

# **THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEGRADATION AND IMPOVERISHMENT:**

*Neocolonialism and the Crisis of People  
and the Environment in East Africa*



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## **Abstract**

This thesis focuses on a consideration of the issues of conservation, sustainable development, and environmental management in the East Africa Region - primarily in the East African nations of Kenya and Tanzania - within the larger sociocultural and political framework of the complex diversity of interactions between people and the environment at the international, national, and local levels. In particular, this study examines the power dynamics that have historically characterized issues of human and environmental management, sustainability, and development in East Africa, by focusing on global capitalist and colonial factors, community oppression and resistance, gender domination, and the geographical context of the physical, social, and ideological realms in East Africa. In stressing the exploitation and domination inherent in conservation strategies and development policies in East Africa, this thesis is intended to demonstrate not only that human impoverishment and inequality are inseparably linked with environmental degradation and crises in East Africa, but also that economic wealth, overdevelopment, and dominance in "the North" (primarily Europe and America) are directly connected to this continuing degradation in "the South." This thesis suggests that these power dynamics must be addressed directly if environmental and human sustainability are to emerge, and if ecological and social degradation and crises of epic proportions are to be avoided in East Africa and globally.

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## INTRODUCTION:

### The Development of Degradation

## and Impoverishment



Exploring East Africa as a student last spring, I was overcome by the beauty and the vitality of the region. The East African countries of Kenya and Tanzania contain nearly 1500 species of birds and hundreds of species of mammals, and are renowned for some of the greatest concentrations of large, mammalian species in the world. Traveling through East Africa, I saw vast biodiversity of flora and fauna, ecosystems ranging from coastal rainforests to semi-arid deserts to alpine moorlands. I also witnessed the immense, rolling plains of savanna and acacia woodlands, which contain the Olduvai Gorge in the Serengeti plains of Tanzania, internationally recognized as the cradle of hominid origins. A vast diversity of cultural groups ranging from pastoralists to intensive agriculturalists have lived in East Africa for thousands of years. My time in East Africa clearly impressed upon me the human and environmental richness that has historically thrived in the region.

Exploring East Africa as a student last spring, I was also overcome by the horrible impoverishment and degradation in the region. Soil erosion, wildlife poaching, desertification, deforestation, toxic dumping, industrial pollution, poisoning of coastal waters, and siltation of rivers have been adversely affecting East Africa throughout Kenya and Tanzania on a massive scale. In both urban and rural areas, I witnessed severe human degradation. As human populations continue to skyrocket in Kenya and Tanzania and the majority are denied adequate health care, education, housing, access to resources, and access to the empowerment of their own lives, the social and natural environment in urban and especially rural East Africa continues to worsen. Notwithstanding the "great human and natural resources [in the region], Africa is in crisis" (Veit et al., 1995: 2). The degradation of people and of the environment in Kenya and Tanzania exemplify this crisis situation.

The magnitude of this crisis in East Africa truly impressed upon me the importance of the complex geography of the region. The geography of the East Africa Region is a complex tapestry of social and ecological structures that includes within its weave the slum life and the foreign ownership of resources within the urban centers; the impoverishment and marginalization of rural communities; the agricultural expansion and settlement of an increasing human population; the urban migration of an increasing population of rural males; the ineffectiveness of conservation strategies designed by international organizations and elitist national governments; the gender domination of women that prevents them from owning property; the colonial and

capitalist domination of East Africa throughout the last century of its history; and the increasing degradation of the environment throughout the region. None of these phenomena in Kenya and Tanzania are separate issues, but rather are part of a greater context of power dynamics, of people interacting with the environment on a number of levels, with a number of ideological frameworks and intentions. East Africa is in a state of human and environmental crisis today, and within the context of this degradation and impoverishment lies a sociohistorical framework of exploitation, "development," and domination that must be critically examined, revealed, and deconstructed.

I began to consider the complexity of the dynamic between human impoverishment and environmental degradation in East Africa by exploring conservation policies and sustainable development strategies in Kenya and Tanzania, during the 4 months I spent in the region. Land management, environmental protection, and sustainable development in East Africa have been significant forces in Kenya and Tanzania, especially because tourism (primarily eco-tourism) and the export of cash crops have been the main GNP earners for the country in the context of a global economy. This socioeconomic context is important because it reflects the political, economic, and social power that has been wielded in the East Africa Region historically by the British and by the U.S. In this sense, land management and conservation in East Africa are especially significant because they reveal a greater context of power dynamics that Kenya and Tanzania continue to be involved in at international, national, and local levels. Even as I focused on studying the efficacy and limitations of national parks, reserves, and community-based conservation areas in East Africa, it became clear that conservation exists as one thread within the context of a much larger weave of sociocultural interactions and issues of domination and exploitation in the East African geographical, socioeconomic, and political space.



Because Kenya and Tanzania are relatively resource-poor in terms of minerals, fossil fuels, and marine flora and fauna, they depend heavily upon the resources of the land for capital and for the economic and cultural survival of their people. Together, Kenya and Tanzania have about 15 per cent of the countries' space set aside for parks and game reserves, and much of the rest is dependent on intensive agricultural and grazing activities to maintain the livelihood of East African peoples. Within the context of this dynamic of land use and management, the history of colonial domination and of postcolonial, capitalist control of East Africa's resources have continued to significantly shape the interactions between people and the environment; this social

and economic partitioning of the land, of the resources, and of the people, is part of an oppressive imperialist legacy of colonial and capitalist involvement in East Africa that continues to be directly responsible for the environmental degradation, the human impoverishment, and the underdevelopment of Kenya and Tanzania within the world economy.

Based on my studies of land management and sustainable development in East Africa, my experience of the East African geography on physical, socioeconomic, political, and cultural levels, and my subsequent, critical analysis of works dealing with and related to the subject, upon my return to America, it is the position of this thesis that the ecological and human crisis in East Africa is directly related to a continuing system of imperialist domination and control guided by development and conservation strategies that preserve the oppressive, dependency relationships between the "North" and "South" globally, between the elitist state and the people nationally, and between cultural groups and men and women locally. Through the course of this thesis I hope to demonstrate that the power dynamics that have fundamentally shaped the history and the geography of the East Africa Region have created and perpetuated the crisis situation of impoverishment and degradation in Kenya and Tanzania today; only by actively addressing this complex system of power dynamics and of systems of domination can truly liberating conservation and development efforts emerge in East Africa and worldwide.

### **Tracing the Dynamics of Domination and Degradation**

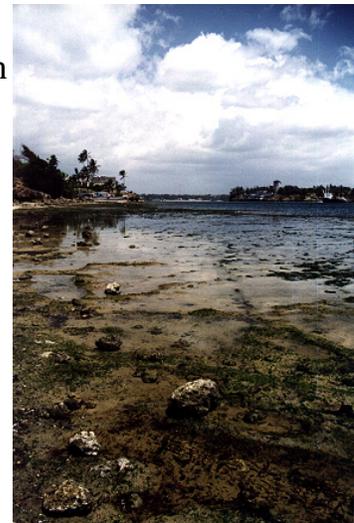


The vast complexity of the issues being addressed in this thesis makes a completely linear presentation difficult. This is made even more challenging by the interaction between the dominant issues being considered in this study; we cannot separate the power dynamics of domination and imperialist control of East Africa from their historicity (or vice versa), the ideological systems of the "North" and "South" from socioeconomic, political, and historical considerations, and conservation strategies from the people involved in or marginalized from their implementation. To a certain extent, discussing the threads in the weave of East African geography individually and narrowly is not even desirable, because this type of focused discussion takes the issues of power, domination, resistance, degradation, impoverishment, conservation and development strategies, ideological systems, history, etc. out of a real, living

context in which all of these issues actively affect each other. For this reason, this thesis has been structured to include both "traditional" and "nontraditional" approaches to the presentation of information. Although all of the chapters in this study will contain "traditional" and "nontraditional" elements (referring to an expository, linear, written approach for the former, and an exploratory, less linear, and graphic approach for the latter), the first 5 chapters will be primarily "traditional" in approach and the last 5 chapters will be more "nontraditional" in approach.

"Chapter 1: Research Methods," examines briefly the methods, research techniques, and experiences that combined to make this thesis possible. Based on my experiences in East Africa and on an extensive study and analysis of literary and academic works, this section considers the limitations of the methodology behind this thesis, and the consequences for the study itself. "Chapter 2: Literary Framework & Review," discusses the importance of the literary resources for shaping the direction and conclusions of this study, by considering the literary framework of this thesis based on their particular focuses as historical, ideological, sociopolitical, cultural, and theoretical texts. Because of the nature of this thesis, many of the texts focus on a number of issues, and this is considered in reviewing the texts. The importance of the texts in structuring particular sections and in shaping many of my conclusions, and the limitations of the literary framework, are also considered.

The historical context of East Africa is central to an understanding of the power dynamics inherent in conservation and development strategies in the region and the interconnection between the impoverishment and degradation of "the South" and the socioeconomic and political domination of "the North" within the context of these dynamics. All of the chapters address the historicity of domination, oppression, and resource management in Kenya and Tanzania to a certain extent. Chapters 3-5 focus on the historical context, presenting a linear, "traditional" account of conservation, sustainability, land management, and human interrelationships within the framework of the precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial eras, to demonstrate ways in which the sociopolitical, ecological, and cultural geography of the East Africa Region have been profoundly affected by the interactions between people and the environment in each period. By considering the resource policies, the dominant ethical and ideological models, the conservation successes and failures, and factors such as human population densities, resource availability and accessibility in each era, this thesis is intended to reveal the development of power dynamics, forms of resource utilization, human interactions, and development strategies during the colonial and



postcolonial periods that have proven increasingly destructive, degrading, and disempowering for East Africa's social and biological vitality.

Chapters 6 through the Conclusion reconsider the historical context of East African conservation, degradation, development, and impoverishment by approaching the issues from a "nontraditional" perspective of photographic images, objects, and events based in the modern, postcolonial period of "reality," combined with my experience of this reality last spring, followed by a tracing of these objects, events, and images to their sources in relation to Kenyan and Tanzanian history, power dynamics, and geography. The intention here is that a "commodity chain" of sorts will link moments from the present to the past, demonstrating the interacting and underlying forces at work that continue to tie together Third World poverty, underdevelopment, and degradation in East Africa to the wealth, overdevelopment, and increasing environmental crises in Europe and America. Chapter 6 proceeds from a consideration of the linkages that exist between domination and inequality on international, national, and local levels by focusing on the complexities of the ivory trade in Africa that was banned internationally in 1989. Chapter 7 offers a more in-depth consideration of power dynamics and control in relation to conservation and development strategies on the international and local levels (in the context of neoimperialism and dependency issues reflected in the involvement of NGOs in East African development projects).

Chapters 6-7 combine a study of power dynamics at the international and local levels with a more general, theoretical questioning of the sustainability of capitalist exploitation and degradation of human and environmental resources in the long-term, especially given its historic record in the context of East African dependency, underdevelopment, and environmental deterioration. Chapter 7 and the Conclusion follow up on this questioning of the long-term sustainability of capitalism in East Africa by considering the potential for alternative conservation and development strategies on the local, community-based level, and the strengths and limitations of these possibilities. The Conclusion section draws together the information presented through the course of this study and stresses the need for a significant reassessment of the capacity of a global capitalist economy to provide a liberating and sustainable model for East Africa and for the "North" and "South" in general. Given the evidence of imperialist power dynamics inherent in East African conservation and development models, socioeconomic and political domination and oppression, local disempowerment and impoverishment, and environmental degradation throughout Kenya, Tanzania, and globally, the Conclusion suggests that massive changes must take place globally in the relationships between the "North" and "South," and in terms of the ways that we respect people and the environment, if unprecedented human and ecological disasters are to be averted worldwide in the near future.

# CHAPTER 1:

## Research Methods

This study considers a wide range of issues characterizing the geographic space of the East Africa Region, including history, ideological and ethical systems, conservation and development policies and strategies, ecological degradation and human impoverishment, gender divisions, sociopolitical structures in East Africa and globally, the international dominance of capitalist economic and cultural models, the sustainability of capitalism, the role of colonialism and neoimperialism in Kenya and Tanzania historically, and the history of dominant forms of resource utilization in East Africa. The broad-based nature of this thesis and the magnitude of the subject create certain limitations from the outset. Given the nature and the scope of this study, an in-depth, critical analysis of all of the issues shaping the realities of the East African geography will be difficult. Therefore, I will concentrate on the connections between degradation, impoverishment, and wealth manifested in the socioeconomic, political, and cultural relationships between "the North" and "the South," namely between Europe and America, and Kenya and Tanzania. My thesis will focus on the interaction between power dynamics and the history of conservation and development in East Africa.

The nature of this study creates other problems as well. Traditionally, the geography of East Africa has been studied on narrowly focused levels of particular cultural and ecological processes. Conservation issues have been approached traditionally from a biological perspective grounded in the natural sciences, while development issues have been approached from political and socioeconomic perspectives. Only in the last 10 years have conservation and development issues, degradation and impoverishment dynamics, people and the environment, been considered together, as they interact with each other in a dynamic relationship in East Africa. The role that international power dynamics and socioeconomic systems of domination play within the context of East African geography - especially in the postcolonial era - has been even less documented. This creates several difficulties for the presentation and material contained within this thesis, including the problem of gathering relevant and applicable information, the establishment of a working theoretical perspective, and the resulting validity of the position of this thesis. These issues will be addressed presently.



This study is based partly on first-hand observations and experiences I had during the 4 months of academic study and independent traveling I spent in East Africa during the spring of 1996. My experiences in Africa relating to this study were recorded in the form of 500 pages of fieldnotes and journal entries, 900 photographs, several personal interviews with individuals involved in community-based conservation strategies and indigenous views of conservation and sustainability in their lives, numerous drawings, a cumulative paper dealing with issues of conservation and development in East Africa, and personal experiences of East Africa in the urban and rural environments and in all of the major ecosystems (savanna, acacia woodlands, desert, coastal tropical and mangrove zones, coral reefs, alpine moorlands, montane forests, etc.). Because I stayed in East Africa for a limited period of time, the firsthand information and experiences I accumulated are only partially effective in validating the broad-based claims and arguments contained within this thesis. However, in the context of this study, my primary information draws on texts dealing with the geography of East Africa on a number of levels. These "texts" include sources I have researched in libraries across the country and internationally, and in bookstores in America and in Kenya and Tanzania. Primarily, these "texts" are taken from academic journals and essay collections, although they also include newspaper articles, book reviews, and promotional information on conservation and development programs. These "texts" also include sources I have researched on the World Wide Web (such as Web pages), and through a number of search engines including ProQuest and CARL Uncover.



For the purpose of this study, my personal experiences in East Africa provide a basis of support for my claims and assumptions by reinforcing the validity of positions and observations made by authors of the "texts;" my personal observations and experiences act more as a reinforcement of textual positions than as the primary source of informational authority. Nevertheless, within the context of the framework of "texts" that help form the basis of my positions and arguments in this study, the validity of my thesis must be considered, because much of the structure of the thesis is based on second- and third-hand sources. The judgments, generalizations, and biases of the authors of the "texts" - including me as an "author" of my experiences and writings in East Africa - make corroboration of my analysis of power dynamics, conservation, development, degradation, and impoverishment in East Africa problematic, especially because issues of power, domination, conservation, and development have not been well-documented or quantified in relation to each other in East Africa. I have attempted to overcome these problematic aspects of the texts, to a certain extent, by

referring to texts which deal with different aspects of East African geography, primarily based on first-hand scientific and sociocultural experiences of the authors. However, even in the case of texts which deal with less direct experiences in East Africa or approach issues of power, conservation, and development from theoretical perspectives, the sources consistently evidence the existence of certain themes within the greater context of East African geography. In addition, some of the texts are based on focused quantitative studies - of tourist visits to national parks and reserves and the capital produced therein, of the distribution of wealth from agricultural activities or from the tourist industry, etc. - and taken together, these can suggest important "facts" about realities within the geographical framework of East Africa. Furthermore, an analysis of certain commodities (such as ivory, wheat, etc.) and of physical events and spacing (of the city, of people in urban and rural areas, etc.) - which is attempted throughout this study - can reveal the existence of certain dynamics played out between people and the environment in the context of power relations, conservation and development strategies, and the existence of degradation, impoverishment, and domination in Kenya and Tanzania. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that in relation to this study - and to a certain extent in relation to any study addressing these subjects on such a broad scale - there are significant limitations that emerge out of the lack of extended, first-hand studies and observations on my part; there is clearly much room for further study and analysis of the geography of East Africa combining a number of perspectives and fields of academic studies, and this thesis can only offer critical analysis of the texts and of my own experiences based on these limitations to the validity of the work as a whole.

Based on my experience of East African geography, power dynamics, and research of conservation and development strategies during the 4 months I lived in Kenya and Tanzania, I began this research project by attempting to establish a working theoretical framework for my thesis. As I mentioned earlier, though, this was made difficult by the broad-based approach of this study to the geography of East Africa, especially because few theorists have considered



global capitalism, power dynamics, neoimperialism, and the interaction of people and the environment in Kenya and Tanzania. However, Marxian analysis of the first and second contradictions of capitalism (and Marx's theories on commodification, circulation, reproduction, and capitalist self-destruction in general), and the work of O'Connors and other recent, "radical" theorists to apply this philosophy to modern conservation and development issues, provided one source of theoretical knowledge shaping the overall framework. In addition, conservation and development strategies

have been analyzed and considered from a number of theoretical positions - such as environmental preservation vs. utilization or state vs. local control of resources - and these help provide a framework for understanding the efficacy of conservation and development programs and how these relate to greater issues of domination and power dynamics on a national and international scale. The work of theorists and social scientists such as Rodney, Davidson, Marcuse, Rawls, Cahn, and Korten (considered in-depth in Chapter 2), help to tie together some of the complex interactions between people and the environment in East Africa and in "North / South" relationships historically.

