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Collaborative Commons? A Critical Analysis of Community-Based Conservation in Kenya and Madagascar

Jennifer N. Lesorogol
Pitzer College

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Claremont Colleges Library
Undergraduate Research Award

Senior Award Winner

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Reflective Essay

Reflective Essay

My thesis project started when I was 10 years old on a *safari* with my family. I was with my older sister, Sarah, in the clay house of a Samburu woman with other international kids visiting with their families. We were vacationing not too far from our family home in Kenya, just north of the Samburu National Reserve. Sarah and I were very accustomed to smoky earthen houses, in fact, we had helped our Samburu grandmother, *Ngoko*, build hers. We spent our summers playing with our cousins and being doted upon by our grandmother. Our fingerprints were part of the mosaic of her walls, a memento of the day we spent plastering the house and listening to the lively conversations between our *Ngoko* and aunts.

The house we were visiting now was not our *Ngoko*'s, but it had all the familiar scents of sweet tea and warm milk, and the sounds of women and children speaking in hushed Samburu, our native language. But, we could also hear the tourist children speaking in English about their distaste for the home, how small it was, how the Samburu had nothing. I recall my older, more confident sister, stepping in and correcting these children's comments. She told them that in fact, this was a wonderful home and just because it is different from the one they may know, that doesn't mean it was worse. I went home wondering how they could only see dirt walls where I saw a tapestry.

This moment sparked something in me, an awareness that changed the way I looked at the *safari*, and the curated experience of visiting a traditional Samburu home. I began to question more critically why it was that my Samburu culture had become a tourist attraction. Why was the land we once had access to as a semi-nomadic group, now only accessible to wealthy foreign tourists? Why was it that some people had the power to make the rules, and others had to live with the repercussions? Why was it that tourists who did not bother to understand my culture and country, get to drive around in Nissan minibuses photographing wildlife and dining in grand lodges, while the local people remained fenced outside? I couldn't understand these injustices, and was plagued by my own conflicting position as someone that had access to both of these realities, simultaneously inside and outside.

It is this background, that led me to devote much of my college experience to understanding the nuances and complexities of conservation issues in Africa. While I have been a college

student, I have gained the tools and experience to further understand my own lived experience and give what I saw growing up a name. In the summer of 2015, I conducted an independent research project in Kenya evaluating the success of community-based conservation approaches and their impacts on local communities. The following year, I completed another project in northwestern Madagascar, also investigated the effects of another approach to community-based conservation on rural peoples. While conducting these projects, I found that there were major discrepancies in knowledge between the people advocating for community-based conservancies, and those being impacted by the same policies. Before I began my fieldwork in Kenya and Madagascar, I conducted extensive research on the topic of conservation and environmental policies in both countries. Through the access to scholarly literature granted to me by the Claremont Colleges Library, I was able to find key scholarly resources that contributed significantly to these projects and my thesis.

When I returned to the United States, I had a vision of what my senior thesis would look like. The project would be based on the primary data that I collected while I was in Kenya and Madagascar, and the final product would add critical analysis and methodology. Since I began reading more literature, my thesis has continued to develop, change, and transform. What at first seemed like a simple analysis of my own research experience, turned into unpacking the constructed notion of nature and the impacts of commodifying natural resources. The resources that have been available to me through the Honnold-Mudd Library have been critical in developing my thesis, and are continuing to add layers of complexity to my own writing.

I am indebted to Jessica Greene, who introduced Zotero to my Environmental Analysis senior seminar and thesis class, for revolutionizing how I record my scholarly sources and incorporate them into my writing. Additionally, Jessica Greene fortified my knowledge of the library database and gave me new skills to utilize during my research process. I was attempting to locate a somewhat obscure UNESCO document on Biosphere Reserves in East Africa, and Jessica Greene helped me locate it by showing me numerous approaches to search for the document. That document has truly aided me in developing my analysis on the success of the Sahamalaza-Iles Radama Biosphere Reserve in Madagascar that I studied.

Currently on my desk, I have a dozen or so books that have been vital to my thesis that I was able to access thanks to Iliad. Throughout my research process, I have been encountering new

and relevant literature that was not available online or at our library. I have used Iliad numerous times to track down books and articles that have given me pivotal information that I have incorporated into my thesis.

Countless authors have challenged my writing and critical analysis of the topic. The works of Nadia Horning and Katherine Homewood have helped me understand contemporary issues surrounding environmental policy and the many actors involved in Madagascar and Kenya, respectively. Horning and Homewood have shown me how many international actors are entangled in what at first seems like a local issue. The works of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o and Achille Mbembé have helped me draw connections from the theoretical to the historical, and critically think about how I as a writer, can impact the narrative of conservation in Africa and my own communities.

This whole process has been part of my growth as a person, researcher, student and writer. For me, the questions seemed to come naturally, but the language and words are still something that I grapple with. The library has given me access to a world of literature that at 10 years old, I never would have known about. It has inspired me to continue to research and learn about the topics important to me, and continue the essential work of amplifying the stories of the marginalized, and in the process, discover my own voice.

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Research Project

“Collaborative Commons?
A Critical Analysis of Community-Based
Conservation in Kenya and Madagascar”

Collaborative Commons?

A Critical Analysis of Community-Based Conservation in Kenya and Madagascar

Jennifer Naiku Lesorogol

In partial fulfillment of a Bachelor of Arts Degree in Environmental Analysis and International
& Intercultural Studies

Pitzer College

Claremont, California

2017

Readers: Dr. Joe Parker, International & Intercultural Studies, Dr. Melinda Herrold-Menzies,
Environmental Analysis and Dr. Harmony O'Rourke, History

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Abstract

At first, community-based conservation (CBC) seems like a brilliant idea. Combining the needs of the ecosystem with the needs of the communities living in them appears to be a win-win scenario infused with political, economic and social benefits. Although there may be considerable benefits deriving from CBC, my research in Kenya and Madagascar raised a number of questions and concerns regarding the process used to initiate a conservation area, who benefits, why they benefit, and how conservancies can be sustained into the future. I argue that the sometimes contradictory missions of conservation programs and communities fail to serve either group's goals in a productive and effective manner. I show that the CBC is an outgrowth of neocolonialism through a historical analysis of the rise of conservation efforts in Africa as well as through the lens of postcolonial studies. Additionally, this thesis disrupts the dominant narrative of nature conservation by exploring different stories of nature presented by diverse authors and oral traditions, thereby unpacking the ways in which "nature" itself is a social construction. Using case studies from Kenya and Madagascar, I demonstrate how socially constructed ideas about nature impact contemporary environmental issues. In examining the common practice of blaming the rural poor for environmental degradation, I will ask what the role of other players are in the process. Through this analysis, the goal is to disrupt the hegemonic understanding of nature, conservation, and how humans are impacted, and impact, these relationships.

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And to the many, many, many people in Samburu and Sahamalaza who helped me along the way—I am indebted to your kindness and willingness to open up your homes to me and share your experiences and opinions. This work is truly dedicated to you.

Chapter I: Introduction

When one writes about Africa, be sure to include vivid imagery of the distinct and rare animals and the beautiful and lush forests. Make sure that there are plenty of paragraphs that discuss the devastation of deforestation due to pastoralism in Kenya, or *tavy* (rotating slash-and-burn agriculture) in Madagascar, and the harm that the local farmers are incurring on the ecosystem (Randrianja & Ellis, 2009, p. 270).

When you write about African animals, they must be treated as complex and well-rounded characters, while on the other hand, be sure to portray the African people as ignorant and starving and in need of western intervention (Wainaina, 2005, p. 95). Also, be certain to mention the great work of the NGOs and conservation projects that tirelessly work to save these species from destruction, and educate the natives on how to live in their environments. It would be criminal to neglect the benefits of donor and foreign aid in providing economic opportunity to these poor communities while simultaneously saving the planet from hundreds of miles away.

We have all heard this single story of Africa, and this story and many like it, have been created by showing people as one thing over and over again, until that is what they become (Adichie, 2009). Where does this single story come from? What are the sources of the view of Africa as a ruined paradise, awaiting saving by the West? Is this an accurate story or a flawed one?

The focus of my thesis is to discuss these issues through the lens of community-based conservation projects in Kenya and Madagascar. In understanding the history and current political atmosphere of environmental policies in both countries, this thesis will show how community-based conservation is neocolonial. This thesis will unpack the ways in which “nature” itself is a social construction, and how this construction impacts contemporary

environmental issues through the two case studies in Kenya and Madagascar. Additionally, this thesis will examine the common belief that blames rural poor for environmental degradation, and ask questions of who else is a key stakeholder in this issue. Through this analysis, the goal is to disrupt the hegemonic understanding of nature, conservation, and how humans are impacted, and impact, these relationships.

Through this analysis, I offer an alternative narrative to the one we so commonly hear by examining the motives and interests driving these global agencies, and what this means for native African peoples. I want to try and break away from the “single story” of Africa to demonstrate the complexity behind the simplistic headlines. Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign, but stories can also empower and humanize. Stories can destroy a people, but it may also repair that broken dignity (Adichie, 2009).

Chapter II: International & Intercultural Studies

Introduction

Pristine nature is often a central focus in the mission of mainstream environmental movements. Human-free “wilderness”, in its purest form, is often what environmentalists strive to restore. The existence of a “pure nature” or “wilderness” is a rare and fleeting find in our modern world. Often, anthropogenic climate change is perceived as destroying “pristine nature”. However, the idea of a “pristine nature” that needs to be protected is a complex statement, one laced with colonial, globalized and Eurocentric undertones. The construction of “pristine nature and wilderness” and the misinformation surrounding the causes of its destruction is key to this thesis.

Central to the construction of what is considered “pristine nature”, are European ideals of land management and the countryside, particularly, notions of what might be called “humankind’s control over nature”. These ideals are linked to private property and ownership. Scholars discuss how wilderness was transformed from a place that people once feared, to a place where people travelled to experience religious transcendence and the sublime (Cronon, 1996). This understanding of nature and its association with a higher power is related to colonial projects of controlling land, people and places.

In this chapter, I will discuss three topics: First, the literature on the construction of what we call “nature” (Adams & McShane, 1992; Akama, 2004; Bruner, 1991; Cronon, 1996; Norton, 1996). In doing so, I want to shed light on the impact of false histories and narratives on environmental policy (Fairhead & Leach, 1995; Homewood, 2004; Kull, 2000), and the effects of controlling land has on societies (Akama, 2004). Additionally, I want to discuss the multiple

meanings of nature through different stories of nature, particularly Samburu oral knowledge (Kipury, 1983).

Second, the role that the constructed understanding of nature plays in the neoliberal market. This chapter seeks to explore Marxian interpretations and definitions of nature as well as the process of commodifying nature in a capitalist society (Castree, 2003; Duffy, 2008). The ways in which nature has been manipulated to operate in a capitalist society and in our globalized world is vital to understanding the associated impacts on power relations. I will later discuss how different market mechanisms are used to justify the appropriation and exploitation of natural resources for both “conservation” and for profit (Fairhead, Leach, & Scoones, 2012). Authors Noel Castree and Rosaleen Duffy discuss the role of neoliberalization of nature and how that process further alienates people from a once readily accessible resource (Castree, 2003; Corson, 2011; Duffy, 2008; Holmes & Cavanagh, 2016; Hughes, 2006). They discuss how the role of commodification through the process of neoliberalization can be problematic.

Third, how the constructed understanding of nature spread through the colonial project. Using Kohn and McBride’s analysis of works by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o’s, Achille Mbembé, I will discuss the role of colonial ideologies, practices, and occupation in influencing postcolonial power dynamics, and also acknowledge the role that Africans have in perpetuating these policies (Kohn & McBride, 2011). Ngũgĩ and Mbembé draw parallels in the ways that colonial logic continues to structure postcolonial states and undermine popular government. I plan to show how this is also reflected in contemporary environmental policies and approaches to conservation.

The hope for this chapter is to show the harm that a single narrative can have on an issue, and to destabilize how we as human societies talk about nature. By showing how many societies have come to believe that nature is separate from humans, I hope to unpack the ways that our

understanding of nature (and the role humans play in shaping nature) has evolved. This chapter will act partially as a literature review, but also an introduction to key concepts that I will use in the analysis of my findings later in this thesis.

The Social Construction of Nature

The historian, William Cronon writes on the construction of wilderness and its connection to pioneer ideals of landscapes, space, religion and societies through the notions of the sublime and the frontier. Cronon outlines how the creation of the model for American National Parks and other protected areas has been built around ideals of religious transcendence and human control over nature and society (Cronon, 1996). In my thesis, I argue that this Eurocentric model of land management and its supporting ideologies have been transported to other parts of the world, particularly to former colonies in Africa.

Cronon is especially interested in the transfer of English ideals about the countryside and land management into the creation of “wilderness”. Cronon writes that wilderness is, “far from being the one place on earth that stands apart from humanity, it is quite profoundly a human creation—indeed, the creation of very particular human cultures at very particular moments in human history” (Cronon, 1996, p. 3). He lays out how the creation of wilderness is a human construction and is heavily tied to the need for men to display their control over nature and society, and in the process, creating an incredibly unnatural nature. Cronon describes how this can be beguiling because it *seems* so natural, when in reality it is a human invention. He argues that these ideals of wilderness are inextricably tied to images, memories, and experiences in nature in the sublime. Cronon characterizes the sublime to be one of the “most important expressions of that broad transatlantic movement we today label as romanticism” (Cronon, 1996, p. 3).

Wilderness has not always been the place where one goes to find solace, and find harmony with the nonhuman environment, which is often the underlying rationale for people to “enter” the wilderness. Historically, wilderness has been heavily associated with biblical connotations, a place on “the margins of civilization where it was too easy to lose oneself in moral confusion and despair” (Cronon, 1996, p. 3). One did not travel into wilderness willingly, it was a place that one came only against their will, and always in fear. The wilderness is associated with many religious stories, like the story of Moses wandering in the desert for forty years (Cronon, 1996, p. 2). Cronon writes that it was believed that wilderness, or nature in its raw state had little or nothing to offer a civilized society, hence it was something to be managed, minimized and controlled. By the end of the nineteenth century, there was a shift in the conflation of wilderness with fear and despair. Cronon notes:

Wilderness had once been the antithesis of all that was orderly and good—it had been the darkness, one might say, on the far side of the garden wall—and yet now it was frequently likened to Eden itself. When John Muir arrived in the Sierra Nevada in 1869, he would declare, “No description of Heaven that I have ever heard or read of seems half so fine” (Cronon, 1996, p. 3).

To describe this major transformation of the value of wilderness and nature, Cronon uses two concepts: the sublime and the frontier. He describes the sublime as being the older and more widespread cultural construct and the frontier is something that is peculiarly American, while still having European antecedents and parallels. He writes that it is fair to say that the modern environmental movement is a grandchild of romanticism and post-frontier ideology. Cronon states that while today, wilderness may seem to be one of many environmental concerns, it acts as a foundation for many trepidations that at first seem unrelated. He argues, “that is why its

influence is so pervasive and, potentially, so insidious” (Cronon, 1996, p. 4). Cronon says that for wilderness to hold such remarkable influence, it had to be infused with the core values of the “culture that created and idealized it: it had to become sacred” (Cronon, 1996, p. 4). Biblical texts are often loaded with imagery of wilderness as being the borderland “between the human and nonhuman, between natural and supernatural” and the place where there was less certainty where one boundary ended and the other began. This notion of the wilderness being a landscape where the “supernatural lay just beneath the surface was expressed in the doctrine of the sublime” (Cronon, 1996, p. 4). Here, Cronon refers to the works of other scholars in discussing the role of the sublime. He writes that “in the theories of Edmund Burke, Immanuel Kant, William Gilpin, and others, sublime landscapes were those rare places on earth where one had more chance than elsewhere to glimpse the face of God” (Cronon, 1996, p. 4).

For this reason, Cronon identifies sublime landscapes as vast and powerful panoramas where one had existential thoughts and could feel the presence of God: “on the mountaintop, in the chasm, in the waterfall, in the thundercloud, in the rainbow, in the sunset” (Cronon, 1996, p. 4). Interestingly, these are the same landscapes where the great American National Parks are located, and arguable the great African National Parks and protected areas. Yet, “as more and more tourists sought out the wilderness as a spectacle to be looked at and enjoyed for its great beauty, the sublime in effect became domesticated” (Cronon, 1996, p. 6).

These locations were picked for their aesthetic and sublime value, and remain honored as federally protected areas in the United States. Cronon’s work is pivotal in contending that what we often take as natural, is actually a human construction. When we erase the human component from these landscapes, we alter the reality of these spaces.

Cronon presents a single, Western perspective, on the conceptualization of nature. But, there are many stories of nature and its value. For Samburu people, nature, community, land, and culture are all linked by cattle. Cattle offer sustenance and are resilient in the arid climate. They are also a marker of social status and wealth. Cattle also represent a spiritual connection with land, nature and Enkai (a higher power).

This is a variation of a story I have heard, and one recorded by Naomi Kipury, the author of *Oral Literature of the Maasai*. Oral knowledge states that when Enkai created the world, there were three groups of people. First, the Ntorrobo who are hunter/gatherers of small stature. Enkai gave to them honey and wild animals as their source of food and sustenance. Then there are the Kikuyu, who are stout farmers and whom Enkai gave seed and grain. And third, there are the tall Maasai (the Samburu's close relative), to whom Enkai gave cattle on a cord (some versions say a leather strap) that connected the sky and Earth (Kipury, 1983). The story goes that while the Ntorrobo were destined to endure bee stings, and the Kikuyu famines and floods, the Maasai received the most noble gift of raising cattle that could endure these hardships. In a fit of jealousy, a Ntorrobo cut the cord between heaven and Earth severing the tie with Enkai (Kipury, 1983). To this day, cattle are the center of the world to the Maasai and Samburu. Cattle provide food, clothing, shelter, security, and maintain the connection with Enkai. Where oftentimes, environmentalists see pastoralism as being destructive to nature, for the Samburu, cattle are ineradicable from nature.

In contemporary Samburu society, there exists a complex system of reciprocity that helps communities survive droughts. A kinship connection is formed when a person shares cattle, sheep, or goats with another person who may have lost animals in a drought. A goat-giver is the *pakine*, and a sheep-giver becomes your *pankerra*, this relationship is called *sotwatin* (Lesorogol,

2009, p. 180). The root of the word *sotwatin* is *sotwa*. A *sotwa* is a herding staff and also the Samburu word for umbilical cord. The reference to an umbilical cord suggests the familial nature of this relationship. It could also be interpreted as symbolic of the cord that connected Enkai to the Samburu to gift them with cattle. The Samburu word for Samburu is *lokop*, which translates to “of the land”. My clan within the Samburu is *Lpisikishu*, People of the Spotted Cow, our clan believe that all spotted cattle are descendants from my ancestor’s herds. This oral knowledge illustrates the relationships between community, land and animals as being intrinsic to Samburu culture and survival.

The Maasai and Samburu have long been the stewards of the land, maintaining an important balance between humans and wildlife. The patterns of wildlife and the Maasai are closely linked; human herders shadowed the wildlife migrations through the seasons, following the rains (Western, 2013, p. 21). Many Maasai elders claim that wildlife was traditionally used as a “second cattle” to see them through drought when their own herds were depleted. This notion helps to explain the Maasai’s tolerance toward wildlife (Western, 2013, p. 21). There are many stories that speak of this deep bond between these semi-nomadic pastoral groups, land and wildlife. It is also the existence of wildlife, such as lions and elephants, that have attracted so much global attention to this region.

In this section, I hope to have begun unsettling the mainstream understanding of wilderness and nature, and hope to continue to do so through the length of this chapter. In the next section, I will discuss the Marxist definition of nature. Using the work of Noel Castree, I will analyze how Marxists writers define nature, and reflect upon how this construction of nature adds to the complexity of conservation. Juxtaposing these differing definitions of nature will help

to outline the complicated history of the conceptualization of nature, and value that human societies assign to nature.

Marxists and Nature

Noel Castree's work discusses the process of commodifying nature, how it works, and why it can be considered problematic. Before launching into the details of how Marxists discuss nature, let's define what nature is, and specifically what nature means for Marxists. This argument is built off of the premise of capitalist commodities, which is a Marxian axiom. Castree defines "nature" in four broad categories that appear in Marxist writing on commodification: nature as external, nature as internal, nature as the human body, and nature as information.

Castree explains that oftentimes, nature is a complex word for Marxists. She states that Marxists rarely use nature in its literal and non-reflexive form. Marxists have used it in shorthand to refer to many things, such as wetlands (Robertson, 2000), animals (Castree, 1997), seeds (Kloppenburg, 1988) and more (Castree, 2003, p. 283). Since the term has been used in such diverse contexts, it can be challenging to understand whether "specific natures make a difference—and of what kind—to how capitalist commodification unfolds" (Castree, 2003, p. 283).

The first category Castree describes is "nature as external", which she defines as the non-human nature we call "the environment". To Castree, contemporary Marxists consider two principal categories of "external nature": environmental inputs and outputs—commodification effects and environmental commodification (Castree, 2003, p. 284). Castree defines environmental inputs and outputs as those directly linked to, and are the result of the production of capitalist commodities. She says that environmental economists call these "externalities" that

are found at the inputs and outputs of the production process (Castree, 2003, p. 284). Castree then argues that by not being commodified, environmental inputs and outputs suffer “collateral damage due to other things being commodified – then we can also consider the direct commodification of external nature. Here, ‘pieces’ of the environment become privatized, individuated, alienable and so on” (Castree, 2003, p. 285). Castree uses work from Katz (1998) to support her next claim that external nature has become “an accumulation strategy” for capital. Prominent examples of this is through bioprospecting and ecotourism, but it has always been true of mining and agriculture (Castree, 2003, p. 285). Castree then cites Harvey (1996) when she argues that the contradictions between the materialities of nature and those of the commodification process are “inherently anti-ecological” (Castree, 2003, p. 285).

The second category Castree discusses is “nature as internal”. Here, she examines the difficulties in distinguishing between “external” and “internal” nature. By internal, she doesn’t mean the human body (which will be discussed next) but rather, “the circumstances where nature is brought firmly within the commodification process” (Castree, 2003, p. 286). Castree says that through nature as internal, it loses its “independent capacity to resist commodification and approaches the archetype of a ‘pure’ commodity” (Castree, 2003, p. 286).

Then, Castree defines the third category of “nature as the human body”. She starts by saying that the “body is typically treated as morally sacrosanct in most societies: it deserves—and indeed receives—special analytical and normative attention” (Castree, 2003, p. 286). The body has long been the site of debates over the reach of the market and commodification, chief among these debates have been those over prostitution, surrogacy and slavery (Castree, 2003, p. 286).

The final category that Castree defines is “nature as information”, and the example of informational nature that she uses is a genetic database. A genetic database could not exist without “real” genes, however, “unlike genes, this information is as infinitely decomposable as it is easy to move” (Castree, 2003, p. 287). Castree further explains by describing how a strand of DNA can be analyzed in many ways to create a database of information. Castree cites Bowker (2000) to further argue that because of this ability, access to this information, “can become a commodity available for sale and purchase in the form of computer disks [or] e-mail attachments” (Castree, 2003, p. 287). After defining nature in these four categories, Castree develops the process of commodification, discussed below.

These definitions of nature offer diverse perspectives, showing that nature can be considered in many ways, not just a singular definition. Outlining nature through a historian’s, Marxists, and oral lenses, I attempt to demonstrate alternative ways to write about nature. For example, indigenous understandings and definitions of nature are as valuable, if not more valuable, to how Western academia defines nature. The next section will discuss how the process of commodifying nature works.

Marxist Theory—Commodification Processes

Rosaleen Duffy writes about the neoliberalization of nature as it pertains to ecotourism and tourism in Madagascar, building her argument from the work of Noel Castree (2003). Castree unpacks how commodification of nature in capitalist societies works, and why it can be problematic (Castree, 2003). Commodifying nature alters the way in which rural communities can access resources, and creates a system of inequality at the expense of the rural poor. This

process that Castree describes, sounds eerily similar to the process of creating community-based conservancies that will be discussed in future chapters.

Castree synthesizes the works of Marxists authors to form a rudimentary definition of capitalist commodification: “at the most abstract level, these authors see capitalist commodification as a process where qualitatively distinct things are rendered equivalent and saleable through the medium of money” (Castree, 2003, p. 278). Castree argues that there are six things that make up the commodification process: privatization, alienability, individuation, abstraction, valuation and displacement. The following section will briefly review the different steps of commodification.

The first step is privatization. Castree defines privatization as being “the assignation of legal title to a named individual, group or institution” (Castree, 2003, p. 279). The title gives the owner exclusive rights over the titled item. She acknowledges that privatization is not just a feature of capitalist societies, but rather it is a well-known Marxian axiom that acts as a prerequisite for capitalist commodification. This is because exchange of items through money can only happen if those possessions belong to different actors who are free to alienate them (Castree, 2003, p. 279). With the support of other authors, she argues that “privatization is thus as much about the control over commodities—prior to, during and after exchange—as it is about ownership in the technical, legalistic sense” (Altvater, 1993; Bakker, 2000; Castree, 2003, p. 279; Kloppenburg, 2005; O’Connor, 1998).

The second step is alienability, or the “capacity of a given commodity, and specific classes of commodities, to be physically and morally separated from their sellers” (Castree, 2003, p. 280). Castree clarifies that privatization does not mean alienability, they can be mutually exclusive. As an example, “an indigenous community may ‘own’ lay knowledge of rare

medicinal plants but would not necessarily sell it to a pharmaceutical company” (Castree, 2003, p. 280). According to most Marxists, in order for a commodity to be exchangeable for money, it must also be alienable, otherwise it would be protected from market exchange (Castree, 2003, p. 280). Castree sites the work of Dickens (2001) for his account of the commodification of human bodies. Dickens argues that bodily components, such as genes and limbs, “are priced and sold as if they had no organic relationship with the people who, individually and collectively, are their biological ‘owners’”... “alienability is only possible because the commodity in question can be physically and ethically ‘detached’ from its seller” (Castree, 2003, p. 280; Dickens, 2001).

