliberal schemes, is the dispossession of local environmental knowledge and practices because of inherent distinct human-nature relations (Brockington 2007; Fairhead 2012). Yet, the findings illustrate that communal and neoliberal subjectivities of Maasai are not mutually exclusive as both material and immaterial relations to wildlife persisted. In so doing, the neoliberal subjectivity is *mediated* to facilitate individual gains of given benefits while serving a collective purpose of pastoralism.

In this way, the lease programme can be seen as equally incentivising the management of the private property as a common by seeking to *maintain* principles of reciprocity and communality against the background of land fragmentation that constrains mobile pastoralism, which Archbault (2016) describes as ‘re-creating the commons’. Yet, this might reflect the will of a few Maasai that yield power by virtue of being the ‘orchestrators’ on how to conduct wildlife conservation through TWF as in the case of Bersaglio and Cleaver (2018). Contrary to Bersaglio and Cleaver (2018), however, the institutions governing communal lands and natural resources were *not* overhauled and rearranged in the design of conservation by TWF but promoted to maintain integral community institutions in the face of external pressures.

This implies that NCC does not completely stem from an authoritarian process shaped by historical patterns of access and accumulation and corresponding power relations that reproduce and reinforce inequality (e.g., Bersaglio & Cleaver 2018; Nkhata & Breen, 2010), but translate into the equitable distribution of benefits and outcomes, as in the case of Sheppard (2010). Although employing neoliberal strategies, wildlife conservation of NCC can be seen as being pursued as an outcome of socio-ecological relations that celebrates and promotes pastoralism as a cultural and communal practice, which aligns with the structural transformative vision of conservation proclaimed by Büsher and Fletcher (2020).

Thus, the valorisation of wildlife, livestock, and land as essential to oneself and in relation to others, is, ironically, promoted through commodifying wildlife. Thus, the incorporation of neoliberal and disciplined frames of conservation practice are mediated or rather manipulated and redefined through spiritual and communal environmental subjectivities to align with practices of mobile traditional pastoralism. Meditating and contesting conservation practice and subject formation of TWF and KWS, thus, indeed, reflect a subject exercising agency as also indicated in the case by Cortés-Vazqueza and Esteban Ruiz-Ballesteros (2018).

8. Conclusion

8.1. Purpose and Research Questions Revisited

The first aim and guiding research question of this thesis has been to explore environmental subjectivities among Maasai living in and around NCC in relation to wildlife conservation strategies of TWF and KWS, using the theoretical framework of multiple environmentalities. Building on the findings from this, the second research question has been to explore how the Maasai incorporate, mediate, and/or contest the variegated exercise of power in the wildlife governance strategies of TWF and KWS towards NCC and NNP to which they are *subject*. To answer the research question, data has been collected through semi-structured interviews with and participant observation of Maasai living in and around NCC.

To answer the first question, neoliberal, ethical, spiritual, and communal environmental subjectivities emerged as findings when relating to wildlife conservation strategies TWF and KWS. First, a rational 'neoliberal' subjectivity emerged that *chose* to lease to TWF the specific proportion of land that was the most profitable course of action to take, and by perceiving the lack of financial support by KWS to impact the cost-benefit ratio. Second, an ethical subjectivity emerged that *desires* conservation because of internalised values and norms around wildlife conservation of both NCC and NNP, which was facilitated through education and surveillance as conservation practices by TWF and expressed in the critique towards KWS for undermining this value. Third, a spiritual subjectivity emerged that perceives leasing land for TWF as acting upon a recognised 'truth' grounded in Maasai ontology, taboo spaces, and religious decrees by emphasising notions of custodianship and co-existence. This subjectivity was expressed to challenge conservation frames and practices in relation to fencing the southern border by KWS. Fourth, a communal subjectivity emerged that perceived leasing land for TWF as realising a collective purpose of maintaining collective and sharing practices of pastoralism grounded in reciprocity, kinship, and Maasai pastoral identity. This subjectivity was expressed to challenge conservation frames and practices in relation to fencing the southern border by KWS.

