

The Political Ecology of Conservation

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Masoala National Park

- 4265 km² forest (to 1200m)
- 1990 ICDP: park & wider CBNRM
- 1993 survey
 - GIS, satellite imagery, ground survey
 - biological inventory,
 - timber
 - human settlement & resource use,

People in Masoala National Park

- National Park 211,230ha, (Madagascar's largest PA)
- 97% 'primary forest'
- 259 permanent villages (6500 people)
- 190 temporary villages
- Few people had permits to reside or cut wood
- Park proposal developed 'in consultation with people at local and national levels' to ensure support.
 - 'Villagers never evicted from lands they had settled, despite their lack of legal tenure unless social norms permitted eviction' (those on road corridors no, those doing 'slash and burn' yes)
- [Kremen, C. et al. (1999) *Conservation Biology* 13: 1055-1068].

The Politics of Conservation: Offham Valley SSSI, Lewes

- Ploughing of downland 1997
- Land occupation (FoE Earth First! and other local people)
- 'Turf turning'
- Secretary of State signed Section 29 Order
- Second campaign 1998 on Offam Valley marshland

The Political Ecology of Conservation

- Conservation is
 - Never other than social
 - Never other than political

- Material politics: costs and benefits of conservation
- The politics of knowledge: ideas of nature
- The political ecology of shared landscapes

Costs of conservation

- Neighbour costs
 - Crop raiding by wild animals
 - Physical attack by wild animals
 - Harrassment from Park staff
- Opportunity costs
 - Global value of land set aside \$5 billion/yr
 - e.g. Kenya: 60,000 km² costs \$270 million/yr
- Population displacement
 - Lost homes, land or resources
 - Lost opportunity for future use of land or resources
 - Loss of non-use values (e.g. religious, cultural)

Sharing costs and benefits of conservation

Pro-poor Conservation

- ‘Poor people should not pay the price for biodiversity protection’ (Dilys Roe and Joanna Elliott, 2004, *Oryx* 38: 137-9)
- ‘For hundreds of millions of people, biodiversity is about eating, staying healthy, and finding shelter. Meeting these people’s basic needs should receive greater priority in the conservation agenda’
 - Kaimowitz, D. and Sheil, D. (2007) Conserving what and for whom? Why conservation should help meet basic human needs in the tropics. *Biotropica*, **39**, 567-574.

Conservation and Development

- Sustainable Development (World Conservation Strategy 1980)
- Increasing benefits of conservation: integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs)
- Conservation doubts: Effective? Cost-effective?
- ‘excessive emphasis on development can lead to a de-emphasis of conservation goals to the extent that they are no longer seriously addressed’ John Oates (1999)
- ‘In its new incarnation, poverty alleviation has largely subsumed or supplanted conservation. This trend has gone largely unnoticed, but poses a significant threat to conservation objectives’ (Steven Sanderson and Kent Redford, 2003, *Oryx* 37: 389-90)

Sharing Benefits of Parks

- World Congresses on National Parks and Protected Areas, 3rd Bali 1982, 4th Caracas 1992, 5th Durban 2003.
- ‘Perhaps the greatest challenge of all is to change the way we think about protected areas. In the past they have been seen as islands of protection in an ocean of destruction. We need to learn to look on them as the building blocks of biodiversity in an ocean of sustainable human development, with their benefits extending far beyond their physical boundaries’
– ‘Achim Steiner *New Scientist* 18 October 2003, p.21

- Mgahinga Gorilla National Park, Uganda
- Created in 1991 (3,400 ha)
- 262 households lost land (113 houses, 2 bars, 4 stores and a church)
- USAID paid US\$27 per person for physical structures and permanent crops and trees, but not land

Gorilla

Tourism

- 1994 UNP revenue-sharing programme.
- One group of habituated gorillas visits Mgahinga from DRC and Rwanda; six people can visit them per day.
- 1100 tourists at Mgahinga in 1996 generated US\$140,000 in revenue.
- US\$. 5m shared by 1998 (construction of classrooms for primary schools).

But who is on the Gorilla’s payroll? Adams and Infield 2003

- Those who once owned farmland in the park
- Those who actually *farmed* in the park
- The poor in the District as a whole (*via* the District Council)
- Other National Parks in Uganda (or *their* neighbours)
- Uganda Wildlife Authority (to meet of conservation to the state)
- Parks, Wildlife Authorities or park neighbours in Rwanda and DRC?
- The tour companies?

Community-based conservation

- ‘Conservation will either contribute to solving the problems of the world’s poor who live day to day with wild animals, or those animals will disappear’
• Adams J.S. and McShane T.O. (1992) *The Myth of Wild Africa: conservation*

without illusion.