The third stage of commodification is through individuation, which is linked to privatization and alienability, but is not quite the same. Castree defines individuation as “the representational and physical act of separating a specific thing or entity from its supporting context” (Castree, 2003, p. 280). For individuation to occur, legal and material boundaries must be placed around the phenomena so that it can be “bought, sold, and used by equally ‘bounded’ individuals, groups or institutions (like a firm)” (Castree, 2003, p. 280). As well as privatization, capitalist commodity exchange cannot occur unless the commodities can be separated into discrete ontological entities with their own qualitative specificities (Castree, 2003, p. 280). To support her argument, Castree cites Altvater’s (1993: 185) example of Amazonian hardwoods as a case of “splitting of complex ecosystems which simplifies them into legally definable and economically tradeable property rights” (Altvater, 1993; Castree, 2003, p. 280). In the Amazon, individual trees are felled as if they can be disentangled from their ecological context, such as plants, fungi, and insects (Altvater, 1993; Castree, 2003, p. 280). Can trees in the Amazon be extricated from humans? A study has shown that plants domesticated by ancient civilizations still

dominate the region, thus showing the immanent role humans play in shaping ecosystems (Stokstad, 2017).

The fourth phase is abstraction, which is slightly different from individuation: “it is a process whereby the qualitative specificity of any individualized thing (a person, a seed, a gene or what have-you) is assimilated to the qualitative homogeneity of a broader type or process” (Castree, 2003, p. 281). Castree cites William Cronon’s work on the commodification of wheat in Chicago’s hinterland to identify two forms of abstraction: functional abstraction and spatial abstraction. Functional abstraction “involves looking for real and classifiable similarities between otherwise distinct entities as if the former can be separated out from the latter unproblematically” (Castree, 2003, p. 281). Spatial abstraction “involves any individualized thing in one place being treated as really the same as an apparently similar thing located elsewhere”, and functional abstraction acts as a precondition of spatial abstraction (Castree, 2003, p. 281).

Valuation is the fifth step towards commodification, and Castree prefaces by saying this aspect gets us into familiar Marxian territory. A key feature of Marxian characterization of capitalist commodities is that their worth is determined by labor value, “even though it appears their value is intrinsic rather than assigned” (Castree, 2003, p. 281). However, “most contemporary Marxists writings on nature take it as axiomatic that commodity valuation is a ‘blind’ social process in capitalist societies that has a distinct ‘logic’ to it” (Castree, 2003, p. 281). Yet, in capitalist societies, value is manifested through money, thus monetizing capitalist commodities, “they have a price and can, to all intents and purposes, consequently be rendered commensurable with things not only in the same taxonomic class of goods but in different ones

too (e.g., money can buy you anything from a carbon credit to a medicinal plant to an alligator)” (Castree, 2003, p. 281).

The final stage of commodification is part of the “blind” process of profit and sale described above, displacement. Castree defines displacement as “about something appearing, phenomenally, as something other than itself. Put another way, it involves one set of phenomena manifesting themselves in a way that, paradoxically, occludes them” (Castree, 2003, p. 282). Castree cites the work of Elaine Hartwick (1998; 2000) to further discuss displacement in the context of nature because Hartwick has arguably done the most to highlight the geographical, temporal and phenomenal displacements that are part of capitalist commodification:

Where Marx, in *Capital 1*, was concerned to “penetrate the veils” of commodity exchange in order to disclose the labour exploitation at the site of production (cf. Harvey, 1989), Hartwick has been keen to show what happens to nature at this site too. Hartwick’s point, like Marx’s, is that the spatiotemporal separation of commodity producers and commodity consumers in capitalism means that the latter cannot “see” what is “contained” in the physical form of the commodities they purchase (Castree, 2003, p. 282).

Finally, Castree demonstrates how capitalist commodities “conceal an intertwined process where workers and the environment are harmed systematically (barring state intervention or corporate restraint)” (Castree, 2003, p. 282). Castree states that these commodities are not things, but rather socio-natural relations, and for Hartwick, we conflate relations for things and “fail to see how they become an alien power over us” (Castree, 2003, p. 282; Hartwick, 1998).

Using the work of Castree and the many authors she cites, I hope to draw attention to the issues surrounding contemporary conservation approaches, particularly community-based

conservation methods. For the reasons described above, creating CBCs often emulates similar dynamics as it: 1) privatizes land, 2) alienates indigenous peoples from the land, 3) physically separates land from the communities who have acted as stewards for centuries and hold ecological knowledge of the land through the process of individuation, 4) creates a system that naturalizes the separation of humans from nature through abstraction, 5) through tourism assigns a monetary value (or valuation) to natural resources, and 6) creates a system that both is reliant on the participation of rural communities, but also their displacement from the land in order for community-based conservation to be successful.

Globalization, Colonization, Neoliberalization

In the next sections, I will link some understandings of nature described above, to how globalization, colonialization and neoliberalization impact societal relations with nature. These three factors transformed how conservation in regards to “nature” was created globally. This section will briefly define globalization as it is used in this thesis, then discuss how globalization has spread ideals of nature, and its relationship to the market. Using the works of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o and Achille Mbembé, I will discuss the impacts of the transition from the colonial to the postcolonial in determining how conservation works, which will address the role of colonial legacy as well as how contemporary African leaders, through different structures, contribute to systems of inequality.

The next sections will focus increasingly on the topic of my thesis, community-based conservation in Kenya and Madagascar. Through discussing globalization, colonialism, and neoliberalism, the ways in that the social construction of nature impacts rural peoples becomes apparent.

The process accounts theory of globalization defines globalization as a long-term, singular, historical process that operates simultaneously at global and local levels. O'Byrne (2005) discusses the differences between theorists Roland Robertson and Robbie Robertson, who have different notions as to when this process initially started. Roland Robertson argues that globalization started in Europe during the early fifteenth century, and is characterized by the emergence of a global consciousness, or an awareness that the world is a singular place (O'Byrne, 2005, p. 77).

Robbie Robertson pushes against this assertion and argues that globalization has been underway since the beginning of human history and is a product of human diaspora and migration. O'Byrne explains that Robbie Robertson centers his theory in three waves; 1) commercialism in the sixteenth century, 2) the industrial revolution and European imperialism and, 3) post-Second World War adding distinct American features such as democratization and capitalist expansion (O'Byrne, 2005, p. 77). These are three significant epochs in human history, and are also important in the history of conservation. Humans have been migrating for thousands of years and as a byproduct they have been sharing culture, products and knowledge. While there are other arguments about the emergence of globalization and their characteristics (transformative accounts and dialectical accounts), for my thesis I will use the argument of globalization through the process accounts theory. This theory of globalization helps to contextualize the history of environmental policy and governance in many developing countries as a product of these eras. Particularly salient are the impacts of colonization, imperialism, democratization and capital expansion, especially in the cases of Kenya, Madagascar, and East Africa more generally. This theory also acknowledges that there are many structures that influence global movements that date to the beginning of human diaspora.

As mentioned above, Robbie Robertson assigns the industrial revolution, European imperialism, democratization and capital expansion as being pivotal results of the process of globalization. The impacts associated with the colonization of Africa, and the political and economic climate of the post-Second World War era have had reverberating effects on modern Africa, particularly in the creation of national parks and environmental policy. Although many African countries achieved political independence during the mid-twentieth century (Kenya in 1963 and Madagascar in 1960), the question of whether or not they achieved economic independence is refuted. Former colonial powers have maintained economic influence in their former colonies and crafted systems of economic dependency (Akama, 2004). The formation of environmental policy in much of the formerly colonized world is an example of the reinforcement of economic dependency through the external control of Africa's tourism industry and major monetary and political influence on environmental policy (Akama, 2004, p. 140). While formal political colonization may have ended, the same European colonial ideologies on land management were maintained in environmental policy and conservation initiatives in Kenya and Madagascar. Eurocentric ideologies of European supremacy and African primitivism informed early conservation efforts and led to policies that enriched the elite at the expense of native Africans. This thesis argues that these ideologies persist in current approaches to conservation.

Additionally, it is important to note that African political leaders have also continued this trend, it is not simply a result of colonialization. In Kenya and Madagascar, the state is playing a big role in pushing conservation programs like community-based conservancies and biosphere reserves. They also stand to benefit from these activities, and play a large role in what conservation projects look like. I will discuss this in further detail in the background chapter.

Settler colonialism is a key feature of British intervention in Kenya. British settlers moved to the highlands of Kenya where they took ownership of the most fertile lands where they then created ranches for their personal economic gain. Although many settlers sold their land and left Kenya after independence, a lasting vestige of this history is evident in Laikipia County, a region in northern Kenya where there remain many large ranches primarily owned by white Kenyans (DePuy, 2011).

Madagascar's colonial history differs from Kenya, offering a comparison of the impacts of different colonial ideologies. Madagascar was a French colony, and during the colonial period, much of the Malagasy monarchs power was shifted to France. This history will be discussed further in the background chapter.

For the purposes of this paper, I find the term "green grabbing" to be a salient way to describe how colonial ideologies are mimicked in the postcolonial era. Furthermore, this is a concrete example of what I described in Noel Castree's process of commodification section. "Green grabbing" is a phenomenon that builds on the histories of colonial and neo-colonial resource alienation in the name of protecting the environment, (Fairhead et al., 2012, p. 238) and is a concept that characterizes current conservation efforts in Kenya and Madagascar. Green grabbing is a term coined by John Vidal, a journalist with the *Guardian*, referring to the appropriation of land and resources for environmental ends. In this definition, 'appropriation' implies the transfer of ownership, use rights and control over resources that were previously publicly or privately owned, from the poor to the powerful (Fairhead et al., 2012, p. 238). This term is intentionally evocative because it is describing an injustice, appropriation is related to the processes of accumulation and dispossession of land from the poor by the wealthy. The effects of green grabbing are projected through capital accumulation where the profits accruing to capital

are reinvested, or through the Marxist term of primitive accumulation. This is when publically owned nature (such as public land and/or natural resources) is enclosed into private ownership and the existing claimants are dispossessed and become proletarians separated from land and nature, releasing their claims to land for private capital (Fairhead et al., 2012, p. 238). Green grabbing is justified by saying that the land appropriated is for food or fuel production and other environmental agendas.

The term ‘green’ extends to include commercial deals related to biodiversity conservation, biocarbon sequestration, the protection of ecosystem services, ecotourism or ‘offsets’ related to any of these (Fairhead et al., 2012). While green grabbing does not always mean the complete and utter alienation of land from the existing claimants, it does involve the restructuring of rules and authority over the use and rules to access and management of resources that may have profoundly alienating effects (Fairhead et al., 2012). Green grabbing is an important phenomenon to consider when discussing the history of national parks, conservation, and environmental policy in Kenya and Madagascar, because it “builds on long and well-known histories of colonial and neo-colonial resource alienation in the name of the environment – whether for parks, forest reserves or to halt assumed destructive local practices” (Fairhead et al., 2012, p. 237).

In Marxist political theory, commodification describes the fundamental transformations of value (Bhavnani, Foran, & Talcott, 2005; Fairhead et al., 2012, p. 238). In this epoch characterized by globalization, commodification has expanded to include life forms, and:

central to this commodification of life is the private appropriation of knowledge and its production. Even elements of nature that do not require biotechnological shuffling are being designated as commodities, as seen in the World Bank’s 1993 elaboration of a

water resources management policy that defines water as an “economic good” (Bhavnani et al., 2005, p. 326).

Oftentimes, when we discuss commodification, it is of objects that can be consumed or exchanged as capital. However, the process of globalization has made it so that life itself can become a commodity, something owned by an individual or a corporation and can be exchanged through the free market. By commodifying things like nature, it becomes increasingly difficult for indigenous peoples to practice livelihood activities such as pastoralism or hunting and gathering as their cultural traditions do not always subscribe to these same values. It also gives corporations the grounds to destroy environments because they may technically own a patent to that resource. An example of this is through seed patents and how this deeply impacts rural farmers in India, particularly rural women who are the primary agriculturalists (Shiva, 2009).

The main one that impacts conservation areas in Kenya and Madagascar is the privatization and enclosure of land. This commodification of property disenfranchises nomadic groups like the Maasai and Samburu who traditionally practice communal sharing of land rather than individual holdings of private land (Western, 2013). It also impacts communities whose subsistence is reliant on natural resources located in protected areas, such as the Sakalava (People of the Long Valley) in northwestern Madagascar (“Madagascar - Britannica,” n.d.).

Ngũgĩ and Mbembé through Kohn & McBride—Colonialism and the State of Exception

To support the argument that contemporary power dynamics in Kenya and Madagascar are highly influenced by colonial ideologies as well as perpetuated by present-day African politicians, I will refer to an analysis of the works of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o and Achille Mbembé by Margaret Kohn and Keally McBride. The transition from the colonial to the postcolonial

period instilled colonial ideologies into the new African political elite that preserved the social, economic, and political inequalities. In analyzing current environmental policy in former colonies, I hope to show the influence of colonial ideologies in shaping conservation policies, as well as acknowledge the ways that African politicians contribute to this system, and operate in systems of their own. Ngũgĩ and Mbembé write about Africa in the mid-twentieth century, a time that coincides with the era that many environmental policies regarding national parks and protected areas were shaped in Kenya and Madagascar.

Ngũgĩ and Mbembé use the example of the State of Emergency to illustrate the transfer of colonial power in the 1950s and 1960s, to the beginning of the postcolonial period. Kohn and McBride suggest “that the State of Emergency reveal[s] the inner logic of ‘colonial rationality’” and “[Ngũgĩ and Mbembé] both draw attention to the way[s] that this logic continues to structure postcolonial states and undermine popular government” (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 79). Ngũgĩ discusses the legacy of indirect rule in Kenya, and Mbembé discusses the legacy of *commandement* in former French colonies. In using both authors, this section will address both British and French colonial rule.

Kenya’s infamous State of Emergency lasted for 8 years (1952-1959). Sir Evelyn Baring, the colonial British governor at the time, said he called for the State of Emergency in response to the Mau Mau rebellion. The Mau Mau were a group of Kenyans who were rebelling against British colonial rule and the unjust incarceration of thousands of Kenyans. Ngũgĩ, a Kenyan writer and exile, came of age during the Emergency. In his many works, he addresses the ways that the tactics employed during the Emergency (torture, screening, arbitrary arrest and incarceration for extended periods, forced labor, and mass confinement in villages surrounded by

barbed wire) undermined the capacity for resistance and weakened alternative, non-colonial sources of order (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 80).

In his writing, Ngũgĩ discusses how the colonial government first gained their authority in Kenya. In order for the colonial state to be effective in implementing its policy, they utilized several different approaches. One approach that was pivotal to the success and failure of colonial rule in Kenya, was the need for allies. The colonial government needed Kenyan allies in order “for the white minority to be able to maintain economic and political control over the vast African population . . . which meant that there had to be some segment of the African population that benefited from white rule” (Kohn & McBride, 2011, pp. 81–82). In other words, the British government had to organize consent in their colonies, and often the colonial state used cultural assimilation through institutions such as the church and the school system to gain the consent of the African population (Kohn & McBride, 2011). This aided their effort to educate Africans with Western values, but also created a missionary educated population that challenged the colonial government and created a movement towards self-government. This threat to their rule surprised the British officials, and in response, they needed to find new allies who would subscribe to their colonial agenda (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 82)

The British government established a system of indirect rule, and constructed system of customary law, in order to gain control over the African population. Customary law is based on governing by “traditional”, stereo-typical, African practices, like chiefs. When the ethnic group that the colonial state was attempting to dominate did not have chiefs, the British created them. In the precolonial period the Kikuyu (Ngũgĩ ’s ethnic group) did not have a system of chiefs, but relied on a more informal system of consultation and consensus (Kohn & McBride, 2011). By incorporating elements of traditional practices, the British created an illusion of mutual

governance between Africans and colonial settlers, “but these were distorted by the vastly changed power dynamics of colonialism” (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 83). Customary law was not truly based off of traditional African ruling practices, it was a façade for its real purpose, political and economic domination, and “under the new system of indirect rule...the ‘chief’ was backed by the coercive power of the colonial state and had little need to build consensus or respect shared norms” (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 83). Thus, unpopular decisions could be made without the true consent of the people, but through the coercive power of indirect rule. Mahmood Mamdani describes this system as “decentralized despotism” (Mamdani, 1996, pp. 37–61). This strategy did not stop Kenyans from resisting colonial rule.

When the Emergency first was announced, the colonial authorities said that it was to protect the states sovereignty against the Mau Mau. For Kohn and McBride, Ngũgĩ’s analysis is particularly distinctive because he is not arguing whether the *exceptional* measures taken by the colonial state were legitimate, but rather, he argues about the legitimacy of the *state* itself. Ngũgĩ does not argue about the legitimacy of the call for the emergency because the question is posed from the perspective of the colonizer (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 80). Instead, he critiques the colonial legality through his novels and plays that illustrate the political and psychological ramifications of the Emergency (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 80).

Through his works, Ngũgĩ argues the Emergency reflects the core logic of the colonial order, “he tries to expose the ways in which the violence of the Emergency, which the settlers perceive as being an aberration and blame the Mau Mau, is a necessary product of the violence of colonialism” (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 85). Ngũgĩ argues that “colonial rule of law is an oxymoron because colonialism is a political order based on force, not consent. Furthermore, it is

premised on unequal rather than equal treatment of two groups of peoples, natives and settlers” (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 86).

The Trial of Dedan Kimathi (1976), is a play Ngũgĩ co-authored with Micere Githae Mugo. The play aims to teach the Kenyan people about the history of colonialism, resistance and the violent repression of that history under the rule of the British, particularly highlighting the role that the African elite played during the colonial era and then under the Kenyatta administration (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 84; Ngũgĩ & Mugo, 1976). In this play, the main character Kimathi remains solvent in his hope to inspire others to continue to fight against slavery and exploitation while he is being pushed to confess by three temptations. The first temptation from a white settler, named Shaw Henderson who portrays *a* face of colonialism. Henderson urges Kimathi to confess in exchange for his life. The second and third temptation speak to the more complex layers of the colonial order. The second delegation is a group of multi-racial business men who speak of the monetary wealth in collaborating with the colonial order. A white business man speaks of the opportunities to gain wealth for the African elite in the coming postcolonial polity, while his black counterparts remain silent. The third and final delegation to appeal to Kimathi is a black businessman, priest, and politician. They urge him to confess by enticing him with the earthly and spiritual benefits of collaborating with the colonial order. Here, Kohn and McBride show how Ngũgĩ and Micere make clear the connection they see between collaborating with colonialism and collaborating with Kenyatta’s neocolonial regime (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 87).

In the *Trial of Dedan Kimathi*, Ngũgĩ reveals the connection he sees between the colonial and postcolonial (il)legality, and that the Kenyan State of Emergency was not an exception, but in fact a tenet of the colonial order “—an order and a law based on coercion and not consent”

(Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 87). Ngũgĩ makes the point that the Emergency purposely unsettled the Kenyan polity, by tearing apart the existing social order and leaving a fragile basis for the postcolonial order:

The British realized that decolonization was inevitable, therefore the Emergency was not really an attempt to prevent Kenyan independence. It was a struggle to plant the roots of the neocolonial order. It did so by destroying its most resolute adversaries, undermining the sources of unity, and ensuring that collaborators would have privileged access to the economic bases of power (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 87).

For Ngũgĩ, “the legacy of the colonial legal system was an authoritarian mode of governance that was adopted with little modification by the postcolonial African elites” (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 89). This is important because while Africans have agency and independent governing structures, Ngũgĩ still sees them as being heavily influenced by the colonial legal system. The argument also is exploring a specific instance in time that aligns with the crafting of conservation policy and is a reason I believe it is salient. When tourism and conservation programs were first being explored in the mid-1900s, the dominant ideologies were still colonial (Akama, 2002). This of course is changing, and there are more structures to consider with contemporary policy issues, but when you trace the policies, they inevitably lead you back to the colonial era. And as contemporary African governments take more charge in modifying conservation policy, I argue that they are still neocolonial.

Achille Mbembé, the author of *On the Postcolony* (2001), argues that “political science literature on Africa is based on reductionist assumptions. Furthermore, the dominant concepts such as democracy and civil society emerge out of European historical experience and hide more than they illuminate” (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 91). Kohn and McBride discuss how Mbembé

“provides an alternative mode of analysis that exposes the continuity between specific practices of colonial rationality and their spectral reappearance in postcolonial Africa” (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 91).

Where Ngũgĩ discusses indirect rule and customary law, Mbembé examines what he calls *commandement* (French for “commandment”, “command”, “authority”). A significant feature of *commandement* is the distinct *mélange* of law and lawlessness, “the essential lawlessness of colonial rule was rooted in the act of founding itself: violent conquest” (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 91). Kohn and McBride say that because the colonial rule was established through violence, Mbembé argues that the “colonial rule based its legitimacy on force rather than on consent, mutual benefit, or tradition”, which I will argue is similar to the rise of community-based conservation in future chapters (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 91). Through the use of coercion and arbitrary rule, the system of *commandement* maintained its authority over its subjects (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 91).

As with British colonial rule, the French model similarly relied on conquest¹ through a morbid interpretation of consent. Colonial polity through conquest, however, bears little resemblance to social contract theory (Hobbes), “where rational individuals voluntarily recognize the need to cede some of their natural liberty in order to create a sovereign authority capable of protecting their rights or their interests” (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 91). Kohn and McBride use Hobbes to bolster their argument because Hobbes recognized that polities were founded through conquest (“sovereignty by acquisition”), not just through social contract (“sovereignty by institution”), but argued that they were still based on consent “because the conquered chose submission over death” (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 91).

¹ Conquest is the process whereby the colonial power uses its military superiority to conquer a weaker society and exploit the native people and resources for its own benefit. It defines its own practices, economic organization, religion, and system of government as “civilization” (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 91).

Kohn and McBride say that for Mbembé, “the underlying logic of *commandement* [is] the assumption that the native peoples are not capable of consent and therefore must be compelled” (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 92). The peoples who are to be conquered are regarded as incapable of consent, their culture and practices are also considered “barbarous”, and in the perspective of the colonizer, inferior. For Mbembé, a key part of *commandement* is that there is a lack of distinction between ruling and civilizing, and with that comes violence (Kohn & McBride, 2011, p. 92).

Ngũgĩ and Mbembé offer some very important lessons on the transition to independence from colonial rule. They highlight the ways that the colonial powers worked to ensure their continued access to their former colonies both politically, socially and economically. As a critical theory, postcolonial studies often discuss the impact that colonial rule had on language and literature, and I hope to add to this literature by showing how colonial rule has had an impact on cultural understandings of land, nature, and conservation.

Chapter III: Community-Based Conservation Literature Review

Introduction

Community-based conservation (CBC) was founded on the premise of combining community development objectives with conservation goals (Berkes, 2004; Murphree, 2002). Merging the objectives of both communities and conservation practitioners, the idea was that the interests of both parties could be simultaneously served. In recent years, there has been increased efforts and investments in community-based conservation. Additionally, there has been increasing concern that community-based conservation is not working, “and that the emphasis on ‘community’ and ‘participation’ is diluting the conservation agenda” (Berkes, 2004, p. 622). This literature review will focus primarily on community-based conservation in Africa.

Scholars believe that the shift toward CBC has been in response to a larger paradigm shift away from exclusionary conservation practices towards more participatory and inclusionary approaches to conservation and development (Barrett, Brandon, Gibson, & Gjertsen, 2001; Berkes, 2004; Ghimire & Pimbert, 1997; Hackel, 1999; Kellert, Mehta, Ebbin, & Lichtenfeld, 2000; Murphree, 2002; Songorwa, 1999). Scholars contend that the rise in CBC is due to failures in exclusionary conservation practices such as “fortress conservation” (Barrett et al., 2001; Ghimire & Pimbert, 1997) or the American National Parks model or *fence-and-fines* approach to conservation (Songorwa, 1999). This move toward CBC would retire the aging narrative of “fortress conservation” for the nascent, “counter-narrative of development through conservation and sustainable use” (Murphree, 2002, p. 2).

However, there has been little in terms of results on the effectiveness of community-based conservation experiments, and when measured, the performance has been weak (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999; Barrett et al., 2001; Ferraro, 2002; Homewood, Trench, & Brockington, 2012b; Kellert et al., 2000, 2000). This has also led to various debates between scholars over the virtues of community-based conservation (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999). One camp argues that the reason

for the disappointment of community conservation is due to improper implementation, particularly “with regard to the devolution of authority and responsibility”, not a weakness or impracticality in the premise of the model (Berkes, 2004, p. 622; Murphree, 2002; Songorwa, 1999).

The other camp argues that while both community and development objectives are important in their own right, they “should be delinked because the mixed objective does not serve either objective well” (Berkes, 2004, p. 622). These scholars believe that combining both objectives is unproductive. Some argue that it is in fact counter-productive and the objectives should be separated (Barrett et al., 2001; Kellert et al., 2000; Redford & Sanderson, 2000). They argue that the objectives should be separated because their goals often differ: the primary goal of conservationists is to conserve the natural environment while communities seek economic development to support livelihoods (Berkes, 2004). Little research has been done on the effectiveness of CBC, and “the results have been mixed at best, and the performance of many [projects] has been well below expectations” (Barrett et al., 2001; Berkes, 2004, p. 622; Homewood et al., 2012b; Kellert et al., 2000). The research to date on the effects of conservancies is inconclusive regarding ecological, social, and economic impacts (Homewood et al., 2012b). However, in some cases there is evidence that indicates that CBCs can lead to increased ethnic conflict and little economic benefit to the communities (Greiner, 2012). Overall, much of the literature agrees that CBC needs to be reformed in order to be successful. Scholars suggest different changes in approach, but all acknowledge the merits of community involvement, such as its role in bringing about decentralization, meaningful participation, cultural autonomy, and conservation (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999, p. 630). But in order to make the

approach more successful, there needs to be some concrete changes (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999; Berkes, 2004).