Despite seemingly inherent contradictions, the environmental subjectivities lean on each other to both incorporate, mediate, and contest wildlife conservation frames and practices by TWF

and KWS. The ethical and neoliberal subjectivities are formed from frames and practices not only by TWF and KWS but are also linked to wider historical and global political-economic structures. Yet, contrary to previous literature, these findings illustrate that the evidential principles of disciplinary and neoliberal environmentality did not evade the Maasai ontology of wildlife-human interactions stipulating spiritual and communal subjectivities. The persistence of such enabled Maasai to contest the exercise of power yielded by KWS through the construction of alternative truth. Also, the imposed neoliberal frame and practice of wildlife conservation were mediated to maintain Maasai human-wildlife relations. It was mediated because such relations are grounded in communal and spiritual subjectivities and interlinked with general human-human and human-environment engagements. Since land, livestock, and wildlife are perceived and experienced as constitutional, wildlife conservation does not become the antithesis of pastoral cultural, practical, and ontological manifestations. Rather, wildlife conservation is re-imagined and practised to serve a collective purpose to maintain all that signifies being a pastoral Maasai, which is equally under threat as wildlife by land fragmentation. Contesting and mediating KWS and TWF in this way can, thus, be seen as an exercise of agency.

8.2. Considerations for Future Studies

This study enacts further exploration of community-led conservation and highlights the relevance of utilising the theory of multiple environmentalities thereof. While being an inherent limitation in - and outside the scope of - this study, future studies should, for a more holistic approach, seek to analyse the environmentalities enacted by KWS; and the responding perceptions of local communities exposed to, or engaged in, conservation practice. Such approaches could better understand the inherent dynamics at play between conservation actors; and those who are exposed to conservation schemes. Being aware of the delicate matter of analysing subject formations and the temporal and spatial limitations of this study, future studies should further explore this case over a longer period of time and with a more layered scale of analysis.

Furthermore, an inherent limitation in this study is that it does not operationalise the ecological outcomes of the diverse frames and practices brought forward. To further a more in-depth understanding of how community conservation practices, such as those conducted by the NCC, future studies should explore the socioenvironmental dynamic between conservancies and

wildlife; how they impact reproduction, migrations, grazing, and alike, to sustain ‘sustainable’ ecological persistence. Future studies could also explore environmental governance in similar cases where indigenous people are governing and practising conservation to explore the potential of a sustainable model for conservation.

