Appendix 1. Additional primary evidence.

Additional (select) quotes from interviews and excerpts from primary documents (not included in the main manuscript) are presented below. The evidence (from interview and documents) has been organized by themes within each of the eras and attributes investigated. Quotes are first summarized under the "Era" heading. Then, each quote/excerpt is ordered under the heading that identifies the interaction between the attribute investigated and the thematic finding of the paper.

The attributes investigated include actors involved, decision-making process, formal rules, legal instruments and policies, and actors involved. Thematic findings include legacies of contested worldviews, the disproportionate influence of international organizations, and structures of power: accountability of institutions and devolution of authority.

National Parks 1945-1975

Actors involved – The disproportionate influence of international organizations

"The trust land Board shall consist of the following members- {a) the person for the time being lawfully discharging the functions of Chief Commissioner, who shall be chairman; (b) two Africans who are elected members of the Legislative Council of Kenya. appointed by the Governor; (c) one European who is an elected member of the Legislative Council of Kenya, appointed by the Governor; (d) two other persons appointed by the Governor." (p 1091 Kenya Gazette Supplement No 93, 1960)

"The presence of internationally-known figures among the Trustees will facilitate donations from abroad" (p 5 Republic of Kenya 1975)

Decision-making process – The disproportionate influence of international organizations

"12. (1) There is hereby established a Board, to be known as the Central Land Advisory Board, which shall consist of - (a) the Minister for the time being responsible for land, who shall !be chairman; (b) the Commissioner of Lands, who shall be deputy chairman; and (c) (i) eight Africans; (ii) five Asians; (iii) one Arab; and (iv) six Europeans; all of whom shall be appointed by the Governor. in his discretion." (p 1093 Kenya Gazette Supplement No 93, 1960)

Decision-making process - Structures of power: accountability of institutions and devolution of authority

"This centralization of responsibility will permit more flexible management of wildlife, particularly in those extensive areas which are integral components of the ecological units which contain National Parks and County Council Game Reserves" (p 4 Republic of Kenya 1975)

Formal rules, legal instruments and policies - Structures of power: accountability of institutions and devolution of authority

"All land in Kenya is hereby declared to either be Crown land or private land or trust land" (p 1091 Kenya Gazette Supplement No 93, 1960)

Centralized Power 1976-1988

Actors involved - Structures of power: accountability of institutions and devolution of authority

"that was the early 1970 but because of various political pressures on the president at that time and this was Jomo Kenyatta he unilaterally, before this process was complete, declared a 200 sq mile national park. Which would have denied the maasai all of their dry season grazing," [#8 - KWS]

Decision making process - The disproportionate influence of international organizations

"Finally, wildlife is a major resource base for recreation and tourism. Tourism, largely based on wildlife, is among Kenya's top three foreign exchange earners" (p 49, IUCN World conservation strategy, 1980)

KWS - 1989-2003

Actors involved - Legacies of contested worldviews

"render services to the farming and ranching communities in Kenya necessary for the protection of agriculture and animal husbandry against destruction by wildlife." (p 1262, Republic of Kenya, 1989)

Actors involved – The disproportionate influence of international organizations

"I don't want to personalize it but I watched a whole lot of elephant being killed up there, it was pretty grim, you know you see the thing and you get more aggressive in nature, and you are armed but you realized you don't have the capacity to go out and fight these guys with A-Ks. I had a wealthy Norwegian friend, we were talking, he said I will give you the money if you persuade that community" [#6 -NGO]

"3B. (1) The Service shall be managed by a Board of Trustees of the Service which shall, subject to section 3c, consist of-- (a) a chairman appointed by the President; (b) the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry for the time being responsible for matters ,relating to wildlife; (c) the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry for the time being responsible for finance; (d) the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry for the rime being responsible for local government; (e) the Commissioner of Police; (f) the Director of Forests; (g) a representative of the Permanent Secretary in the 'Office of the President responsible for internal security; (h) the Director of Veterinary Services; (i) not more ,than six other trustees to be appointed by ,the Minister from amongst persons who are conversant with nature conservation in all its aspects." (p 1262, Republic of Kenya, 1989)

Decision making process - The disproportionate influence of international organizations