This literature review will define community-based conservation and its rise in popularity. Then unpack the shift from exclusionary conservation to inclusionary conservation, surveying the deeper ideological shifts in conservation scholarship. After, the chapter will address the lack of evidence supporting CBC experiments and examine the three debates as to why CBC performs so poorly, 1) weak institutions, and 2) that the two objectives should be delinked because they do not achieve either set of goals well, and 3) that the discourse needs to include a more transdisciplinary approach and reform to the structure of CBC.

Weak Institutions

There is generally agreement in the scholarship in regards to the rise in CBC projects. The consensus in the literature is that community-based conservation is well intentioned, however, it has not been performing as well as expected. Christopher Barrett, Katrina Brandon, Clark Gibson, and Heidi Gjertsen (2001) co-authored an article particularly addressing the impacts of weak institutions in the conservation of tropical biodiversity. The main goal of their article is to understand where the decision-making authority should lie in tropical-biodiversity conservation (Barrett et al., 2001). Barrett et al. address four main themes. The first is that currently, community-based natural resource management (CBNRM), “overemphasizes the place of local communities in tropical-conservation efforts, much as the previous top-down model underemphasized communities’ prospective role” (Barrett et al., 2001, p. 497). Second, due to the variability of management approaches for biophysical and socioeconomic contexts, projects often focus on distributing authority amongst multiple institutions instead of concentrating it in one. Third, they contend that the greatest challenge to implementation, and achieving

conservation at all, “is the weakness of existing institutions at all levels” (Barrett et al., 2001, p. 497). And fourth, formulation, rehabilitation and coordination amongst multiple institutions will require the financial commitments at the international and national levels. They argue that without these four factors functioning properly, CBC will likely perform poorly.

Stephen R. Kellert, Jai N. Mehta, Symna A. Ebbin and Laly L. Lichtenfeld (2000) co-wrote a paper based on a study they conducted in Nepal, Kenya and the United States, investigating the impacts of community-based approaches to natural resource management (CNRM/CBNRM). Kellert et al. acknowledge that CNRM encompasses many different expressions of CBC, such as social and community forestry, community wildlife management, cooperative or co-management, buffer zone management, participatory multipurpose community projects, communal area management for indigenous resources, among others (Kellert et al., 2000).

They present their findings by first stating that CNRM has in recent years been extensively promoted as a way to achieve biological conservation and socioeconomic development. Kellert et al. contend that the rationale is often compelling and convincing, however, there are relatively few data regarding the implementation, particularly in regards to the “reconciliation of social and environmental goals” (Kellert et al., 2000, p. 705). They argue that, “despite sincere attempts and some success, serious deficiencies are widely evident” (Kellert et al., 2000, p. 705). The paper contributes to the assertion made by many scholars, including Berkes (2004), that “the results of community-based conservation experiments have been varied, and the performance of many has been well below expectations” (Berkes, 2004, p. 622). Additionally, Kellert et al. found that in their cases, “CNRM rarely resulted in more equitable distribution of power and economic benefits, reduced conflict, increased consideration

of traditional or modern environmental knowledge, protection of biological diversity, or sustainable resource use” (Kellert et al., 2000, p. 705). In comparison, they argue that the models of CNRM in North America produce more successful results due to institutional, environmental and organizational factors (Kellert et al., 2000).

Delink Objectives

Some authors argue that we should move away from these combined objectives because there is little evidence to prove their success. With this change in attitude to conservation, authors have also suggested a shift in approach. Dr. Arun Agrawal and Clark C. Gibson argue that the poor outcomes from CBC in recent decades call for a more political tactic. They agree that the lack of positive results from CBC has put the merits of community-based conservation up for debate in the literature (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999). In order to promote a more political approach, Agrawal and Gibson say that, “community must be examined in the context of development and conservation by focusing on the multiple interests and actors within communities, on how these actors influence decision-making, and on the internal and external institutions that shape the decision-making process” (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999, p. 630). They believe that a focus on the institutions, rather than the “community” will likely yield more fruitful results than simply focusing on community-based natural resource management. Their final suggestion is for “research and policy to move away from universalist claims either for or against community” (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999, p. 630). Instead, they suggest that CBC projects must be based on realistic images of community that acknowledges internal differences and processes within different communities, their relationships with outside actors, and institutions (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999, p. 630).

Redford and Sanderson (2000) argue that CBC are not as successful as the model would suggest because there is misinformation in understanding the role of rural poor in both the process of conservation, and their impact on the environment. Redford and Sanderson respond to an article written by Schwartzman et al. (2000), about the role of indigenous communities in conservation. Redford and Sanderson are highly concerned about how the Schwartzman et. al. article comes to their major conclusion. Redford and Sanderson argue Schwartzman accuses a major ally, the local people, rather than recruit them in their efforts. They argue that this mode of argument by Schwartzman et al. is harmful to the main point of their paper and misrepresent the issue. Redford and Sanderson respond by writing what they claim to be the more reasoned conclusion than the one presented by Schwartzman et al. Redford and Sanderson clarify that the assumption “that people inevitably deplete populations of big animals’ is not a political assumption of a radical preservationist sect but a well-supported fact derived from numerous careful empirical studies by a field-based scientist” (Redford & Sanderson, 2000, p. 1363).

They then break their argument down into three main points. First, there is not much disagreement among the conservation literature “that, for many reasons, low-impact rural dwellers in forests are preferable to large-scale agents of deforestation” (Redford & Sanderson, 2000, p. 1363). They elaborate their point by arguing that the impact of forest dwellers must be recognized as being a necessary product of their existence, and that this does not make them an enemy of conservation as many advocates of blaming the poor, rural peoples for deforestation tend to do. Furthermore, “the strongest conservation advocacy must not deny the human effects of traditional or indigenous populations but must work with them as part of a realistic balance at conservation and use” (Redford & Sanderson, 2000, p. 1363).

Redford and Sanderson also address another issue with the CBC approach. Their second point is that it is unfair to place the burden of stopping economically, politically, and socially powerful forces that are currently driving major climate change on the shoulders of the relatively powerless forest dwellers, or rural poor. They say that this is not only unfair, but it is at worst extremely dangerous (Redford & Sanderson, 2000, p. 1363).

The third point that Redford and Sanderson make is that we must all recognize that poor people are no more likely than anyone else, particularly rich people, to be conservationists. Redford and Sanderson write that to impute conservation values on people at random, “risks demonizing them when they fail to achieve conservation objectives by themselves” (Redford & Sanderson, 2000, p. 1363). They address that this point is not to place blame on rural peoples for making a living by utilizing natural resources, but acknowledge the impact they do have on the ecosystem in doing so. Thus, Redford and Sanderson emphasize that conservationist should not be surprised or disappointed of the effects on the forest by rural peoples, they should understand this as being a “‘natural’ outcome of human habitation” (Redford & Sanderson, 2000, p. 1363). In conclusion, a point also emphasized by Berkes (2004), practitioners and scholars need to address these realities in their work on CBC. Until serious reform has been made, Redford and Sanderson argue that conservation and development objectives should be delinked because combining the two sets of objectives does not serve either well (Berkes, 2004; Redford & Sanderson, 2000).

Alexander N. Songorwa is the director of wildlife for the Tanzanian Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism. He authored a paper on community-based wildlife management (CWM) in Tanzania, asking the question: are the communities interested? In asking this, Songorwa complicates the whole issue surround CBC and the nature of community involvement.

Songorwa, like many of the authors mentioned above, attributes the rise in CBC or CWM as a direct response to the failure (particularly) of the *fences-and-fines* (the American National Park Model) to wildlife protection (Matzke & Nabane, 1996; Songorwa, 1999, p. 2061). For Songorwa, “the main objective for CWM is to create, through the bottom-up, participatory approach, conditions whereby a maximum number of community members stand to benefit from a sustainable management and utilization of wildlife” (Songorwa, 1999, p. 2061). The alternative approach (CBC/CWM), is being experimented with in many parts of Africa, and according to Songorwa, is based on a number of assumptions. The primary assumption that Songorwa explores is that communities are interested and willing to participate in wildlife conservation on their lands, and want to participate because it is in their economic interest (Liebenberg & Grossman, 1994; Songorwa, 1999, p. 2061). He disputes these assumptions.

With this shift away from top-down to bottom-up approach to conservation, Songorwa says that due to the environmental appeal of CBC, conservationists then retrace their own footsteps. They return to the rural communities they have alienated through *fences-and-fines* conservation policies, the perceived “enemies” of conservation, and ask for their forgiveness and cooperation. Conservationists sell the ideas of CBC/CWM as a partnership with equitable distribution of wildlife costs and benefits (Songorwa, 1999, p. 2061). Songorwa argues that the “underlying theory is that the rural communities have been alienated from a resource they should rightfully control, manage and benefit from” (Songorwa, 1999, p. 2061). Songorwa’s biggest argument against CBC/CWM is that like the *fences-and-fines* approach, “CWM does not intend to give total ownership of wildlife to the communities, it is the communities that are put behind fences leaving the wildlife to roam freely” (Songorwa, 1999, p. 2076). He challenges the assumption that communities automatically want to be involved in wildlife management, and

questions where the interest in conservation is coming from. He especially questions the sustainability of the approach by asking how can the communities be genuinely interested in wildlife conservation, “if it is them and not their supposedly reclaimed property who end up behind fences” and asking if “are the people wrong when they say they are being cheated?” (Songorwa, 1999, p. 2076).

Rethink the Concept

Other authors suggest that the concept of community-based conservation needs to be rethought, and include a more transdisciplinary approach. For example, Dr. Fikret Berkes, of the Natural Resources Institute at the University of Manitoba, writes about how community-based conservation approaches are based on the idea that conservation and development objectives could be simultaneously achieved, serving the interests of both. However, Berkes (2004) argues that this can be controversial because sometimes community development objectives are not necessarily in line with conservation objectives. Berkes evaluates the situation through discussing three conceptual shifts; the systems view, inclusion of humans in the ecosystem, and toward a participatory approach to ecosystem management. Berkes writes that these systems are all interrelated, and include the understanding that humans are also an integral part of the ecosystem. Berkes also investigates the feasibility of CBC through the fields of common property, traditional ecological knowledge, environmental ethics, political ethics, political ecology, and environmental history. Berkes identifies the importance of cross-scale conservation, adaptive co-management, the question of incentives and multiple stakeholders, the use of traditional ecological knowledge, and the development of a cross-cultural conservation ethic.

Jeffrey D. Hackel, a geographer, introduces CBCs as an approach to save and protect wildlife, primarily focusing on wildlife conservation in Africa. Hackel writes that

“conservationists came to realize that local people, who commonly are hostile to wildlife conservation, had to be won over as supporters of their efforts” (Hackel, 1999, p. 727). Conservationists were looking for a way to gain the cooperation of rural peoples in wildlife conservation, otherwise wildlife conservation efforts would fail. Hackel says that this assumption is rooted in truth, because oftentimes (particularly in Africa) “rural inhabitants often view wildlife conservation as misguided because it puts the needs of wildlife above those of people” (Hackel, 1999, p. 727). Hackel argues, and Berkes emphasizes that “such is the popularity of the concept that it soon may ‘be difficult to find a rural conservation project that does not define itself as community-based” (Hackel, 1999, p. 730). Thus, for Hackel and Berkes, CBC as a fad, has not been very helpful to wildlife conservation, because communities do not necessarily conserve or despoil the environment. Hackel and Berkes claim that communities do not act as isolated agents, but “rather [communities] are embedded in larger systems, and they respond to pressures and incentives” (Berkes, 2004, p. 628). Berkes suggests that “we need a more nuanced understanding of the nature of peoples, communities, institutions, and their interrelations at various levels” (Berkes, 2004, p. 628).

Hackel argues that while “CBC is an important policy option...it is being oversold and that the need for protectionism is being underestimated” (Hackel, 1999, p. 727). Hackel also states that “because of the pressures that Africans face in making a living, the application of CBC may not occur as readily or as successfully as its advocates would hope” (Hackel, 1999, p. 726). Hackel comes to the conclusion that “CBC programs can work to produce a better relationship between wildlife and people, but only a vast improvement in the lives of rural Africans will ultimately produce a more secure future for the continent’s wildlife” (Hackel, 1999, p. 726). Additionally, Hackel predicts that the trend toward increasingly human-dominated

landscapes in Africa will continue. In order for wildlife conservation policy to be successful, it will have to incorporate a combination of protectionism, community involvement, public relations, conservation education and revenue sharing (Hackel, 1999, p. 733).

Conclusion

While the literature above discusses different critiques of CBC, there have been examples that have recorded gains. A few include: In Zambia, the *Lupande Development Project* (LDP), *Administrative Management Design for Game Management Areas* (ADMADE), *Luangwa Integrated Rural Development Project* (LIRDP), and *Zambia Wetlands Project* (ZWP). In Zimbabwe, there is the *Wildlife Industries New Development for All* (Operation WINDFALL) and *Communal Area Management Programme for Indigenous Resources* (CAMPFIRE). Songorwa (1999) explains that while these specific programs at first showed positive outcomes, they eventually began to face difficulties. Songorwa identifies some of these challenges: “failure to implement the intended bottom-up, participatory approach, to meet basic needs of the communities, and to raise interest among the community members” (Songorwa, 1999, p. 2062).

For example, ADMADE and CAMPFIRE were praised as being participatory, but reports later showed the contrary. A report by Pilegaard (1995) says that until 1995, the rights of the communities participating in ADMADE had not improved since the program began. Murphree (1993) and Sibanda (1996) argued that until 1993, CAMPFIRE was in reality, a district-based, not a community-based, program (Little, 1993; Lynch & Alcorn, 1994; Murphree, 1993; Sibanda, 1996). According to interviews in the Nyaminyami district, in the CAMPFIRE project, “local participation in [wildlife] management simply does not exist” (Matzke & Nabane, 1996, p. 76). Songorwa attributes this lack of participation to the “unwillingness of district councils to devolve wildlife management responsibilities to communities and to allow the communities to

participate in the planning and management of wildlife [and] failure of the councils to pass on wildlife revenues to the communities” among other issues that “have led to ignorance or hostility to the program by the communities, increasing intolerance to wildlife and a continued lack of communal environmental controls” (Songorwa, 1999, p. 2063). To summarize, while these programs at first were deemed successful, the insidious nature of these issues later led to their weakening and failure in achieving project goals.

The literature reviewed in this chapter discusses the rise of CBC as an approach to achieving community development and conservation goals. The chapter examined the three main conversations occurring in the literature surrounding CBC. All the authors conferred the current shortcoming of the model and suggest different approaches to improving the situations. First, ensure the success of CBC by fortifying managing institutions in the country. Second, focus on each objective separately because mutually they cannot be achieved. Third, broaden the conversation to include a more transdisciplinary, and transformed approach.

Chapter IV: Research Method/ologies

Introduction

As my favorite Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie warns, there is a danger in a single story (Adichie, 2009). With that disclaimer, the data that I “collected” can only tell me so much. I need to begin to untangle (and re-tangle) and unsettle these “truths” that obscure other “truths”. To help me with this process, I will refer to Jacques Derrida’s work in deconstruction.

Jacques Derrida is often referred to as the founding figure of the method of deconstruction (Parker, 2008, p. 85). A key concept in Derrida’s work is what Robert Parker calls multiplicity, but Derrida would call it the “other”. To simplify, “deconstructionists believe in multiple [or other] meanings” (Parker, 2008, p. 86). In Parkers summation of deconstruction, he writes that it should not be confused with destruction, because it is not destruction.

Deconstruction, “can change the way we view things, but it does not destroy anything. It offers more, not less. In deconstruction, there is always more, a surplus of meaning and rhetoric that Derrida calls a *supplement*” (Parker, 2008, p. 87). With the existence of a surplus of meanings, the work deconstructionists’ do is to decenter language, to untie or unbind the meaning of a signifier (Parker, 2008, pp. 87–88).

Another important concept of deconstruction is a double reading, or a two-stage reading (Parker, 2008, p. 89). The first stage is when “the critic identifies a confidently singular interpretation, free of multiplicity and deconstruction” (Parker, 2008, p. 89). The second stage is when “the critic finds things that undermine the structure, things that (in deconstructionist lingo) ‘break down the binary’, ‘explode the binary’ or ‘decenter the text’” (Parker, 2008, p. 89). The reader or the critic can then find moments of undecidability (or *aporia*), when something can be both true and false, where “its language—goes beyond the capacity of the system to confine it to

one meaning or set of meanings” (Parker, 2008, p. 89). In my thesis, I will attempt this methodology by first presenting what may initially be called the “empirical findings” and then offer my own “second reading” of these “findings”.

For Derrida, this would include the reader reading with rigor, to unpack and untie the language. When deconstructing with rigor the reader destabilizes the ownership of words and the ownership of the meaning. This is what Derrida calls logocentrism, “the belief that signifiers, words, can contain the essence of their signified” (Parker, 2008, pp. 94–95). Derrida uses writing as an opportunity for language to *play* and to show that the author cannot tie down language in singular and secure meanings (Parker, 2008, p. 95). Derrida also creates his own term that he calls *differance*. According to Parker, Derrida’s objective in creating this word is to show that, “there is always difference, always a gap between signifier and signified, so that the continuous play of signifiers, instead of taking us closer to the signified, always defers the signified, thus keeping the difference between the signifier and the signified” (Parker, 2008, p. 95). Another reason I want to use Derrida to analyze my thesis is because I use quantitative research, but want to maintain a critical view. At times during my analysis of my projects, I found a tension or contradiction between the empirical data I collected. The deconstructionists viewpoint is helpful with this dilemma because:

Suspicious though deconstructionists may be of systems, they still rely on evidence and argument to develop an interpretation. The logic of evidence and argument may in some sense lie under erasure, but as the deconstructionists seek out internal contradictions in the objects they interpret, they also embrace deconstructionist’s own internal contradictions by continuing to rely on evidence and argument (Parker, 2008, p. 95).

This approach allows for there to be supplement of meaning, and in my findings, I often encountered moments of “aporia”. This method allows for me to embrace “undecidability” and search for the *supplement*.

Research Process

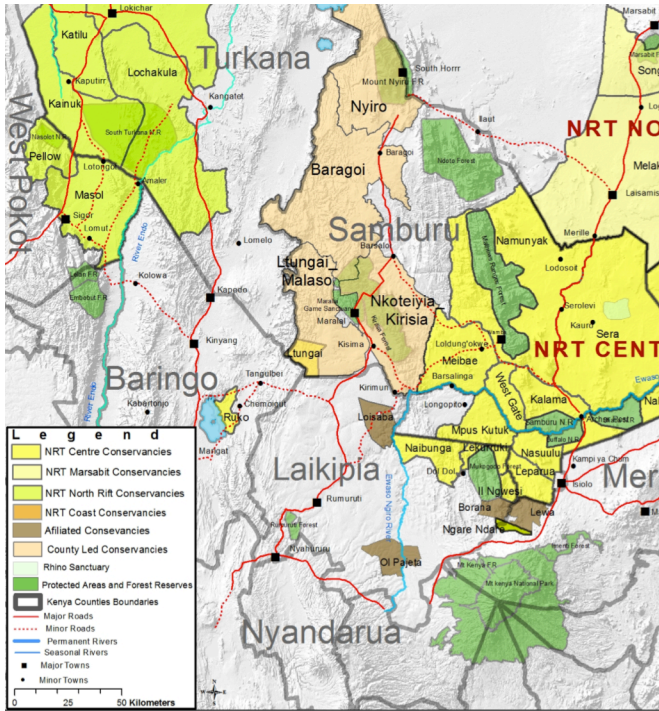
Before I begin the analysis of my findings from Kenya and Madagascar, I want to discuss how I got here. I will try and start at the beginning, with tea. I cannot begin to tell you how many cups of tea I drank. In many places in Kenya, it can be considered rude to not drink tea when you are a guest in someone’s home. Since I was a small child in my grandmother’s home in rural Kenya, I was fed the warm frothy milk straight from the *mala* after my *Ngoko* finished milking the cows. As I grew older, I learned how to expertly pour the hot tea from one cup to another in order to cool it enough to drink. Still striving for perfection, there were many days that I cursed my impatience while I sucked on my scalded tongue. All this tea drinking prepared me for the quantity of tea I drank while I interviewed government officials, members of the community-based conservancies, local community members, and my family.

My hope was to learn as much as I could about the recent proliferation of community-based conservancies (CBCV) near my home in Samburu, Kenya. This has long been an interest of mine, partly because my mother is an American anthropologist who studies land privatization in Samburu, and my father is a Samburu rancher and a longtime local political figure. These familial ties aided me greatly in recruiting participants to talk to me about the somewhat mysterious nature of CBCV. To my parents delight and mine, I also practiced my Samburu while interviewing folks.

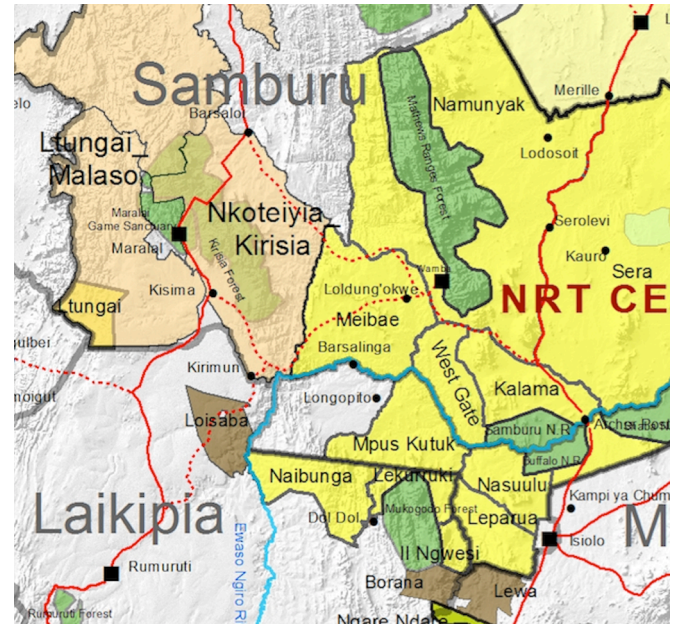
My main question for this particular project was to understand what my community and the surrounding communities knew about CBCV, and who were the people advocating for their

creation. I wanted to learn about the general goals and objectives of CBCV, who was creating them, and who were they intended to be benefiting. Additionally, I wanted to discover what the potential problems and challenges were associated with CBCV.

While I was in Kenya, I primarily interviewed people with different relationships with the process of constructing a CBCV. The variety of perspectives aided in my understanding of the intricacies of the situation, and how many different actors were at play here. I interviewed conservancy committee members and non-committee members, and representatives from the Samburu County Government, which is supporting the creation of CBCVs. First, I traveled to communities located on the perimeter of the Samburu National Reserve (SNR), the Westgate Community Conservancy, and conducted a series of interviews. The SNR and Westgate are about three hours away from my family's home. I went into the reserve and interviewed the Chief Warden, Simon Leirana, who is in charge of wildlife management for the reserve and also works closely with the surrounding communities. I then traveled further north to the Nkoteiya Conservancy that is in the process of building their first eco-tourism lodge. I interviewed committee members who are involved with the decision-making process for this conservancy. The next location I went to was even further north toward Kirimon. I conducted several interviews in Mbaringon, Baawa, Loltulele and Lodogejek locations where conservancies are being considered but have not yet been established. Here, I interviewed committee members, a new wildlife ranger, a lodge owner and other members of the community (see Map 1 and 2). Throughout the entire summer, I was taking notes in my journal about the research and my own notes on participant observation.



Map 1. Samburu County and Conservancies (Source: NRT.org)



Map 2. Close-up of Samburu Conservancies (Source: NRT.org)

Next, I went to the Samburu county capital, Maralal (about an hour from my house), and conducted interviews with civil servants involved with conservation and livestock. Then I visited Lũngai and Loosuk on the western edge of Samburu County, where I conducted interviews with a variety of community members and elders. The further away from the game reserve, the more suspicion and reluctance I encountered towards the conservation model. Many people had just been hearing the whisperings of a plan, but had some reservations. Most did not fundamentally disagree with the idea of conservancies, but questioned how it would properly function. One elder that I spoke with was a man named Lemalasia. He was in his 70s or 80s, and had strong opinions about the future of conservancies. This was also one of my more challenging interviews because he spoke in an older, more formal Samburu that was hard for me to understand, as well as for my Samburu family to translate for me into English. In essence, Lemalasia told me that he believed

that the creation of conservancies in Ltungai would lead to the end of Samburu culture as we know it. He said that when the cattle can no longer graze, the Samburu can no longer be the Samburu.

When I believed I had completed the project in Kenya, it was truly only the beginning. In the Spring of 2016, I studied in Madagascar for several months. While I was in Madagascar, I found myself drawn, as if by a mirage, to the topic of biosphere reserves. I was immediately hooked because, similar to the community-based conservancies I studied in Kenya, biosphere reserves aim to combine the objectives of community development and conservation. I knew then that I had to conduct my independent study project in the Sahamalaza-Iles Radama Biosphere Reserve on a small peninsula in northwestern Madagascar.

To be quite honest, my first thought was, what have I done to myself? In order to complete this project that I closely modeled off of the key stakeholder interviews I used in Kenya, I would have to make a trip to an incredibly remote part of the island that I was completely unfamiliar with. Plus, I had also chosen to challenge myself by including more research methods: a demographic and household survey and two Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) methods: community mapping and ecological transect walks.