After compiling a number of theoretical perspectives that reinforce the arguments and conclusions voiced in this work, I began to reanalyze my experiences in East Africa and focus more closely on the process of researching source materials, in the form of texts retrieved primarily in libraries and bookstores, and through electronic servers including the World Wide Web, CARL Uncover, and ProQuest (as discussed earlier). The wealth of research materials that I compiled, and the complexity of the issues connected to East African degradation and impoverishment, convinced me that a purely "traditional" approach to my thesis - as a series of essays or chapters written in a linear, expository approach and presented as a large paper - was not completely adequate to allow for the complex dynamics of the East Africa Region to be fully expressed. I wanted to use a format that would allow me to effectively use photographs, maps, and data charts as graphic aids for the written text of the thesis. I was also interested in presenting my thesis in a way that encouraged the reader to see the connections between various issues and dynamics being considered within the thesis as a whole; I wanted to use a format that expressed clearly the multiple levels of geography in the East African context in relation to power dynamics, conservation, and development issues. For these reasons, I chose to organize and structure my thesis as a World Wide Web document, because this allowed me to make use of graphic aids effectively, and allowed me to create links between particular words, phrases, and ideas in the text so that the reader could more easily make the connection between important issues in the framework of my thesis. I began by writing my thesis as a Mac Word document, and transferred sections of this to "html" documents (while graphic images were transferred to "jpg" and "gif" documents). These were finally linked and compiled together as the whole of my thesis, with introductory pages providing directions and "contents" of the chapters for the reader to investigate. For those readers that prefer the physicality of printed documents, this has also been compiled from my Web documents, as a tangible, bound work for the reader to peruse.

As I acknowledged earlier, the lack of substantial, first-hand experiences of the complex geography of East Africa challenge the authority of this study's conclusions to a certain extent, and it is recognized that further study, analysis, and reinforcement

or refutation of the claims made in this thesis are necessary and desirable to provide further insights into the nature of East African interactions between people and the environment, the local people and the state, the national and the international economies, and dominant social forces (e.g. the importance of degradation, impoverishment, exploitation, and neoimperialism) in Kenya and Tanzania and between the "North" and "South" in general. Nevertheless, many of the texts - and my own experiences - provide a combination of theoretical, qualitative, and quantitative results that tie together a number of factors in the context of East African geography, and raise a number of much needed questions in the context of an impending human and ecological crisis in Kenya, Tanzania, and throughout the world.

## CHAPTER 2:

### Literary Framework and Review



Throughout the East Africa Region, the geography is consistently complex, made up of a dizzying array of human and environmental interactions. Ecologically, Kenya and Tanzania are blessed with an amazing diversity of ecosystems - ranging from tropical rainforests to savannas to alpine moorlands - and of animal and plant species found nowhere else on earth. East Africa is also rich in cultural groups, including different nomadic, pastoralist, intensive agriculturalist, and hunting-and-gathering communities, which have developed numerous ways of living with and relating to the physical world around them. Beyond the physical, biological, and human diversity in the countries, Kenya and Tanzania are also historically riddled with multiple levels of interpersonal, cross-cultural, socioeconomic, and political interactions between human groups and communities. Within the geography of the East Africa Region, these levels of human interrelationships are played out locally between members of individual communities, nationally between different cultural groups, class interests, political forces and factions, and internationally between various constituencies representing the interests of "Northern" and "Southern" peoples and ideological systems. The geography of the East Africa Region is also characterized by an alarming array of human and environmental problems impoverishing human communities and degrading ecological biodiversity throughout Kenya and Tanzania. The increasing destruction of natural resources, of the self-sustainability of human communities, and of the ability of indigenous peoples to reproduce themselves as cultural groups, represent crisis situations in East Africa and demand immediate attention. These crises reflect human

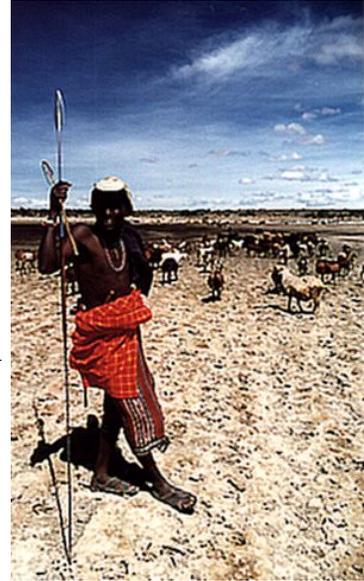
and environmental interrelationships, and dominant sociocultural, political, and economic systems and ideologies, which continue to be profoundly destructive within Kenya and Tanzania. The connections between the complexities of East African geography, and the continuing trends of degradation and impoverishment throughout the region, must be addressed if environmental and human disaster is to be averted in East Africa. My thesis will attempt to make these connections, by focusing on the interaction between power dynamics and the history of conservation and development as they are manifested within the East African geography.

Because of the human and environmental complexities of the East African Region, my study of power dynamics, conservation and development issues, and human and environmental relationships in Kenya and Tanzania is based on material from a wide range of literary sources and texts. Primarily, this literature is divided into three main categories: theoretical considerations of social and environmental justice; historical texts focusing on changing power dynamics and relationships between people and the environment in Africa; and contemporary texts which consider different aspects of "North/South" relationships by focusing on conservation and development projects and strategies, degradation and impoverishment issues in Africa, and concrete examples of social and environmental justice manifested in the East Africa Region. The information from these texts and sources provides a literary framework for the considerations of degradation, impoverishment, development, and conservation addressed throughout the chapters of this thesis. The content of this literary framework - including theoretical, historical, contemporary, and other texts - will be considered below.

### **Theoretical Texts**

Within the context of East African geography, and based on the colonial and imperialist involvement of Britain and the United States within Kenya and Tanzania, the theoretical structure of social and environmental justice necessarily takes into account a number of theoretical positions and perspectives, including: systemic relationships between "Northern" and "Southern" countries; theoretical considerations of self-sustainable vs. self-destructive socioeconomic and ideological systems; and the human and corporate consequences of a globalized, capitalist economy. To effectively deconstruct the complex geography and the contemporary crises of the East Africa Region, such a diverse set of theoretical perspectives considered through the course of this thesis is essential.

To understand the historically oppressive relationships of colonialism and imperialism between "Northern" and "Southern" countries, especially in the context of the "free market" economy, theoretical considerations of the self-destructive and exploitative dynamics of capitalist systems are essential. The work of Karl Marx (taken from excerpts in *Thinking About the Environment: 1995* for this thesis) provides an important foundation for deconstructing "North/South" relationships based on capitalist dynamics and tendencies. Many of the conservation and development strategies implemented in Kenya and Tanzania have been historically imposed by Britain and (especially after World War II) the United States. Marx's critical analysis of capitalism provides invaluable insights into capitalist dynamics, the transformation of resources and people into "forms of production," and the self-destructive consequences of the ideological and socioeconomic models of the "free market," as they are played out in "North/South" relationships (in Africa and worldwide) and in conservation and development projects in Kenya and Tanzania. Marx's consideration of the reproduction of the capitalist system (i.e. through expanding and intensifying the exploitation and appropriation of forms of production to avert crisis situations in the short term, contributing to greater, unresolvable crisis situations in the long term) is especially important in connection with the exploitation of East African people and ecosystems during the colonial and postcolonial eras, and the development of human and environmental crises in these eras. Furthermore, Marx's analysis of the profit motive and the inevitable commodification of products and of the environment resulting from capitalist systemic organization, is extremely important in the context of East African degradation and impoverishment; the imposition of capitalist ideological and socioeconomic models upon the East African peoples and environment has been inseparably linked with increasing human and ecological deterioration in Kenya and Tanzania.



Marx's work critiquing capitalism is also important because it has given rise to a number of theoretical perspectives that consider critically the destructive consequences of globalized capitalism. James O'Connor (1994) and John Bellamy Foster (1996) analyze the failure of capitalism to provide a socioeconomic model that is sustainable in the long term - for people or for the environment - because of the unending capitalist drive for economic growth and expansion at the expense of human and ecological diversity. David Korten (1995) argues that the increasing, corporate domination of people and resources, demonstrates clearly that the capitalist drive for economic expansion and growth is profoundly destructive because it demands

increased profits even when they contradict the human and ecological interests of sustainability. Allan Schnaiberg and Kenneth Alan Gould (1994) make a similar argument in their analysis of capitalist ideological models of human/environmental relations; Schnaiberg and Gould suggest that the "treadmill" ethic of capitalism demands an unending resource base that is not available on a finite planet, and as a result, the globalization of the capitalist system is proving disastrous to the "South" as well as the "North." Herbert Marcuse and John Rawls (both from *Thinking About the Environment*: 1995) echo these arguments and suggest that human freedom and relationships necessarily deteriorate within the framework of capitalist ideological and socioeconomic systems, because the commodification and destruction of resources inevitably lead to the destruction of human liberation, connections, and choices for present and future generations. In the context of the East Africa Region considered throughout this thesis, these theoretical perspectives are extremely important in deconstructing capitalist dynamics as they are manifested in degrading resources, human relationships, and the deterioration of sustainable communities, especially because Kenya and (increasingly) Tanzania, are embracing capitalist socioeconomic models for the nations.

### **Historical Texts**

The degradation of the environment and the impoverishment of the people of East Africa cannot be adequately understood and connected to power dynamics and systems of domination between "Northern" and "Southern" countries without a thorough consideration of the history of Kenya and Tanzania. It is essential to study the history of the East Africa Region to reveal the ways in which power dynamics and dominant ideological systems have significantly shaped conservation and development strategies and interactions between people and the environment over time. Throughout this thesis the historical framework of human and environmental relationships is stressed by making use of the theories and ideas of a number of texts and sources.

Walter Rodney's work, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1981), is an especially important Marxist perspective framing the discussion of precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial periods. Rodney strongly argues that the human and environmental poverty of the African continent is directly attributable to the colonial and postcolonial exploitation and oppression of Western European and U.S. involvement in African countries, and his views form the backbone of the historical discussion in Chapters 3 through 5. Alfred Abioseh Jarrett (1996) echoes Rodney's ideas to present

an additional perspective condemning colonial and continuing imperialist involvement of the "North" in African affairs. Jarrett also goes further to discuss U.S. imperialism in Africa during the past 15 years, after Rodney's death in 1980. Together, Rodney's and Jarrett's works provide an important foundation for understanding African history in terms of indigenous practices and beliefs and the ways in which "traditional" and "modern, Western" systems of thought, socioeconomic, and political structure have interacted over time. In *Black Man's Burden* (1992), Basil Davidson also argues that the colonial legacy - and particularly the formation of Africa ideologically and geographically according to a nation-state model - has been directly responsible for the continuing infrastructural nightmares and environmental problems facing African peoples today. Davidson argues that colonialism in Africa must be acknowledged and deconstructed if African underdevelopment today is to be truly appreciated. Davidson's work reinforces Rodney's and Jarrett's work in suggesting that the ideological and socioeconomic systems imposed upon Africa by Western Europe and the United States were extremely disruptive of sustainable systems of indigenous development and conservation strategies and are directly related to environmental and human crises in Africa today. Several other literary sources - by Garth Owen-Smith (1993), Vandana Shiva (1992), and M.P. Simbotwe (1993) - provide additional historical accounts of "North/South" relationships and the ways in which systems of domination and oppression have manifested in general between "Western" and "developing" nations, and these accounts provide additional support for the theories of African underdevelopment contained within the work of Rodney, Jarrett, and Davidson.



A number of other literary texts and sources provide historical accounts related more specifically to regions and cultural groups in East Africa. David Collett (1987), Michael Korir-Koech (1991), W.K. Lindsay (1987), Njeri Marekia (1991), David Western (1994b), Eric Hecox (1996), and Calestous Juma (1991) discuss specific historical studies of cultural groups (such as the pastoralist Maasai for Collett, Lindsay, and Western) in focused areas in the East Africa Region, that provide case studies reinforcing many of the power dynamics, systems of domination and exploitation, and the "underdevelopment of Africa" contained within Rodney's and Jarrett's work. The degradation of the environment and the impoverishment of cultural groups during colonial and postcolonial periods, are further analyzed in literary texts by authors including D.H.M. Cumming (1993), Krishna Ghimire (1994), Kevin Hill (1991), Robert Hitchcock (1995), and Marshall Murphree (1993). These texts focus on studies of African history in regions and among cultural groups that are not East African, but which nonetheless provide important parallels between the

colonial and postcolonial experiences in various regions of Africa, and reinforce Rodney's, Jarrett's, and Davidson's considerations of "underdevelopment," impoverishment, and degradation as dynamics negatively affecting people and the environment throughout Africa. Finally, literary texts considering the history of conservation and development models in the U.S. and in Britain (for example, by Bryn Green (1989) and David Hales (1989)) are included to explain the ways in which conservation and development strategies imposed on African peoples and ecosystems reflect "Northern" ideologies and relationships with the environment that proved disastrous within the sociocultural and ecological frameworks of East Africa.

### **Contemporary Texts**

The majority of the literary information referenced in this thesis addresses specific aspects of human and biological processes and social and environmental justice in East Africa, including: conservation and development strategies; gender issues; traditional knowledge; and case studies of degradation and impoverishment in East Africa. These literary texts and sources are primarily firsthand accounts of the authors that provide important documented studies reinforcing the theoretical and historical texts. Together, these texts provide the framework for my position in this thesis that development and conservation strategies in East Africa are directly related to degradation and impoverishment, historically-based power dynamics between "North" and "South," and the continuing dominance of self-destructive and exploitative systems of capitalist control internationally. Chapters 6 through 9 particularly make use of the contemporary texts, as well as the historical texts dealing with specific regional and cultural studies in East Africa, to frame the discussion of aspects of Kenyan and Tanzanian degradation, impoverishment, and strategies of development and conservation.

Texts focusing on conservation and development strategies - including sources by Susan Joeques et. al. (1994), M. Norton-Griffiths (1995), Scott Perkin (1995), Jessica Vivian (1994), David Collett (1987), W.K. Lindsay (1987), and David Western (1994b) - trace the successes and failures of conservation and development projects in East Africa to colonial and imperialist agendas, the involvement or the alienation of indigenous peoples, and institutionalized oppression of the "South" by the "North," demonstrating concrete ways in which power dynamics and systems of



domination are made manifest in East Africa. Texts concentrating on gender issues and on women's inequality in East Africa place enormous importance on women's roles as the primary environmental resource managers in Kenya and Tanzania, and the ways in which colonial and postcolonial processes have increasingly stifled women's rights and abilities to sustain themselves, their communities, and the environmental resources around them. Authors such as Wanjiku Chiuri and Akinyi Nziuki (1992), Tabitha Kanogo (1992), Maria Nzomo (1992), and Susan Joeekes et. al. (1994) address these issues directly. Authors including Betty Nafuna Wamalwa (1991), Marshall Murphree (1993), Garth Owen-Smith (1993), M.P. Simbotwe (1993), Calestous Juma (1991), Maria Nzomo (1992), and Wanjiku Chiuri and Akinyi Nziuki (1992) discuss traditional and indigenous knowledge among cultural groups in East Africa. The textual analysis of traditional knowledge of cultural groups in East Africa reinforces the discussion of precolonial systems of knowledge, ideological frameworks, and relationships between people and the environment. The texts also suggest alternatives to the destructive ideological and socioeconomic models of "Northern" countries that could potentially provide a basis for more sustainable human and ecological systems in East Africa and worldwide. Case studies on degradation and impoverishment in East Africa by Stan Braude (1992), Peter Hanneburg (1994), John Kundaali (1989), Douglas Sheil (1992), Michael Stahl (1993), and others, address contemporary problems and crises in Kenya and Tanzania by focusing narrowly on concrete examples of deforestation, toxic and waste dumping in coastal waters, air pollution, siltation of rivers, poverty, starvation, and species extinction. Taken within the context of other aspects of East African geography, these studies provide definitive examples of social and ecological dysfunction throughout Kenya and Tanzania reinforcing the arguments regarding "Southern" degradation and impoverishment contained within the theoretical and historical frameworks for this thesis.

Several other texts and sources of information that do not fit within the categories of theoretical, historical, or contemporary texts nonetheless deserve mention. *Commodity Chains and Global Capitalism*, edited by Gary Gereffi and Miguel Korzeniewicz, was an important text because it helped me to organize this thesis as a series of linked Web documents that clearly demonstrated the interaction between various aspects of East African geography on ecological, socioeconomic, cultural, and political levels. The text was also important in helping me to make some of the connections between power dynamics, conservation and development issues, degradation and impoverishment in East Africa, and changing ideological and social systems in the context of Kenyan and Tanzanian geography. Finally, the text helped me to organize my approach to Chapters 6 and 7, in which I formed "commodity chains" from objects, events, and social structures to greater dynamics of oppression and domination based on colonial and imperialist relationships between "Northern" and "Southern" countries. Another important source of information was my own

experiences in East Africa, recorded in the form of journal entries, fieldnotes, photographs, newspaper clippings, etc., including my memories of and reactions to my explorations of Kenya and Tanzania. Although this source of information is not "professionally" produced or peer-reviewed, my firsthand experiences of some of the dynamics of East African geography helped me to connect a number of issues together - such as development, conservation, colonization, the physical structure and spacing of East African cities, the dominant GNP earners of ecotourism and cash crops, and imperialism. Furthermore, my personal experiences allowed me to validate some of the authors' case studies and fieldwork based on my own observations in Kenya and Tanzania.