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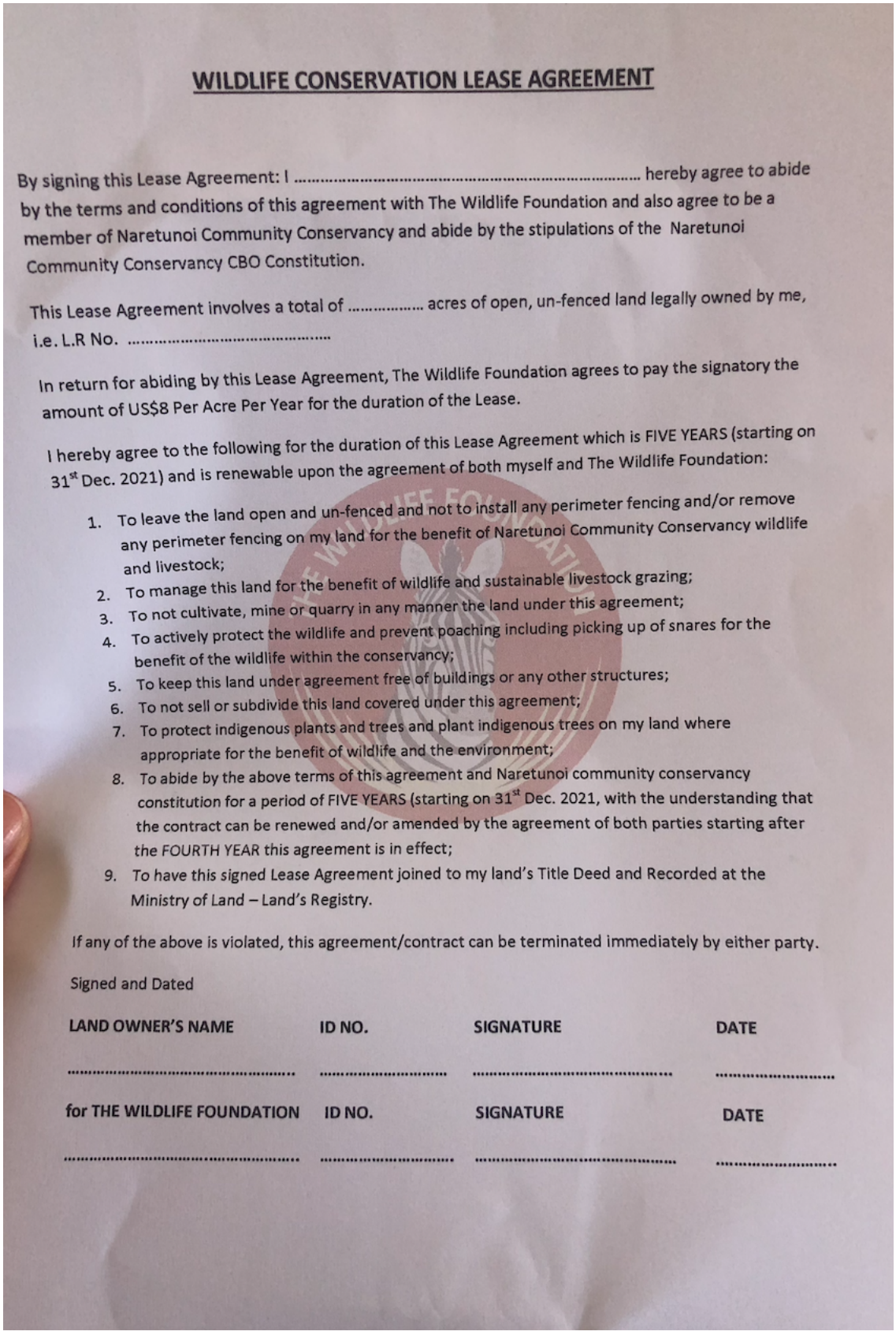
Appendices

Appendix I: Lease Contract



WILDLIFE CONSERVATION LEASE AGREEMENT

By signing this Lease Agreement: I ..... hereby agree to abide by the terms and conditions of this agreement with The Wildlife Foundation and also agree to be a member of Naretunoi Community Conservancy and abide by the stipulations of the Naretunoi Community Conservancy CBO Constitution.

This Lease Agreement involves a total of ..... acres of open, un-fenced land legally owned by me, i.e. L.R No. .....

In return for abiding by this Lease Agreement, The Wildlife Foundation agrees to pay the signatory the amount of US$8 Per Acre Per Year for the duration of the Lease.

I hereby agree to the following for the duration of this Lease Agreement which is FIVE YEARS (starting on 31st Dec. 2021) and is renewable upon the agreement of both myself and The Wildlife Foundation:

1. To leave the land open and un-fenced and not to install any perimeter fencing and/or remove any perimeter fencing on my land for the benefit of Naretunoi Community Conservancy wildlife and livestock;
2. To manage this land for the benefit of wildlife and sustainable livestock grazing;
3. To not cultivate, mine or quarry in any manner the land under this agreement;
4. To actively protect the wildlife and prevent poaching including picking up of snares for the benefit of the wildlife within the conservancy;
5. To keep this land under agreement free of buildings or any other structures;
6. To not sell or subdivide this land covered under this agreement;
7. To protect indigenous plants and trees and plant indigenous trees on my land where appropriate for the benefit of wildlife and the environment;
8. To abide by the above terms of this agreement and Naretunoi community conservancy constitution for a period of FIVE YEARS (starting on 31st Dec. 2021, with the understanding that the contract can be renewed and/or amended by the agreement of both parties starting after the FOURTH YEAR this agreement is in effect;
9. To have this signed Lease Agreement joined to my land's Title Deed and Recorded at the Ministry of Land – Land's Registry.