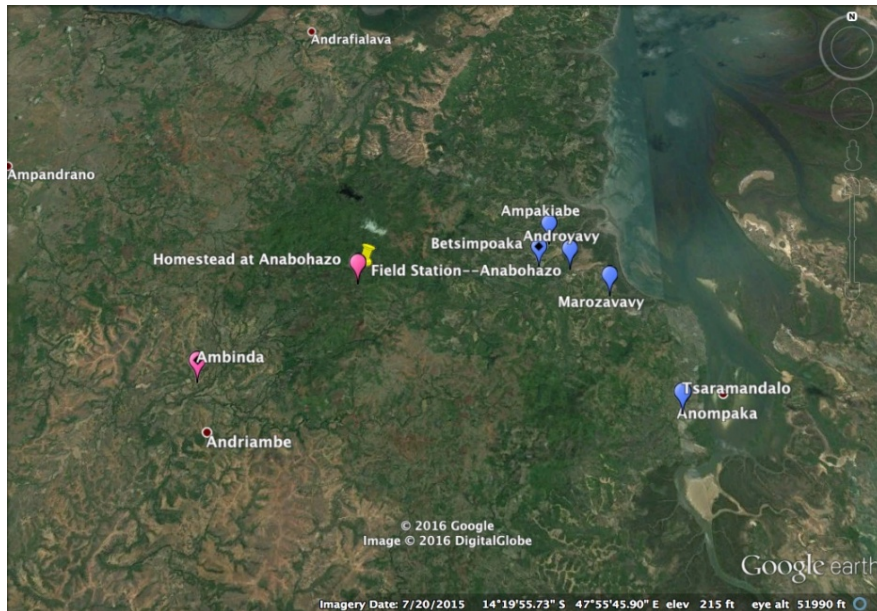
With all of that under my belt, I got on to a bus for an eighteen-hour trip to the small town of Maromandia. Here, I met my research assistant Nicholas Bezandry, (who I had never met before), to begin the project. In Maromandia, we conducted around twelve semi-structured key stakeholder interviews with Madagascar National Parks (MNP) officials, and other important governing members of the biosphere reserve. Then, we caught another bus an hour south, where we hiked two-hours through a mangrove forest, sinking to our knees in mud, until we reached the bay. Almost by a miracle, the family that we had arranged to stay with on the other side of the

bay of Sahamalaza happened to be there. We boarded their small dug-out pirogue to reach a tiny village called Betsimpoaka, where we stayed with the Joamamory family for about half a week.

Betsimpoaka is a coastal village hugging the western shoreline of the Bay of Sahamalaza, a pirogue ride away from the main landmass of Madagascar. It is surrounded by mangroves, and the villagers are mainly agro-fisherman. This village was comprised of approximately twenty-eight households, and of those households I collected surveys from twenty-three. I then hiked to the surrounding six villages and conducted the same survey, collecting an additional twelve surveys. These villages included Marozavavy (five households), Tsaratanana (one household and no GPS point), Ampahakiabe (one household), Ambodimanga (one household), Androyavy (one household) and Tsaramandalo (one household) (Map 4).



Map 2. Map indicates the location of Maromandia and the circled zone is the location of the research cite. Point 69 is the field station. Kind courtesy of Molly Warner. Source: Google Earth



Map 3. My research sites on the Sahamalaza peninsula. The blue points represent Betsimpoaka and satellite villages (except for Tsaratanana) and the pink denotes Ambinda and the homestead in Anobahazo. The yellow plot marks the field station in Anobahazo. Source: Google Earth

All of these surveys had to be translated from Malagasy to French to English by my research assistant and myself. It is hard to completely know what was lost in translation. Like my experience in Kenya, one of the main challenges I had in analyzing my interviews was translation. I feared that I would oversimplify what my interviewees were saying because I did not have the language capacity to fully embody the feeling of their answers. Especially in Kenya, there were times where even with my most valiant efforts, I could not fairly translate the words that exist in Samburu, but perhaps do not have an English equivalent. My own ignorance of Malagasy may have shielded me from this realization while in Madagascar, but I am certain that the gusto of my interviewees may have been altered or lost. By using the practice of Jacques Derrida, I acknowledge that there is always excess meaning, and for Derrida this meaning is always violated. I felt that during this component on my research, I experienced the multiplicity of language and that by presenting my conversations with Samburus and Sakalavas the way that I have, I too have contributed to the deconstruction of language through translation, without

finding all the surplus meaning. Additionally, and with all translation work, it is likely that there are some errors associated with translation fatigue.

Mrs. Jaomamory, who had been an invaluable asset during our time in Betsimpoaka, led Nicholas and me on a three-hour uphill trek to our next research location. After arriving at the research station near the protected parcel of Anabohazo (aptly means “on the tops of trees”), we hiked for an hour each way to Ambinda, the other village where I conducted my survey. The village has approximately ninety households and I conducted the household survey at random with thirty households. With the help of people who participated in my survey, we made a participatory map of the peninsula. I merely guided the making of the map by asking questions, and offering materials. The goal was to see how Sakalava viewed the land, and understand how the biosphere reserve overlaid on their home. Another empirical method I used was ecological transect walks through the protected parcel. The purpose of these walks to was witness any destruction in the parcels, and map out how the protected area looked ecologically.

Doing research and living in Madagascar was an incredible life experience in many ways, it was a time that I occupied a space where I was able to camouflage. While I am half Kenyan and half white, those two parts of me are sometimes at odds. In Kenya, I am considered white, and in the United States, I am considered black. In Madagascar, I was considered Malagasy...until I opened my mouth. This being said, it definitely had an impact on my research. Unlike my many white, American colleagues, I was able to fly under the radar while conducting my research project. Because of the language barrier and cultural gender dynamics, it was not unconventional that I would be taking notes while my male research assistant asked all the questions. This also added another complicated layer to my research in Kenya and Madagascar. Most of my interviewees were male, and this is not because I preferred male interviewees, but it

is because that is who “culturally” was “appropriate” to interview. When I did interview women, they often were self-deprecating and responded as if they did not know much about the questions. If I had more time to gain more trust in new communities, especially in Madagascar, I could have expanded my repertoire with female interviewees. Alas, time was not my friend.

Of course, I do understand my own bias and the biases I may have created to my interviewees. I occupy a strange space that both constrained me, but also gave me liberties to explore more than an average researcher, because I occupy a borderland. To analyze these questions of my positionality, I found Gloria Anzaldúa, a border woman, to be helpful. She is a border woman of the U.S.-Mexico border, the sexual border, the psychological border and a cultural border. In her preface, Anzaldúa says that “the Borderlands are physically present wherever two or more cultures edge each other, where people of different races occupy the same territory, where under, lower, middle and upper classes touch, where the space between two individuals shrinks with intimacy” (Anzaldúa, 1987). Anzaldúa describes herself as a border woman, and her entire life has been spent straddling these physical and psychological borders. Anzaldúa writes “it’s not a comfortable territory to live in, this place of contradictions. Hatred, anger and exploitation are the prominent features of this landscape” (Anzaldúa, 1987), and these people she calls the *mestiza*. Anzaldúa describes this term, the “new mestiza” as a “new higher consciousness”. She uses this book, “Borderlands/La Frontera”, to speak to her existence “with [her] almost instinctive urge to communicate, to speak, to write about life on the borders, life in the shadows” (Anzaldúa, 1987).

Using Anzaldúa’s methodology, I acknowledge my own experience as a border woman in Kenya and the United States, or where ever these borderlands take me. This of course is not a physical border in the sense that Anzaldúa writes about the Mexico-Texas border, but more of a

psychological border that has affected my life. I want to use Anzaldúa as guide to my own positionality through the length of this thesis project, to recognize my position as an insider and outsider, and many things in-between. In this thesis, I want to attempt to use my position as a border woman to explore the complicated issues surrounding conservation in Kenya and Madagascar. Using my unique identity as someone who can be inside and out (sometimes simultaneously) to begin the important work of amplifying the voices of those who are at times misunderstood or silenced. In understanding my positionality, I can also critique my own position as a researcher, writer, student, and person.

Specific Field Research Methods

The field research methods for both research projects in Kenya and Madagascar were built off a set of main research questions, which are listed below. These research questions were created in order to ascertain the basic goals and objectives of the CBCs and the BR and how they impact the local communities. This questionnaire was modified for the appropriate language and translated immediately after each interview.

1. What do communities know and understand about the general background of CBC/BR and actors advocating for their creation?
2. What are the general goals and objectives of conservancies/biosphere reserves?
3. Who is creating the policies for conservancy/biosphere reserve and is it participatory?
4. What are the intended benefits and who is supposed to receive these benefits?
5. What are potential problems and challenges associated with creating a conservancy/biosphere reserve?
6. Where is the funding coming from to create and run the conservancy/biosphere reserve and how will it be sustained into the future?

The studies used a mixed-method approach utilizing both qualitative and quantitative research methods. In both studies, I conducted key stakeholder interviews with government officials, reserve officials and community members, as described above.

Other Notes and Project Limitations

In both studies, these methods were supplemented with participant observation. I took note of what was happening while I was conducting interviews, hiking in the area, and interacting with people and key stakeholders. The study conducted in Kenya was in July and August of 2015 in Samburu, Kenya. The research project in Madagascar was three weeks long in April of 2016, split between multiple locations in, and surrounding the Sahamalaza-Iles Radama Biosphere Reserve in northwestern Madagascar.

All interviews were recorded with the informed consent of the interviewees and immediately translated. Interviews in Kenya were conducted in English, Swahili and Samburu. I speak Samburu as a second native language, but was also aided by the assistance of a research associate, Prame Lesorogol. The key stakeholder interviews in Madagascar were conducted in French by my research assistant and I, and the structured survey was conducted in Malagasy and then translated into French and English immediately. In Madagascar, was introduced as an American student and was accompanied by guides associated with the park.

It is important to note that this project was very preliminary and oftentimes many of my questions led to more questions. These of course could not all be adequately answered and sometimes were outside the scope of this particular project. I was not able to fully answer every question, but was able to find some core themes that I will analyze in this thesis.

Chapter V: Background

Introduction

In the next sections, I will explore how the privatization of land and the enclosure of land by the state in Kenya disrupted traditional practices of Maa peoples through the creation of national parks and other protected areas in the mid-twentieth century. I will also examine the associated development of tourism. Then, I will unpack the current state of environmental policy in Madagascar and the role of international donors in influencing these policies. Understanding the role of colonialism in producing environmental policy in both Kenya and Madagascar support my claim that current conservation initiatives in these countries are neocolonial and continue to reproduce the inequalities established during the colonial era. First, I will discuss historical context for the rise in national parks and tourism in Kenya. Then, I will examine contemporary environmental policy in Madagascar, and the role of international organizations in shaping those policies.

I. Kenya: The Creation of National Parks

The birth of national parks in Kenya is situated at the end of the colonial and beginning of the postcolonial era, accentuating existing neocolonial tendencies and reinforcing the structures of economic dependency in developing countries (Akama, 2004, p. 140). Akama (2004) notes that when Kenya was colonized, a huge draw to the region was the wildlife and the opportunity for white Western “adventurers” to participate in game hunting. The evolution of wildlife safari tourism in Kenya and most other African countries originated from big-game hunting expeditions by pioneer North American and European adventurers and fortune seekers (Akama, 2004). During what Akama calls the “Era of Big Game Hunting”, between 1900-1945, the likes of Teddy Roosevelt, and John Muir traveled to the Kenyan savannas in search of adventure and trophies to mount on their walls or turn into jewelry or other mementos.

Westerners wrote books glorifying their expeditions in Africa, including *On Safari* by Abel Chapman and *The Master of the Game* by William Baullie (Akama, 2004). These works informed much of the Western world as to what Africa was like, and hunting classics remain popular and continue to reinforce Western perceptions and images of Africa in general, and Kenya in particular, as a wildlife “Eden” (Akama, 2004). As William Cronon argues is true in the U.S. with outdoor recreation in national parks, the recreational phenomenon of big-game hunting expeditions in Kenya was perceived as a major symbol of European dominance over nature and society.

The history of conservation and national parks in Kenya in many ways parallels the creation of national parks in the United States. Although the goal of national parks was ostensibly to protect and preserve pristine nature, this is for several reasons a false premise because there is no (or very little) pristine nature. Rapid industrialization and urbanization that was spurred by globalization led to a search for wilderness that in turn led to the creation of national parks in the United States. William Cronon argues that “wilderness” is characterized as being the last place free of humans and civilization, however this notion of wilderness is constructed and misleading (Cronon, 1996). This is Cronon’s trouble with wilderness—that wilderness never was. The creation of national parks in the United States rewrote environmental history, erasing the participation of Native Americans who were largely displaced and alienated from the land. The wilderness then became a place for white men’s recreation and a place for them to display their dominance over nature, discover their masculinity, and demonstrate their power over both man and society (Akama, 2004; Cronon, 1996). These concepts of “wilderness” are fictitious and reimagines the history of human’s role in the environment and portrays the wilderness as an Eden free of human corruption (Akama, 2004; Cronon, 1996). Nature is

generally the outcome of human-environment interactions and creating parks and preserves interrupts those processes.

This theme is prevalent in the creation of national parks in Kenya and most developing countries. David Western is an academic and the chairman of the African Conservation Centre in Nairobi, who grew up in colonial Tanzania and is the son of a former part-time hunter. Western wrote that “there was no such thing as wilderness in East Africa. Human activity was a natural and historical factor everywhere” (Western, 2013, p. 18). Tourism surrounding these parks perpetuate images of Africa as wild and dark, complete with roaring lions, trumpeting elephants, semi-naked and bare-breasted natives as a method to lure Westerners keen for exoticism and adventure (Akama, 2004).

During the era of big game hunting, hunting was so popular that Kenya began to experience a rapid extinction of wildlife and degradation of the environment (Akama, 2004). Due to the accelerated destruction of wildlife, Western conservationists realized that if this destruction was not stopped, the end result would be extinction (Akama, 2004). They decided that conservation through wildlife management policies and programs would be the answer. They created laws aimed to both protect wildlife and also promote organized safari tourism in wildlife parks and reserves. The colonial government placed parks and reserves on desirable land, often highlighting aesthetic value in order to attract tourism. A main goal was to protect wildlife from human impacts, thus parks prohibited hunting, killing, or capturing of fauna and destruction or collection of flora, “except by or under the direction of park authorities” (Akama, 2004, p. 143). These first conservationists decided that the only way to protect animals was to keep them away from people, particularly the native people whom Westerners believed to have “unprogressive” and even “barbaric” land management skills (Akama, 2004, p. 144). Moreover,

“the underlying concept among government officials and park management was that indigenous resource use methods were destructive to wildlife, and that they were also incompatible with the development of wildlife safari tourism activities” (Akama, 2004, p. 144). To these pioneer conservationists and law makers, indigenous methods of land management were to be eliminated. Local people were prohibited from entering the park and/or using the resources including pasture, wildlife, water and fuelwood (Akama, 2004). In effect, the creation of national parks and reserves cut many native Africans off from livelihood resources, and in turn created a tourism empire that only benefited Westerners and the elite.

This history, much like in the US, creates a constructed idea of African wildlife and African people. Indeed, the people themselves are an important part of the tourist attraction, portrayed as being part of nature. In Kenya, tourism revolves around wildlife and the Maasai image. As a result, the tourist’s romanticized image of the Maasai remains frozen in time as if the Maasai haven’t changed in the 200 years since they first encountered early European explorers and adventurers. It reinforces stereotypical ideas of the Maa people as “noble savages” or servants to the Western safari goers (Akama, 2004). In line with colonial ideology of the twentieth-century, there was little interaction between Western travelers and the indigenous African people, and when they did interact, it was often through a “master-servant” relationship. There has been very little effort by tour operators to provide a complete and accurate picture of Kenya’s diverse nature attractions and other forms of tourist attractions. Tour operators and promoters present partial information and images of Kenya, which is often the case in many tourist destinations around the world (Akama, 2004).

At first, environmental policy took the form of so-called fortress conservation where local people were prohibited from entering the park or reserve, and later reformed towards

community-based conservation (CBC) and community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) that emphasized the inclusion of locals. It was evidenced that these protectionist policies did more harm than good and that helped to sway this change (Western, 2013). Thus, in contemporary efforts in creating CBCs, and the promotion of ecotourism, advocates claim that they are improving the quality of life of local communities through participation, after seeing the damaging impacts of early conservation efforts.

a. Tourism in Kenya

The development of tourism in Kenya perpetuated the historical and economic structures of colonialism that created networks of external political and economic control, and the extraction of resources and capital (Akama, 2004). The role of neoliberalization and commodification of nature through tourism in the development of national parks, transports colonial ideologies where nature and land is commodified for the benefit (recreational and economic) of foreign interests, at the expense of indigenous people like the Samburu and the Maasai.

Some of the first national parks to be established in Kenya under the National Parks Ordinance of 1945, included: Amboseli (1947), Tsavo (1948), Mount Kenya (1949) and later, Nairobi (1966) (Akama, 2004; Western, 2013). All of these regions that were established as national parks lay within former Maasai territory. The establishment of Amboseli and Maasai Mara were controversial because they fell within the Southern Reserve that was included in the Maasai Treaty. The Treaty prohibited the further annexation of Maasailand and would leave the Maasai people free to develop along their own lines, “for as long as the Maasai shall exist as a race” (Hughes, 2006; Western, 2013). However, this Treaty didn’t halt the colonial government from attempting to seize Amboseli, and they were met with resistance from the Maasai who

viewed this as an impending land grab. As a temporary solution, 3,260-km² area was established as the Amboseli National Reserve and was managed by the Kenya National Parks (KNP) board (Western, 2013, p. 17). Lynn Temple-Boreham, then Narok District Warden, wanted to see the Maasai benefit from the area around the Mara. Through his efforts, the game reserves were established under the administration of the district, or “county”, councils. Amboseli National Reserve then became the Amboseli Game Reserve, administered by the Maasai Kajiado County Council, (Western, 2013) not the central (or national) government. However, this did not prevent conflict from arising in the southern rangelands of Kenya.

The parks were created with the mission of protecting wildlife from human impacts. However, it is evident in the recommendations made by the game committee were influenced by colonial ideologies. First, the parks would be under public (or governmental) control where the boundaries could not be altered unless through a competent legislative authority (Akama, 2004, p. 143; Lusigi, 1975). This is important because at the time of the creation of most of these parks, the legislative control was under the British as Kenya was still a colony.

Second, the parks were going to be set aside for the propagation, preservation, and protection, “of objects of aesthetic, geological, prehistoric, archaeological, or scientific interest for the benefit and advantage of the general public” (Akama, 2004, p. 143; Lusigi, 1975). The sites for these parks, similar to the U.S., were chosen for these values and not for what would be most beneficial for both the wildlife and humans. Since these parks were created under the colonial regime, structures of economic dependency protected by colonial ideology and practice, usually led to high leakages of the tourism revenues to external sources, such as tour operators (Akama, 2004). Consequently, the profits generated from tourism, which these policies

promoted, were very susceptible to elite capture (both domestic and transnational) and escaped to foreign sources.

Third, in the parks, hunting, killing, capturing of wildlife, and collection of botanical material was forbidden (Akama, 2004, p. 143; Lusigi, 1975). In 1945, the colonial legislature approved the game committee guidelines that promoted Eurocentric policies and programs. These programs were intended to protect wildlife from perceived human destruction, but it had many consequences. These policies reflected Western ideologies on land management and ownership that directly conflicted with the way of life of many indigenous Kenyans, like the Maa. David Western wrote that “it was difficult to ignore local enmity toward colonial hunting laws and game reserves. Reserves were tellingly called *shamba la bibi*—literally, ‘the woman’s garden’ in Swahili, referring to the British queen” (Western, 2013, p. 18). As a result, colonial conservation policies and laws made traditional subsistence hunting illegal and a punishable offense. Local people were prohibited from entering the parks and using the existing resources such as pasture, wildlife, water and fuelwood. All of these resources, ironically, are the ones indigenous African communities depend upon for their sustenance (Akama, 2004, p. 144).

Colonial officials believed that the cost of creating parks (often absorbed by local peoples) would be offset by the money collected through tourism. However, the initial development of tourism was colonial in orientation and mainly served the social and economic interests of the expatriate community and international tourists (Akama, 2004, p. 145; Western, 2013). It has been estimated that over sixty percent of the tour operators and hospitality establishments are under foreign ownership and management (Akama, 2004; Sinclair, 1990). The committee that created the guidelines for parks and reserves said that it must be for the benefit of the general public. The argument is that the creation of parks and lodges would create jobs for

the local communities and help to boost the economy. However, they failed to factor in that through the creation of the parks and lodges, they displaced communities from ancestral lands, and also restricted, if not completely prohibited, the use of critical resources, such as pasture and water, now enclosed by the park boundaries. It has also been found that the majority of Kenyan people in most regions of the country do not receive any form of monetary benefit from the industry (Akama, 2004, p. 149; Homewood, Trench, & Brockington, 2012a). Additionally, few people who live at or near tourist attractions receive jobs in local tourism (Akama, 2004, p. 149; Sinclair, 1990). It has been estimated that only between two percent and five percent of the total tourism revenue trickle down to the populace at the grassroots level, and only in the form of low-paying service jobs, and the selling of souvenirs (Akama, 2004, p. 149; Sinclair, 1990). Consequently, “the local people, who bear most of the costs of tourism development and wildlife conservation, do not receive any form of direct monetary benefits from the tourism industry” (Akama, 2004, p. 149).

The cost of wildlife conservation in Kenya has been great. In addition to loss of access to land, lack of monetary gain, and devaluing of cultural practices, groups like the Maasai and Samburu have also been in violent conflict with park authorities. Earlier, this paper explained how the conservation efforts were built around a constructed image of wildlife and of Africans. Central to this image is the Maasai *morán*, or warrior. He is always dressed in customary clothing and adorned with traditional colorful jewelry. His face is painted with red ochre as is his long, braided hair, and he is standing on one leg looking out over the scenic African savanna. When you speak about the “tribesmen” of Africa, the Maasai is likely to be the first image you will see. Tour companies promote this image as an attraction, as part of the exotic and adventurous nature of Kenya. However, in reality, the Maasai are often in severe and persistent

conflict with park wildlife and management over grazing rights and water resources, because the wildlife parks were created in important dry season grazing ranges (Akama, 2004, p. 148; Butt, 2012).

The more extreme examples of the shifting cost of wildlife conservation and safari tourism is the fact that cultivators and pastoralists are not allowed to protect themselves or their property from wildlife, and their suffering is acute. Wild animals regularly destroy their crops and livestock, and many farmers lose their lives to wild animals annually (Western, 2013, p. 18). Traditionally, when there was persistent human-wildlife conflict, such as a lion who continually attacked a community's livestock, or an elephant destroyed the community's crops, the *morans* would kill or scare the animal away. However, laws made it illegal to kill wildlife even to protect one's livestock or when wildlife would cause considerable injury and severe damage to their property or farms. This is an example of how colonial policies did not understand the relationship between the wildlife and indigenous Africans, and this caused much resentment among the Maasai over being denied the right to hunt or use traditional land within the protected areas (Western, 2013). It is also an example of how policies valued the protection of wildlife over the protection of the rights of people (Western, 2013). The unnecessary hardship that wildlife conservation caused people was virtually ignored in the postcolonial years as well (Western, 2013; Yeager, 1986).

The valuation of the wildlife over the needs of humans is not unique to the Kenyan example of tourism and conservation projects. In India, Project Tiger, which is a network of parks hailed by the international conservation community as an outstanding success (such as Kenya), sharply favors the interests of the tiger over those of poor peasants living in and around the reserve. Not only does it value wildlife over rural people's livelihoods, it is at the expense of

the rural people, and “the designation of tiger reserves was made possible only by the physical displacement of existing villages and their inhabitants; their management requires the continuing exclusion of peasants and livestock” (Guha, 1994, p. 75). Ramachandra Guha also argues that, “in no case have the needs of the local population been taken into account, and as in many parts of Africa, the designated wildlands are managed primarily for the benefit of rich tourists” (Guha, 1994, p. 75).

Through globalization, the vessel that harbored colonialization, trends can be identified throughout the developing world in terms of the causes and effects of wildlife conservation. Similarities in outcomes tend to be at the expense of the rural communities and for the benefit for the foreign and local elites and/or outside actors.

It is important to discuss that impacted communities do resist these policies. This issue persists today and local communities are still pushing against this system. While management by the district or county level has not always been successful, as argued by David Western, it is still a way that communities are pushing against the complete centralization of the tourism industry (by the national government) and the management of land and wildlife. In recent years, the Kenyan Wildlife Service (KWS), an agency of the central government, has tried to take over Maasai Mara and Samburu Game Reserves. Nevertheless, the reserves have remained under the control and management of the counties. While this is a sign of resistance, there are still questions as to whether the funds are really reaching the grassroots. Many studies show that money from these parks are still susceptible to elite capture (Homewood, 2004; Homewood, Kristjanson, & Trench, 2009; Thompson & Homewood, n.d.).

II. Madagascar: A Historical Contextualization

Madagascar is an old island that evolved in seclusion for millennia. This isolation led to the development of many unique species of flora and fauna only found on Madagascar. This biodiversity and richness of endemic species has drawn global attention to Madagascar over the last 50-100 years. Likewise, the perceived destruction (like in Kenya) of this biodiversity has been used to justify global interventions to preserve Madagascar's resources as a global resource. While permanent human occupation in Madagascar did not occur until roughly between 685 to 745 CE, (Randrianja & Ellis, 2009) its isolation has been mitigated by its close proximity to the eastern coast of Africa. The Mozambique Channel and the Indian Ocean have been modes of transportation and communication between the people of Africa and Asia through Madagascar and its surrounding islands for at least two millennia (Randrianja & Ellis, 2009). In comparison to its age and isolation, anthropogenic effects on the island have been a recent phenomenon. In the seventeen centuries since the first person stepped on Madagascar until the present, the island has encountered a multitude of political, economic and social influences (Randrianja & Ellis, 2009).