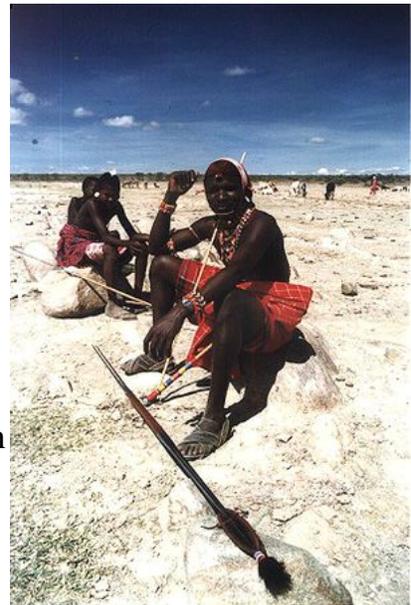
## **CHAPTER 3:**

### **The Roots of Sustainable Conservation:**

#### **The Precolonial Period**

My time in Kenya and Tanzania profoundly impressed upon me the beauty and diversity of the geography of East Africa. Some of my most awe-inspiring experiences took place in the presence of the Maasai, a pastoralist people who have lived throughout Kenya and Tanzania for hundreds of years, and who have lived as pastoralists for thousands of years. It never ceased to amaze me how extensive was the knowledge of the Maasai people in regards to the land, its ecological processes, and the pastoralists' dependence upon it for subsistence and survival. An encounter I had with several Maasai elders in the Melepo Hills east of Kenya's capital city, Nairobi, illustrates the Maasai's broad-based knowledge of the environment and their sense of connection with the land.

Melepo is a semi-arid region located in the Kajiado District of Kenya, at an elevation of about 6000 feet above sea level, dominated by acacia woodlands and scrub. A number of Maasai families live in the hills in individual settlements, and for several weeks I explored Melepo with Maasai elders from the area. I was constantly amazed by their intimate familiarity with different plant and animal species, the medicinal and culturally-significant uses of each, the location of precious water sources in the semi-arid land, and the pastoralists' frequent expressions of respect and love for the world around them. The time that I spent with the Maasai revealed to me important characteristics of their traditional knowledge and



ideological understandings of their place within the ecological dynamics of East African geography. The Maasai held a deep reverence for the animals and plants around them, and felt a deep connection with the semi-arid landscape of East Africa. This connection with the land was absolutely necessary in allowing the Maasai to survive as a cultural group and physically as a people; based on the semi-arid and drought-prone conditions of the Melepo Hills, the Maasai had developed low-impact strategies (such as nomadic movement of families and livestock which allowed for the long-term fertility of the land), relied on minimal forms of technological exploitation, and shaped their sociocultural values in close connection with the world around them, to allow the Maasai to survive within the harsh, fragile conditions of the acacia woodlands. Their entire way of relating to the world and to each other demanded a deep understanding of ecological processes, and land management strategies that were the least destructive and the most sustainable for maintaining lasting human and environmental stability. The Maasai impressed upon me the importance of traditional knowledge - especially in the fragile, semi-arid environments that account for the majority of the surface area in the East Africa Region - in preserving the balance between human and environmental survival for the past several thousand years in Kenya and Tanzania.

### **Precolonial Sustainability in East Africa**



It is a common misconception of "Northern" environmentalists and officials alike that "conservation" - the protection of the environment to ensure ecological sustainability - began with projects (such as terracing and reforestation) and park/reserve systems imposed by the British with the arrival of the colonial period in East Africa. But indigenous forms of land management - of which the Maasai provide only one example - allowed for the sustainability of African resources, ecosystems, and human communities, for thousands of years before European exploration and colonization were forced upon the East African geography. Throughout the diverse ecosystems and cultural regions of East Africa, precolonial Kenya and Tanzania were characterized by an amazing amount of wildlife and plant species, and human groups that sustained themselves and their environment for millennia. Human groups did not always exist in peaceful harmony with nature, as the dehumanizing and condescending romanticizations of British colonists maintained. The colonial notion of the "noble savage," of the "native and game alike... wandering

happily and freely" (Lindsay, 1987: 152) in the African "wilderness," disregarded the tensions between human groups and the difficulties of survival characterized by the precolonial experience in East Africa. Although different cultural groups did tend to coexist in a state of "symbiosis" in which "they agreed to exchange goods to their mutual advantage, considerable conflict" (Rodney, 1981: 45) nonetheless arose between different cultural groups - particularly between pastoralists and agriculturalists in East Africa - over resource rights and means of subsistence, especially when these threatened the survival of social and ecological systems in certain areas (e.g. pastoralist raids and cattle grazing could prove disastrous for agriculturalist efforts at cultivation, irrigation, and crop production). The African environment was also not a "wilderness" that indigenous peoples "happily" coexisted with; regardless of the ecological region, cultural groups were forced to deal with seasonal fluctuations manifested in the form of drought, flooding, and disease outbreaks that consistently presented East African peoples with the possibility of famine, starvation, crop failure, and increased mortality rates. The East African people and environment did not coexist easily; precolonial peoples actively and purposively made use of certain land management strategies, forms of traditional knowledge, and mutually beneficial relationships with various cultural groups to maintain ecological and sociocultural sustainability in the East Africa Region. Human societies throughout Kenya and Tanzania - from the pastoralist Samburu to the agriculturalist Akamba and Kikuyu - were able to maintain social and ecological stability and sustainability during the precolonial era, based on a number of important factors in human organization, human-environmental relationships, and aspects of the East African geography.

A deconstruction of precolonial social and ecological sustainability is essential, not only because it indicates how and why East African, traditional societies were able to sustain themselves and the land, but also because it reveals ways in which certain human-environmental dynamics must function, in connection with aspects of East African geography, for ecological sustainability and conservation to work effectively within the modern Kenyan and Tanzanian contexts. A deconstruction of precolonial conservation of social and ecological systems also reveals the ways in which important dynamics - such as population density, levels of technology, and dominant ideological models - are significant determinants of the potential for the long-term success of certain precolonial land management strategies and forms of traditional knowledge, especially in regards to the changing dynamics of ecological and social sustainability in the modern era. Some of the most important factors contributing to precolonial systems of ecological sustainability and social stability include: techniques of sustainability; local control of resources; sustainability as the primary means of social survival; renewable exploitation of resources; a spiritual and aesthetic reverence for the environment; the preservation of animal/plant species through

poaching taboos; the importance of community member connections to each other and to the land; low population densities; low levels of technology; and gender divisions. A deconstruction of these factors, and a consideration of their applicability to modern systems of conservation and development, are considered below.

### **Aspects of East African Sustainability**

Although the precolonial East African geography was made up of a number of different cultural groups ranging from hunters-and-gatherers to agriculturalists, the traditional knowledge of precolonial East African peoples in general, included a number of important, defining characteristics which contributed to sustainability of ecosystems and social systems throughout the region. Wamalwa (1991), in her consideration of traditional natural resource management systems in East Africa, stresses that "precolonial society was geared towards the conservation objective" (36). Given the low levels of technology employed by traditional East African societies, the harsh environmental pressures of the East Africa Region, and the fragility of the environment - particularly in the arid and semi-arid areas (ASALs) - traditional societies were forced to develop ideological systems and resource management systems that respected and sustained the ecological factors of the environment, simply to allow for the survival of human communities and cultural groups. While East African natural resources provided communities with means of basic subsistence, they were also riddled with the uncertainties of drought, flooding, wind storms, and disease epidemics. In order to survive as human communities in the short and long term, precolonial peoples were forced to interact with the environment respectfully, intimately, and sustainably. The "conservation objective," then, represented for precolonial peoples the sustainable resource use of the natural environment and the continuing survival of human communities.

This "conservation objective" was reinforced in practice - through techniques of sustainable, natural resource management - and in ideology - through spiritual and aesthetic considerations of the environment - to allow for the reproduction of indigenous systems of social and ecological sustainability in Kenya and Tanzania. Resource management strategies varied depending on the ecosystem and the cultural group concerned, but generally relied upon low population densities and low technology levels predominant in precolonial Kenya and Tanzania, to

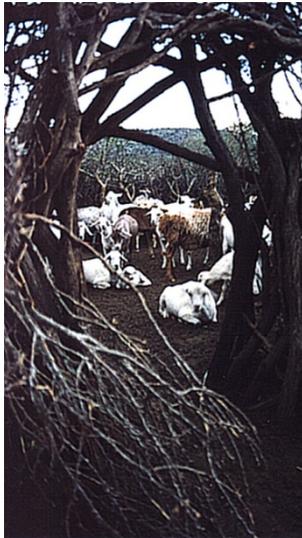


effectively preserve ecological diversity and fertility. Pastoral groups made use of a "rotational system of rangeland use that combined a livestock-based economy with sound regimes for the environment" (Parkipuny et. al., 1993: 113). The rotational system allowed cattle to range in migratory patterns that did not focus on and overburden the fertility of limited areas. Pastoralists' focus on a milk diet through their cattle also allowed them to subsist without degrading wildlife numbers significantly (except when massive livestock deaths from disease epidemics or drought demanded it). "The nomadic grazing strategies of Africa's traditional pastoralists also ensured a healthy grass sward around permanent waters, further facilitating the harmonious coexistence of domestic livestock and wild herbivores" (Owen-Smith, 1993: 58). Agriculturalists made use of shifting cultivation techniques - by burning forests or allowing fields to remain fallow based on rotational cycles - that preserved the fertility of the soil and allowed for long-term sustainable resource use (again, while the population densities in East Africa remained low). Rodney (1981) is correct in recognizing that "shifting cultivation with burning and light hoe was not as childish as the first European colonialists supposed. That simple form of agriculture was based on a correct evaluation of the soil potential" (40) based on hundreds of years of precolonial experience with sustainable resource management. Precolonial agriculturalists also made use of multicropping and cultivation in particular areas (e.g. near perennial water sources where soils were most fertile and resilient) to preserve resources renewably. As Wamalwa (1991) suggests in speaking of the Akamba, an East African agricultural group, "complex management systems" were clearly based on intimate knowledge of ecological processes and "purposeful control of the environment" (45).

The ideological framework of traditional natural resource management systems was also extremely important in reproducing sociocultural values and belief systems that promoted long-term environmental sustainability in East Africa. Indigenous Kenyan and Tanzanian ideological systems in the precolonial era were grounded in a spiritual reverence for the land and the connection of human communities with other plant and animal species. "Such an attitude was particularly valuable towards developing a conservation approach towards natural resources" (Wamalwa, 1991: 38) because ecological processes, and the responsibility of human groups towards the preservation of these processes, was given central importance in the beliefs and values of different cultural groups. These values translated into a holistic view of the world that validated the techniques of sustainable natural resource use and the importance of human beings' connection with the living world around them. Unlike the "anthropocentric position" of the Judeo-Christian tradition imposed upon the East African peoples and ecosystems during the colonial period, traditional East African belief systems were grounded in an ecocentric position that framed the "conservation objective" driving indigenous, East African societies. This ecocentric position revealed itself in a number

of sociocultural beliefs that further served to preserve the sustainability of ecological processes in the East African environment. Among hunters and gatherers, pastoralists, and agriculturalists, cultural taboos significantly restricted the killing of certain animals - such as elephants, rhinos, or lions - which reproduce slowly and are more threatened by poaching than smaller game animals that recover more quickly from population pressures. Furthermore, Owen-Smith (1993) observes that "most African societies had an informal code of conduct whereby the waste of natural resources, including wildlife, was regarded as antisocial behavior" (59) because it contradicted the ecocentric ideological framework of many traditional African belief systems. In connection with the "physical tools" of techniques of sustainable resource use, these "spiritual" and "intellectual tools" (Wamalwa: 1991) provided an important sociocultural framework for East African societies in the precolonial era based on concepts of ecological and social sustainability within the context of a harsh and demanding physical environment.

### **Precolonial Systems Within the Context of the Modern Era**



Although traditional societies offered ecologically and socially sustainable models during the precolonial era for hundreds of years prior to British colonial contact (evidenced by the biological diversity that the first European explorers in East Africa described and by archaeological studies of the region), it is important to consider the potential for these models to provide sustainable results within the context of environmental degradation and human impoverishment in the modern, postcolonial era. The most important, physical aspect of East African geography that has changed significantly since the precolonial era in Kenya and Tanzania is the factor of population density. Many of the conservation strategies of traditional societies were based on small, local populations that could easily and renewably shift natural resource exploitation so as to allow for the continuing fertility of soil quality and biodiversity in a given area. However, as human populations have continued to increase exponentially in Kenya and Tanzania since the colonial period, and as natural resources and land have become increasingly privatized and subdivided based on British and U.S. models of resource use, techniques of shifting cultivation and the rotation of rangeland use for livestock have become less effective as conservation options and have become increasingly destructive forms of natural resource management in East Africa.

Precolonial success in sustaining ecological and human sociocultural systems was also based on traditional societies grounding in a localized and ecocentric view of the world. In part, this world view encouraged the members of a community to approach the environment with a sense of respect and spiritual reverence because the survival of the community depended upon this approach to survive physically and ideologically as a social system. A localized world view also emerged out of a community's capacity to control natural resources locally, because of the lack of population pressures during the precolonial era. Local control of resources further reinforced an ecocentric position and the "conservation objective" because the members of the community had a personal incentive to protect the natural resources around them in the long term. Neither a spirituality grounded in an ecocentric position, nor local control of natural resources, exist for the majority of rural and urban East African peoples within the context of the modern industrial era and the increasing globalization of capitalist dynamics and ethics today.

Another aspect of human organization that has changed significantly since the colonial period in East Africa, and which will be considered in more detail in subsequent sections, is the issue of gender divisions in Kenya and Tanzania. Traditional societies tended to reinforce holistic views of the world and to encourage effective techniques of sustainable resource management through the development of broad-based knowledge of human social systems and ecological processes, in connection with a minimal degree of specialization in regards to "occupations." However, occupational divisions did exist between men and women in most traditional societies, and these divisions usually relegated women to more laborious and repetitive tasks than men and less opportunities for public, community leadership than men. "Although women tended to do the more repetitive and boring chores in the agricultural cycle, the sexual division of labor ensured that men, too, participated in production" (Kanogo, 1991: 10). Colonial and postcolonial dynamics have drawn a significant proportion of men away from rural areas to the supposed promise of wage labor within the cities. The continuing urban migration of rural males, as well as the increasing exploitation that women have suffered under as a result of the imposition of sexist British ideologies, have increasingly placed the responsibilities of local, environmental management upon women. Increasing gender divisions and exploitation have served to alienate women from the process of effectively managing these resources (e.g. because women are not allowed to own natural resources or land, or make decisions concerning these resources without male consent), and have left women watching in frustrated helplessness as their communities become more impoverished and degraded.

The changing dynamics in sociocultural, economic, and political organization of people in Kenya and Tanzania since the colonial period do not invalidate traditional

systems of ecological and social sustainability manifested predominantly in the precolonial era. On the contrary, it is the position of this thesis that these changing dynamics, and the globalization of capitalist principles and Northern oppression that these dynamics represent, are directly responsible for a model of "conservation" and "development" that has been - and continues to be - disastrous within the East African context. However, it is important to recognize ways in which precolonial practices, ideologies, and conservation strategies have been made ineffective - and even destructive - within the context of changing power dynamics and dominant ideological systems imposed during the colonial and postcolonial eras. Given the disastrous consequences of ecological degradation, human impoverishment, and environmental mismanagement during the colonial and postcolonial periods, these changing dynamics demonstrate ways in which sustainable, ecocentric, sociocultural systems have been profoundly disrupted by the destructive imposition of a capitalist and imperialist framework that continues to degrade East African resources and peoples. It will become clear in the next two chapters that these changing dynamics - away from localized, ecocentric communities and towards the anthropocentric exploitation of East African peoples and resources - are directly responsible for the degradation and impoverishment that are reaching crisis proportions in Kenya and Tanzania today.

## **CHAPTER 4:**

### **The Insitutionalization of Oppression and Dependency:**

#### **The Colonial Period**

Located on the south edge of the main city center of Nairobi, next to the old Kenyan Train Station and railroads, is the Kenyan Train Museum. The Museum is located in an economically depressed area where the vendors sell cheap food products from run-down tin and wooden shacks, and trash is scattered around the Museum. Although the Museum is difficult to find and has been forgotten by most Kenyan people in a seedy corner of the East African metropolis of Nairobi, the interior of the Train Museum provides a valuable depiction of East African colonial history in old photographs, maps, and antique pieces of furniture and machinery from old railway cars, that provide physical testimony to the importance of the Kenya-Uganda railroad and the old Kenyan Train Station historically. The construction of the Kenya-Uganda railroad began in the early 1900s soon after British colonial settlement of the East Africa Region was imposed upon indigenous cultural groups and ecological systems beginning in 1888, and the railroad provides a powerful metaphor for the ideological and socioeconomic systems instituted within East Africa by the British with the onset



of the colonial period. The Kenya-Uganda railroad was constructed (and the city of Nairobi around it throughout the twentieth century) based on the British colonial agenda of extracting resources from the East African interior - through the use of forced labor of East African peoples - and exporting these resources to the United Kingdom solely for the benefit of British "progress" in the modern industrial age. The British also saw the railroad as the first step in the "process of domesticating nature" (Collett, 1987: 139), clearing preferential land for white settlers, and the alienation of traditional East African societies from land and resources they had managed sustainably for millennia. The construction of the Kenya-Uganda railroad represented the beginning of British colonial efforts in East Africa, based on a sociocultural and ideological framework stressing the domination and "domestication" of the African "wilderness" - including human communities and the environment - and the imposition of an extractive and exploitative relationship benefitting British economic and technological expansion at the expense of East African sustainability of human and natural resources. It is grimly appropriate that the old Kenyan Train Station is now surrounded by trash and poverty-stricken slums, physical manifestations of the impoverishment and environmental degradation imposed upon the lives of most East African peoples by the destructive models of British colonialism which had their origins in the railroads constructed out of this very train station. The British introduction of this parasitic model of human and environmental interactions was to create a colonial legacy of dependency, degradation, and impoverishment that was to prove disastrous for the East African geography throughout the colonial period and the modern era.