If any of the above is violated, this agreement/contract can be terminated immediately by either party.

Signed and Dated

LAND OWNER'S NAME	ID NO.	SIGNATURE	DATE
.....	.....	.....	.....
for THE WILDLIFE FOUNDATION	**ID NO.**	**SIGNATURE**	**DATE**
.....	.....	.....	.....

Appendix II: Lease Programme Data Sheet

THE WILDLIFE FOUNDATION CONSERVATION LEASE PROGRAMME FOR NAIROBI NATIONAL PARK DISPERSAL AREA

MAS HOLDINGS SPONSORED LEASES JANUARY 2022

NARETUNOI CONSERVANCY….8 DOLLARS PER ACRE PER YEAR

	AREA	TOTAL LAND (ac)	LEASED LAND (ac)	AMOUNT (KES)
1	Empakasi (TR 1)	100	93	27 528,00
2	Empakasi (TR 1)	101	89	26 344,00
3	Empakasi (TR 1)	54	32	9 472,00
4	Empakasi (TR 1)	77	59	17 464,00
5	Empakasi TR 1	9	9	2 664,00
6	Empakasi (TR 1)	160	151	44 696,00
7	Empakasi (TR 1)	144	134	39 664,00
8	Empakasi (TR 1)	24	5	1 480,00
9	KITENGELA	100	100	29 600,00
10	Empakasi TR 1	15	14	4 144,00
11	Empakasi TR 1	77	48	14 208,00
12	Empakasi TR 1	40	39	11 544,00
13	Empakasi (TR 1)	85	59	17 464,00
14	Empakasi TR 1	35	29	8 584,00
15	Empakasi (TR 1)	80	28	8 288,00
16	Empakasi TR 1	68	50	14 800,00
17	Empakasi TR 1	57	50	14 800,00
18	Empakasi TR 1	56	47	13 912,00
19	Empakasi TR 1	45	31	9 176,00

20	Empakasi TR 1	6	5	1 480,00
21	Empakasi TR 1	86	80	23 680,00
22	Enkurunka TR1	33	28	8 288,00
23	Enkurunka TR1	46	40	11 840,00
24	KITENGELA	166	164	48 544,00
25	KITENGELA	126	120	35 520,00
26	Empakasi TR 1	81	68	20 128,00
28	Empakasi TR 1	94	80	23 680,00
27	Enkurunka TR1	153	150	44 400,00
28	Empakasi TR 1	15	12	3 552,00
29	Enkurunka TR1	40	36	10 656,00
30	Enkurunka TR1	35	35	10 360,00
31	Enkurunka TR1	78	68	20 128,00
32	Empakasi TR 1	12	10	2 960,00
33	Sholinke (TR 1)	65	60	17 760,00
34	Sholinke (TR 1)	60	55	16 280,00
35	Sholinke (TR 1)	445	440	130 240,00
36	Sholinke (TR 1)	578	550	162 800,00
37	Sholinke (TR 1)	207	200	59 200,00
38	Sholinke (TR 1)	207	200	59 200,00
39	Sholinke (TR 1)	219	219	64 824,00
40	Sholinke (TR 1)	507	500	148 000,00
41	Sholinke (TR 1)	265	260	76 960,00
42	Sholinke (TR 1)	162	162	47 952,00
43	Sholinke (TR 1)	45	40	11 840,00
44	Sholinke (TR 1)	284	280	82 880,00

45	Sholinke (TR 1)	140	131	38 776,00
46	Sholinke (TR 1)	253	250	74 000,00
47	Sholinke (TR 1)	286	280	82 880,00
48	Sholinke (TR 1)	209	200	59 200,00
49	Sholinke (TR 1)	119	110	32 560,00
50	Sholinke (TR 1)	50	45	13 320,00
51	Sholinke (TR 1)	45	40	11 840,00
52	Sholinke (TR 1)	90	86	25 456,00
53	Sholinke (TR 1)	60	57	16 872,00
54	Sholinke (TR 1)	90	75	22 200,00
55	Sholinke (TR 1)	47	47	13 912,00
		6731	**6250**	**1 850 000,00**