- ‘CBC has to date not been tried and found wanting; it has been found difficult and rarely tried’
 - Marshall Murphree (2000) ‘Community-based conservation: the new myth?’, unpublished paper to Conference on African Wildlife Management in the New Millennium, Mweka. December 2000.

Direct Payments

- ‘investments aimed at making payments that are conditional on conservation performance are likely to be far more cost-effective than the currently popular indirect approaches to conservation investment’ (Paul Ferraro, SCB 2002)
 - Ferraro, P.J. and Kiss, A. 2002. Direct Payments to Conserve Biodiversity. *Science* 298: 1718-1719.

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USA: Making wilderness

National Parks

- Yosemite Valley cleared in 1852 by the army.
- Yellowstone
 - ‘Sioux Wars’ of 1876-7.
 - US Army garrison 1886 -1918.
- 1918 National Park Service
 - military model
 - former soldiers in service as rangers

Wilderness Africa

- ‘Unspoiled Eden’ (Anderson and Grove, 1987, p. 4),

- ‘A lost Eden in need of protection and preservation’ (Neumann, 1998, p. 80)
- What place for African people in the wilderness?
- ‘Human life and the wild life must be separated permanently and completely. So long as man and animals live together there will be trouble’ (Richard Hingston, 1931)

Selous Game Reserve, Tanzania (Roderick Neumann 2004)

- 40,000 people relocated
- ‘Selous ... had to be created before it could be protected’ (p. 212)
- Liwale District, Tanganyika
 - 1933 scheme to drive elephants West into Selous and move farmers East
 - ‘control to be intensified in the East and abandoned in the West, to try and force the natives in the West to come into country where they could be protected’ (p. 207)

Wilderness and Conservation Displacement: Mkomazi Tanzania

- Mkomazi: Maasai cleared from the reserve 1988 ‘making it 'wilderness' for the first time, because of conservation planners' fears of the people, and their present and unknown future impact’ (Brockington and Homewood 1996, p.104)
 - Dan Brockington (2002) *Fortress Conservation: the preservation of the Mkomazi Game Reserve, Tanzania*, James Currey, Oxford

Wilderness in the Conservation Imagination

- *Wilderness: Earth's Last Wild Places* (2002, Conservation International)

Science and Biodiversity Crisis

- Conservation Planning
 - Peter Brosius ‘new hubs of conservation biogeography’ (Latour’s ‘centers of calculation’) to undertake science and translate science into policy (Brosius, 2004).
- Spatial technologies
 - ‘specimens, maps, diagrams, logs, questionnaires and paper forms of all sorts are accumulated and are used by scientists and engineers to escalate the proof race (Latour 1987, p. 232).
 - ‘the tiny number of scientists is more than balanced by the large number of resources they

are able to muster' (Latour 1987, p. 232).

The Idea of Nature

- 'Wilderness settles peace on the soul because it needs no help; it is beyond human contrivance'.
 - Edward Wilson (1992) *The Diversity of Life*, Harvard University Press, p. 335.

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Building Capacity to Alleviate Human-Elephant Conflict in

North Kenya

- Elephant movement
 - Early warning
 - Community-based elephant deterrence
 - Livelihoods, training and education
-
- Funding: Darwin Initiative, UK

The Politics of Land in Laikipia

- *Moving the Maasai* (Lotte Hughes, 2006)
- Anglo-Maasai treaties 1904 and 1911.
- 1911 moved Maasai out of Laikipia

Identities and Rights

- Pastoral identity:
 - Who are the 'Laikipiak Maasai'
 - Mukogodo Maasai (Cronk)
 - Pokot; Samburu

- National Identity
 - Old ranchers: Lewa, Borana, Suyian
 - New ranchers: Kenyan elite; foreign owners
 - Trusts
- Electoral politics
 - Smallholders (Kikuyu): owners; occupiers

Private Conservation

- NGO / donor land purchase:
 - WWF, TNC, FFI, WCS, Arcadia Fund
- Conservation Trusts:
 - Ol Pejeta, Lewa; Laikipia Nature Conservancy
- Private/community partnerships:
 - Community Conservancies e.g. Il Ngwezi

The Political Ecology of Conservation

- Whose land?
 - Pastoral identity
 - Smallholder farmers
 - Large farm/ranch owners
- What is wildlife for?
 - biodiversity, resource pest)
 - Resource: game viewing? hunting?
 - Pestlephants and crop raiding
- The Politics of knowledge
 - Data, maps,
 - Categories
 - Actors