### **Philosophical Foundations of Colonialism in East Africa**

To fully understand colonial power dynamics, ideological frameworks, and interactions with the people and the environment of the East African geography, it is necessary to deconstruct some of the Western European, philosophical foundations that gave rise to the colonial mentality and agendas that the British (primarily; German colonial occupation of Tanzania was short-lived, as were the majority of German colonial efforts in Africa) imposed upon the East Africa Region. The most important philosophical foundations shaping British involvement in East Africa are contained within the male-dominant, Judeo-Christian traditions and the emerging

capitalist ethical and socioeconomic frameworks embraced centrally as ideological and social models at the turn of the century in Western Europe and by the British in particular.

The philosophical implications of the Judeo-Christian tradition in Western Europe provided an important basis shaping British relationships with the natural world and with other human beings. Fundamentally, the Judeo-Christian tradition is based on a mechanistic and male-dominated world view that has historically been antagonistic to nature. This tradition embraces an anthropocentric position towards the environment, in which "God is the supreme being ruling over the rest of nature followed by the human male with women, children, mammals, non-mammal animal life, plant life and inanimate nature following in descending order. The tendency has been to bring nature under the control of humans for their use" (Wamalwa, 1991: 38). The development of scientific rationality out of this Judeo-Christian tradition has stressed the importance of a mechanistic consideration of the natural world devoid of spiritual reverence; the environment and its resources are useful in so far as they can be utilized and conquered by human beings, and not in their own right. This conception of the physical world tends to invalidate the importance of the environment in itself, and has important consequences for human relationships with the natural world. Based on a cartesian, anthropocentric consideration of the world, the Judeo-Christian tradition and the development of scientific rationality out of this tradition encouraged human groups to dominate and exploit natural resources for their own benefit, disregarding the ecocentric respect and reverence for the natural world that allowed human groups in East Africa to interact with the environment on a sustainable level. The importance of the natural world as a source of exploitable and extractable resources to be utilized by human beings has tended to focus on short-term human gains at the expense of long-term, environmental sustainability. This is graphically illustrated in the massive deforestation and loss of species diversity in many parts of the United Kingdom historically, and in the continuing exploitation and extraction of resources from East Africa. Shiva (1995) stresses this point by suggesting that British colonization of the "South" was directly linked to a Judeo-Christian tradition seeking to dominate and conquer the sacredness of the natural world in favor of a more mechanistic world view: "Throughout the world the colonization of diverse peoples had at its root a forced subjugation of the ecological concepts of nature and of the Earth as the repository of the powers of creation" (51). The Judeo-Christian concept of nature as a set of resources to be dominated and exploited for human beings was imposed upon the East African geography throughout the British colonial period, with disastrous results.

The mechanistic, exploitative tendencies of the Judeo-Christian tradition were "eminently suited to the exploitation imperative for the growth of capitalism" (Shiva, 1995: 51) that began to emerge with the modern industrial age during the turn of the century. Capitalist ethical and ideological frameworks were consistent with many aspects of the Judeo-Christian tradition: the domination and exploitation of natural and human resources were important foundations of functioning capitalist systems, based on a mechanistic view of the world that quantified these resources in terms of their potential for yielding increasing profits and economic expansion. In the context of the globalization of capitalist economies and dynamics throughout the "North" and "South" in the modern era, the importance of capitalist socioeconomic processes and ideological frameworks cannot be stressed enough. Schnaiberg's and Gould's (1994) analysis of capitalist dynamics and tendencies is extremely instructive of ways in which emerging capitalist ethics and structural principles in England at the turn of the century provided an important framework for determining ways in which British colonialism manifested itself in the East African context. According to Schnaiberg et. al., capitalist reproduction is based on "the assumption that unlimited economic expansion is desirable possible, and necessary" (1994: 199), and this economic expansion requires increasing exploitation and extraction of natural and human resources to make the continued reproduction of capitalism possible. Given the lack of resources and the small land surface area of the United Kingdom, British colonial activities in East Africa (as well as in India and Asia) were largely driven by the need to expand economic growth and resource exploitation in other continents to preserve the reproduction of capitalist dynamics in England. Intrinsically related to this expansion of capitalist markets - and to the exploitation and degradation of East African resources - were the expanding technological capacities and economic wealth of Britain (and increasingly other "Northern" countries in Western Europe and in America): "The colonialists' primary goal was to enrich themselves and their nations by removing anything of value from the South and repatriating that wealth to the North. The plunder of the wealth of the South was essential in subsidizing the development of Europe and the industrial revolution" (166). As Schnaiberg et. al. (1994) correctly observes, the capitalist ethic, in connection with the Judeo-Christian tradition, were fundamentally important philosophical foundations justifying British exploitation of resources, oppression of human communities, and extraction of wealth from East Africa to be used for the benefit of British sociocultural and economic development. These philosophical foundations were extremely important in determining the dominating and exploitative



agendas of British colonization in East Africa, and the ways in which the sustainable strategies of traditional societies and indigenous cultural groups in East Africa were disrupted and disregarded in favor of the increasingly destructive and oppressive tendencies of the British colonial framework.

### **British Agendas in East Africa**

Although most authors agree that the colonial period of East African history from the 1880s to the 1960s was economically and ecologically disastrous for Kenya and Tanzania, due to colonial mismanagement and misunderstanding of human and ecological systems within the East African Region, many fail to make the important connections between colonial management decisions, the ideological frameworks and beliefs systems of the British, and the socioeconomic and ethical principles of capitalist dynamics that continue to be directly involved in environmental and human disasters in Kenya and Tanzania today. Many authors contend that the colonization of East Africa included some "positive" results, such as increased technological innovations, decreased mortality rates, and economic expansion.

The critical analyses of Davidson (1992), Jarrett (1996), and especially of Rodney (1981), demonstrate effectively that the justification for the colonial process in East Africa on the basis of its "positive" results proves quite hollow, short-sighted, and misguided on closer observation. Although technological innovations, improved infrastructure, decreased mortality rates, and economic expansion did take place during the colonial era, these "positive aspects" of colonialism did not benefit the majority of the people or the natural resources of East Africa; "the most convincing evidence as to the superficiality of the talk about colonialism having "modernized" Africa is the fact that the vast majority of Africans went into colonialism with a hoe and came out with a hoe" (Rodney, 1981: 219). The contention that British colonization contributed "positively" to East African development is not only "completely false" (Rodney, 1981: 205), given the evidence of poverty and environmental destruction throughout the East Africa Region during the colonial and postcolonial periods, but fails to take into account the philosophical foundations of a dominating Judeo-Christian tradition and an exploitative and oppressive capitalist framework, and the ways in which the British related to the East African people and environment during the colonial and postcolonial periods. These philosophical foundations are intrinsically connected with the purposes of British colonization, the agendas of the British, and continuing trends of domination and oppression in East Africa. Although the British colonial agendas in East Africa were complex and

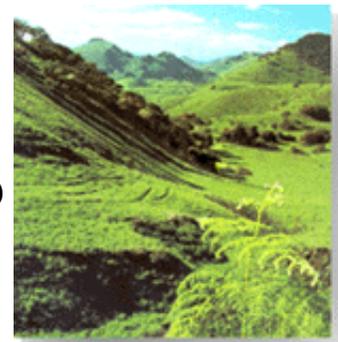
numerous, the most important agendas can be divided into the categories of: the institutionalization and reproduction of capitalist dynamics; the imposition of conservation and development models based on British philosophies and experience; and the management and restructuring of East African human-environmental interactions according to British traditions and ideologies.

### The Reproduction of Capitalist Dynamics

The most important colonial agenda of the British in East Africa - and in the "South" in general - was the institutionalization and reproduction of capitalist dynamics of production, resource exploitation, and economic growth. Marx (1996) correctly observes that the capitalist socioeconomic system is prone to encountering crisis situations in reproduction, as economic growth and profits begin to decrease with a lack of new markets of production and expansion. To survive, capitalism must overcome these crisis situations by finding new ways of expanding and intensifying production, increasing economic growth, and extending profit margins into new or existing markets (although this constantly creates greater crises in capitalist production that are more difficult to resolve, as is occurring now with increasing human and ecological crises globally as resources and exploitable markets are being "maxed out;" this will be considered in more detail in later sections). The main reason that Britain began to occupy colonies throughout the "South" at the turn of the century was because it was experiencing these crisis situations that Marx (1996) speaks of. To reproduce capitalist dynamics and to steadily increase wealth and technological gains for Britain after resources and markets had been exhausted in England, it was necessary that the British colonize regions such as East Africa to create new markets for capitalist production. Rodney (1981) recognizes the profound importance of this in his discussion of African underdevelopment: "It is fairly obvious that capitalists do not set out to create other capitalists, who would be rivals. On the contrary, the tendency of capitalism in Europe from the very beginning was one of competition, elimination, and monopoly" (216). Rodney's point explains decisively why colonialism in East Africa cannot be considered in terms of intended "positive" benefits. From the beginning, the capitalist agenda of the British directed colonial exploitation and extraction of resources for the sole benefit of the white settlers in Kenya and Tanzania and primarily for use in England to make possible the machinations of technological and economic progress during the industrial revolution. The exploitation of East African peoples and the environment, the extraction of human and natural resources, and the monopoly control over exports and imports, was organized from the beginning to work for the British at the expense of localized control of resources and the maintenance of self-sustaining livelihoods for the vast majority of the East African people.

A couple of examples serve to illustrate the point that colonialism represented the capitalist interests that the British wished to preserve for themselves by creating and maintaining a dependency relationship with the human groups of the East Africa Region. Davidson (1992) identifies the "carving up" of Africa into European colonies in 1895 as a significant step towards promoting the formation of a dependency relationship between "North" and "South." In Kenya, the identification of territorial boundaries served to solidify private ownership of resources by British interests. The territorial boundaries were specifically designed as a strategy of divisiveness disrupting solidarity between indigenous East African groups, and tensions between agriculturalists and pastoralists - such as the Kikuyu and the Maasai - were taken full advantage of by the British: the Kikuyu were given preferential treatment because their agricultural activities and their willingness to submit to colonial and capitalist authority (unlike the Maasai) fit more effectively into the capitalist dynamics of British socioeconomic organization. According to Davidson (1992), the application of the nation-state model to the African continent, and the purposeful manipulation of cultural tensions between human groups in Africa, proved useful for European interests in exploiting natural and human resources without having to face a unified movement of resistance from African peoples. For the East African peoples, the results were disastrous; the nation-state model cut off peoples such as the Maasai and the Samburu from important resources such as watering holes and grazing lands across state boundaries, and the colonial fostering of competition over resources and tensions between cultural groups has alienated peoples - especially pastoralists and hunters and gatherers - from accessibility to resources, involvement in conservation and development strategies, and alternatives to increasing impoverishment (especially as the Kikuyu assumed state control - under the guidance of British interests - during the transition from the colonial to postcolonial periods in Kenya).

"The transfer to Africa of non-African farming and technology" (Davidson, 1992: 217) also served the colonial agenda by preserving an exploitative dependency relationship between British settlers and East African peoples. Juma (1991) observes that "the Kenyan agricultural sector is a product of the colonial economy which was largely based on exotic genetic resources... The fact that most of the crops were exotic guaranteed control over their production knowledge and



ensured that local labor would be available to the colonial farmers" (126-127). The British colonial administration in Kenya actively shaped the agricultural sector so that it was dominated by "exotic genetic resources" that the British could supply and control through export and import markets. Wheat, cereals, and livestock were examples of exotic resources imposed upon the East African people and environment

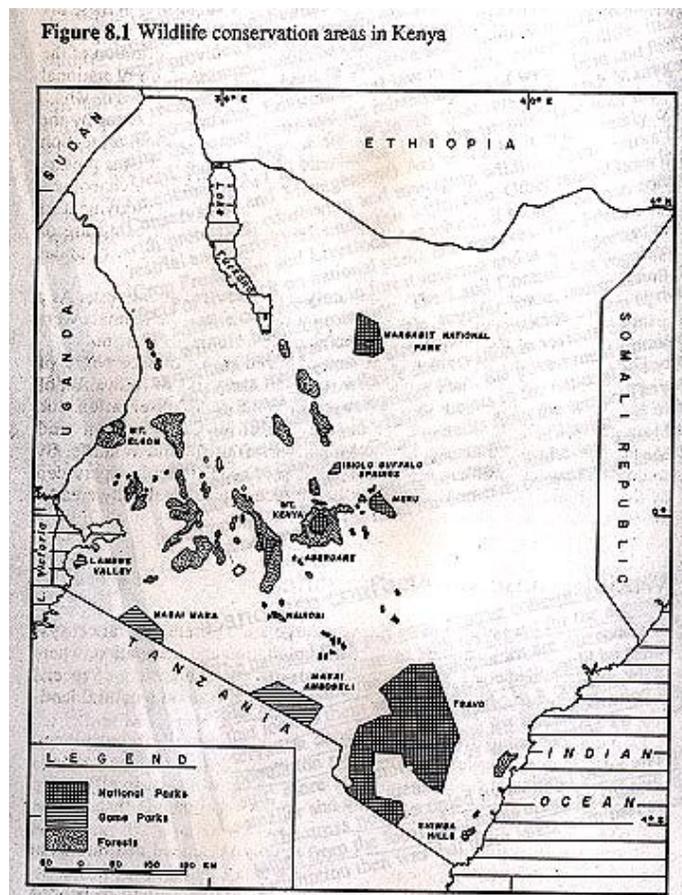
by the British colonial system. These resources helped the British develop a monopoly over cash crops and agricultural production, and further reinforced a dependency relationship with Kenyan pastoralists and agriculturalists by forcing them to buy, produce, and sell resources that they could not control locally or self-sustainably. As with the imposition of the nation-state model, the "exotic genetic resources" imposed upon the East African environment have proved disastrous in the East African context: the "exotic resources" - such as wheat - drain the fragile soil fertility of semi-arid areas and are much less resilient than local resources. But in the short term, colonial control of these resources helped the British expand capitalist markets through the forceful imposition of these markets on East African peoples; the exotic resources were environmentally destructive for the "South" but economically viable for the "North." It has become increasingly clear in the postcolonial era that the preservation of dependency relationships serves the capitalist interests of the "North" by providing resources and markets that can be exploited to the benefit of "Northern" nations. However, the long term effect of this preservation of dependency for the East African geography is that human and ecological systems are increasingly stressed by degradation and impoverishment. The long-term effects of the British imposition of capitalist dynamics upon East Africa (and upon the "South" in general) have become increasingly self-destructive; the short-term crises of capitalist expansion averted through colonization have developed into greater systemic crises that are becoming more and more difficult to resolve according to the capitalist model (this will be considered more fully in subsequent sections on postcolonial capitalist dynamics).

## **Chapter 4 (continued)**

### Conservation and Development Models

Connected to colonial mismanagement, British capitalist interests in the East Africa Region, and Judeo-Christian traditions stressing the domination of, and the separation of man from, nature, the conservation and development models imposed on the East African context were another extremely important agenda of British colonialism in East Africa. Colonial "conservation" strategies in East Africa emerged historically from: the British experience of owning wildlife in "royal preserves" in England; and the American models of conservation based on national parks systems. In England, based on a feudal socioeconomic system, natural resources and wildlife were considered to be the property of landowners. Large areas were set aside as "royal preserves" strictly reserved for game hunting for English royalty; "common" people were not allowed to trespass on the land, based partly on the notion of private ownership and partly on the Judeo-Christian tradition separating man from the wilderness. Increasing industrialization for Europe throughout the colonial period depleted wildlife diversity and populations throughout the continent, "and most of

Europe's remaining wildlife was soon registered to the "royal preserves"... the model for today's game reserves became established" (Owen-Smith, 1993: 60). The imposition of British traditions and practices upon the East African environment included this idea of "crown lands," which were controlled by the "new gentry" of the white settlers in East Africa. Primarily, the idea behind the creation of "crown lands" was to provide private ownership of land and resources for white settlers, and the opportunity to hunt wildlife for sport. From the beginning of the "conservation" process in Kenya and Tanzania, land was set aside for game for the use of the white colonialists, and any indigenous communities that lived within the reserves or claimed use rights of the lands and their resources were evicted and alienated from the conservation process. This became an important framing characteristic for all subsequent conservation efforts; the alienation of people from the land based on the Judeo-Christian belief in the incompatibility between human and natural coexistence has shaped conservation policies - and failures - since the early years of British colonization.