Appendix III: List of Interviewees

N	Age	Ethnicity	Sex	Role
1	Elde	Maasai	M	Beneficiary
2	Middle-age	Kamba, married to Maasai	F	Beneficiary
3	Middle-age	Maasai	M	TWF official/ beneficiary
4	Elder	Maasai	F	Beneficiary
5	Elder	Maasai	F	Beneficiary
6	Elder	Maasai	F	Beneficiary
7	Middle-age	Maasai	M	Beneficiary
8	Elder	Maasai	F	Beneficiary
9	Middle-age	Kikuyu, married to Maasai	F	Beneficiary
10	Middle-age	Maasai	M	Beneficiary
11	Elder	Maasai	F	Beneficiary
12	Middle-age	Maasai	M	Beneficiary
13	Middle-age	Maasai	M	Beneficiary
14	Elder	Maasai	M	Beneficiary
15	Middle-age	Maasai	M	Beneficiary (new)
16	Elder	Maasai	F	Beneficiary
17	Elder	Maasai	M	Beneficiary (new)
18	Elder	Maasai	F	Beneficiary
19	Middle-age	Maasai	M	TWF official/ beneficiary
20	Elder	Maasai	M	Beneficiary
21	Middle-age	Maasai	M	Beneficiary
22	Middle-age	Maasai	M	Beneficiary
23	Middle-age	Maasai	M	Beneficiary
24	Middle-age	Maasai	F	Beneficiary
25	Middle-age	Maasai	F	Beneficiary
26	Middle-age	Maasai	M	TWF official/ beneficiary
27	Middle-age	Maasai	M	TWF official/ beneficiary

Appendix IV: Interview Guide

<table>
<tr><th>Topic</th><th>Question(s)</th><th>Follow-up questions</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Background</td><td>Please tell me about yourself</td><td rowspan="2">Could you please tell me more about your land?</td></tr>
<tr><td>What is the main land use on your property? Why?</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">The Naretunoi conservancy model</td><td>Can you tell me please for how long you have been involved in the lease programme?</td><td rowspan="3">If not talking about the wildlife:

What are your thoughts on the wildlife roaming free around your land?

How did you get involved in the lease programme?</td></tr>
<tr><td>Why did you want to be involved in the lease programme?</td></tr>
<tr><td>How has the lease programme influenced or not influenced your daily life?</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">The management of NNP/views of the government</td><td>What do you think of Nairobi National Park?</td><td rowspan="2">What do you think of the new management plan for Nairobi National Park for 2020-2030?

Were you involved when the Kenyan Wildlife Service consulted with the Naretunoi conservancy model when drafting the plan?

If no:
How come you were not involved?

What are your thoughts on that?

If yes:
Can you please explain in what ways?

In that case, did the Kenyan Wildlife Service meet your concerns or not? How and why?

How was your communication with the government during the process of drawing the management plan?</td></tr>
<tr><td>Have you heard about the new management of Nairobi National Park for 2020-2030?</td></tr>
<tr><td>Other reflections</td><td>Do you have any thoughts you would like to share with me in relation to the Naretunoi Community Conservancy, lease programme, Nairobi National Park, the wildlife, your land, or the community in general?</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Appendix V: Coding Scheme