This section will focus on Madagascar's more recent history, particularly looking at the evolution of environmental policy. To understand this recent trend of path dependence (continuity of policy over time), we must take into account the plethora of influences from international donors, and international narratives, and how they apply to institutional and political arrangements in Madagascar (Froger & Méral, 2012). First to back track a little, during the pre-colonial time, the ruling monarch implemented Madagascar's forest conservation and environmental management, which relied on a top-down and repressive approach and to this day, all forests are considered the sole property of the state (Horning, 2008). During the colonial

period (1896-1960), Madagascar “witnessed the combined convergent development of the transfer of forestry legislation in force in Metropolitan France to the French colonies and the use of scientific arguments by naturalists to call for a policy of conservation” (Froger & Méral, 2012, p. 372). Central control was transferred from the pre-colonial state to the French colonial state, but remained highly centralized. This era of environmental policy was marked by the dominance of European concepts of nature and conservation (as described earlier) to the exclusion of local participants not only in making policy but even to the point that local populations were prohibited from entering National Forests (Froger & Méral, 2012, p. 373).

Even though these strict control policies were being enforced, the forests in Madagascar continued to shrink. This has been “attributed to corruption among forest service employees, to a lack of motivation to adhere to forest policies among poor rural people,” and arguably most significant, “the government’s inability to monitor the forest and enforce policies because of a lack of resources and infrastructure” (Froger & Méral, 2012, p. 373). Corruption allowed for illegal logging and illegal forest exploitation to occur at the local level (Froger & Méral, 2012). Both in pre-colonial and colonial periods, Malagasy environmental policy was marked by centralized, top-down control, but was undermined by the inability of the government of Madagascar to effectively implement its own policies. This helped to set the stage for the post-independence era and the global shift toward decentralization of government agencies during the 1990s.

Madagascar gained its independence from France in 1960. A series of governments followed independence. By the mid-1980s there was a move from an insular, quasi-communist model of the 1970s, to a socialist democracy that was open to more international interaction, which affected Madagascar’s development agenda (Froger & Méral, 2012; Horning, 2008). An

important piece of legislation that came into effect in 1988 was the Environmental Action Plan. This was ratified by parliament in 1990 as the Malagasy Environmental Charter. At the same time, Madagascar adopted a program of structural adjustment that was recommended by international institutions, this called “into question the role of the State in the implementation of economic policies, prolonged by decentralizing reform, defended by international economic and financial institutions” (Froger & Méral, 2012, p. 373). This created an atmosphere of critique by international institutions towards the direct intervention by the government in managing the environment (Froger & Méral, 2012). This period marked an upsurge in the influence of International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and donors in policymaking in Madagascar both in the economy and in environmental conservation.

What spurred this interest by international donors, and where has their attentiveness in the degradation of the ecosystems in Madagascar spawned? Much of the incentive to invest in Madagascar is based on the idea that the island has undergone rapid deforestation and environmental degradation; that the forests that used to cover the island have shrunk immensely putting at risk Madagascar’s tremendous biodiversity. However, the facts behind such claims are disputed. Some research claims, for example, that the highlands and the west were never completely forested and that the island’s vegetation cover has always been dynamic: “areas covered by montane rainforest were once heathlands during the last ice age. Charred grass cuticles and woody materials in the sediment cores show that fire was common on the island long before humans arrived around 1500 years ago” (Kull, 2000, p. 431). Kull (2000) also points out that the arrival of humans did mark a dramatic increase in fire frequency and a significant spread of grasslands. When considering the issue of anthropogenic effects on deforestation and the like, however, the situation of the local population needs to be considered. From the point of

view of a farmer growing food for his family, they “are not sacrificing nature for short-term needs...they are instead transforming nature to be of more use to them” (Kull, 2000, p. 433). Thus, what appears to be environmental destruction to outside conservationists is a rational strategy for producing food to a Malagasy farmer. Furthermore, Kull argues, from an historical perspective, during the first thirty years of colonial occupation, the population of Madagascar was stable, and the major cause of deforestation was through logging and the growing of cash-crops, not from subsistence production (Kull, 2000).

Another example of questionable science comes from a study done on Madagascar’s Betsiboka estuary and Mangoky River that has been labeled as extremely degraded due to the bright red color of its waters, we find inconsistencies in the analysis of the data. Frequently, these statistics of erosion are reported out of context and make the problem seem larger than it is in reality (Kull, 2000). For example, these two rivers when compared with others actually fall within the normal range of sedimentation, (refer to Figure 3 in appendix) (Kull, 2000).

Particularly negligent is the misunderstanding of the human role in erosion. The link between dense populations and erosion has been recently contested (Fairhead & Leach, 1995; Kull, 2000). Kull summarizes these misconceptions and misunderstandings well; “In an era of technocratic modernism and scientific forestry, foreign expertise was valued over local experience” (Kull, 2000, p. 440). Knowing the historical context for these events is important in understanding how environmental policy in Madagascar has manifested. In the same way that French ideas of science and nature influenced colonial environmental policies, particular notions of threats to biodiversity influence current policies. The role of international actors including NGOs and IFIs play a pivotal role in modern environmental policy in Madagascar, as well as the persistent role of French colonial ideologies. While international conservation interests cite

global biodiversity risk as a reason for intervening in Madagascar's environmental policy, the science upon which such claims are made, is contested and in a number of cases appears clearly flawed.

a. Role of Donors and Foreign Aid in Influencing Politics

The 1990s commenced a shift in environmental policy in Madagascar. There was a general trend towards decentralization in the developing world, and many academics argue that it was aided by the fall of the USSR. The pressure to pick between the American capitalist system and the USSR's socialist system subsided and many transitional governments were created. This unleashed a new era of globalization departing from socialist policies towards capitalism that had profound effects on environmental policy in Madagascar. Foreign aid to Madagascar increased during this period, much of which was focused on conservation and environmental issues.

In spite of growing aid and donor involvement, the state continues to perform weakly. This seems a curious paradox, yet it has a simple answer related to the motivations for giving aid. The money flowing into Madagascar is not necessarily going towards producing good development and conservation outcomes; ultimately it is about competing for the power to influence government policies (Goldman, 2001; Horning, 2008). As mentioned in the previous section there is a long history of weak enforcement of environmental conservation policies by the state and in this absence of the state, foreign donors have found a hole in which to assert their ideology. Since the 1990s, conservation has increasingly become a donor-driven project (Horning, 2008). One way that this foreign influenced policy agenda was manifested was through the passing of the National Environmental Action Plan or NEAP. This plan was made possible in part by strong support from the World Bank (Horning, 2008; Kull, 2000). NEAP was designed as a three-phase, fifteen-year plan beginning in 1991. Along with NEAP, "foreign

assistance has permitted the creation of institutions with a specific environmental mandate” (Horning, 2008, p. 418). Agencies including, “ANGAP², ONE³, ANAE⁴, the Ministry of the Environment, and other bodies were created and have been maintained, at substantial cost, through donor... financial assistance” (Horning, 2008, p. 418). Table 1 and Figure 2 (refer to appendix) shows the distribution of contributions for the three phases of the NEAP (EP1-3) (Horning, 2008). For the first phase of this project, donors funded eighty percent while the government financed twenty percent of the costs (Horning, 2008).

Another way that donors and foreign aid has influenced the actions of Malagasy environmental policy is through creating political conditionality. An example of this is through Debt-for-Nature Swaps. In 1989, Madagascar entered into the Debt-for-Nature Swap. In exchange for \$2.1 million of debt, Madagascar created more conservation projects, and exchanged another \$1 million with the World Wildlife Fund (Harper, 2002, p. 95). These deals brought debt relief to the government while enabling foreign entities greater control over land and conservation in the country. This supports the argument that the main beneficiaries of conservation projects are the Malagasy state, donor institutions and the Malagasy professional elite because they are the main actors involved and they receive the most direct benefits from these arrangements (Horning, 2008). Horning argues that the government and donors directly benefit from supporting conservation regardless of whether or not it is effective. The state benefits because donor aid generates income and provides opportunities to Malagasy professional elites. The state also uses this support to secure its elites loyalty, rather than ensure

² ANGAP (*Association Nationale pour la Gestion des Aires Protegees* -- for protected area management and biodiversity conservation)

³ ONE (*Office National pour l'Environnement*-- for policy formulation, regulatory framework improvements, and building environmental awareness)

⁴ ANAE (*Agroécologie et Développement Local Protection de l'Environnement et Développement Rural*-- for environmental activities focused on soil conservation)

good performance, simply put, “the state depends on donor support to stay afloat” (Horning, 2008, p. 419).

For donors, Horning argues that the continued aid flow is also beneficial because of this idea of reverse dependency syndrome. This suggests that they too might need weak performance to continue surviving (Horning, 2008). What this also implies is that “the cry to save Madagascar from its environmental abyss is, arguably, a way for donors and contractors to justify intervening in Madagascar’s political affairs to create an environment favorable to business” (Horning, 2008, pp. 429–430).

If the underlying goals of these agencies are self-promotional, then how does that affect the local communities bearing the direct results of their actions or inactions? So far it reflects that the role of both colonial and postcolonial international powers has imposed environmental policies that disproportionately distribute funds and agricultural assistance to residents in the region and have an impact on power relations (Harper, 2002, p. 25). Those impacts are what I shall explore in more detail in the next section.

b. Current Environmental Policy in Madagascar

The relations between the international, domestic and non-state organizations are complicated, “as such they formulate complex public-private networks that operate with the Malagasy government as just one partner among a number of (often more powerful) actors, and while the government is a key nodal point in the network it is not necessarily the most important one” (Duffy, 2006, p. 736). The degree to which NGOs and donors are directly involved in running state owned programs is vast. This can vary from running state owned national parks, organizing and facilitating debt for nature swaps, funding conservation projects and pushing the

government of Madagascar to apply their idea of the “best conservation practice” (Duffy, 2006, p. 737).

The role of international intervention can have widespread effects on communities. Many times, policies do not consider the unique conditions of Malagasy people or the island. When science is prioritized over history, “as conservationists have done, rather than understanding that ecologies have histories, it becomes impossible to understand how local populations have lived with their environments” (Harper, 2002, p. 23). For local communities in Madagascar, local forms of agriculture like cattle grazing or slash-and-burn can be restricted causing a detrimental impact on local livelihoods (Duffy, 2006, p. 739).

In this section I use the example of ecotourism and community-based conservation (CBC), both byproducts of foreign and donor aid in Madagascar, as a lens as to how these processes affect Malagasy people. In the Madagascar chapter, I will use the example of the Sahamalaza-Iles Radama Biosphere Reserve to analyze these impacts in an under researched area.

Duffy explores these affects through the phenomena she calls the neoliberalization of nature. As noted above, Madagascar embarked on a more neoliberal strategy of development from the 1990s, emphasizing opening to market competition, privatization of resources, and capitalist development. The neoliberalization of nature extends these processes to natural resources (Duffy, 2008). Duffy argues that as neoliberalism expanded in the global South, tourism and particularly ecotourism emerged as a main policy agenda for international financial institutions, national governments, the private sector and international environmental NGOs (Duffy, 2008). The role of international actors is critical to the rise of tourism and ecotourism and is dominated by transnational corporations (Duffy, 2008). An important development in this

rise of ecotourism in Madagascar was the Donor Consortium. The Donor Consortium was a mechanism used at the national level through which international NGOs, IFIs and donors create and execute ecotourism policy. The Wildlife Conservation Society and Conservation International (a group of international NGOs) operated through the Donor Consortium in order to persuade the Malagasy Government to increase the number of protected areas (Duffy, 2008, p. 334).

As in Kenya, many organizations involved in the promotion of ecotourism and community-based conservancies claim that they want to encourage positive and sustainable development: (Duffy, 2008) “most ecotourism operations claim to benefit communities, either through employment or by contributing to community projects” (Kiss, 2004, p. 232). However, there is not much quantifiable evidence for the success of ecotourism and conservation programs in promoting ecosystem health and economic opportunities of impacted communities (Ferraro, 2002). In many ways, NGOs, foreign and donor aid contributors and non-state actors contradict their entire mission of community-based conservation, either through conservation projects or ecotourism projects, by delegitimizing rural peasants and controlling who benefits from conservation policies (Corson, 2011). Rural communities are not well positioned politically or economically to run ecotourism enterprises and therefore the benefits often accrue to tour operators or only a few community members, usually the elites. The evidence for broad-based benefits across the entire community is scarce (Buckley, 2009; Ferraro, 2002).

These actors are able to gain legitimacy through their status as specialists in this field who are backed by science and experience. They are able to justify their work through scientific reasoning but sometimes disregard that some of their “scientific decisions” are built on misconceptions of the degraded environment and direct relationship with the local communities

use of the forest (Kull, 2000). From what researchers have seen in Madagascar, the primary beneficiaries of biodiversity conservation are the Malagasy state, donor institutions and the country's professional elite (Horning, 2008). There is, however, a paucity in research done on the effectiveness of ecotourism and CBCs, but many academics write that the majority of these environmental policies organized by these outside actors disenfranchise local communities and take away their agency and ability to provide for themselves. An important concession in this evaluation is that it is not yet possible to determine the overall net environmental impact for ecotourism as a whole. Part of this is because there is not a clear mechanism in place for evaluating impact. Another barrier is lack of accounting where there are no generally accepted guidelines or protocols to quantify and compare environmental costs and benefits of ecotourism. Another major barrier to understanding the effects of such projects is the complex nature of the situation, considering social and political processes is yet to be studied (Buckley, 2009).

III. Conclusion

Throughout the length of this chapter, I have discussed how colonial era land and conservation policies contributed to the origins of national parks and tourism in Kenya, the role foreign donors and political elites have in shaping environmental policy in Madagascar, and how the undercurrent of globalization, (neo)colonialism and neoliberalism have influenced modern environmental policy and conservation methods in both countries. These policies helped to determine how the benefits from these initiatives are distributed, and I argue that they are distributed in a pattern very similar to colonial era policies. While in recent years there have been more shifts towards community-based conservation projects and ecotourism, I will provide evidence to show that these approaches to conservation are neocolonial and neoliberal because they reinforce colonial ideologies. In the following chapters, I will outline what a community-

based conservancy (CBCV) is and follow a case study on CBCVs in northern Kenya. Then I will discuss a biosphere reserve (BR) and examine a case study from northwestern Madagascar.

Globalization and colonization play an important role in the shaping of environmental policy in much of the developing world and in countries like Kenya and Madagascar. The accounts of environmental policy in both countries demonstrates how this history has impacted the lives of rural communities like the Maa and Sakalava (in Madagascar). The social, political, and economic implications of neocolonial policies such as continual economic dependency and extractive industries such as tourism persistently benefit domestic and foreign elite at the expense of rural and indigenous peoples.

Chapter VI: Community-Based Conservancies in Northern Kenya

Introduction

This chapter will examine the primary research I conducted in Kenya in 2015. I will discuss in more detail the issues surround community-based conservancies (CBCV) in an under-researched region of northern Kenya including the implications of these projects, the human and wildlife conflict in the area, and I will present the findings and analysis from my own research.

The Environmental Problem: Wildlife Vs. People

Northern Kenya is home to magnificent savanna wildlife populations that attract substantial conservation and tourism revenues. In this arid to semi-arid region live many pastoralist communities including the Samburu and Pokot, who rely primarily on livestock herding for their livelihoods. Even though their homelands attract much tourism, a major source of foreign exchange for Kenya, they remain among the poorest communities in the country and are susceptible to extreme climate events, especially periodic droughts. They remain the poorest in terms of per capita income, wealth, and nutrition compared to other groups in Kenya (Iannotti & Lesorogol, 2014). While Samburu have low material standards of living (compared to the USA), they have pride in their culture and livelihood of livestock herding.

Historically, conservation efforts in the area focused on the establishment of game parks and forest reserves from which local communities were excluded completely. Parks and forest reserves deny people access to key resources such as permanent water and forest resources both of which are critically important, especially during droughts that periodically strike the region. For example, the Ewaso Ng'iro River flows directly through the Samburu National Reserve (SNR) but the local communities have limited and restricted access to the river. Over time, wildlife conservationists realized that local communities needed to be more involved in

conservation activities in order to protect wildlife, especially since many animals ranged outside protected parks and forests onto community land. As a result, and to counter the negative effects of game parks, such as displacement and loss of access to key resources, community-based conservation (CBCV) has risen in popularity.

The way that many CBCVs work in Samburu County is that a community agrees to set aside part of their land for wildlife and habitat conservation, which means that they cannot graze their livestock in that area. They have a core area where livestock is not allowed to graze at all. Between the core area and the settlement there is a buffer zone, which is a partial use grazing/conservation area. A committee is formed to centralize the decision-making process for the CBCV. The committee is involved in maintaining the conservancy, hiring the management and convening community meetings. Rangers are trained and hired to patrol the area to keep out poachers, enforce the grazing rules established by the conservancy and monitor wildlife populations. CBCVs may engage in enterprises such as eco-tourism by building lodges or other tourist attractions to generate revenue. There is a heavy emphasis on tourism, for it is the primary method for the CBCVs to generate income. This is attractive to many people because tourism is the most lucrative industry in the country. Tourism revenue is then supposed to offset the costs of losing access to grazing land. The Sasaab Lodge is one example of this type of enterprise. Sasaab is located in the Westgate Community Conservancy, which was created within the Ngutuk Ongiron Group Ranch, which has title to the land. The CBCV and the lodge have a thirty-year agreement that the lodge may operate on this community land under the condition that they hire 75% of their employees from the community.

Although the concept of CBCVs is attractive in some ways, there are also critiques of CBCVs. First there is the matter of environmental justice. The people living in this area of Kenya

are a minority group in the country and also a huge tourist attraction. Tourists from around the world come to see the Maasai and Samburu for they have become the image of East Africa, and traditional African society. The Samburu get exploited for their heritage, because the government and tour companies capitalize on their culture and traditions to attract tourists (Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1994) while community members receive minimal tangible benefits (Akama, 2004; Butt, 2016; Homewood et al., 2012a). With the creation of CBCVs, they are now at risk of getting exploited for their land. Livestock is a huge part of pastoralist livelihoods, most household have livestock (91-100%) that accounts for more than half of the mean income of the pooled samples at each site (Homewood et al., 2012a, p. 3). Maa people need access to large areas of land for herding, so land that is set aside for a CBCV reduces access and requires them to move livestock onto other peoples' land, potentially leading to over-grazing in another area, and moving the conflict over resources somewhere else, not really solving the problem.

Second, because there are not clearly defined boundaries and, in some cases, ownership of land is ambiguous, creating conservancies could jeopardize land rights of some individuals or groups since it is not clear to whom that area belongs. This also can cause ethnic conflict and even violence when one group plans on creating a conservancy without communicating it to other groups living in the area. Greiner explains the issues here:

First, the creation of a CBC[V] is always an attempt to add value to an already existing common pool resource. This tends to augment various interests in the area. Second, the implementation of a CBC is a major form of land-use change, requiring the formalizing of access and administration rights to land and the fixing of the borders of the protected area. If access rights to the area were previously vague, this is highly likely to provoke

conflict. Third, the establishment of CBCs in borderlands overlaps with the highly politicized struggle for ethnic territories in Kenya (Greiner, 2012, p. 416).

With the establishment of conservancies, grazing lands can be severely reduced, making it very hard for the people within the communities to survive. According to Homewood et al.'s research, "however unequally distributed [within the communities she studied], and however insufficient in themselves to sustain families, livestock emerge as a vital part of rural and household economies. By contrast, wildlife revenues are site-dependent, of limited value for most areas and more vulnerable to elite capture" (Homewood et al., 2012a, p. 2). It appears that wildlife revenues seldom reach the poorest communities, as "...only a small proportion of households received wildlife earning in most sites (3% to 14%)" (Homewood et al., 2012a, p. 13).

The risk of elite capture (when persons of elite status usurp resources intended for the larger population) is something that also has to be addressed. Homewood et al. found in their study areas among the Maasai in southern Kenya that, of the Mara households surveys, the top 25% wealthiest households consistently captured 60% to 70% of conservation income (Homewood et al., 2012a, p. 15). With the majority of the income from CBCVs going to the already wealthy, the poorest in the communities remain poor and also suffer the most negative effects from this collaboration; reduced grazing land, displacement in some cases, and loss of resources. Such an outcome defeats the mission of the conservancies. How cash and other benefits are distributed among community members in Samburu CBCVs remains un-researched, and gaining some understanding of this sensitive issue was one aim of this project.

The effect of CBCVs on conservation goals is also unclear. There is little research to indicate that implementing CBCVs increases the health of the ecosystem. There is little evidence to show that the disruptive effects of CBCVs on communities are balanced by the social and

ecological benefits. Homewood et al. argue that, “they (CBCVs) remain to be evaluated in terms of implications for wildlife populations, impacts on households forced to move by conservancy restrictions (particularly those relocating herds, and those who are non-landowners and who therefore receive no compensatory revenues), and impacts on receiving areas” (Homewood et al., 2012a, p. 14). There is no conclusive data to support the effectiveness of CBCVs in all these areas that they claim to improve.

There is an existing narrative that pastoralism is a negative force working against the goals of conservation. And this has largely resulted in “large areas of pastoral rangelands [being] expropriated for exclusive wildlife conservation use” (Homewood & Rodgers, 1987, p. 111). The justification for this action is built on the “argument that pastoralists overstock, overgraze and damage their range while wildlife are seen as existing in harmony with their surroundings” (Homewood & Rodgers, 1987, p. 111). This ideology has largely been accepted as being the truth and has also been supported by ecologists without much evidence. And oftentimes, “although overstocking, overgrazing and desertification may be occurring, too often these processes are simply invoked without evidence to back up their existence; they have become self-reinforcing concepts, with counter examples not infrequently suppressed for political reasons” (Homewood & Rodgers, 1987, p. 111).

In recent history, the universal application of these concepts has been challenged (Homewood & Rodgers, 1987, p. 111). My point is that the framework for many conservation methods have been built on a false truth, that pastoralists are inherently mismanaging and destroying the land, when the reality does not necessarily support that claim. And with the acceptance of this fallacy, many communities (like the Samburu) suffer the consequences.

CBCVs are controversial. Some researchers suggest that there has been a failure in the

implementation of the concept arguing that conservation and development are important, but should be decoupled because mixing their objectives doesn't achieve either goal (Berkes, 2004, p. 622). With this in mind, the question is whether CBCVs are effective, and if not, are they serving either conservation or community goals in a productive manner?

Findings

In this section I will present the findings from my study by discussing several main themes and issues that emerged from the interviews, prior research, literature and my observations.

1. Location and Outside Organizations

As noted above, CBCVs are being pursued in different areas in Samburu County including around the well-established Samburu National Reserve (SNR) in the southeast and also in the northern and southwestern regions of the county where there are no formal game reserves or national parks. I was able to interview people and make observations both around the SNR and also in the southwest region around Mbaringon and Kirimon, and I found important differences between these areas.

The SNR, hugging the Ewaso Ng'iro River, was established in 1985, and is run by the Samburu county government. The SNR is surrounded by local communities who have historically relied on the river and surrounding vegetation to sustain their livestock. The reserve was built during an era where the preservation of wildlife and the separation of humans and wild animals were thought to be the solution to halting the decreasing populations of savanna biota. Since its creation, the adjacent communities who relied on the Ewaso Ng'iro and the vegetation, have been removed from the land and have lost much of their access to the resources of the area.

Surrounding the SNR, there is already much tourist traffic that naturally spills into the outlying communities. This relationship is symbiotic for the reserve and its adjoining communities. When talking with the Chief Warden of the SNR, Simon Leirana, for example, it was evident that the SNR had incentives to engage with the outlying communities. The reserve has a vested interest in maintaining active migratory corridors for wildlife through the community group ranches in order to support wildlife populations. An example would be corridors insuring the safe passage of elephants as they make their annual migrations. Reserves want the community's cooperation because the wildlife needs to be able to safely pass through their group ranches and enter the reserve. It is an economic, conservation-oriented relationship. The reserve needs wildlife to attract tourists to make money. To encourage this relationship, the park shares certain resources with the communities and maintains a relationship with them. This is sometimes through revenue-sharing schemes, increased access to the park and/or access to other community development resources by NGOs or the reserve. Wildlife need to be able to pass through the communities and the communities need resources in the reserve, like water.

In terms of community conservancies, this location is prime. The CBCVs are able to get an automatic flow of visitors because of their adjacent location to the reserve. Tour companies often have scheduled visits to the villages for tourists to purchase items or engage with community members. NGOs and other organizations are also drawn to work with these communities for that same reason. They are closer to resources and because of the proximity to the reserve and the wildlife, many groups base themselves there. For example, the Grevy's Zebra Trust, a private conservation group that operates in Samburu, is located just outside the reserve and many of their operations are conducted in and around the reserve. The founders of the Trust chose this location as their headquarters because of the proximity to the reserve and the seasonal

grazing areas of the Grevys. Grevys are an endangered species that is only found in the northern regions of Kenya and parts of southern Ethiopia (“Grevy’s Zebra Trust: Kenya & Ethiopia,” n.d.). Grevy’s Zebra Trust works with communities surrounding the reserve to collect data about Grevy herds, as well as engaging women and warrior-aged men in specialized programming, such as the Warrior Watch program (“Grevy’s Zebra Trust: Kenya & Ethiopia,” n.d.). They chose to engage warrior-aged men because elders are involved in decision-making, and often times warrior-aged men have more contact with Grevy’s, because they are more likely to be livestock herders than elders.

The Trust’s activities do not extend to all the northern parts of Samburu, such as the Mbaringon, Bawaa, Loosuk, Ltungai, Nkoteiya and Lodogejek areas where I also conducted research. This is where many new conservancies are emerging, but because they are outside of the Grevy’s Zebra Trust’s financial scope and manpower capabilities, the Trust does not run programs there even though there are Grevy’s Zebra populations in those regions. The communities further from the reserve are disadvantaged by having a smaller pool of organizations working with them on conservation issues. These communities do not have immediate access to tourists or NGOs operating in and around the reserve. If given the opportunity, I would follow up with the Grevy’s organization.