The expansion of capitalist markets, increasing human populations, the massive hunting of game by white settlers, and the "significant killing of wildlife to provide cheap protein for prisoners and troops" (Marekia, 1991: 156) during the two world wars, combined to decimate wildlife populations in East Africa. Rather than recognizing the connections between the dwindling wildlife populations and the dominating and exploitative dynamics of British ideological and socioeconomic systems, the British colonialists blamed the "barbaric" East African peoples for the declining wildlife numbers, justifying the construction of national parks and reserves in East Africa based on a separationist model of wildlife set apart from the "destructive" capacities of the people

(invalidating systems of sustainability that traditional East African societies had followed for millennia prior to colonial contact). The model for these national parks and reserves was supplied by the United States, which had organized a park model in

North America beginning "in March 1872, when President Ulysses S. Grant signed legislation designating over 2 million acres of north-eastern Wyoming as Yellowstone National Park" (Marekia, 1991: 158). Hales (1989) provides an excellent synopsis of this model, recognizing that the U.S. national park system relied upon several important assumptions: parks were generally created for scenic beauty, not the preservation of biodiversity; parks were created for the enjoyment of people, but not for their basic survival, because it was taken for granted that parks had little or no inherent economic value; parks were "set aside" and isolated from human habitation and use; and based on the size and complexity of local agendas in America, parks were controlled and managed by the highest national authorities, and not at the local level. Unfortunately for the East African people and environment, "this idea was transferred wholesale to the African continent, with no regard to geographic, cultural, or economic differences" (Marekia, 1991: 158). With the imposition of the U.S. model of national parks (first instituted in the establishment of Nairobi National Park in 1946), the British continued a colonial legacy of alienating the indigenous people (who were not allowed to enter the parks) and applying Northern models of "development" and "conservation" that did not apply to the East African context. The idea of an African "wilderness" was a myth that did not apply to the ways in which traditional societies - from pastoralists to agriculturalists - had depended upon a close association with East African resources, animals, and plants for millenia, and the national park model immediately created land-use conflicts, antagonisms, and a deep-seated resistance of conservation strategies within the hearts of the East African people that has remained one of the most difficult obstacles to effective environmental protection in the modern era (Hill, 1991).

Consistently, the development of conservation strategies during the colonial period in Kenya and Tanzania reinforced the capitalist self-interests, the ideological notion of "man vs. nature," and the disregard for indigenous knowledge and strategies of self-sustainability that characterized British relationships with the East African geography. The institutionalization of these aspects of British colonialism alienated the East African people from their lifestyles, their cultural identities, and their capacity to live sustainably with the environment. These aspects of the colonial period introduced a system of disregarding local peoples and beliefs in favor of environmental and developmental "solutions" based on a capitalist mentality of economic growth and resource extraction. Throughout the colonial and the postcolonial periods, the failure of these "solutions" to provide lasting sustainability for social and ecological systems in East Africa has become increasingly apparent, as systemic degradation and impoverishment have manifested themselves as ecological and human crises in Kenya and Tanzania. The colonial and postcolonial implications of Northern conservation and development strategies applied in the East African context are considered more fully in Chapters 5 and 7.

## Colonial Management and Mismanagement

The management and restructuring of East African human-environmental interactions according to British traditions and ideologies was another important colonial agenda imposed on the East African people and environment. The British approached the management of the East African environment and people based on a mechanistic, male-dominant world view, and based on British experience with infrastructural, agricultural, and socioeconomic organization in England, and these traditions proved disastrous when applied to the East African context because they did not account for the complex interactions between ecological and social systems that existed in Kenya and Tanzania prior to colonial occupation. Based on an inherently sexist and racist, Judeo-Christian world view that was reinforced by notions of East Africans as "barbaric" and "backward" (that prior Portuguese exploration of the East African coast had fostered in the minds of British colonists), the British colonial management of East African resources and peoples completely disregarded the traditional knowledge and sustainability of East African human communities. The British had no sense of the intricate dynamics of East African ecosystems or of the sustainability of indigenous management systems, and the combination of a dominating world view in connection with a capitalist mentality of economic growth, these factors led to a number of colonial management decisions that proved inadequate for the East African environment and oppressive for the East African people. These management and restructuring decisions included: the privatization of land and resources according to a British, capitalist model; the centralization of the economy within urban centers; and the designation of "economic" and "uneconomic" activities according to British colonial world views. These will be considered below.

The privatization of land imposed by the British colonial system was important in providing a foundation for the capitalist ownership of East African resources, and proved disastrous to the human and ecological systems of Kenya and Tanzania. Because East Africa was colonized with the intention of creating capitalist markets and resources for the British, the privatization of land in East Africa mainly benefited white settlers, and overseas interests in England. The most productive and fertile areas - such as the "White Highlands" at the base of Mt. Kenya and outside of Nairobi - were reserved for white settlers to use as prime farming and grazing land, a process that proved disastrous for traditional Kenyan and Tanzanian societies that had relied on the resources of the "Highlands" for agriculture and rangelands, especially when drought conditions destroyed more fragile resources in semi-arid regions. The privatization of land through "the individualization of land tenure" (Kanogo, 1991: 10) proved to be alienating and ecologically destructive, not only by denying indigenous peoples important resources and forcing them to overuse more fragile landscapes, but also because land privatization invalidated the potential for

traditionally sustainable methods of resource use - such as shifting cultivation by agriculturalists and rotational use of rangelands by pastoralists. Shifting cultivation became less accessible as land was privatized and subdivided according to ownership, and the agricultural pressures exerted on smaller and smaller plots of land proved to be extremely degrading for the soil and impoverishing for the East African people.

The colonial centralization of the East African economy within urban centers was based on the emerging, industrial notion of the importance of "town" and "country" in England (Davidson, 1992), in which the towns served as focal points for the manufacture and production of resources from the rural areas in the country. The capitalist stimulation of economic growth involved in this process often left rural laborers and wage laborers in the cities in abject poverty, a situation that was repeated on a larger and more destructive scale when the notion of "town" and "country" was transplanted to East Africa with British colonization. The development of East African cities - such as the Kenyan capital of Nairobi and the Kenyan coastal city of Mombasa - was intended to provide more effectively for the capitalist exploitation, extraction, and exporting of resources to England, in line with British colonial agendas of economic growth and capitalist market expansion. For the majority of East African people, though, the imposition of the "town" and "country" model was economically and culturally destructive. The construction of East African metropolises alienated the rural communities and robbed them of local, natural resources and the capacity to live self-sustainably. The traditional systems of ecological and social sustainability were further disrupted by the "town" and "country" model because the emergence of cities and of wage labor drew an increasing population of males away from rural areas and into the cities (a process that is continuing in East Africa today), especially as the privatization of land ownership made rural life less sustainable and accessible for a large percentage of rural families. The migration of men from rural communities "to meet metropolitan demands during the colonial period played havoc with the environment" (Kanogo, 1991: 11) because women were forced to take on the burdens of agricultural production and land management that had traditionally been divided between men and women. Women's work in rural communities was considered "uneconomic" and was invalidated by a patriarchal colonial system that reinforced the gender divisions in traditional society that prevented women from owning land and managing resources without the consent of fathers, brothers, or husbands. The alienation and domination of women in East Africa prevented them from effectively and sustainably managing local, natural resources, a process that has become increasingly destructive for the environment in the modern era (Joeke et. al., 1995).

British management of East African human and ecological systems also involved the designation of "economic" and "uneconomic" activities that confirmed the colonial world view and ideological frameworks of the British, despite their inadequacy in addressing the socioeconomic and environmental realities of the East African geography. The environmentally-destructive alienation of women from the process of sustainable land management mentioned above, provides a good demonstration of colonial mismanagement based on an inadequate assessment of the East African context and based on colonial biases. The "town" and "country" model imposed by colonial restructuring policies prevented women - as the primary environmental managers - from being able to effectively sustain natural resources because of the overburdening tasks of the work caused by the urban migration of males. The sexist tendencies of British colonization failed to acknowledge the importance of women as environmental managers and the hardships that women suffered under, because of their overburdened work lives. Often, colonial projects - such as reforestation and soil conservation - failed to be effective because of the short-sightedness and sexism on the part of the British. Despite the fact that women were primarily responsible for the labor involved in British conservation projects that were organized by colonial planning, women were not rewarded for their efforts in wages, food, resource allocation, or an easing of their work burdens caused by the urban migration of rural males. The British work projects were considered voluntary and "uneconomic," and when "decisions were being made regarding the logistics of dealing with the fragile ecological imbalance, women who were the central labor force were left out of the deliberations" (Kanogo, 1991: 13) due to colonial sexist and racist disregard of rural peoples. As a result, women often resisted the work projects - through lack of completion of the projects - because the British (based on mismanagement) failed to see the connections between the urban migration of males and the increasing degradation of the environment, and because the British (based on cultural biases) refused to acknowledge the labor and wisdom of indigenous women as valid within the East African context. As a result, their work projects failed dismally.



British mismanagement of the East African people and environment took many other forms as well. British colonial planning and restructuring of human and natural relationships in East Africa "introduced intensive farming, plantation crops, and commercial livestock husbandry... These developments exerted more pressure on the soils, interrupted the stability of farming practices and in fact fragmented land into

smaller pieces, which in many instances reduced the 'fallow farming methods' to nil" (Korir-Koech, 1991: 22). Ultimately, these "developments" proved disastrous because they were based on an inadequate colonial understanding, of the dynamics of human-environmental interaction in East Africa as they existed in traditional societies, and the complexities of East African ecosystems. Plantation and cash crops destroyed soil fertility and failed to provide local peoples with nutritious food resources. The importation of commercial livestock was also disastrous because they were killed off by environmental pressures such as disease, that indigenous cattle had evolved to survive with for thousands of years. In addition, colonial projects were organized: to "reforest" areas that had never been forested; to provide inadequate British terracing for irrigation systems that had been effective based on indigenous terracing schemes; and to introduce monocropping in complex soil zones that were only sustainable for the people and for the soil fertility based on indigenous systems of multicropping. Often, colonial mismanagement was justified by placing the blame on the East African people: "In accordance with the colonial [mis]perception of the environmental problem as primarily one of mismanagement on the part of the indigenous people, colonial conservation measures focused on changing land husbandry techniques in ways meant to prevent or reverse degradation" (Vivian, 1995: 180). This justification was based on British racism, failure to understand the dynamics of the East African geography, and misperceptions of "economic growth" and "capitalist development" as strategies that would make possible environmental and social sustainability for the East African human and natural resources. These misperceptions, and the mismanagement of the colonial era, began a legacy of destructive interactions with East African peoples and natural resources that has continued to worsen in the modern era of "Northern" imperialism today.

## **CHAPTER 5:**

### **Inheriting a Legacy of Domination:**

#### **The Postcolonial Period**



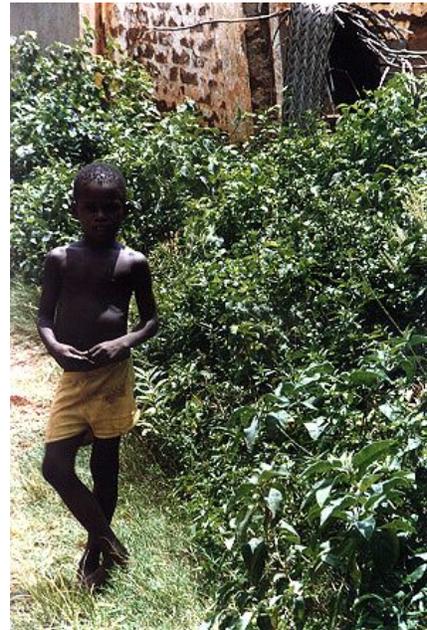
The urban centers of East Africa - such as Dar Es Salaam, the capital of Tanzania, and the coastal city of Mombasa in Kenya - include all of the amenities and luxuries of European and North American cities. Nairobi, the capital of Kenya and the socioeconomic center of East Africa,

especially evidences these characteristics. The Kenyan metropolis bustles with human activity along its sidewalks and in its streets throughout the day. The inner city has shops and markets, hotels and restaurants on every corner. Peddlers and vendors sell jewelry, "elephant hair bracelets," artwork, carrying bags, and cloth throughout the inner city. Vast skyscrapers glisten under the intensity of the Kenyan sun and shimmer in the African heat. Although annual growth in Kenya's GNP has been low - %0.6 from 1983 to 1993 - the economic activity in Nairobi seems to indicate successful economic growth and expanding capitalist production since Independence from the colonial era in 1963. However, the basic, external appearance of the modern metropolis is deceiving. Closer observation reveals that there are many infrastructural problems in the city. The city streets are strewn with garbage because there are almost no garbage cans and no effective disposal systems in Kenya or Tanzania. Beggars suffering from debilitating diseases including typhoid, polio, cerebral palsy, and elephantiasis are huddled on sidewalks throughout the city, and Nairobi is renowned for a large population of street children who crowd around white tourists begging for money, food, or whatever they can spare. Although there are drinking fountains throughout the city, none of them work because water supplies are regularly not available, even in hotel rooms reserved for white tourists. Although there are impressive restaurants and beautiful hotel palaces in the city center of Nairobi, they are vastly more expensive than the majority of black Africans can afford. Likewise, expensive paintings, jewelry, and trinkets in the shops of the city are reserved for consumption by the white tourists from Europe and America who visit Nairobi, and not the black Africans who actually live in the city. Furthermore, the majority of cars in the city are owned by a small, wealthy elite of black Africans and white tourists or foreign ambassadors. The dirty, claustrophobic buses that operate as public transportation are always filled to capacity with the rest of the people of Nairobi. And a closer investigation still of the city reveals that the skyscrapers are all owned by foreign interests - primarily from Europe and America - and the inner city of Nairobi makes up only the small portion of the metropolis that most white tourists visit. The outlying districts - as I discovered when I explored them this spring and lived on the outskirts of the city for several weeks - are made up of small settlements and vast slums that have no running water, inconsistent electricity, and severe sanitation problems. Most of the urban Kenyans of Nairobi live in these districts. The situation is even more bleak in the rural areas, where lack of clean water, lack of good sanitation, lack of electricity, and lack of access to medicinal supplies because of poor transportation networks and impoverished standards of living plague the majority of rural communities. The image of "modernization" that Nairobi and the other urban centers of East Africa portray, cannot hide the profound realities of Southern impoverishment and degradation today. Economic growth and capitalist expansion in the postcolonial period after Independence have provided a small elite of wealthy black Africans and privileged white tourists - and the foreign corporate owners of East

African resources - with a significant increase in socioeconomic opportunities. But for the majority, environmental degradation and social impoverishment have worsened since the colonial period as capitalist dynamics and the preservation of a dependency relationship between "North" and "South" have been maintained and exploited to the full advantage of "Northern" socioeconomic empowerment. For the majority of people in Nairobi and in East Africa, the postcolonial period has only been an extension of imperialist domination and exploitation of the people and the environment.

### **The Preservation of "North/South" Dependency**

Rodney (1981) stresses the negative social, economic, and environmental impacts of the colonial period when he states: "The only positive development in colonialism was when it ended" (261). Although Rodney (1981) accurately deconstructs the European colonization of Africa as a fundamentally oppressive relationship which fostered African dependency and alienated the African peoples from their cultural identities, their traditional sociocultural organization, and their sustainable relationships with the environment, he fails to make a strong enough connection between colonial dependency, and postcolonial exploitation and extraction of resources by Northern - primarily U.S. and Western European - capitalist interests. In 1961, Tanganyika gained independence from the British colonial system (and joined with the island nation of Zanzibar in 1964 to form



Tanzania), and in 1963, the colonial period ended in Kenya with independence as well. However, the "end" of the colonial period did not mean an end to "Northern" exploitation of East African resources, human labor, and systems of production. Although Kenya and Tanzania were no longer settler colonies occupied by white farmers, administrators, and officials, they continued to relate to Britain, and increasingly to the United States after World War II (when the U.S. became the significant, economic world power and began to "aid" developing countries through IMF and World Bank loans), as an oppressed member of an exploitative, dependency relationship that "Northern" countries fostered to preserve their capitalist interests and socioeconomic dominance in the global economy. The preservation of this dependency relationship throughout the postcolonial period has taken many socially

and environmentally destructive forms in East Africa, and it is extremely important to deconstruct the negative dynamics and aspects of this relationship to understand how imperialist exploitation from the "North," and from within Kenya and Tanzania, has continued to reproduce itself, the degradation of the East African environment, and the impoverishment of the East African people.

Jarrett (1996) begins this process of deconstruction by arguing that the destructive impacts of African "neo-colonialism" (an apt title referring to the continuing exploitation and domination of African human and natural resources during the postcolonial period) involve a number of "key participants in the exploitation of Africa's economy" (82), the most important of which are: the indigenous political and administrative officials and elites of Kenya and Tanzania; and the corporate and capitalist interests of developed nations, represented by the continuing involvement of the World Bank, the IMF, and "Northern" interests on a governmental level within the context of the East African geography. The importance of each of these actors within the context of postcolonial power dynamics, conservation and development issues, and the reproduction of extractive and oppressive capitalist interests in East Africa and in the context of the "global economy," are considered below.