Environmentality	**Practice/Principle**	**Perception**	**Sample Quotes (example)**
Neoliberal	Benefits/Incentives	Educational benefits	*" Right now, I do not sell my livestock to survive or to feed my children and take my grandchildren to school, because I am able to use that money to pay for all that" (interviewee 11)*
		Reducing pastoral vulnerabilities	
	Challenge/Not cost-beneficial	Competition with wildlife (pasture, diseases, grazing)	*"I can see it does not benefit me more than fencing my land and getting some food there, or cutting the grass and selling the grass. It will give me more benefit than the money which they are giving me" (interviewee 9)*
		Low payment from NCC	*"Naretunoi was actually formed after all this land had already been fenced. And it was a bit difficult for us to bring down our fences, when we actually did have alternatives of what to do" (interviewee 10)*
	NNP	Lack of financial support from (above all) KWS	*"If the KWS could give some percentage that they're getting from tourists to the locals, then we too, on our end, will preserve and take care of the wild animals that we have within our ecosystem." (Interview 8)*
		Uneven distribution of benefits from NNP	*When they do the fencing, the migration of animals will be affected so we may end up losing or them losing because people who used to benefit from the lease programme will be affected if they fence the park." (Interviewee 16)*
Disciplinary	Education	Understand the value of wildlife	*"This money from the conservancy comes because of the wild animals. So, you see the value now, the wild animals are getting value because I get something to educate my children." (Interviewee 14)*
		Care for the wildlife	*"It has changed somehow. Some years back we were not friends with them. But now because there's something coming out from them, we are friends" (Interviewee 24)*
		Changed attitude towards wildlife	
	Ranger programme/Surveillance	Engage in 'appropriate' wildlife-friendly behaviour	*" Because we have been able to ask the people outside the park to keep their land open, not chase away the wildlife. Also, now people don't kill lions. So, people are becoming friendlier and more habitation for wildlife." (Interviewee 19)*
	NNP	Instrumental and intrinsic value	*"The government should not continue building within the park. To me, that is the worst thing that is happening, we now have a road. We have a railway that cuts across an important heritage of our country." (Interviewee 10)*
		Critique: threaten this value [of wildlife]	
		Acknowledge mandate [of NNP]	
	Maasai ontology	Co-existence (essentialism)	*"So, we were taught how to stay with the wildlife by our forefathers and we are still staying with them because we are Maasai" (interviewee 2)*

Truth		Custodianship to protect wildlife	"*They coexist. I can't see them causing any problems. We have been living with wildlife around as long as I can remember. Though we get a lot of challenges with them in form of predation and spreading of wildlife diseases, we still find it a better living*" (interviewee 10).
	Religious decree	Custodianship by God to protect wildlife	*"In most areas where you have wildlife, you will find that Maasai lives in that area. So, my father will tell me that God has mandated us as Maasai to live with the wildlife, to coexist with our wildlife" (interviewee 7)* *"O*ur culture forces us to do conservation, whether they like it or not" (interview 3)
	Taboo spaces	Do not eat wildlife	*"I feel like there's a special connection between humans, livestock and wildlife. The fact that we Maasai don't eat wildlife shows that we value them and like them just being there. Seeing them there, they coexisting with our livestock and ourselves" (interviewee 11)*
	NNP	Against fencing because contrasting truth	*" Nairobi National Park belongs to the Maasai community. That land belongs to the Maasai land,and we have really left that land for wild animals. And when we left for wild animals, why do you want to put all these things inside" (interviewee 20)* *"I feel like the park is being snatched from the Maasai and technically taken to other tribes. This park belongs to the Maasai. So, the government putting a railway there without our consent is wrong. The park is ours." (Interviewee 6)*
		Park and wildlife belonging to Masai	
Communal	Collective and sharing practices	Reciprocity	*"I will not fence because for the number of cattle I have here the land is not enough. It will not sustain the cows, so the cows will need to go outside to other people's fields. And when I fence the land, other people will not accept me to feed my cattle outside (interviewee 6)* *"You know, we are not all blessed equally. There are some people who are disadvantaged in one way or the other, someone has fenced small portions of land and they also have some livestock. So, you have to give them room for grazing because we have to share these things because it is God given, no man has created land" (interviewee 27)*
		Care for community	
		Care for wildlife	
	Wildlife conservation as means to maintain pastoralism	Affective relations	*" So, we have fenced quite a portion of land, but we have unfenced land so that we can share with the rest of the community and the wildlife." (Interviewee 12)*
		Communality	
	NNP	Dispossess collective pastoral identity	*"The name Naretunoi means helping. So, it is you to give me to have 50 acres another 70 acres another one to make us getting help it is getting help, helping each other that is why we say Naretunoi. It is helping one another because I cannot be alone" (Interviewee 12)*