2. Actors and Incentives

As noted above, many different people and organizations are invested in the creation of conservancies. The actors working to start the conservancy often appeared to incentivize the community members to participate in CBCVs through promising benefits like wells for water, school bursary funds, jobs as rangers in the conservancy, and organization of women’s groups. Some of these actors are private conservation organizations like the Northern Rangelands Trust

or the Grevy's Zebra Trust, privately-owned ranches who engage in conservation and tourism, governmental organizations such as the County government, and the communities themselves. Privately-owned ranches have an interesting role in CBCVs. I did not get the chance to fully review this facet of my project, but given the chance in the future I would explore this more. However, it is important to note that private ranchers play an important role in understanding certain motivations for creating conservancies.

One important actor is the Samburu County Government. They receive a budget from the Central Kenyan Government and a certain amount is allocated to conservation development. There is a director of tourism, conservation and wildlife. The current director is Matthew Leakono who I had the opportunity to speak with. Mr. Leakono outlined the main actors working to create conservancies. One form of conservancy, Leakono indicated, are the already established conservancies like Westgate and Kalama that are located in the lowlands surrounding the SNR. The second are those started by community initiative and/or assisted by outside organizations such as the Northern Rangelands Trust. The third are the conservancies that are being initiated, organized and funded by the County government.

Another important organization is the Northern Rangelands Trust (NRT). I did not get the opportunity to speak directly with a representative of the NRT, but they are deeply associated with the proliferation of CBCVs and the organization was brought up in several interviews. The Northern Rangelands Trust (NRT) is a non-governmental organization that facilitates the formation and management of CBCVs. On its website, it claims that its "mission is to develop resilient community conservancies which transform people's lives, secure peace and conserve natural resources" ("Northern Rangelands Trust," n.d.). NRT does this by 1) raising funds for the conservancies, 2) providing communities with advice on how to manage their affairs, 3)

supporting a wide range of training and helping broker agreements between conservancies and investors, and 4) monitoring performance of CBCVs, providing donors with a degree of oversight and quality assurance (“Northern Rangelands Trust,” n.d.).

NRT’s highest governing body is the Council of Elders. The chairs of the conservancies make up the majority, and are joined by institutional members representing County Councils, local wildlife forums, the Kenya Wildlife Service and the private sector. The Council guides NRT policy and is responsible for drawing up the bylaws for its operation and administration. It also appoints eight of the 15-member Board of Directors, to whom the chief executive officer is answerable (“Northern Rangelands Trust,” n.d.).

NRT describes itself as “a home-grown institution aimed at addressing home-grown problems and creating long-lasting local solutions” (Greiner, 2012, p. 420). With this mission, they aim to achieve peace among ethnic groups among whom they work, conservation of wildlife and resources, stimulation of the economy and improvement of livelihoods of the people (“Northern Rangelands Trust,” n.d.).

The involvement of organizations such as NRT excites many of the community members because of the perceived possibilities for new opportunities. For example, Ngoto Purini Letabare, a member of the Westgate Conservancy, talked about the opportunities available to her and other women in her group ranch because of the involvement of outside organizations in the conservancy. These opportunities included assistance in paying children’s school fees and organizations that support women’s groups, like Grevy’s Zebra Trust, who sell jewelry and other beaded crafts (Letabare interview, July 2015). These incentives play a role in encouraging the community to agree to the terms of the conservancy.

Another massive incentive from the county government is the fact that the county government has agreed to completely fund the conservancies for the first four years. This can include funding building of ecotourism lodges, ranger posts, digging wells, paying for school tuition, etc. In an interview with Matthew Leakono, he describes the funding relationship between the county and new and existing conservancies: “The county government is supporting them one hundred percent, like recently we have just given the existing conservancies seventeen billion shillings (KSH) for development projects. We are just assisting them; we don’t support existing conservancies completely. For the new conservancies, these are one hundred percent under this ministry (Ministry of Tourism, Conservation and Wildlife)...we assess their needs and proposals and fund and assist them accordingly” (Leakono interview, July 2015). However, where Leakono sees this complete funding from the county as being a positive, I see it potentially leading to many problems. This level of support from the government means that there is little real investment from the communities, which may mean that the communities will not be invested in the success and operation of the conservancies, jeopardizing the sustainability of the CBCV beyond County government funding.

Benefits and Risks of CBCVs

1. Ecotourism

There is a broad expectation that CBCVs will attract ecotourism that will generate revenues that benefit the community. In some of the interviews I conducted, the committee members were searching for a foreign investor to invest in the conservancy as well as put manpower into running the conservancy. Harison Lenduda, the Chairman of the Nkoteiya Conservancy, indicated that they were looking for an outside organization to fund their conservancy as well as manage it. He said, “I do not mind if it is a foreigner as long as they

know how to manage the conservancy” (Lenduda interview, July 2015). In an interview with Chris Lekupe, the manager of the Westgate Community Conservancy discussed the relationship between the community and the resident lodge, Sasaab. As mentioned earlier, Lekupe said that they had a thirty-year agreement that Sasaab could operate on their community land as long as they promised that 75% of their employees came from the community. He finished by quickly stating that maybe they [the community] were getting exploited in the deal but that he did not know (Lekupe interview, July 2015). There seems to be a certain lack of transparency in the relationship between the lodges and the communities. Furthermore, it is apparent that the lodges are not completely owned for the economic benefit of the community, as they aim to make a profit for their owners and investors. There is a need for further research to understand the terms of the contracts that CBCVs have with tour operators and the way that revenues are distributed.

2. Employment and Public Goods

Some people in the community are receiving benefits such as employment as a ranger or scout, working in the conservancy office, or working for a tour operator or lodge. Other benefits are community-wide including public goods such as schools, water access points, health facilities, and improved roads. The Nkoteiya Conservancy, which is one of the newer conservancies, received access to vehicles dedicated to the conservancies from the county (Letimalo interview, July 2015). Nkoteiya also received services from African Wildlife Fund (AWF) in the form of four Wild Dog Foundation employees and an additional ten people from the AWF. They also received funding from the Community Development Trust Fund (CDTF) granting the conservancy 27 million shillings (KSH) (Lenduda interview, July 2015).

A major question is how these benefits are distributed among members of the communities and whether they will be sustained if outside organizations do not continue to fund

the CBCVs and tourism revenue does not appear? This question is particularly relevant when concerning areas far from the reserve where tourism is not developed.

My interview with Harison Lenduda, the Chairman of Nkoteiya Conservancy, yielded some of the disadvantages of having a conservancy. A few were that people don't understand what a conservancy is and what it aims to do; there is a general air of misinformation or lack of information, which leads many to be suspicious. The human/wildlife conflict is a long-standing issue in this area. These conflicts are related to disagreements about grazing areas, general land disputes, and occasions when wild animals kill peoples' livestock. The human/wildlife conflict affects many Samburu's livelihoods; many see wildlife as being a bigger risk to their livelihoods than protecting them, and this was also supported by my interview with Reuben Lemunyete (Lenduda & Lemunyete interview, July 2015). Even considering these human/wildlife conflicts, it is important to remember that many endangered species of animals are only found in this region of the world, and a large part of that is due to the people living here and their management of the land (Adams & McShane, 1992).

Drought is another major concern for pastoral communities. In most instances, the immediate need of the community will override conservation. This can damage conservationist's efforts immensely, when drought strikes there is a high likelihood that communities will graze their livestock on conservation areas rather than keep them undisturbed (Lemunyete interview, July 2015). Grazing conflict is constant; this is still seen in parks where pastoralists are forbidden from entering (Leirana interview, July 2015). There are lots of challenges associated with park and people relationships, but as CBCV's are my focus, this topic is a bit out of the scope of this particular paper. Enforcement of conservancy rules is difficult. Lenduda gave an example that in drier periods, there was an instance when herders broke a water pipe to water their livestock. The

damage was expensive to fix, and cost the community (Lenduda interview, July 2015). Every member of the group ranch is a part of the community land, so in principle people have equal say for what it is used for. A question is to what extent all community members are involved in the decision-making process for conservancies. When I interviewed Ngoto Purini Letabare, she said that no decisions would or could be made without the involvement of the entire community (Letabare interview, July 2015), but more research is needed to understand this process.

CBCVs will not necessarily solve human-wildlife conflicts, and they may exacerbate grazing problems during dry or drought periods. There is little evidence that organized grazing works in this environment and the failure of colonial era grazing schemes exemplify this problem. Most ecological studies of pastoralism conclude that people need more flexibility, not less, in terms of access to grazing resources (Adams & McShane, 1992, p. 43).

Community members also have trepidations. Chief Warden Leirana mentioned that most communities have an initial suspicion that these ‘conservancies’ are trying to sell their land. Leirana also comments that education usually changes the perception of these community members (Leirana interview, July 2015). In an interview with Tom Dipan Lekina, a community member from Mbaringon, he expressed his initial concerns that part of the objective in conservancies was to push Samburus off their lands (Lekina interview, July 2015). This is not an unfounded suspicion, considering the history of Maa peoples in Kenya and Tanzania, particularly with the founding of national parks. In the 1930’s Maasai were forced off their land and their livelihoods were severely threatened and attacked (Adams & McShane, 1992). The dynamic of the relationship between the Maasai and the Samburu with wildlife has been altered into a false history. Historically the relationship between wildlife and the Maasai and Samburu has been positive. This altered history fabricates a story of a destructive relationship between the Maa

peoples and wild animals. With the creation of this belief that the Maasai and Samburu are endangering the animals, they have been pushed from their land by the British colonial government in the name of protecting the wildlife. The Samburu have lost land to the game reserve, to government forests and through administrative boundaries that make migration more difficult.

3. Security and Conflict

Security concerns also limit the expansion of the tourism network further north in Kenya. Thus far, it is relatively safe to travel from Nairobi to the Samburu National Reserve and this route is frequently traveled by tourists. It becomes riskier the further north you drive. The details surrounding security issues in the Samburu area has a multitude of facets. However, it is a topic that arose in several interviews. When conducting interviews, many interviewees stated that one aim of creating CBCVs was to ease tensions between conflicting ethnic groups. They would offer equal employment opportunities for each ethnic group and hope that this collaboration would create a mutual interest as well as a forum for conversation.

However, this plan has many holes. In research on other Kenyan and Tanzanian CBCVs, I have noted that there is a rise in ethnic conflict in the area during and after the formation of a conservancy (Homewood et al., 2012a). In interviews I conducted in Ltungai, there were also patterns of land disputes that turned violent. In an interview with a man named Lemalasia, he described the situation where there was a disagreement over who had the ownership or authority to decide where the new ranger's post was to be built. When one group began construction, they were stopped and turned around at gunpoint (Lemalasia interview, July 2015). Much has to do with the negotiation of who has ownership of which tracts of land, as well as how nomadic peoples travel through lands that they legally do not own, but have been utilizing for decades.

Many of these groups, like the Pokot and Ntorrobo, also claim to have the right to use this land. Discussions on sectioning off areas as “buffer zones” or conservation areas heighten tensions on boundaries and land rights. Also, debate over where to place new lodges, ranger posts and offices among other logistical necessities for conservancies creates conflict. Ngũgĩ’s argued that the violence is a necessary product of colonialism. I would also suggest that current problems with security and violence tied to conservation areas, is also the product of the violence of colonialism, and perhaps neocolonialism.

4. Question of Sustainability of CBCVs

Sustainability of CBCVs seems difficult in areas far from the SNR. If ecotourism is built into the premise of CBCVs, this dependency is not very sustainable. Where will the funding come from once the initial financing ends from the government; will conservancies be able to generate its own revenue and will these revenues will be enough to offset the losses communities may experience by losing access to resources. It was indicated through interviews with community members that there was a desire to get funding from organizations such as the NRT who act as an umbrella body for conservancies. They will help fund the new conservancies under their umbrella governance style. According to Simon Leirana, the Chief Warden of Samburu National Reserve, the end goals for conservancies are to achieve cooperation between conservancies to encourage a network of conservancies, find investors to help fund and manage the conservancies, finding relevant markets, and encourage ecotourism.

Chris Lekupe, the Westgate Conservancy Manager, acknowledged the difficulties with sustainability. His comments described challenges with finding ways to encourage ecotourism and stimulate interest in the area. This was an interview where I saw a bit of a paradox. Lekupe mentioned that the Samburu culture may attract more investors or tourist companies, but, by its

inherent nature, conservancies are altering the pillars of Samburu culture: mobility and pastoralism. This paradox, I argue, creates a system of reliance on donor aid and outside investment that threatens to undermine the community as the primary decision-makers and caretakers of their land, and may undermine the very foundations of their pastoral livelihood.

Discussion and Conclusions

From my research, it is evident that the members of these communities are giving up some ownership of their land by agreeing to the terms of the conservancy. In that regard, they also lose some agency, and may lose their ability to maintain their livelihoods. A contradiction that I saw arise during my interviews was the focus on tourism. With tourism, the conservancies would use their culture, the Samburu culture, to attract tourists and then investors. However, by limiting migratory patterns and general mobility, these actions will begin to alter Samburu culture. If livestock can no longer support a family because of limited grazing areas and opportunities, and jobs within conservancies and tourist operations becomes the norm, Samburu culture will inevitably be altered. It is also unlikely, however, that tourism will be able to employ a large segment of the population. People will still need livestock and other sources of livelihood to survive. I would ask then if these behaviors would change Samburu culture to become more commoditized and less true to its origins.

When creating a conservancy, communities or group ranches give up certain rights to their land, like grazing rights. In turn, they also concede some mobility that deeply affects their livelihoods. Will the revenue and benefits generated be enough to offset the potential risk of changing livestock grazing? And importantly, is anyone gathering evidence about these effects? The answer to that is mainly no, and as I discussed earlier in this paper, oftentimes these findings lack evidence or are based on misinformation (Homewood & Rodgers, 1989, p. 111). For

example, in Nkoteiya, the local communities living in the core area were asked to move and no longer graze in that certain location. The chairman and conservancy manager both said that they community did not mind because they also built a borehole for the community to have access to if/when they moved from the area (Lenduda & Letimalo interviews, July 2015).

Another concern for these conservancies that are starting through the initiative of the county government is that they instill very high expectations among the community. The county government, along with other organizations such as the AWF (African Wildlife Fund) have taken community members to visit functioning conservancies in Maasailand and the lowlands near the SNR as a model of the conservancy they would like to implement in their communities. When the county governments provide full funding and support for operations, a lot of the ownership is outside of the community. When it is time for the community to then run and maintain the conservancy, will there be enough support or initiative from the community if they did not have much involvement in the early stages of the conservancy? There is also the potential that there will be high expectations of what the conservancy should look like, and different understandings of the involvement required from the community in operation the conservancy. There is little research happening regarding the process and outcomes of the conservancies. How will we know if they reach their win-win objectives without better understanding about what's happening both socially, culturally, and ecologically?

Chapter VII: Sahamalaza-Iles Radama Biosphere Reserve in Northwestern Madagascar

Introduction

This chapter will focus on Madagascar as a case study specifically. First, I will review a UNESCO document that describes what a biosphere reserve is and what are its main objectives. Then, I will analyze the assessment written by the Director of the Sahamalaza-Iles Radama Biosphere Reserve published in the UNESCO report. Second, I will present the quantitative and qualitative findings from the research I conducted in SIRBR. Finally, I will analyze the results of these findings and examine what it suggests about the success and failures of the biosphere reserve model, and conservation more generally.

UNESCO: Man and the Biosphere

This first section will explain the “biosphere reserve concept” as defined by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Man and the Biosphere (UNESCO MAB). UNESCOs report details the biosphere reserves in East Africa. The countries discussed include: Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Rwanda and Burundi. Madagascar, Seychelles, Mauritius and Comoros are also included in this grouping of East African nations. In the report published in 2014 by UNESCO, a “biosphere reserve seeks to reconcile local communities’ economic development with the conservation of biodiversity” (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 10). Additionally, “biosphere reserves are defined as areas of terrestrial and aquatic (marine and fresh water) ecosystems, which are internationally recognized through the UNESCO MAB programme” (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 10; UNESCO, 1996). The authors of the UNESCO report also say that the key difference between biosphere reserves and the “protected area approach”, is that biosphere reserves are designed to involve local people in conserving and managing biodiversity while simultaneously meeting their livelihood needs (“AfriMAB,” 2014,

pp. 9–10). In order to achieve this, biosphere reserves apply sustainable use of natural resources in the buffer and transition zones.

The UNESCO report says that the goal of biosphere reserves is to handle “the most sensitive and complex questions the world faces today: that is, how to reconcile conservation of biodiversity with development” (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 10). Biosphere reserves involve the collaboration between natural and social scientists, conservation and development groups, management authorities and local communities. UNESCO indicates that biosphere reserves provide a structure for “sustainable integrated natural resource management and development covering all types of ecosystems’ elements including areas of high natural biodiversity, whether conserved or used sustainably, human settlements, and agricultural systems, especially those based on ecosystem management principles” (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 10). UNESCO considers biosphere reserves as both a concept and a conservation tool. Previously, the biosphere reserve concept was guided by the “Seville Strategy for Biosphere Reserves” (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 10; UNESCO, 1996). In 2008, the Madrid Action Plan put special focus on issues concerning climate change, and then biosphere reserves became a part of UNESCO’s intergovernmental research program on Man and the Biosphere (MAB), and they play a large role in MAB fulfilling its objective. MAB strives “to achieve sustainable balance between the often conflicting goals of conserving biological diversity and promoting human development while maintaining associated cultural values” (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 10). MAB is able to test, refine, demonstrate and implement this objective through biosphere reserves. At the time of this publication, there were 580 biosphere reserves in 114 countries around the world.

Biosphere reserves are described as being a laboratory for conservation and development research and are also members of the World Network of Biosphere Reserves. The goal of this

network is to “provide a set of well researched and consistently monitored sites that can act as laboratories/learning sites for further research” (“AfriMAB,” 2014). This document was published in 2014 and had the most recent assessment from of the Sahamalaza-Iles Radama Biosphere Reserve (SIRBR) where I conducted my research project in 2016. Isaia Raymond, the then director of the biosphere reserve who retired in 2015, authored the assessment. I was able to interview Mr. Raymond while in Madagascar. The document explains that the aim of this research at these sites is to “ensure that conservation, sustainable use of resources, social, cultural and economic development functions are scientifically justified in all the zones of the biosphere reserves” (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 10). This document will be an aid in comparing the results of my study, and the study conducted by the management of SIRBR.

This next section will emphasize and clarify the functions of the biosphere reserves and the nature of the zoning, as I think it is imperative to understand the goals outlined by the program. I will also discuss some ways that the Sakalava already engage in conservation, though it is often discredited as being “not modern”. However, it is important to understand another perspective of conservation and relationships with land and nature. The functions of the biosphere reserve include conservation (of biological diversity, including preservation of genetic resources, species, ecosystems and landscapes), development (fostering sustainable economic and human development) and logistical support (establishment and support of demonstration projects, environmental education, training and research, and monitoring related to local, national, and global issues of conservation and sustainable development) (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 11).

Biosphere reserves are divided into three zones: core, buffer and transition zones. The core area is “one or more areas devoted to conservation; they correspond basically to the

conservation units (protected areas), designated as areas of complete protection, such as national parks” (“AfriMAB,” 2014). The buffer zones encircle the core areas to minimize harmful impacts to the conservation area. Human activities in this area must comply with the biosphere reserve objectives of sustainable use, limited development and research (“AfriMAB,” 2014). Finally, there is the transition areas, these areas “are located outside the buffer zones and do not always have rigidly defined boundaries. The areas for promoting the improvement of the quality of livelihoods of the local communities, as well as the integration of the reserve with the surrounding urban, agricultural and industrial areas” (“AfriMAB,” 2014).

The report reviews the status of biosphere reserves in this region, noting that most countries (aside from Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, and Madagascar) have not formalized their MAB national committees. Additionally, the report says that implementation of AfriMAB-MAP (Africa Man and the Biosphere – Madrid Action Plan) targets for the region is slow, particularly for transboundary biosphere reserves (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 11). In the chart, UNESCO recognizes three biosphere reserves in Madagascar: Mananara-Nord (1990), Sahamalaza-Iles Radama (2007) and Littoral de Toliara (2003). They are declared functioning “under PNM-ANGAP/Seige, Direction Interregionale de Toamasina” (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 12, “Madagascar BR- UNESCO,” n.d.). This is poignant to note, because when I was conducting my research, it was widely acknowledged that the biosphere reserve at Toliara was not operational. Since this report was published, Madagascar has introduced a fourth biosphere reserve, Belo-sur-Mer-Kirindy-Miti, in 2016 (“Belo-sur-Mer - Kirindy-Mite | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization,” n.d.). An interesting concession noted in the UNESCO document is that “current review of activities on the priority MAP targets for the period 2010-2013 for

AfriMAB indicate that very little has been done in the eastern Africa region towards implementation of the MAP” (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 13).

UNESCO identifies the challenge of sustainable natural resource management in eastern African countries is attempting to “simultaneously help preserve biological diversity, enhance development and empower poor rural people” (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 13). Biosphere reserves are promoted as helping aid long-term conservation goals and sustainable development, and this UNESCO report encourages eastern African countries to continue designating areas as BRs as an investment in their future and as some areas are at risk of losing their official listing (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 13).

SIRBR Report: Involving the Local Population in Protected Area Management

This document is exciting because it was one of the only assessments of the SIRBR conducted by Madagascar National Parks management that I could find. This is pivotal because it gives my case study an official document to critique and compare. While reading through the document, I also considered my role as a researcher and that I was only in the region for approximately three weeks, while the director of the park has dedicated years of his life to this project. That being said, the limitations of my project became clearer to me, and with a certain level of undecidability, I began to think more critically about how much I really know about the SIRBR. However, the findings that I did encounter, and will discuss in this chapter, were significant enough (and contrary enough to the MNP official report) that I believe the work I did in Madagascar will add to the literature, as well as challenge the dominant narrative.

Raymond, the author of this report, begins by acknowledging when Madagascar official changed their environmental policy to involve the local population. He notes that the main objective of SIRBR is, “the effective conservation of the protected area’s ecosystems and

biodiversity” (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 184). Raymond restates that the creation of the Sahamalaza as a marine and coastal park is a legal model for biodiversity conservation and management and also a tool for the socio-economic development of local population (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 184). He cites studies (Belshaw & Andriamandroso, 1997) that discuss the scarcity of local endemic species in the area. Raymond emphasizes that empowering the local community through a collaboration with a clear framework and structure, is crucial to co-management (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 185).

Sahamalaza is a region of high biodiversity, hosting nine species of lemur (two local endemic species), forty-one bird species (sixteen endemic), twenty reptile species, and fourteen amphibian species (one local endemic). Additionally, all eight Malagasy Mangrove species can be found in the reserve, and is the home to seventy-six bird species including thirty-one endemic species and five endangered species according to IUCN (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 186). For these reasons and the criteria for biosphere reserves, Sahamalaza is an appealing location.

According to this assessment on SIRBR, the Sakalava’s “traditional” way of life has little impact on the environment (SAVAIVO, 2003). The immigrant population is attributed with presenting the most serious risks. The indigenous Sakalava consider it to be “fady” (taboo) to kill or consume lemurs and marine turtles. Sakalava also observe their own fishing closures prior to state intervention, it is considered “fady” to fish at night or during the day on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Fady’s are acutely observed in sacred sites, and there are thirteen in SIRBR (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 188). The issue that Raymond presents is that migrant fisher people do not necessarily practice the same “fadys” as the Sakalava, and tend to not respect the guidelines set forth by the indigenous people, or the park management, and this poses a big problem. Here, I think it is important to acknowledge the ways that the Sakalava already have a structure for

conservation. For generations, the Sakalava have created their own rules and regulations that govern land management. For the Sakalava, and many Malagasy, these rules come from a spiritual order or in the form of a “fady”, or a cultural taboo.

The assessment outlines different community outreach campaigns that the MNP facilitated. Notably, they created all the governing bodies of the biosphere reserve through the “fokontany”. “Fokontany” are villages or groups of small villages, and for the SIRBR, the members from different “fokontany” make up the Local Grassroots Committee (CLB – *Comité local de base*). Of the five communities who are part of the CLB, they form a larger federation. The federation is charged with monitoring, implementation, and the general activities of the CLB through the “dina commun”, or local law.

The major finding that Raymond presents is that from 2006 to the time the report was published (2014), thirty-two CLBs were created only leaving two “fokontany” without a committee. He outlines some of MNPs achievements, including the parks technical activities such as surveillance, monitoring, construction and maintenance of conservation and ecotourism infrastructure. Raymond highlights the efforts of other groups, such as the *Association Européenne pour l’Etude et la Conservation des Lémuriens* (AEECL – Lemur Conservation Association) and the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS). I encountered the work of both of these organizations while I was doing my fieldwork. Raymond writes that the communities received intensive training on rice-growing systems, in tree nursery preparation and reforestation techniques. The park also holds an annual Lemur Festival in September to raise awareness and celebrate lemurs. Raymond claims major achievements of the BR through the reduction in forest clearing (appendix, Figure 8) and some projects conducted by NGOs. The report on SIRBR emphasizes their role in creating “support for capacity building and for the development of these

communities was ensured by the management together with the partner institutions in order to motivate the local partners” (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 195).

Madagascar Findings

The findings from my field research is presented as such: First, I initially introduce what the empirical study I conducted yielded, then I will discuss my analysis of the results. The reason I am doing it this way is two show one meaning of my findings, and then offer some surplus meaning in my second analysis. While many parts of this analysis appear to take place within the European conception of land management and community development, I think it is important to acknowledge that many community members I spoke with want these types of development. Namely, improved access to education, healthcare and agricultural infrastructure. While culturally, Malagasy people may have a different relationship with land, my field research would suggest that Sakalava still desire these types of benefits, regardless of whether they are European or not.