### **Swallowing the Colonial System: Indigenous African Elites and Officials**

The colonial period of British occupation of Kenya and Tanzania was destructive for the people and the environment of East Africa for a number of reasons, including: the forceful use of East African labor (to create the railroads, to work on plantations, to work as wage laborers); the degrading use of exotic genetic resources imposed upon the East African environment; and the devastating eradication of East African wildlife, forests, and crops to make way for European monocropping, intensive agriculture, and commercial livestock husbandry. However, one of the most profound and lasting effects of the colonial process is less tangible. Perhaps the most destructive aspect of British colonialism in the long term was the internalization of the contradictions of the colonial, capitalist-centered world view by the East African people; the profound sociocultural disruption of traditional systems of human and environmental management realized over the course of the colonial period radically changed the ways in which many Kenyan and Tanzanian peoples were capable of relating to each other and the environment. A number of pastoral groups - such as the Samburu, the Maasai, and the Turkana - actively rejected certain aspects of colonial lifestyles and world views because these beliefs systems were in fundamental opposition with the ways in which pastoralists and nomads structured their lives (e.g.

according to seasonal migration vs. sedenterization, holistic rather than rationalizing approaches to the world, coexistence with rather than domination of the natural world, etc.). But many East African peoples were not able to follow this pattern. Increasing population pressures (due to increasing food supplies, medicinal supplies, and sedenterization of populations) and the imposition of an exploitative and extractive model of capitalist-based socioeconomic organization forced many East African peoples to abandon strategies and lifestyles that had been sustainable for them during the precolonial era, in favor of urban wage labor and intensive agricultural production based on the dependency relationships designed by British colonial efforts in East Africa. By the time East African peoples began to resist the oppressive and dominating dynamics of British colonial occupation of Tanzania and Kenya in the 1940s and 1950s, the disruption of traditional, ideological and sociocultural frameworks of many East African peoples effected by colonial restructuring of the East African geography had been profound enough that East African peoples embraced the realities of the colonizing mentality as their own. As Davidson (1992) suggests, "Against the 1950s leaders of nationalism, the real count is not that they failed to foresee the traps and snares that lay ahead, but that they all too easily accepted what was offered them. They accepted the colonial legacy - whether of frontiers or of bureaucratic dictatorship - on the rash assumption that they could master it. But as things turned out, it mastered them" (181), because they had accepted the realities of the colonial and capitalist mindset responsible for their own subjugation and oppression; they had swallowed the framework of their own dependency, and this had profound effects in connection with developmental and conservation failures, and the increasing ecological and human crises in East Africa, throughout the modern era.



The departing colonial officials, especially from Kenya, ensured that the postcolonial governments headed by indigenous Africans would not only embrace capitalist philosophies and forms of socioeconomic organization, but that they would furthermore guide the economic growth of the East Africa Region as an economic satellite supplying "Northern" nations with resources and cheap exports within the context of the global economy. The colonial administrators did not want a capitalist competitor; the British colonial administration intended to manipulate emerging East African leadership so that East African socioeconomic policies were consistent with the dependency model that the British had structured throughout the colonial period in Kenya and Tanzania. Although Tanzania's election of Nyerere as president soon after independence began a resistance of purely capitalist policies in favor of socialist organizational principles (a trend which changed as Tanzania sought

to embrace capitalist markets and forms of production throughout the 1980s and 90s), the appointment of Jomo Kenyatta and of Daniel Arap Moi (*pictured here*) as Kenya's postcolonial presidents has been effective in perpetuating capitalist-based dependency relationships between the "North" and "South" in the postcolonial era. Although Kenyatta and Moi were heralded by many Kenyan peoples as "heroes" representing the people, their popularity was in fact supported by colonial expatriate officials who saw the opportunity in Kenyatta and Moi to preserve colonial policies and designs for the East African environment as a source of raw materials and labor strengthening "Northern" economic superiority on a global scale. It is no accident that the economic policies instituted under the Kenyatta and Moi regimes have favored foreign investment, foreign ownership of resources, and capitalist principles of production and resource exploitation in Kenya. It is also no accident that while these policies continued to provide a lack of sustainable solutions for the majority of the Kenyan people - especially in the rural areas - the personal wealth and luxuries of the presidents and of their administrations - in the form of expensive cars, personal jets, and multiple homes - have been profound. The political structure of the postcolonial Kenyan nation was purposely organized around the corruption of high officials to preserve the colonial and capitalist legacies of socioeconomic domination and exploitation in East Africa. Jarrett (1996) stresses this connection in his analysis of neo-colonial, indigenous leadership in Africa: in "the African version of neo-colonialism,... the indigenous African leaders and chief officials are engaged simultaneously in massive exploitation of their people and in contributing greatly to the economic progress of developed nations" (81) based on the personal wealth that the leaders continue to accumulate through the process. Unfortunately, political leadership by a small, wealthy elite of corrupt state officials has been guiding capitalist-driven policies, and systems of degradation and impoverishment in East Africa, consistently since the "end" of the colonial period, reinforcing the relationship of dependency that Western Europe and the U.S. has actively fostered in East Africa throughout the modern era. The promotion of "Northern" development and conservation policies, in the form of governmental "aid" projects, will be considered further in the following section on the contributions of "developed" nations to the postcolonial power dynamics and the reproduction of extractive and exploitative capitalist interests in East Africa.

Although the corruption of sociopolitical leadership in East Africa is partly responsible for the crises of environmental devastation and human poverty, it is not sufficient to account for the institutionalization of capitalist dynamics and dependency relationships between Europe and the U.S., versus Kenya and Tanzania. Stahl (1993) recognizes that, "from a broad perspective, factors contributing to [environmental crisis] include recurrent drought, unfavorable terms of trade, unwise use of loans and grants, population growth, corrupt leadership, civil strife, etc." (505). Although

corrupt leadership contributes to land degradation and human underdevelopment in East Africa, Stahl acknowledges that corrupt leadership is only one factor within a greater contextual framework of socioeconomic management based on a capitalist model that has proven destructive and dysfunctional within the East African context. The approach that indigenous governmental and non-governmental conservation and development strategies have taken - even those that are not biased by political corruption - have been riddled with failures to provide sustainable solutions for land degradation and rural poverty, because these strategies have been fundamentally based on capitalist and colonial notions that East Africans have embraced implicitly since the colonial period. This is further reinforced by the basing of most indigenous organizations heading development and conservation projects (such as the Kenya Wildlife Services, the dominant, governmental division reserved for conservation efforts) within the urban centers, where capitalist processes are most prevalent within the East African context.

The failures that urban East Africans have encountered with conservation strategies organized according to a modernizing, capitalist approach are illustrated clearly by a number of authors addressing the subject. Chiuri et. al. (1991) argues convincingly that the marginalization of women from the conservation and land management process during the colonial period has continued throughout the postcolonial era, based on the preservation of male-dominant principles that existed during the precolonial era of gender divisions in traditional societies, and that were perpetuated and used to alienate women from the development and conservation process during the colonial era. Chiuri et. al. (1991) suggests that women have been disregarded because their beliefs in sustainable management challenge the capitalist mentality and the concept of nature as a set of exploitable resources, that most government officials take for granted in their modeling of conservation strategies: "the new management practices exercised mainly by the government sector and development agencies view nature as a commercial entity which human beings can exploit to meet their needs. There is a mechanistic approach to bringing nature under control" (20). According to Chiuri et. al. (1991), lasting and effective conservation and development of the human and natural environment must involve women - who are the primary environmental managers in East Africa - and their holistic, traditional approaches to natural resource management. The continuing alienation of women according to a mechanistic model of the domination of nature as a "commercial entity" perpetuates a colonial and capitalist model of "development" which has failed to provide lasting models of social, ecological, and economic sustainability for the East African context.

## **Chapter 5 (continued)**

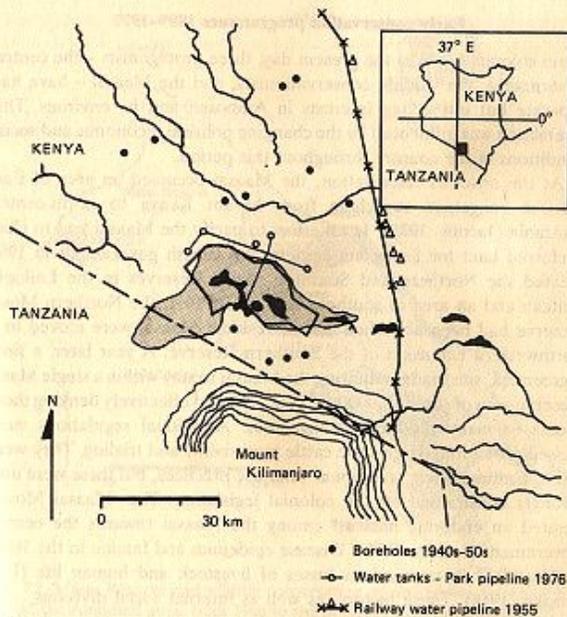


Fig. 71. Amboseli and its environs. The Amboseli basin (light shading) and National Park boundaries (heavy line) are shown. Swamps (dark shading) and seasonal rivers are noted, as are man-made water sources; boreholes constructed in the 1940s and 1950s (closed circles), water tanks of the Park pipeline completed in 1976 (open circles), and the railway water pipeline (solid line with crosses, water points are triangles) built in 1955.

The example of conservation and development strategies in Amboseli National Park, considered in depth by Lindsay (1987) and Western (1994b), provides an excellent illustration of the ways in which East African policy decisions in the postcolonial era have failed to conserve the ecological diversity of the park and have failed to provide for the land-use and grazing needs of the pastoralist Maasai in the area, based on a colonial British mindset that continues to manifest itself in the actions of indigenous officials and administrators all too clearly in the modern era. Amboseli National Park is located on the Kenya-Tanzania border and is well known through photographic images of elephants moving in a herd across vast savannas with the snowy peak of Mt.

Kilimanjaro rising out of the clouds in the distance. The watershed formed by Kilimanjaro 30 km. to the south in Tanzania has created a complex ecological zone renowned for its biodiversity and concentration of African wildlife. Lindsay (1987) documents the colonial history of Amboseli to demonstrate convincingly how the interests of the Maasai people who have lived in the area for centuries and rely upon its watering holes and rangeland for sociocultural survival, have historically been alienated by the British from development and conservation strategies that affect them directly. Lindsay (1987) offers a map (*shown below*) of the area to illustrate this process of alienation throughout the colonial period (153). In the early 1900s the Maasai were forcefully removed from traditional grazing areas "in an effort to pacify the Maasai and to clear preferred land for European settlers" (152), and were placed in the North and South Masai Reserves by colonial plans to restructure human-environmental dynamics in the East Africa Region according to British, capitalist designs of natural resource exploitation and extraction in the area. Throughout the twentieth century the size of these reserves were decreased to make possible further colonial exploitation of resources in the area (by setting up agricultural schemes that proved disastrous for the fragile soil fertility in the primarily semi-arid region). In the post-WWII era, colonial planning for the Amboseli region focused on the construction of national parks and reserves to provide environmental protection for wildlife according to a separationist model that prohibited human habitation and resource use within the parks and reserves. British colonial involvement in Amboseli was

consistently characterized by alienation of the Maasai, from grazing rights in the area, from taking part in the organization of conservation and development strategies in the area, and from economic benefits accrued through the preservation of Amboseli as a national park visited by "Northern" tourists. British alienation of the Maasai was based on a colonial ideology that: dehumanized the pastoralists as "backward" and "barbaric;" disregarded the sustainability of traditional land-use strategies in favor of an emerging model of economic growth for the nation through eco-tourist activities in the region; and based conservation strategies on a notion of "man vs. nature" that failed to apply to the East African context of a natural world that had been managed by the pastoralists for millennia.

As Western (1994b) and Lindsay (1987) demonstrate, the parallels between British colonial land management and postcolonial conservation and development strategies in the Amboseli region, are revealing of how fully indigenous government officials have internalized a modernizing, capitalist approach that has continued to be riddled with failures in the East African context. Although postcolonial conservation and development strategies have attempted to integrate Maasai land-use needs and environmental protection agendas in theory, these strategies have continuously failed in practice because they perpetuate colonial policies and philosophies. Lindsay (1987) recognizes that all of the attempts at postcolonial development and conservation schemes

"have ultimately failed to provide the Maasai community with continuous appreciable benefit in return for compromises in the use of their land" (161). In an overview of conservation and development policies in the Amboseli region, Western (1994b) supports this by saying that, "unquestionably, the biggest single failing was at governmental and institutional levels. The strong persistence of colonial preservationist policies, coupled with a continuing paternalistic attitude toward nomadic pastoralists among senior administrators, put the brakes on an open dialogue" (47). The perpetuation of a destructive colonial mentality has been further compounded by the postcolonial acceptance of capitalist philosophies of socioeconomic organization and "development" that concentrate on the eco-tourist

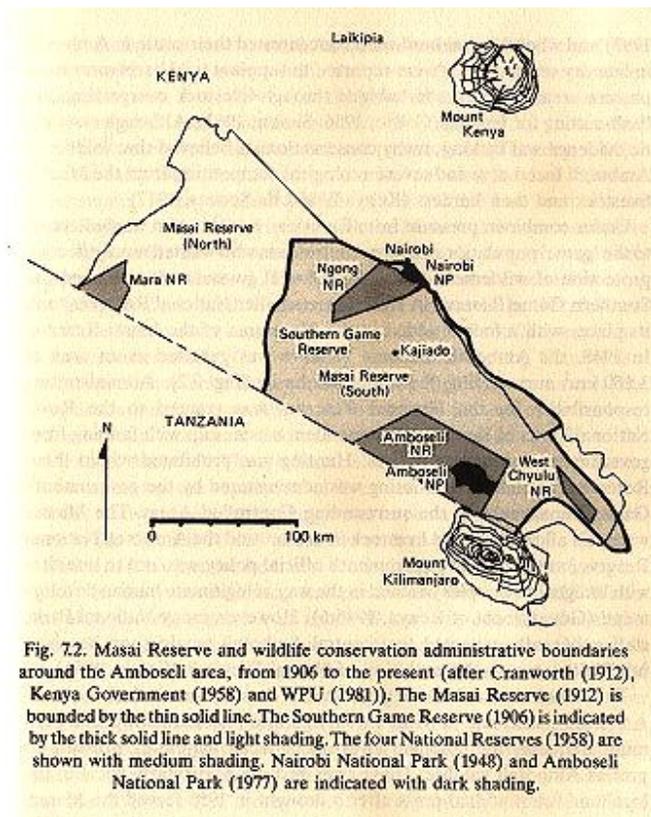


Fig. 7.2. Masai Reserve and wildlife conservation administrative boundaries around the Amboseli area, from 1906 to the present (after Cranworth (1912), Kenya Government (1958) and WPU (1981)). The Masai Reserve (1912) is bounded by the thin solid line. The Southern Game Reserve (1906) is indicated by the thick solid line and light shading. The four National Reserves (1958) are shown with medium shading. Nairobi National Park (1948) and Amboseli National Park (1977) are indicated with dark shading.

profitability of national parks for the nation and not on the sustainability of specific cultural groups such as the Maasai living in the Amboseli region. This national focus on capitalist, economic growth exists in direct opposition to the sustainable use and local control of Amboseli's resources by the Maasai people. Although community ranchers, farmers, and indigenous entrepreneurs organizing safaris in Amboseli have been encouraged to take advantage of ecotourist revenues pouring into Amboseli with "Northern" tourists every year, it is unclear if a focus on capitalist expansion of economic growth and markets can ultimately provide a lasting answer for the sustainable use of natural resources in the area. Western (1994b) is aware of this when he explains that "neither ecological nor cultural factors favoring coexistence will persist in the face of development" (48). Based on Western's (1994b) observation, and based on the evidence of environmental degradation and human impoverishment realized by the exploitative, capitalist focus imposed during the colonial era and perpetuated during the postcolonial era, the scope of human and ecological problems in East Africa becomes much more profound. It is not merely a question of corrupt politicians or of paternalistic officials that must be addressed, but a questioning of the global, capitalist framework of human and ecological exploitation that is demanded. The deconstruction of the continuing involvement of "developed" nations within the East African context (considered below and throughout Chapters 6 and 7), will demonstrate that the colonizing and extractive mentality introduced by the British and perpetuated in the name of a "global capitalist economy," has failed to provide lasting social and ecological solutions for Kenya and Tanzania and is directly opposed to the realization of sustainable forms of coexistence between people and the environment in the East Africa Region.

### **The Perpetuation of Imperialism: Developed Nations in East Africa**

In his discussion of the exploitative and destructive tendencies of the globalization of capitalism, Korten (1996) makes a clear connection between "North/South" relationships in the colonial and postcolonial eras: "Traditional colonialism came to an end after World War II, and the new corporate colonialism - advanced through foreign aid, investment, and trade - stepped into the breach... It was more subtle, more sophisticated, and more appealing than the old colonialism, but the consequence was much the same - ever greater dependence on the money economy and thus institutions of money that could be controlled by the few" (253). Korten's (1996) observations are particularly applicable in the East African context, where a dependency relationship imposed by the British during the colonial period has been replaced by government "assistance" from the U.S. and Western Europe - advanced through developing

ecotourist strategies, "foreign aid, investment, and trade" - in the postcolonial era of East African "modernization." Although "Northern" nations no longer physically occupy Kenya and Tanzania as settler colonies, the socioeconomic pressures of "assistance" and "aid" programs, and the perpetuation of foreign investment and Northern-dominated trade practices, preserve the dependency and the resource exploitation of East Africa with the same consequences of environmental degradation and human impoverishment in Kenya and Tanzania.