"Now that CWS has accomplished some of its objectives, especially in terms of reorienting attitudes, developing an approach to working with communities, and establishing a curriculum for training in community wildlife management, it is an appropriate time to reassess staffing needs and the future role of CWS in implementing specific aspects of the community wildlife program." (p 4 COBRA, 1996)

Formal rules, legal instruments and policies - The disproportionate influence of international organizations

"The US Agency for International Development initiated an innovative effort to assist the Government of Kenya through the Kenya Wildlife Service to establish and institutionalize a national program in community-based wildlife conservation and management." (p 1, COBRA, 1996)

"By 1992, he had persuaded the World Bank to give KWS a 5 year \$143 million loan to underwrite a Protected Area Wildlife Service program (PAWS), whose goals were to rehabilitate Kenya's national parks and, more urgently, to halt elephant and rhino poaching and banditry" (p 510, Science Magazine, 1998)

Formal rules, legal instruments and policies - Structures of power: accountability of institutions and devolution of authority

"3A. The functions of the Service shall be to-(0) formulate policies regarding the conservation. management and utilization of all types of fauna (not being domestic animals) and flora" (p 1260 Republic of Kenya, 1989)

Conservancy Emergence - 2004-2016

Actors involved - Legacies of contested worldviews

"Partnerships, by their very nature, represent a sustained commitment to move forward together to reach a higher common objective. To ensure an inclusive partnership and stakeholder involvement in decision making, ways must be found to (a) ensure wide representation from across the private sector and civil society organisations and (b) ensure that community voices are brought forward. This is because private sector, civil society actors and communities play a central role in environmental conservation and management" (p 48, National Environmental Policy, 2014)

Actors involved - The disproportionate influence of international organizations

"These non-state actors have the advantage of being more independent of political pressures than governmental formal management agencies. Thus they are well positioned to play an important leading role in agenda setting and policy development processes. For example, NGOs can mediate in the resolution of resource conflicts at the local level by bringing considerable

expertise and resources. At the national level, they can inform and shape the public debate on environmental protection issues and challenges. "(p 48, National Environmental Policy, 2014)

"actually it was TNC that funded it, went down to Namibia to look at the conservancy model there and one of the things they came back with the need to create an umbrella organization that would represent sort of the interests of conservancies" [#5 - NGO]

Decision making process - The disproportionate influence of international organizations

"The need for decentralization and devolution of wildlife management to the lowest level possible and enlist the participation of the private sector, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community based organizations (CBOs) and other non-state actors" (p 4, Republic of Kenya, 2012)

Agro climatic zone	Potential land use	Area in Ha	% of the total land
i-iii	Medium to high: Agriculture, livestock (intensive), forestry and water catchment	8600	15%
iv-v	Marginal to medium: agriculture (drought tolerant crops), forestry, livestock (ranching) and wildlife conservation	11500	20%
vi-vii	Marginal, livestock (extensive pastoralism) and wildlife conservation	37,400	65%

(p 60, National Spatial Plan Republic of Kenya, 2015)

Formal rules, legal instruments and policies - Structures of power: accountability of institutions and devolution of authority

"Chapters four to eleven comprise the all inclusive policy framework for sustainable wildlife conservation countrywide. Some of the key elements include: (1) enactment of a comprehensive wildlife law to implement this Policy; (2) mainstreaming of wildlife conservation into national land use systems; (3) decentralization of wildlife conservation planning, implementation and decision-making processes to the constituency level; (4) wildlife conservation and management will be ecosystem-based; (5) community participation in wildlife conservation and management through establishment of community wildlife conservation areas and sanctuaries; (6) mainstreaming research and monitoring in wildlife conservation and management; (7) provision of appropriate incentives and user rights to communities and other stakeholders to promote sustainable wildlife conservation and management; (8) innovative measures to mitigate human wildlife conflict; (9) establishment of the Wildlife Compensation Fund to broaden the financial resource base for compensation of wildlife damage to human, crop, livestock and property; and (10) regional and international cooperation in the conservation and management of shared wildlife resources." (p 2-3, Republic of Kenya, 2007)

"(c) Vest renewable resources such as wildlife, water and public forests in the State to hold in trust for the people of Kenya" (p 22, Republic of Kenya, 2009)			