1. Key Stakeholder Interviews

The purpose of the key stakeholder interviews was to see how governance of Sahamalaza-Iles Radama Biosphere Reserve (SIRBR) is implemented. These interviews revealed more about the inner workings and the roles of key stakeholders in the management of the SIRBR. Interviewees included park officials at the Madagascar National Parks (MNP) office in Maromandia, other members of the various park committees that govern and enforce the rules of this Biosphere Reserve (BR), such as members of the *Communauté Locale du Park* (CLP) and the *Communauté Locale du Base* (CLB). These are both voluntary associations of community residents (Fritz-Vietta, Röttger, & Kleemann, 2009). This section outlines the trends in

information from the interviews with about ten participants including the Director of the SIRBR, Mr. Zavatraha, directors of local NGOs, and members of governing bodies of the SIRBR.

The first focus group interview with the members of the MNP office corroborated much of the information already presented about the general outline of a BR. They spoke about the existence of the three conservation zones, and the shared governance of the BR in order to promote “[CBNRM that] is meant to foster local people’s responsibility and raise their awareness of the value of conservation” (Fritz-Vietta et al., 2009). The participants spoke about the shared responsibility of enforcement and the difficulties and advantages of managing a BR. The group stressed the importance of sharing the role of enforcing the rules of the park and that oftentimes, the CLB or CLP are expected to handle local problems. Later, during household surveys, the question of who is responsible for enforcement arose again. It created an interesting dichotomy between the MNP and local communities on whose responsible for the lion’s share of enforcement. The MNP office managing the BR is relatively low-staffed and do not really have the capacity to monitor all ten parcels in SIRBR. This, they admit, causes difficulties in management of the park.

The participants spoke about the transfer of management from the state to the local communities through management transfer initiatives such as *GELOSE* (La Gestion Locale Sécurisée – Secure Local Management). In 1996, Madagascar introduced its first law on the co-management of natural resources. In French, it is called the *Gestion Locale Sécurisée* or *GELOSE*. The, “... central element of *GELOSE* is the contracts negotiated among the state (the forest authority), the municipality (e.g. the mayor), and voluntary association of community residents, the *Communauté Locale de Base (CLB)* was created for this purpose” (Fritz-Vietta et al., 2009, p. 91).

COBA/CLB (*Communauté de Base/Communauté*) receives assistance from conservation and development organizations involved with BRs. These organizations play a central role in designing management plans, zoning the areas, and providing technical support (Fritz-Vietta et al., 2009). The major role that outside organizations play in the critical planning stages of BRs is concerning in itself because the approach is supposed to be participatory, but already outside actors play a large role in establishing basic parts of BRs. However, it remains the formal right of the local people “to use resources in defined areas for their own purpose, the question remains how they can make use of the adjudicated resources to improve their livelihoods” (Fritz-Vietta et al., 2009). Maintaining a linkage between biodiversity and livelihood activities is an area that CBNRM struggles. Conservation schemes sometimes do not consider that they need a strategy for projects to generate cash and non-cash benefits for the stakeholders, so that the stakeholders have the capacity to take action to mitigate internal and external threats (Salafsky & Wollenberg, 2000, p. 87).

In conclusion, the general findings from the key stakeholder interviews was that the officials working for the park, or in association with the park, understood the goals and objectives of the reserve. Given that, there remained discrepancies between in communication between MNP officials and local communities living adjacent to the protected areas. The following sections will show how this narrative differed between the official agents of the MNP and the local communities. Major incongruities included contrasts in basic understanding of what a biosphere reserve is, how it is supposed to work, who is responsible for the labor of maintaining and monitoring, and what the main benefits are. These should be basic knowledge for everyone involved in the process.

2. Betsimpoaka, Ambinda and Satellite Villages

This study is based on sixty-six household surveys conducted in nine different locations throughout the Sahamalaza peninsula. The first seven locations included Betsimpoaka and six satellite villages mentioned in the research methods section. The total sample size from Betsimpoaka and the satellite villages included thirty-five households, and from Ambinda an additional thirty surveys including a survey of the single homestead adjacent to the field station in Anabohazo. The surveyed households were selected at random from as many households available in each village. The questions started by asking the interviewee if they knew about the BR, where it came from, the nature of the reserve, and who was supposed to benefit and how. Of the sixty-six respondents, 33% were female and 66% were male (Table 1) and participants ages ranged from early twenties to mid-nineties. The gender imbalance was not something that I intentionally sought. Oftentimes, my guides and research assistant would lead me to only the male head of the household, even at my request to speak with more female participants. In this moment, I can try to see what my data isn't showing me, and that is the experience of women and conservation. My data was saturated with primarily male experiences, and only a few female experiences. This would be an area for future study.

Sex of Respondent:	#	%
Female	22	33%
Male	44	66%
Total:	66	100%

Table 1: Sex of the respondents.

From the first primary research question, in regards to the knowledge of the existence of the BR by the community, it was evident that the majority of the respondents knew about the BR to some degree. From my total sample size of sixty-six surveys, 91% responded that they knew about the SIRBR. Only 8% replied no, they did not know anything about the existence of the BR and the remaining 1% gave no response.

This data shows that the communities are aware of the existence of the BR, however, the understanding of the goals and objectives was not nearly as strong. Many responded that they only knew about the protected area closest to their village, and only about two zones of the reserve, the protected zone and the community zone. No respondents in the entire survey answered that there were in fact three zones, the *zone central* (protected area), *zone tampon* (buffer zone), and *zone du transition* (community zone, sustainable use zone). When respondents did mention the zones, there were only two zones, the zone for the community and the zone that was strictly forbidden and protected for the wildlife reforestation.

When asked who created the boundaries and the rules that govern the BR, the replies ranged from foreigners to MNP officials to the local community. In a number of my interviews, the respondent then followed by saying that the process was participatory at the start, but recently (January/February 2016), MNP officials displaced the original boundaries. The local community did not know about this change and did not play a role in displacing the boundaries. Perhaps the process was participatory during the conception of the BR, but the evidence from these interviews indicated that that level participation has changed.

Figure 1 (below) illustrates the results from the question regarding the anticipated results of the BR. The most frequent response was that the purpose of the BR is to protect and conserve the environment. A more indirect and long-term goal of the BR was improved rains. The rationale being that when there are more trees, there will be more rain and the improved frequency in rains will allow for people to have better yields of rice. Other answers included improvements to agriculture and fishing conditions, protecting the wildlife in the forest and community development. Some participants replied that there were no benefits to this reserve,

and some did not answer or did not know.

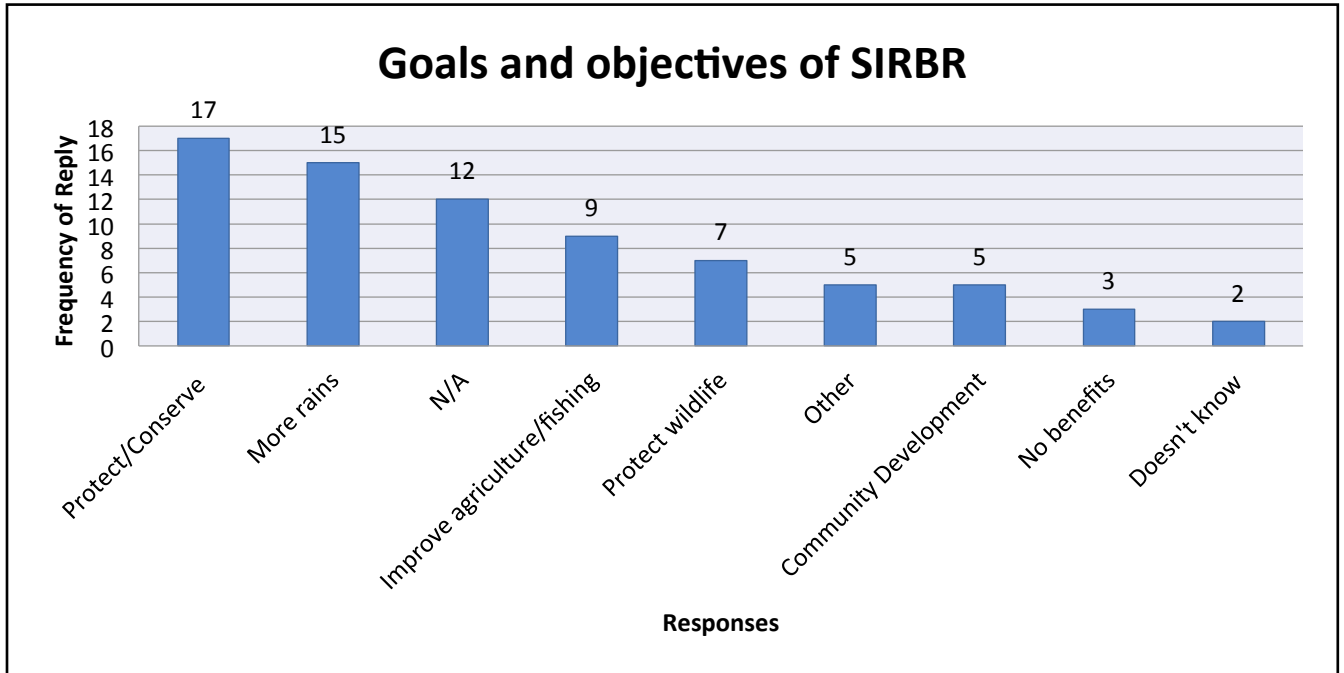


Figure 1: Responses to what are the goals and objectives of the SIRBR.

The follow-up question regarding the anticipated benefits asked; “who was supposed to receive these benefits?” The majority of respondents said that the local community, or the communities living around or near the BR, are the ones who are supposed to receive the intended benefits. That is, 71% of the respondents said that the local communities were the ones that are intended to receive the benefits from the BR and 29% had another response (Table 2).

Intended to receive benefits	#	%
Local Community	47	71%
Other	19	29%
Total:	66	100%

Table 2: Responses on the intended benefits of the BR.

When asked about the potential problems with the BR, the survey collected a range of responses. Figure 2 (below) illustrates the results from this question. The most frequent answer was concern with the displacement and the encroaching of the boundaries of the BR. Some of the

most frequent answers included problems with enforcement and migrants not recognizing or adhering to the rules of the BR. A number of respondents saw no problems with the BR and others saw no benefits in the BR. Lack of adherence, increasing pressure on the ecosystem from overfishing and migrant fisherman/farmers, and lack of aid and assistance from the BR and/or the government are a few issues that arose from the interviews.

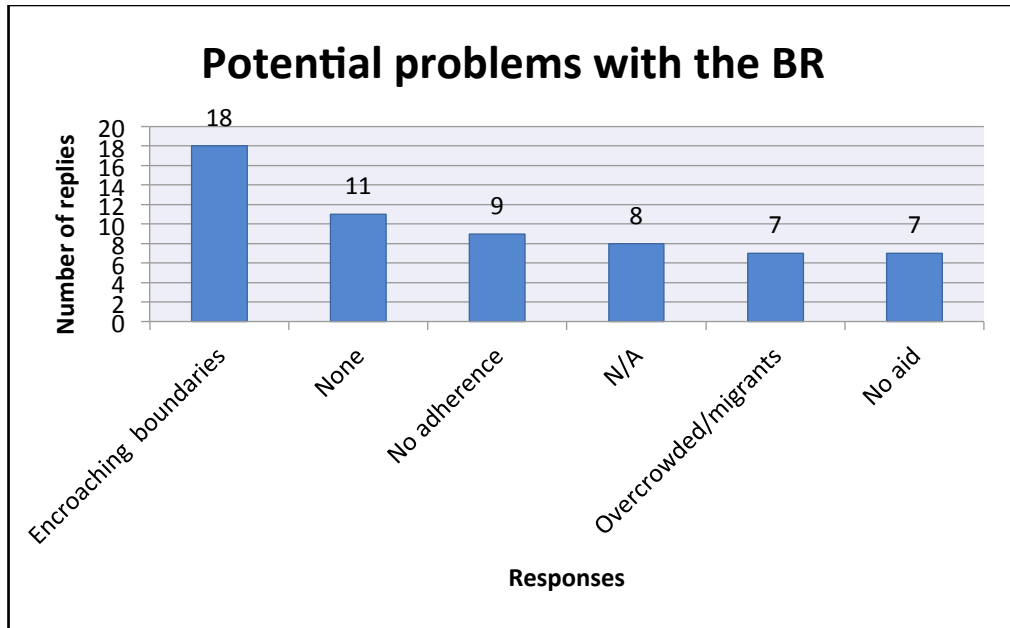


Figure 2: Results of the potential problems of the BR.

The survey asked participants where they believed the idea for the BR arrived. The most frequent answers included MNP, the government, and from the outside in general. Many respondents spoke about awareness campaigns conducted by non-governmental organizations (NGO) and other individuals. Some of the NGO's included the *Association Européenne pour l'Etude et la Conservation des Lémuriens* (AEECL) and *Service d'Appui à la Gestion de l'Environnement* (SAGE). During key stakeholder interviews, I discovered that SAGE is for the most part defunct. In the field, AEECL was well known and their campaigns were active and impactful.

3. Quantitative Findings

The structured survey inquired whether the respondents encountered any changes in access to their land since the creation of the BR. Figure 3 shows that fifty-six respondents (85%) said that they did not experience any change in their access to their land. Eight respondents (12%) replied that they did experience change in access. When asked followup questions, these respondents explained that the boundaries of the core area had moved and engulfed their land or that their land was so close to the core area that they were afraid to use it. All eight responded by saying that they were not notified or compensated for their land or loss of access to livelihood resources. The remaining two respondents (3%) were not landowners or did not cultivate on any land.

The findings from this question verifies that the majority of participants still had access to their arable land and only a handful have been displaced. Few participants who did not have land or their access has changed, cited concern about these changing conditions and what this could mean for the future of their land. In the meantime, some respondents are still cultivating on the land now included in the protected zone. Many respondents who reported no change in access to their land still mentioned that their neighbors and friends had been affected by these shifting boundaries, and that it impacted the community as a whole.

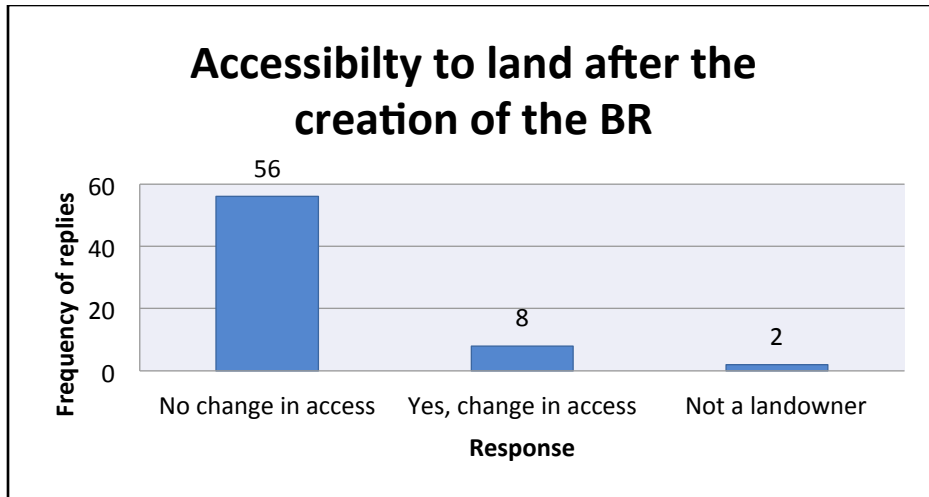


Figure 3: Results of accessibility to land after the creation of the BR. 56 respondents showed no change, and 8 replied yes.

Figure 5 (below) shows the outcome of the occupations the participants in the survey. Twenty-two or 33% were agro-fisherman; nineteen or 29% were primarily farmers, eleven or 17% engaged in a mixed assortment of livelihood activities; five or 8% operated businesses; three or 5% were teachers or worked in education; two or 3% were solely fisherman while the remaining two (3%) were involved in the medical field or another form of livelihood activity.

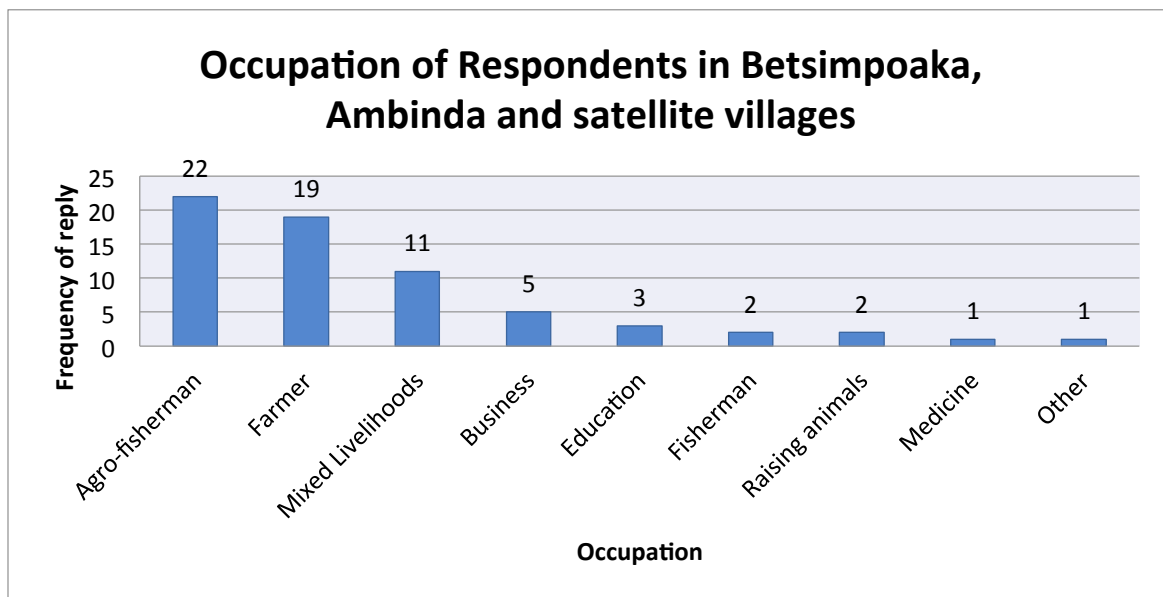


Figure 4: Results of livelihood activities/occupation of survey respondents.

Each respondent shared an approximate annual revenue of the household. The chart below (Figure 5) shows the range of replies collected from all 66 surveys. The minimum annual revenue was 20,000 Ariary (AR), the maximum income was 3,000,000 AR and the median annual revenue was 300,000 AR. The approximate average annual income was 450,000 AR. One US dollar is equal to approximately 4,000 Malagasy Ariary. The level of annual revenue in Madagascar is very low, (“Statistics,” n.d.) but it is important to note that people also hold wealth in other forms, not necessarily all from annual revenue. People have wealth invested in other places, such as in livestock, and respondents did not necessarily include that in their estimations. One woman I spoke with spoke about the wealth she has in zebu (cattle). With that invested money, she was able to pay for several of her children to attend college and high schools.

Annual Revenue (Ariary)	Number of Respondents
N/A	6
20000	3
30000	1
40000	1
50000	5
100000	6
120000	1
150000	1
200000	11
300000	11
400000	4
500000	4
600000	1
800000	2
1000000	5
1400000	1
2000000	1
3000000	2

Figure 5: Complete data sheet of all the responses of annual income from Bestimpoaka, Ambinda and satellite villages.

4. Community mapping (PRA)

The community maps were created in a participatory manner to gain a better understanding of the community's knowledge of the topography of the area, and to identify significant sites for the community. I wanted to understand how the boundaries of the BR were decided, and determine if the community believed it was participatory. The participants were asked to draw a map with the places that were important to the community in relation to the BR and protected areas.

The first map (Photo 1) was created by the community in Betsimpoaka, primarily an elementary school teacher who was comfortable using pen and paper. I did suggest to him and other participants that they could use natural materials or draw on the ground if that worked better. As it was my first attempt at creating a participatory community map, the process did not go as smoothly as my second attempt. The legend includes the Bay of Sahamalaza, the sacred river, the mangroves and also the protected area of Anabohazo (circled in black). The orange houses indicate Betsimpoaka and the surrounding villages, many of which were visited and surveyed for this project. Part of the management protocol outlined in the BR is instituting openings and closings of the mangroves to allow for crab populations to regenerate. The cartographer for this map indicated these closures by circling the mangrove section that was currently closed at the southeast corner (bottom left). This rotates annually to allow for maximum sustainable harvest of crab and shrimp.

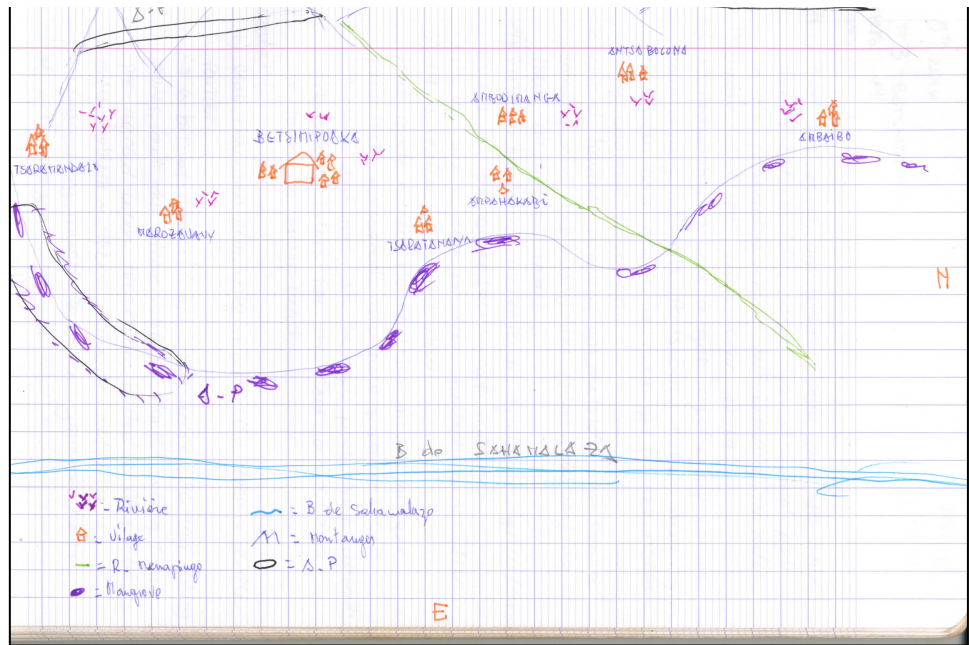


Photo 1: The first community map made in Betsimpoaka. It includes areas significant to the community as well as the parcels of the SIRBR.

The second map (Photo 2 &3) was made by members of the Ambinda community with extensive knowledge of the topography of the BR. The two guides who aided me throughout my fieldwork were the main participants in creating this map. It focuses more on the protected area of Anabohazo. Photo 2 and 3 shows the three zones; the buffer zone, the core area, and the community area. It also includes another section of park to the south called *Analavory*. The two blue lines indicate two main water sources, the orange houses indicate settlements and the green boxes indicate crop fields. Other important items to notice include the road that goes directly through the Analavory parcel, and the footpaths that are used to travel between Betsimpoaka, the field station, and Ambinda. This map includes the points of the highest elevation (marked by black triangles), where the blue-eyed black lemurs could be found, as well as a sacred community area located in the buffer zone of the Anabohazo parcel. A star indicates the location of the sign that marks the buffer zone as a forbidden forest.

Creating this map was a fascinating experience, and the cartographers got invested in the exercise. I did not include myself into the actually laying down of the map, I made suggestions and offered different material when necessary. I wanted to understand local people's interpretation of their environment, and what areas they emphasized. I also wanted to know how the footprint of the BR fit in (or didn't) with spaces of cultural value.

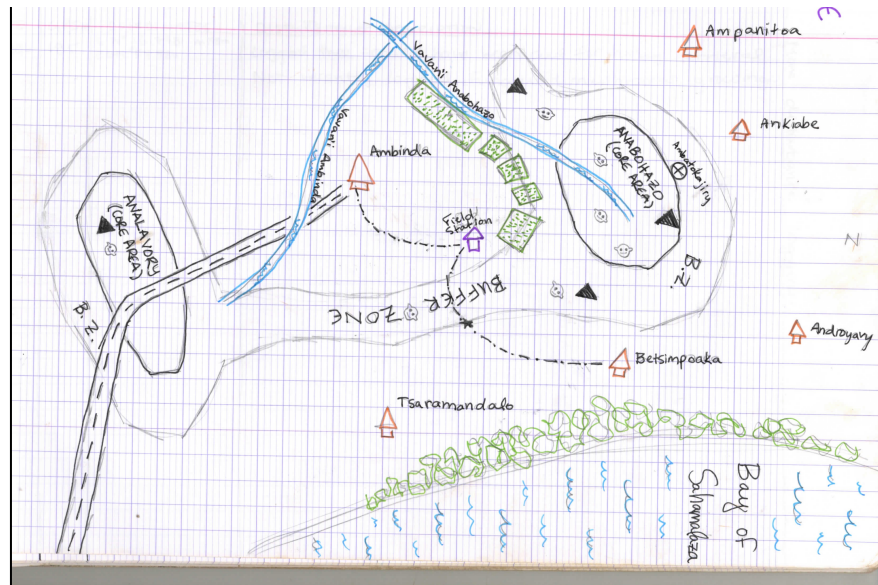


Photo 2: The second community map made in Ambinda. The orange houses indicate settlements, blue lines indicate rivers, green squares are crop fields, dotted lines are main footpaths, large dashed line is the road, green squiggles are the mangroves, and the black and grey solid lines are the boundaries of the BR.



Photo 3: The photo of the actual community map from Ambinda. This depicts the Anabohazo parcel including the difference zones and important community markers. Photo 2 is the pen and paper version of this map.

5. Ecological Disturbances

Within five hours of walking in the Anabohazo protected parcel in SIRBR, my guides and I discovered two dead blue-eyed black lemurs. The evidence heavily indicated that the lemurs were hunted or poached. Near the bodies, we noticed two wooden stakes. We speculate they were mounted with poisoned bananas and tied against the trunk of two trees to lure the lemurs. We suspected that the lemurs consumed these bananas and subsequently died. They were found a few meters from these trees with the stakes still intact (see images below). Just minutes before discovering the remains, we were twenty meters away observing a troop of lemurs. The poaching site was also very close to the main trail.