A number of examples clearly illustrate the perpetuation of "the new corporate colonialism" in the East African context, and the ways in which this "neo-colonialism" continues to be beneficial for "Northern" capitalist interests at the expense of long-term East African economic, social, and ecological sustainability. Juma's (1991) discussion of "exotic genetic resources" - referenced earlier in the colonial context of the British imposition of cash crops and livestock upon the Kenyan and Tanzanian environment - is instructive of the ways in which colonial domination and control of Kenya's agricultural sector continues to be perpetuated in the postcolonial era. Juma (1991) recognizes that in Kenya,

"over the 1964-1985 period, the country imported nearly 64 percent of all genetic resource accessions used for breeding... the country is largely dependent on foreign sources for most of the major crops. Nearly 88 percent of the cereal accessions stored in the country are imported. This is not a surprise because the agricultural sector is based on exotic genetic resources. None of the major crops are indigenous and therefore imports have to be done to maintain breeding programs. Food crops in which the country has relatively high local accessions include cassava, sweet potato, pasture species and oil crops. None of these are major crops and their contribution to the economy is still marginal" (128).

Juma's observations provide sound, statistical evidence of the preservation of a dependency relationship between "Northern" and "Southern" peoples and socioeconomic systems. The supply of exotic crops such as cereals, grains, and wheat imposed upon the East African context during the colonial era is still dependent on "Northern" exports. Within the context of a globalized capitalist economy, Kenya is pressured to concentrate agricultural efforts on the production of these "major crops" to preserve an important GNP earner for Kenya as a nation. However, the focus on the production of these crops has many negative impacts on the Kenyan people and environment. Wheat and cereals are extremely degradative of soil fertility. These crops also take up a significant amount of space for cultivation even though they are not primarily consumed by indigenous peoples but by "Northern" consumers. Because supply and demand of these crops are controlled by "Northern" business interests and consumers, African farmers are forced to buy the exotic imports at high rates and sell at low prices to remain "competitive." Under the guise of capitalist development and "modernization," this dynamic has the effect of perpetuating East African poverty and

land degradation, and continuing the expansion of economic growth markets in the "North," begun with the dependency relations manifest in the colonial era.

The involvement of the World Bank and the IMF in East Africa - and in the "South" in general - has also been indicative of the continuing dependency characterizing "North/South" relationships in Kenya and Tanzania. Korten (1996) stresses that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were intentionally created to represent "Northern" interests and the perpetuation of dependency between economic superpowers - such as Britain and the U.S. - and economic satellites - such as Kenya and Tanzania. "The framework for a post-World War II economy, which had been worked out largely between the United States and Britain, called for the creation of... the World Bank [and] the International Monetary Fund" (Korten, 1996: 173) to represent the exploitative capitalist interests and international policies of the "North" in the East African context. "The World Bank and the IMF have worked in concert to deepen the dependence of low-income countries on the global system and then to open their economies to corporate colonization" (Korten, 1996: 181). In Kenya and Tanzania, as in other African nations, World Bank and IMF activities have been manifested in a number of ways. "The IMF imposes high interests on the principal of loans to African nations" (Jarrett, 1996: 86), but the generation of raw materials such as agricultural products (e.g. the cash crops of wheat, cereals, etc. in Kenya) do not produce a margin of profits for the East African nations (whose resources are owned and operated from overseas corporate control), sufficient to repay the debts. This is compounded by World Bank and IMF loans being provided to developing countries based on the partial use of the loans by the East African people to buy goods and products imported from "Northern" countries, regardless of their practical usefulness in the lives of the Kenyan and Tanzanian people. In addition, World Bank and IMF loans in Kenya and Tanzania are diverted, in part, to banking accounts of the small, wealthy elites representing the sociopolitical structure at the national level, further encouraging political corruption and weakening the possibility of governmental resistance to the perpetuation of "Southern" socioeconomic dependency in relation to the U.S. and Britain. For the majority of the East African people, these "assistance" programs are fundamentally oppressive and exploitative, reinforcing the capitalist dynamics of a global economy meant to preserve Kenya and Tanzania as "economic satellites" producing wealth and economic expansion for Western European countries and the United States. The perpetuation of "Southern" degradation and impoverishment by the World Bank and the IMF acknowledged by Korten (1996), echoes the situation in Kenya and Tanzania clearly, and debunks the myth of Northern "aid" programs providing real and lasting "modernization" and "development" for East Africa.

"Foreign aid, even grant aid, becomes actively antidevelopmental when the proceeds are used to build dependence on imported technology and experts, encourage import-dependent consumer

lifestyles, fund waste and corruption, displace domestically produced products with imports, and drive millions of people from the lands and waters on which they depend for their livelihoods - all of which are common outcomes of World Bank projects and structural adjustment programs" (171).

It is important to remember, however, that the World Bank and the IMF are not the ultimate "cause" of degradation and impoverishment in East Africa, but rather represent a manifestation of a globalized capitalist system of socioeconomic organization. Korten (1996) recognizes this when he suggests that "although it seeks to create an image of serving the poor and their borrowing governments, the World Bank is primarily a creature of the transnational financial system" (166), representing the capitalist ethics of economic growth and expansion. As Marx (1996) recognized clearly in his analysis of capitalist dynamics, the capitalist system is predicated upon exploitation and appropriation of resources. The reproduction of the global capitalist system relies implicitly upon the assumption of economic expansion according to never-ending growth (Schnaiberg et. al., 1994). The capitalist mentality is also characterized by the commodification of human and natural resources into "use- and exchange values," according to Marx (1996), and this commodification has justified massive exploitation of people, resources, and the environment, based on an assessment of their profitability and market value. Taken together, the assumptions of never-ending growth as "possible" and the commodification of people (through their labor) and of the environment (through resource production) as "necessary," have proved devastating for East Africa, perpetuating an unsustainable form of socioeconomic organization that must ultimately prove self-destructive, given the limited resources that this finite planet provides (Schnaiberg et. al., 1994). Throughout the remainder of this thesis I will use case studies of real objects, situations, and dynamics in the contemporary, East African context to demonstrate the profoundly self-destructive tendencies of this globalized capitalist system in practice, and I will argue that sustainable solutions that begin to reverse modern trends of environmental degradation and human impoverishment will not be realized until fundamental, systemic alternatives to the neo-colonial dynamics of dependency, exploitation, and domination of cultural groups and ecological systems in East Africa - and worldwide - are embraced.

## **CHAPTER 6:**

### **The Worldwide Ivory Ban: Consequences and Considerations**



The three largest land mammals in the world - the African elephant, the white rhinoceros, and the

black rhinoceros - are concentrated on the African continent, and some of the largest remaining populations of these animals live in Kenya and Tanzania. Elephants and rhinos have long been considered symbolic of the wildness and majesty of the vast African savannas by "Northern" conservationists. During the postcolonial era of indigenous African leadership, elephant and rhino populations have been decimated by intensive poaching efforts; East African black rhino are on the verge of extinction and elephants are not far behind... In Kenya, the [elephant] population has dropped from 130,000 in 1973 to 16,000 in 1989... Black rhino populations have taken an even more dramatic plunge... from 20,000 in 1970 to approximately 400 today" (Braude, 1992: 1). In 1989, led by the efforts of Richard Leakey - director of the Kenya Wildlife Services and Kenyan National Parks - and supported by a call to immediate action from conservationists from around the world (but based primarily in "Northern" countries), a worldwide ivory ban was instituted in attempts to halt the lucrative ivory trade responsible for the poaching intensity in East Africa.

Although the worldwide ivory ban seems to be a simple issue of elephant and rhinoceros protection, the ban has remained extremely controversial, because it reflects the power dynamics of "North/South" relationships of dependency that have been perpetuated throughout the colonial and postcolonial periods. A further deconstruction of the worldwide ivory ban illustrates these power dynamics in the East African context quite clearly, demonstrating that the seemingly clear-cut issue of elephant and rhino preservation, is actually much more complicated and is intimately connected with the continuing impoverishment of people and the degradation of the environment in East Africa.

The worldwide ivory ban was an international response to massive, indigenous poaching of elephants and rhinos between the 1970s and 1990s. Given the threat of extinction that African elephants and rhinos were increasingly facing with continuing poaching practiced by indigenous Africans, the worldwide ivory ban did provide an effective curbing of the slaughter of the animals by lowering international demand for ivory products and giving poachers less incentive to kill the animals (especially in Kenya, where a policy of "shoot to kill" was enforced to stifle poaching practices). As Braude (1992) acknowledges, the 1989 ban on ivory "had a major impact on poaching. It has lowered demand for ivory and has thus driven the price from a high of \$300 per kilo in 1988 to \$3 per kilo in 1990... while Leakey and Kenya Wildlife Services (KWS) have raised the risk to poachers, [the ivory ban] has effectively lowered the payoff. As a result, only 55 elephants were poached in Kenya in 1990 as opposed to an average of 5,000 per year in the prior fifteen years" (Braude, 1992: 3).

However, although the worldwide ivory ban did succeed in forcibly lowering the incentives for



indigenous Africans to poach, this was accomplished from a separationist, "hands-off" perspective that addressed the results rather than the causes of a much greater problem of indigenous, African poverty, desperation, and frustration in Kenya and Tanzania. Hecox (1996) makes this connection when he explains that "After Kenyan independence there was still tension between the local people and the government over who could use the wildlife. The government claimed ownership of the wildlife and prevented the local people from using it without permission. There was, however, still money to be made from wildlife... and the poaching problem was exacerbated" (2). The problems with poaching in Kenya are directly connected to the adoption of the colonial mentality by Kenya's postcolonial government, in regards to resource allocation to the majority of the East African people. The British system of isolating "wildlife" and natural resources based on a model of "man vs. nature" and based on a racist mistrust of indigenous African peoples, has been perpetuated in the postcolonial era by African government officials lacking faith in the management capacities of rural farmers and pastoralists, forcing rural Kenyans to rely on poaching activities to provide them with basic means of subsistence (and as a form of resistance of being denied local resources). The preservation of a colonial, capitalist model of socioeconomic organization in Kenya and in the context of international power dynamics is further evidenced by other aspects of the worldwide ivory ban. The Kenyan government's claims to ownership of natural resources and wildlife in the country were based on the justification that the whole of the nation would benefit from the ownership of natural resources and resulting ecotourist activities in the country. However, national profits and economic growth from ecotourism have rarely involved adequate distribution of resources to the rural people who must deal most directly with the negative impacts of those natural resources (drought, flooding, etc.) and wildlife (such as crop destruction from elephants moving through rural areas). Rural Africans are compelled - by the frustrating processes of governmental alienation - and are forced - by the destruction of their lifestyles because of the physical presence of the elephants - to resort to poaching to provide them with socioeconomic opportunities that have been denied by the national government's focus on national economic growth versus sustainable, local control of resources. Hecox (1996) recognizes that rural East Africans have resorted to poaching to relieve poverty caused by neo-colonialism at the national level, when he explains that, "the ivory ban and other such legislation of conservation through protection has led to a standoff between the national government of Kenya and the local people... Although tourism brings in a substantial amount of money each year, the majority of this money never makes it to the local villages. Rural farmers rarely, if ever, reap the benefits of tourism, yet they are the ones living side by side with the wildlife. This creates a tremendous conflict of interests" (3). The perpetuation of a capitalist ethic of economic growth benefits the national governments of East Africa at the expense of social sustainability for the majority of the rural farmers who are increasingly alienated and impoverished by this

capitalist drive. Increasing poaching activities in the 1970s through 1990s, and the resulting worldwide ivory ban, reflect deep levels of human impoverishment that have remained unresolved in East Africa since the colonial period and have worsened as capitalist processes on the national scale focusing on the economic growth model have been embraced more fully by East Africa's governing officials.



The worldwide ivory ban also evidences the perpetuation of dependency relationships between the "North" and Kenya and Tanzania on an international scale. Although the ivory ban created a strong disincentive for poachers to

continue killing elephants and rhinos, the ban did not address the deeper issues of why poaching had been such an attractive option in the first place: the ivory trade was lucrative for the poachers because "Northern" consumers in the U.S., Europe, and in Asia (particularly in Hong Kong) were willing to pay for the product in the form of jewelry, artwork, piano keys, etc. The ivory trade reflected global dynamics of capitalist dependency, in which rural Africans degraded their environment out of impoverished desperation, to produce an expensive commodity for "Northern" markets. Implicit within this relationship was the historical evidence of the ivory trade organized and perpetuated according to colonial models of resource extraction and exploitation; ivory was a lucrative commodity that was important for European technological financing and socioeconomic domination in the colonial period. Rodney (1981) recognizes this dynamic when he suggests that

"the most decisive limitation of ivory trade was the fact that it did not grow from local needs and local production. Large quantities of ivory were not required by any society inside Africa, and no African society turned to elephant hunting and ivory collection on a big scale until the demand came from Europe or Asia. Any African society which took ivory exports seriously then had to restructure its economy so as to make ivory trade successful. That in turn led to excessive and undesirable dependence on the overseas market and an external economy... The few socially desirable by-products of elephant hunting within Africa were chicken feed in comparison with the profits, technology, and skills associated with the product in Europe" (112-113).

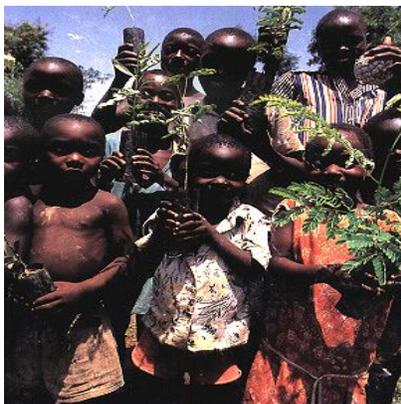
Rodney's (1981) observations make it clear that the slaughter of elephants and rhinos for their ivory and horn cannot simply be attributed to African poachers, because the ivory trade has existed within a historical context of continuing power dynamics between the "North" and "South" reinforcing a dependency relationship between the two that has been perpetuated throughout the modern era.

An additional aspect of the worldwide ivory ban reinforces these connections between the ivory ban and East African dependency, degradation, impoverishment, and the

perpetuation of an exploitative capitalist system reinforced on national and international levels. The national government's embrace of a capitalist model of economic growth and expansion, even when it is contrary to the "human interest" of the majority, is clearly revealed by the "shoot to kill" policies implemented by the Kenya Wildlife Services against poachers: the preservation of elephants and rhinos is not only an important "ecological" concern for East Africa but is of prime importance for East African ecotourism. The large mammals are an important GNP earner for the Kenyan and Tanzanian nations insofar as they attract white tourists to invest foreign capital into the East African economies. The willingness of the government to embrace a "shoot to kill" policy in regards to poachers, clearly illustrates the ways in which the "human interest" of the poachers (alienated from resources and policy decisions directly affecting their lives) has been disregarded in favor of the preservation of the economic viability of elephants and rhinos for the national government. Although the worldwide ivory ban has helped to preserve remaining elephant and rhino populations in East Africa, the ban cannot be considered separately from the socioeconomic context of capitalist, power dynamics that continue to reinforce dependency relationships and human impoverishment in the East Africa Region.

## **CHAPTER 7:**

### **"Northern" NGOs: Perpetuating Neoimperialism and Dependency**



The East African geography is riddled with the complexities of an exploitative and extractive colonial and postcolonial history that has served "Northern" interests of economic growth, technological innovation, and socioeconomic domination worldwide. In Kenya and Tanzania, the effects of this dependency relationship on the indigenous people and on the natural resources and wildlife have been disastrous. The sustainability of traditional societies and natural resource management strategies, and the intricacies of East African biodiversity, have been exchanged for a capitalist framework of resource extraction and economic expansion that has been increasingly degradative of the environment and impoverishing of the people. The damaging results of this process are evidenced everywhere. The biodiversity and soil richness of coastal forests in Tanzania are being destroyed at an alarming rate as governmental programs stress the importance of

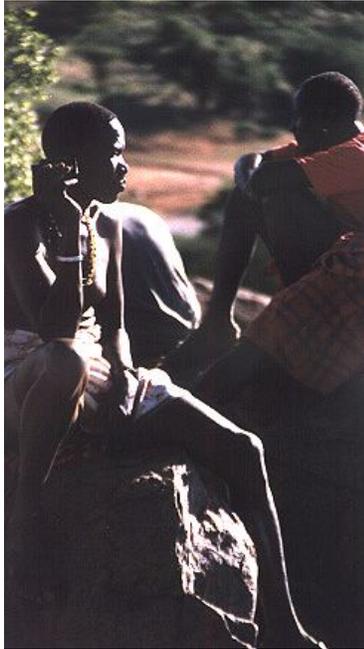
expansion into new markets and ecosystems without offering sustainable land-use strategies for the impoverished communities living in the forests (Sheil, 1992). The Kenyan government encourages rural farmers to produce cash crops such as wheat on fragile, semi-arid lands but offers no long-term options when the soil is degraded and the land is a lifeless expanse of eroded topsoil (a situation I witnessed often near the Maasai Mara National Reserve on the border of Kenya and Tanzania). The colonial model of national parks and reserves as "cultured persons' playgrounds...protecting nature from the natives" (Marekia, 1991: 157) has been perpetuated by the postcolonial governmental priorities on foreign investment and capitalist growth; ecotourism is a main GNP earner for Kenya and Tanzania, and presents a number of disconcerting parallels to the colonial parks model. Indigenous peoples such as pastoralist groups who have managed the resources of the Maasai Mara, Amboseli National Park, Mt. Kenya National Park, or Chyulu National Park for centuries, are denied access into the interior of reserves and are denied access to the parks altogether, in the interests of preserving the "wildness" of the conservation areas (that the pastoralists helped shape) to encourage higher economic returns from ecotourist activities in East Africa. The only people who are generally allowed to visit the parks and reserves are tourists from Europe, Australia, America, and Asia, perpetuating the British colonial model of conservation areas as "royal preserves" for the wealthy. In addition, local people are denied the economic benefits of ecotourism which are hoarded by safari companies and travel organizations operating centrally out of "Northern" countries. The East African parks and reserves models fundamentally favor the perpetuation of a globalized capitalist economy - and of privileged, "Northern" tourists who can afford to enjoy the splendor of Kenyan and Tanzanian parks as "cultured persons' playgrounds" - at the expense of the self-sustainability of local peoples and resources, deepening dependency dynamics that can only serve to negatively impact East African social and ecological systems.