Top left: photo of the dead male blue-eyed black lemur.
Top right: photo of the dead female blue-eyed black lemur.
Bottom left: photo of the tree with the wooden spear tied to it. We speculate that poisoned bananas were attached to the stakes.

Photos courtesy of Molly Warner

This discovery made it clear that there are people blatantly disregarding the rules and regulations of the BR, as well as cultural “fadys” by hunting or poaching the critically-endangered *E. flavifrons*. It was not clear why these lemurs were poisoned and then left to rot, my guides hypothesized that they were hunted for food. During my three-week research period, three dead blue-eyed black lemurs in the Anabohazo forest parcel were found. Initially, the first lemur was thought to have died due to natural causes but the cause of death remains unknown. All the lemurs were found in the core protected area of the park, this is shocking because this parcel is supposed to be under the management of MNP. Blue-eyed black lemurs are a critically endangered species and estimations place the total population of these lemurs in the low thousands (Schwitzer, Schwitzer, Randriatahina, Rabarivola, & Kaumanns, 2006) making the situation all the more disturbing. To find three dead, was not a favorable discovery.

Were the lemurs poached, and is this a realistic conclusion? A cynical speculation is that a disgruntled individual was trying to send a message, or retaliate against the BR. The rationale behind this claim is three-fold. First, the lemurs were killed using poison, so it would seem unlikely that they were killed for food seeing as the meat would be poisoned as well. Second, the lemurs were left to decompose in the forest, not collected for their pelts. This would be a strange circumstance as well because it is “fady” to kill lemurs, and there is not much value in their pelts. The lemurs were dead, making plans to sell them as pets seem quite unlikely. Third, it is not in tune with the local traditions and culture of the local communities to kill lemurs for food or trophy (“AfriMAB,” 2014, p. 188).

This claim may be an over-extrapolation as there is little evidence to support it. However, there have been other research that shows retaliatory killings of protected species as a practice in protected areas (Herrold-Menzies, 2006). Or could this be an act of resistance—attacking the species that is being privileged over indigenous people’s livelihoods? During the interview process, there were some respondents who did not want to be interviewed about the BR at all. They suspected that this project was being conducted by the MNP or the government, and that I as a foreigner was invested in the BR or was monitoring their behaviors.

On at least two separate occasions, I noted in my participant observation an individual entering and leaving the protected core area with a 20-foot-long bamboo dart shooter carrying an unidentified bird species. While these birds could have been populations that can be sustainably hunted, the point is that it was happening inside the core protected area where hunting is strictly forbidden, supposedly monitored by MNP. These observations support the claims that there is a lack of enforcement of these rules, and clearly there is still hunting and other forms of extraction of natural resources occurring within the core area.

While conducting key stakeholder interviews in Maromandia, I observed a captive female blue-eyed black lemur (being held as a pet) in the compound of one of the organizations I interviewed. It is illegal in Madagascar to own lemurs as pets, and the conditions that this lemur was held could be considered inhumane. Lemurs are social creatures, and isolating them can be detrimental to their psychology and physiology (Reuter K.E. & Schaefer M.S., 2016). It was suggested by an MNP official that I interview this particular organization, so I find it quite impossible that they ignorant about the existence of this lemur. A rumor that I overheard circulating in Maromandia was that there were other pet lemurs in and around the town.

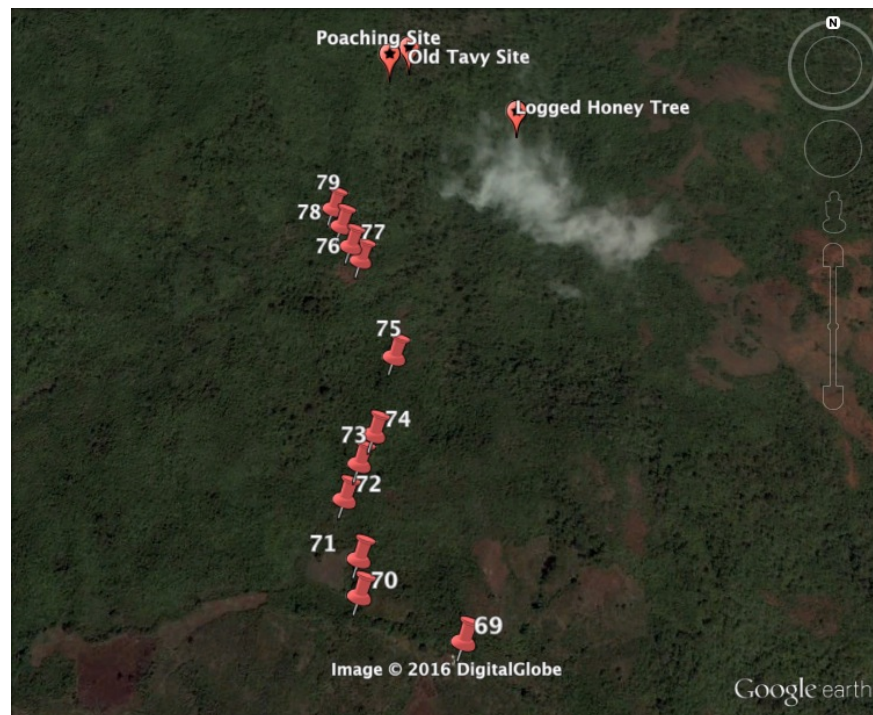
These realities were not hidden from me as an outsider walking into Sahamalaza. I did not have to strenuously investigate to see that the park was largely failing to protect one of its key species and conduct research on the impacts of the reserve on this lemur population. The fact that I encountered these circumstances after one brief research trip was concerning. Conjecture would imply that if the management and monitoring of this park remains unchanged, there is a high risk of a rapid decline in the population of the Blue-eyed black lemur, and other species of wildlife.

A concession in favor of MNP's supervision of this parcel was that there was little evidence of selective logging, forest clearing or burning inside the parcel. The UNESCO assessment corroborate this statement, and show a reduction in logging since 1910. The graphic shows that there was a reduction in mangrove stumps from 1,910 stumps in 2007, to 981 in 2011 (Figure 8 in appendix) ("AfriMAB," 2014, p. 194). There were some clearings on the transect walk, but it could not be conclusively determined how they manifested. Additionally, from the key stakeholder interviews, it seemed that the MNP office is understaffed which would make it difficult for them to effectively monitor and enforce the regulations of SIRBR to the capacity

that is necessary for its success. The key stakeholder interviews also indicated that this was the design of the park to be run by a small staff. Perhaps this is an ineffective method of management.

6. Transect walk in Anabohazo (PRA)

Map 5 (below) depicts the path of the transect walk conducted in the Anabohazo parcel. The transect walk began at the field station, point 69. Point 73 shows the beginning of the buffer zone, and point 75 is the beginning of the core area. The other points are locations where certain ecological disturbances were noted, or significant changes in the landscape. It includes an old *tavy* (slash-and-burn) site, the poached lemurs site, and a site where a tree was chopped down for foraging honey.



Map 1: Disturbance transect walk through the Anabohazo parcel. Source: Google Earth

The transect walk showed that the different zones were unfortunately poorly marked. Anyone could walk right into the protected area and have no idea. There were some trees marked with red spray paint on the trail, but no signage indicating which zone you are entering or

leaving, and what are the rules or regulations for this zone. There was one written sign that said *Ala Fady*, that translates to “forbidden forest”. However, the participatory map (photo 2) actually indicates that this sign is on the boundary of the buffer zone (limited use zone) and not actually the core area. When looking for the signage on the hike up to the Anabohazo parcel, there were several areas with red spray paint, but my guides indicated that they were not the zone indicators. How can local communities be asked to respect boundaries that they genuinely may not be aware of? This is a simple step that MNP, CLB, CLP and the SIRBR have failed to do effectively, but could fix rather easily.

The next section will give an analysis of what these findings mean and how this fits into the larger discourse on conservation in Madagascar and the developing world more generally.

Analysis

The next section will scale the analysis of these findings to a more global level, investigating the impacts of the SIRBR on the environment and people, and applying the findings from this study to a broader analysis. In this analysis, I also hope to touch on the impacts of colonial legacies, as well as how current political structures contributed to my results. There is a lack of research on the impacts of the SIRBR, but from this short investigation, the question of “if the SIRBR is actually effective in achieving both conservation goals and community development?” sparked a thought-provoking analysis.

1. Alienation of the Biggest Resource

While the BR appears to have been participatory during its conception, interviews revealed that there have been actions on the behalf of the park that have been perceived as unprecedented. Communities felt that changes in the park boundaries impacted their daily lives and their access to livelihood resources. Throughout the survey, the statement that the boundaries

of the reserve have been expanding in an unanticipated manner became pervasive. The participants emphasized that this was done without their consent, participation or even knowledge. Encroaching boundaries further stresses the communities in terms of their ability to support their families through access to land for cultivation and natural resources. Due to the lack of consent and participation described above, the risk of alienating local communities from the decision-making process is high. This would take away a level of ownership and control that the conditions of the BR mandate, and may impact community adherence to reserve rules.

Discontent associated with the alleged movement of the boundaries of the protected area, and its encroachment on community land, became a major theme throughout the survey. Whether or not it was true, the perceived expansion of the boundaries was felt as an affront to the communities who had initially felt involved in the process. There was a general recognition that SIRBR has not created much (if any) strides in community development like access to healthcare and education infrastructure. Both of these trends should signal a warning. If MNP and SIRBR are not cognizant of the implications of the unfulfilled promises made to the community, they risk alienating them from the entire process.

Nadine Fritz-Vietta, one of the few researchers who has conducted research in SIRBR explains that “development programs and interventions of MNP and other actors such as SAGE and AEECL play an important role...however, their activities need to be well coordinated in order to prevent frustration. In 2007, WCS and AEECL initiated many activities in Sahamalaza that subsequently had to be terminated. As a consequence, the local people became disillusioned and returned to their old habits” (Fritz-Vietta et al., 2009). Arguably, this failure and other missteps could completely derail the attempts at conservation that SIRBR is meant to achieve. The local communities realize that there is no monitoring or consistent enforcement by the

authorities. Also, they don't necessarily feel empowered to do the monitoring themselves as the MNP officials articulated they were supposed to. If the communities become estranged from the decision-making process, and the promises for community development are squandered, they may no longer respect these rules. Understandably, it would be more beneficial in the short term for local communities to continue to use the forests for livelihoods resources because there is a lack of an alternative, rather than for them to not use them and wait for indirect benefits only their grandchildren will receive.

2. Failed Communication and Promises

The general failure of communication by MNP in articulating the main mission and objectives of the BR were clear after talking with survey participants. Comparing the community's understanding of the goals and objectives of the BR to that of the key stakeholders, a fraction of that breadth of knowledge has truly transferred to the communities. This could be labeled as a "telephone effect" where the relaying of information has left out the key principles.

Perhaps more cynically, it could be that the authorities did not articulate for whatever reason that the local communities are supposed to receive support from the creation of the reserve. Officials would be saving both time and resources by not implementing community development activities. In Betsimpoaka, the households interviewed barely mentioned that the community was supposed to receive development programs. From the results of the household surveys, the respondents knew that the community was supposed to benefit from the BR, but not in the ways laid out in the mission of BRs. Most said that the benefits would be for the future generations to have access to these same resources. This is true, but biosphere reserves are also supposed to provide community development programs to reduce dependence on the forest

resources.⁵ It was evident that these objectives have not been met and that the SIRBR is having trouble producing these intended benefits for the communities.

During the structured survey, respondents were asked if they had received any public goods from the government or in association with the creation of the BR. Only 24% of the respondents said yes, they received some form of aid or assistance, such as building wells. However, some of this assistance came from NGOs (like AEECL) or other associations not necessarily working with the BR. Conversely, 75% of the respondents said that they did not receive any aid or assistance from the BR. The basic mission of the BR is to provide programming and community development initiatives to supplement the lack of access to natural resources in the protected core areas of the BR.

Promising something such as improved rainfall may be true in a century, but what about the easier and more realistic benefits in community development? When asked, respondents mentioned the need and desire for schools, infrastructure and healthcare. None of that has been produced by the BR management, and there was an air of discontent by the local communities at the failure of the BR to provide these intended benefits. Interviews in Ambinda made this more evident because participants mentioned the promise of community development, while there was barely any mention of that in Betsimpoaka and the satellite villages. My conversations in Ambinda were a bit more fruitful, which also raised the question of underdevelopment of remote areas to comparatively accessible locations. There is a road to Ambinda, but Betsimpoaka is only accessible by boat or by foot.

The question turns into; “is this mutually beneficial or mutually detrimental?”

⁵ “MAB combines the natural and social sciences, economics and education to improve human livelihoods and the equitable sharing of benefits, and to safeguard natural and managed ecosystems, thus promoting innovative approaches to economic development that are socially and culturally appropriate, and environmentally sustainable” (“AfriMAB,” 2014).

There is not much quantifiable evidence for the success of conservation programs in promoting ecosystem health and economic opportunities of impacted communities (Ferraro, 2002). In many ways, NGOs, foreign and donor aid contributors and non-state actors contradict their entire mission of community-based conservation by delegitimizing rural peasants and controlling who benefits from conservation policies (Corson, 2011). This may become the reality in Sahamalaza, and in developing nations more generally, because the evidence for broad-based benefits across the entire community is scarce (Buckley, 2009; Ferraro, 2002). According to the MNP officials I interviewed, the park was creating some successful programming. But to the individuals living near the BR that I spoke with, the park was not as successful. As I explained above in the UN report on SIRBR, MNP counted the creation of committees as being a success, but for the people living adjacent to the BR, that was not truly a signal of success. Success would have included tangible benefits for the communities participating in the BR—perhaps in the form of reasonable access to protected areas (not shrinking access), creation of healthcare and educational infrastructure and access to new economic resources.

Where does this external power come from? Actors promoting this form of conservation are able to gain legitimacy through their status as specialists in this field who are backed by science and experience. They are able to justify their work through scientific reasoning but sometimes disregard that some of their “scientific decisions” are built on misconceptions of the degraded environment and direct relationship with the local communities use of the forest (Kull, 2000). From what researchers have seen in Madagascar, the primary beneficiaries of biodiversity conservation are the Malagasy state, donor institutions and the country’s professional elite as described in the background chapter (Horning, 2008).

There is, however, a dearth in research done on the effectiveness of community based conservation, but many academics write that the majority of these environmental policies organized by outside actors disenfranchise local communities and take away some of their agency and ability to provide for themselves. A key concession in this evaluation is that it is not yet possible to determine the overall net environmental impact for CBNRM or CBC as a whole. Part of this is because there is not a clear mechanism in place for evaluating impact. One barrier is lack of accountability because there are no generally accepted guidelines or protocols to quantify and compare environmental costs and benefits of community-based conservation.

3. Shrinking Africa's Rural Poor

Another core motif introduced by Redford and Sanderson is the realities of placing the pressure of global conservation efforts on vulnerable and relatively powerless (in the global spectrum) rural communities. It is unfeasible to ask for Madagascar's rural poor to be the ones to solely change their behavior in order to ameliorate the massive climate change trends perpetuated by industrialized nations. Critical to my findings, Redford and Sanderson argue that not only is it unfair to expect the rural poor to shoulder the burden of stopping climate change economically, politically and socially, it is extremely dangerous (Redford & Sanderson, 2000). I would add that it is built on the denial amongst Western countries, and becomes a way for them to extradite their own problems somewhere else. In Sahamalaza, the strain and the demands of this effort is being placed on the most vulnerable populations in a country where the state is too weak to offset these demands (Horning, 2008). The mission of the BR is based on collaboration with the local communities, but when that is not met with adequate monitoring, enforcement, sharing of benefits and community development, they are the ones who give up the most and struggle the most. This is parallel with other conservation movements in Africa where the local

communities pay the most, for the benefit of the elite and foreign interests (Akama, 2004; Songorwa, 1999).

Globalization and colonialism also play a huge role in this problem. Environmental policy and conservation efforts in much of the developing world are born out of colonial ideologies that disadvantage indigenous peoples (Akama, 2004). This methodology of conservation is promoting the shrinking of Africa's poor for the benefit of the elite and privileged. In this era of rapidly proliferating CBCVs and BRs, top-down government policies or programs like BR is demanding that the rural poor minimize themselves. This trend fits into a wider criticism of conservation and is an allusion to ethnicism that is a consequence of neocolonialism. This also adds to the narrative of placing the blame for our current climate crisis on the heads of the rural farmers who are "devastating their landscape" (Redford & Sanderson, 2000), instead of rightfully on industry and capitalism instigated by world powers like the United States, China or France. If not checked, this has the potential of developing into policies that push the rural to shrink themselves and limit their livelihood activities in an unsustainable manner.

4. Conservation for Whom? – International Actors and Interests

This study has raised a number of questions, particularly, why have biosphere reserves when there isn't much evidence substantiating the positive environmental impacts or evidence showing the constructive community development? To answer this question, we need to scale out and consider the global actors and the motives for Madagascar to have the recognition for hosting three BRs, and as of 2016, four biosphere reserves. A reason may be that this approach to conservation helps the Malagasy government and international NGOs (INGO) continue the flow of donor aid from abroad and continue a system of strong support for weak performance

(Horning, 2008). For the state of Madagascar, maintaining parks like SIRBR and Mananara-Nord shows that Madagascar is making strides in achieving its environmental promises put forth by former President Ravalomanana and the Durban vision (Virah-Sawmy, Gardner, & Ratsifandrihamanana, 2014). This is closely correlated with the underlying historical context and the role that new conservation policies play and that I outlined in the background chapter. If INGOs continue this flow of path dependence, how can society make new strides in conservation without mimicking the colonial legacy? Whether intentional or not, people continue to resist this type of neocolonialization. The dead lemurs and could be an example amongst other forms of resistance.

Conclusion

More conclusive data are needed to assess the effects of conservation programs on the natural environment and people, but for many academics, negative or null affects are the main outcome of ecotourism and other conservation efforts. According to Horning, policies continue regardless of their effectiveness because donors, government and non-governmental staff benefit directly from their continuation. Thus, money flows into the country, but there is little evidence to show how effective it is at protecting the environment and serving the interests of the people. In some sense, in my attempt to unpack the single story of Madagascar I have discovered another single story. This story is one of continued intervention by European ideals of conservation, nature, wildlife, and the human experience with these concepts in Madagascar's environment creating a history of path dependence.

Chapter VIII: Conclusion

The movement for conservation in Kenya and Madagascar continues to evolve and change. There is a lot to be learned from the evolution in approaches to conservation, from the conceptual understandings of nature, to the concrete policies that govern land management. In both case studies, there is clear evidence of attempts to create participatory and community-based efforts at conservation and community development. However, it has also come with many challenges, and repercussions. In the two cases I examined, I had major concerns about the projects at the conceptual and implementation level.

Some of these challenges stem from misinformation, colonial history, continued political and institutional weaknesses, and mixed motivations from powerful domestic and foreign actors. In this thesis, I have identified some of the impacts of the mixing of all these different interest groups looks like at the grassroots level. In both countries, the approaches in Kenya and Madagascar overlapped with each other. In Kenya, community-based conservancies have been promoted as the best policy to solve a large array of problems including security, wildlife management, and overgrazing. In Madagascar, the biosphere reserve was disseminated as an effort to relieve the demand on natural resources and create new economic opportunities to offset these losses. However, the reality of these goals has not quite come to fruition. In my research, I identified many concerning trends and failures in this approach to conservation, both ecologically and socially. There were many red flags, unfavorable discoveries, and unanswered questions.

Looking forward, there is a need for further research in this area of community-based conservation. Not only in Kenya and Madagascar, but all over the world. As I have emphasized throughout this thesis, this approach to conservation is proliferating, and needs comprehensive

study to understand the potential outcomes of this effort. The lack of data to support these projects is startling considering their widespread acceptance and promotion, and to ensure that we as a society are creating the most impactful and thoughtful change, we must be more diligent.

Despite all this, I remain hopeful because of the resilience and fortitude of the people I encountered, and the importance of stories. Both the Samburu and Sakalava remained invested in the essential project of protecting their homelands for the future generations, and themselves. Even through trial and tribulation, both peoples were optimistic and spoke of the intrinsic value of their land, and their knowledge of the many forces that at times oppose them. I believe that we still have much to learn about conservation, nature and community. Perhaps it is time we begin to invest in authentic community-based efforts at conservation.

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Appendix

Table 1. Financial contributions to EP1, EP2, and EP3

Contributors	Contribution (US\$ million)		
	EP1 ³⁷	EP2 ³⁸	EP3 ³⁹
World Bank (IDA)	26	30	35
Global Environment Facility	-	20.8	8
International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)	-	8.1	-
UN Development Programme (UNDP)	-	-	4
Government of Madagascar	17.1	31	10
USAID	-	-	35
Norway	3.8	-	-
German KfW	-	-	20
Other donors ⁴⁰	38.1	49.6	6.4
On-going donor-supported projects	-	15.5	-
Total cost	85	155	118.4 ⁴¹
Actual financing	90-95 ⁴²	N/A	N/A

Sources: World Bank, 'Implementation completion report: Republic of Madagascar Environmental Program (Cr. 2125 MAG)' (15 January 1998); UN 2002 cited in Stefan Lindemann, 'Madagascar case study: analysis of national strategies for sustainable development' (unedited working paper) available at <http://www.iisd.org/pdf/2004/measure_sdsip_madagascar.pdf> (2004), p. 9.

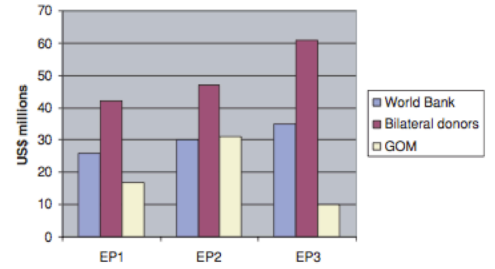


Figure 2. Financial contributions to NEAP. Sources: Global Environment Facility, 'Madagascar Second Environment Program' (Project document, November 1996); World Bank, 'Implementation completion report: Republic of Madagascar Environmental Program (Cr. 2125 MAG', 15 January 1998); Interview, Jean Roger Rakotoarijaona.

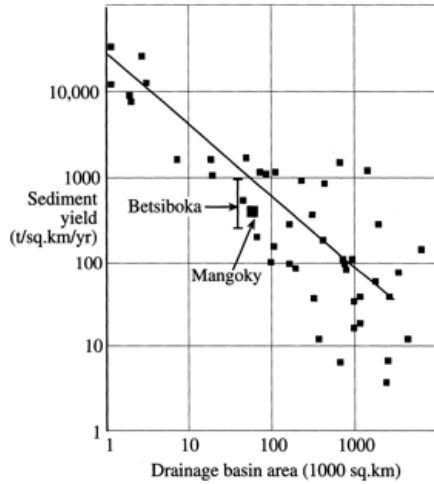


FIGURE 3. A comparison of Madagascar's sediment-clogged rivers with global rivers shows that they are nothing out of the ordinary. Graph plots sediment yields and drainage basin areas for all major sediment-discharging rivers (greater than 10 million t/yr). The Mangoky River drains 55,750 km², and deposits 19-20 million t/yr. The Betsiboka River drains 49,000 km² and deposits between 15-50 million t/yr (Randrianarijaona 1983; Paulian 1984; Ritter 1986: 195).

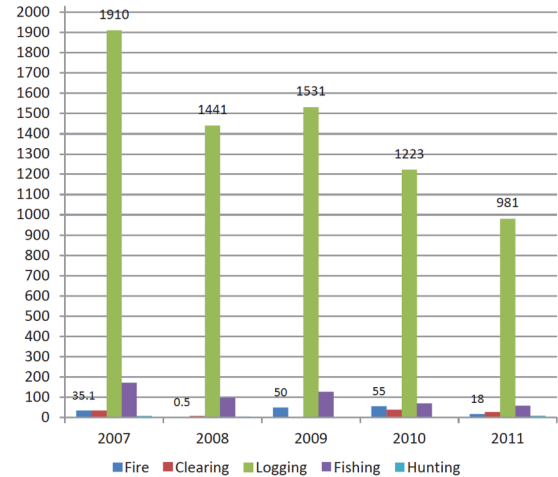


Figure 8: Annual progression of pressures

Acronyms

AEECL—*Association Euroéenne pour l'Etude et la Conservation des Lémurien*
ANAE—*Agroécologie et Développement Local Protection de l'Environnement et Développement Rural*
ANGAP—*L'Association Nationale pour la Gestion des Aires Protégées*
CBC—Community-based conservation
CBCV—Community-based conservancies
CBNRM—Community-based natural resource management
CI—Conservation International
CLB/COBA—*Communauté Locale de Base*
CLP—*Comité Locale de Parc*
COSAP—*Comité d'Orientation et de Soutien a l'Aire Protégé*
GELOSE—*Gestion Locale Sécurisée*
ONE— *Office National pour l'Environnement*
PRA—Participatory rural appraisal
SAGE—*Service d'Appui a la Gestion de L'Environnement*
UNESCO – United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WCS – Wildlife Conservation Society
NEAP – National Environmental Action Plan
NGO—Non-governmental Organization

Malagasy Words

fady – taboo or prohibited by local tradition
fokontany – smallest administrative division, corresponds to a group of villages
tavy – traditional agricultural practice in which land is cleared by cutting and burning undergrowth to provide soil nutrients for the next crop
vazaha – foreigner, non-native
dina—local law

Samburu Words

Enkai—Samburu higher power or God
Lokop—Samburu people, “of the Earth”
Pankerra—sheep-giver
Pakine—goat-giver
Sotwa—herding stick, umbilical cord
Sotwatin—kinship relationship, friendship, someone who you’ve exchanged livestock with