The negative impacts of East African modernization and capitalist "development" are manifested in other ways as well, including: the siltation and damming of rivers; toxic and waste dumping in coastal waters; unchecked air pollution in urban centers; water sanitation problems throughout the region; deforestation of tropical areas; the endangering and extinction of numerous animal and plant species; the gendered alienation of women in rural communities; and the continuing alienation of pastoralists, nomads, and hunters and gatherers from land management and development policy decisions. The neo-colonial and capitalist ethics representing "Northern" interests continue to be exploitative and destructive in the East African context.



But not all "Northern" involvement is intended to be dominating, exploitative, and destructive. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and volunteer organizations centered in the U.S., Germany, Denmark, and other Western European countries have made strong efforts to combat impoverishment and degradation in the East Africa Region through the implementation of a wide variety of programs and work projects. During my explorations of Kenya and Tanzania for 4 months this spring, I saw numerous examples of NGO involvement in East Africa - including wells and water pumps constructed to provide rural communities with clean water, sanitation and vaccination projects in rural communities, reforestation programs in degraded landscapes, and literacy programs for children and adults in rural and urban areas. Vivian (1994) explains that increasingly, NGOs and volunteer organizations have become the most popular options for development and conservation strategies that provide working alternatives to the alienating models of national parks and reserves administered by the state and for the economic growth and expansion of the state. "It is generally assumed that NGOs work with the 'grassroots' - that they are better than other agencies at reaching isolated people in isolated communities, and at addressing the problems of the 'poorest of the poor'" (Vivian, 1994: 183). However, Vivian (1994) argues that the stereotypical image of NGOs as representatives of poor people needs to be reconsidered, because closer observation of many NGO projects reveals, most often, partial successes or outright failures of the projects to represent the interests of rural communities and to encourage self-sustainability of the development and conservation schemes, after the narrow time frame of project dates has passed. According to Vivian (1994), NGOs are only able to provide services to poverty-stricken and degraded communities in East Africa based on donor funding. NGOs are often hampered by unrealistic donor expectations of short-term success stories and miracle solutions to systemic environmental and socioeconomic problems, that limit the ultimate effectiveness of NGOs in implementing alternative conservation and development strategies. Vivian's (1994) observations are significant, not only because they deconstruct some of the traditional obstacles to NGO effectiveness in "Southern" countries, but because they suggest that some of the failures of NGOs to provide lasting solutions are implicit in the "Northern" value systems and capitalist agendas that donor funding - and NGO operations as well - are organized around. The "magic bullet" expectations of donors are based on economic pressures imposed upon the NGOs to provide "success stories" that will generate capital and renown for the donors. The underlying assumption of NGO projects is based on donor assessments of the capacity of the NGOs to provide quick and easy development models that are profitable to the donors. This dynamic reinforces the capitalist drive for economic growth and expansion, even if this proves destructive and antidevelopmental for the people and environmental resources affected by these decisions, as it regularly does for rural, East African communities involved with "quick fix-it" NGO models.

NGO ineffectiveness, despite the best of intentions, is also based fundamentally on the "Northern" biases and ideologies framing project expectations and strategies. The "alternatives" to governmental models that NGOs represent, often remain mired in the same destructive and paternalistic attitudes and ideologies that keep governmental programs from truly representing and empowering the interests of the East African people and environment.



An example from my experiences in East Africa will serve to illustrate this point more clearly. In the Laikipia region of northern Kenya is a region called Samburuland peopled by the Samburu pastoralists, where I stayed for several weeks this spring. Sitting on top of a large mountainous outcrop of rock in Samburuland called Naibor Kejo, I could see the whole of Samburuland and the pastoral settlements contained therein, spread out before me. One of the Samburu elders, Leamu, pointed to agricultural fields, a small metallic house shining with the reflected rays of the sun, and a good-sized watering hole for people and livestock, scattered on the valley floor of Samburuland below. Leamu stared at these for a moment and then proceeded to explain why he and other Samburu elders were frustrated by the presence of fields and metallic houses in Samburuland. According to Leamu, these represented the attempts of American and European NGOs to provide "modernization" projects benefiting the Samburu people. However, he explained that the "development" programs instituted by the (primarily German) NGOs had not involved enough involvement of indigenous perspectives, and had been based on an inadequate understanding of pastoralist interactions with the East African environment. Although the metallic houses provided more lasting and stable shelters than traditional housing, they were expensive to build and were ultimately useless because they could not be deconstructed and taken with the Samburu when drought forced seasonal migrations with the livestock. The production of agricultural crops in Samburuland to stimulate economic development, was similarly riddled with problems because the semi-arid landscape of Samburuland made the cultivation of crops nearly impossible. Leamu pointed to the watering hole and explained that it had been created by a damming project instituted by a German NGO. Although it was definitely useful as a water source, it was also failure-prone. The dam was constantly breaking because the Germans had misjudged the amount of water that the area received and had constructed the dam poorly for long-term use, based on an inadequate understanding of the environmental dynamics of the semi-arid region and a failure to rely enough on indigenous knowledge and experience with the area.

Leamu's observations are extremely valuable because they illustrate some of the failure-prone tendencies of rural, East African NGOs organized by "Northern" interests. The German NGOs' efforts in Samburiland had limited success because they were based on a conception of "modernization" that was inapplicable and ineffective within the human-environmental dynamics of Samburu lifestyles. The damming project, the housing, and the introduction of crop cultivation responded to donor expectations of quick, short-term solutions that failed to be useful and effective for the Samburu in the long-term. The lack of indigenous involvement and consultation in organizing the projects limited the ability of the projects to overcome "Northern" ignorance and misunderstanding of the social and ecological dynamics of the semi-arid region. All of these failings in the NGO projects are traceable to a paternalistic, "modernization"-centered "Northern" philosophy that proved antithetical to meaningful and sustainable developments in the lives of the Samburu. Vivian (1994) identifies these problems with NGO operations in rural, African communities (in Zimbabwe) as well. A paternalistic attitude disregarding native knowledge, a lack of participation-oriented programs, and a curbing of the radically innovative potentials of NGO projects by donor expectations in favor of a model of cheap, short-term involvement with rural communities, have all failed to create lasting alternatives to the degrading and impoverishing governmental models of "conservation" and "development." Because NGOs have traditionally relied upon "Northern" biases and conceptions of capitalist modernization, and have been constricted by "Northern" donor expectations of short-term projects that focus on economic development rather than the long-term sustainability of social and ecological processes, NGOs have failed to provide real alternatives to the capitalist dependency relationships perpetuated by colonial and imperialist exploitation of East Africa. On the contrary, NGO activities have tended to reproduce this dependency by approaching the issues of development and conservation from a decidedly-"Northern" perspective of "modernization" and neo-colonialism.

## **CONCLUSION:**

### **Rethinking Conservation and Development:**



### **Struggling for Justice**

The East African geography is in a state of crisis. East African wildlife species - from little known species like the Crowned Eagle and the Zanzibar Red Colobus Monkey (*both species are shown below*) to the more well-

known savanna species of lions, elephants, cheetahs, and rhinos - have been increasingly threatened with extinction in all of the ecological zones of East Africa, by "Northern" models of "development," economic expansion, and resource extraction that cannot be fully masked by the use of national parks as "band-aids" to provide limited wildlife sanctuaries in Kenya and Tanzania. The "Northern" marketing and imposition of exotic genetic resources upon the East African environment have proved extremely destructive for the fragile, semi-arid zones characterizing the majority of Kenya's and Tanzania's land surface. The cultivation of foreign cash crops ultimately serves to provide goods and products to "Northern" consumers based on an exploitative dependency relationship fostered between "North" and "South," that is profitable for "Northern" corporations and impoverishing for rural, East African farmers. The "modernization" process in East Africa's urban centers allows for more efficient distribution of "Northern," imported goods imposed upon the lives of the East African people, and allows for the centralization of socioeconomic processes of trade, foreign investment, and "foreign aid" that continue to be shaped by "Northern" governmental assistance programs and perpetuation of the colonial dependency relationship. Pastoral peoples and hunters and gatherers continue to be alienated from conservation and development strategies based on racist colonial notions that have been perpetuated in the modern era in national park and reserve models and in capitalist-driven socioeconomic dynamics that isolate traditional societies from natural resources and from sustainable land management strategies. Ecological and social processes in East Africa have reached a level of crisis that will soon lead to environmental and sociocultural collapse if the dynamics of human impoverishment and environmental degradation are not soon addressed and radically altered.

Throughout the colonial and postcolonial periods, the imposition and perpetuation of the capitalist mentality and socioeconomic system upon the East Africa Region has been directly connected to the deterioration of human and ecological systems to a state of profound crisis in the modern era. The preservation of Kenyan and Tanzanian dependency as economic satellites revolving around the exploitative and extractive dictates of Britain and the U.S., and the consequences of human and ecological dysfunction in East Africa, have been profoundly destructive. The degradation and impoverishment of the East African geography are the result of a globalized and colonizing capitalist network that is ideologically and practically unsustainable.

Korten (1996) stresses this in stating: "It should now be clear that the cure for the



deprivations of poverty will not, cannot, be found in the economic growth of a globalized free market that weakens and destroys the bonds of culture and community to the benefit of global corporations" (257), because the forces of sustainable sociocultural systems and unsustainable capitalist systems are diametrically opposed. This is revealed clearly by O'Connor's (1994) analysis of the notion of "sustainable" capitalism. As he correctly observes, "the short answer to the question 'Is sustainable capitalism possible?' is 'No,' while the longer answer is 'Probably not.' Capitalism is self-destructing and in crisis; the world economy makes more people hungry, poor, and miserable every day; the masses of peasants and workers cannot be expected to endure the crisis indefinitely; and nature, however 'ecological sustainability' is defined, is under attack everywhere" (O'Connor, 1994: 154). It is important to recognize that this profound unsustainability of capitalism is being manifested worldwide, in "Northern" as well as "Southern" nations. The economic growth and extraction models embraced by Britain and the United States have not allowed "Northern" peoples to escape the effects of environmental destruction and social dysfunction in human relationships in their own lives.



Marcuse's (1996) discussion of social justice and human liberation is insightful here. Basically, Marcuse (1996) argues that the modern, capitalist age is characterized by the perpetuation of "obsolete forms of the struggle for existence" (113) that directly threaten the realization of the potential for overcoming necessities in human existence; the modern age is contrary to progress towards a greater degree of human liberation. Marcuse (1996) suggests that "advanced industrial society is approaching the stage where continued progress would demand the radical subversion of the prevailing direction and organization of progress" (119), and that the "powers that be" stifle this trend to maintain domination over the society, by encouraging a kind of "one-dimensional thought" and a preservation of obsolete necessities that preserve systems of power as they currently exist. According to Marcuse (1996), this reveals "the internal contradiction of this civilization: the irrational element in its rationality" (119). As advanced industrial societies "progress" towards the potential for unimagined human liberation from necessity, they also attempt to "contain this trend within the established institutions" (119), and herein lies a significant contradiction. If the modern age is to remain consistent to its aims for "progress," it cannot "struggle for existence" and deny it simultaneously (in "Northern" as well as "Southern" countries), and remain faithful to a quest for human liberation. Marcuse's (1996) criticism focuses on capitalism's tendency to preserve unnecessary forms of profit motives, appropriation, and exploitation on national and international levels,

which are contradictory to true progress towards human liberation. This contradiction is also played out clearly in relation to environmental issues today: continuing obsolete forms of resource use - pollution, waste, etc. - further constrain humanity by forcing us to pay for clean resources; continuing to rely on fossil fuels when we have the potential to make use of solar power, electric power, etc., prevents humanity from progressing towards a more pollution-free environment. In the context of East African exploitation, impoverishment, and degradation, as well as "Northern" social and ecological dysfunction, Marcuse's (1996) theories on the perpetuation of an antiliberatory socioeconomic system preserving unnecessary forms of dependency and domination are clearly applicable, revealing the self-destructive tendencies of the globalized capitalist system for the people and the environment in both the "North" and "South."

In the final analysis, the unsustainability and the inherently dominating tendencies that the capitalist system inflicts on "Northern" as well as "Southern" peoples and ecological systems proves to be irreconcilable with a "cure" for the poverty and environmental destruction in East Africa. Once again, an extension of Marx's (1996) analysis of crisis situations reinforces this point. The finite resources of the planet "must ultimately impose limits to economic growth" (Schnaiberg et. al., 1994: 202), and this creates ecological and human crisis situations that are proving more and more difficult to overcome. East Africa's degradation and impoverishment illustrate the reality of these crisis situations today, and it is clear that an exploitative, self-destructive mode of socioeconomic reproduction cannot sustain itself much longer as East African resources are approaching the brink of collapse. "If ever increasing global poverty and unemployment are not sufficient to bring the assumption of economic expansion into question, the collapse of the global ecosystem on which all life depends will" (Schnaiberg et. al., 1994: 202).

### **Listening to the People: The Potential for Sustainability**

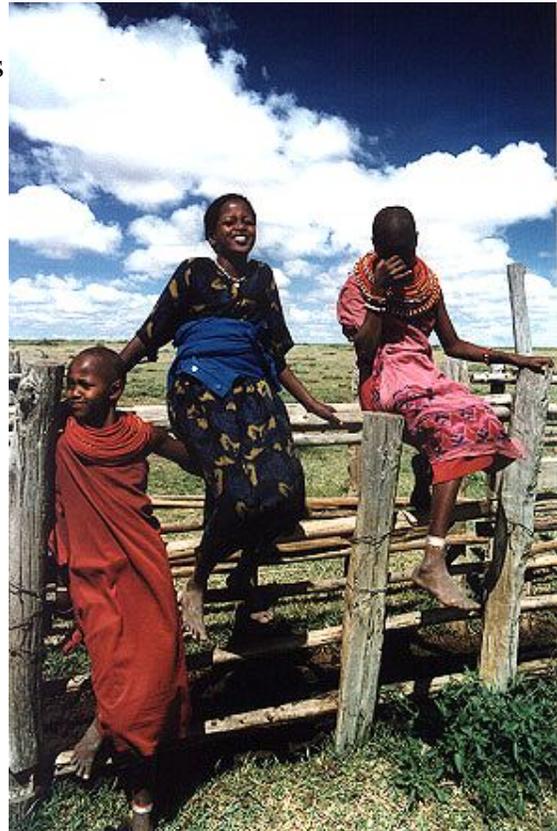
The suggestion that East African degradation and impoverishment will not be resolved until the perpetuation of a capitalist and colonizing global framework is abandoned, may seem unrealistic, simplistic, and naive. But capitalist and colonial power dynamics in East Africa have been the primary factors shaping the crisis situations in Kenya and Tanzania today. If radical steps are not taken to reverse these destructive and exploitative processes, the collapse of East African cultural and ecological systems will inevitably result. In beginning to restructure East African human-environmental dynamics, it is instructive to consider alternatives to "Northern"

governmental assistance and aid programs that perpetuate the current, dependency relationships. Although NGOs and grassroots organizations have many limitations - including funding within an exploitative, capitalist framework, and "Northern," paternalistic biases based on colonial and capitalist models of "modernization" - they have the potential of actively supporting social and economic sustainability through their "flexibility, speed of operation, and ability to respond quickly to changing circumstances" (Vivian, 1994: 190). "Northern" solidarity efforts with East African cultural groups and environmental issues, and the involvement of "Northern" activists within their own countries to challenge the exploitative, dehumanizing, and dysfunctional effects of the modern industrial era within their own lives, can help provide effective steps towards deconstructing the negative impacts of a global capitalist framework.



Ultimately, though, any "Northern" efforts at conservation and development in Kenya and Tanzania must be based on the central involvement of East African peoples in the process of restoring human and ecological sustainability to the region. These efforts must focus specifically on the involvement of rural communities who relate most directly with the natural resources of Kenya and Tanzania and have the greatest sensitivity to the environmental problems in the diverse ecological regions of East Africa. The management of environmental resources by women demands that they be not only involved in policy decisions but directly responsible for their structuring and organization. This will require a radical transformation in traditional and colonial gender divisions that continue to alienate and exploit women in the modern era. The paternalistic and capitalist disregard for pastoral

peoples as "backward" and "barbaric" must be abandoned if their valuable, traditional knowledge of ecological processes and sustainable sociocultural management practices are to be applied effectively towards a restructuring of human-environmental relationships on a national level in East Africa. The importance of indigenous knowledge in relation to sustainable models for sociocultural organization must be respected and acknowledged seriously if the perpetuation of a dependency relationship between "North" and "South" in East Africa and worldwide is to be replaced with a more ecocentric and life-centered social and ecological framework. This will require that rural communities - who are often the most oppressed and dominated in East Africa - assume central positions in choosing and directing conservation and development strategies that integrate human and environmental needs in Kenya and Tanzania. Clearly, certain traditional techniques such as shifting cultivation will have limited effectiveness and even a detrimental effect, because they can no longer provide sustainable strategies to a steadily increasing human population in East Africa. But it is also clear that traditional methods of multicropping and of rotational livestock use of rangelands have beneficial effects for the people - reinforcing sustainable use of the land and local control of resources - and for the environment - by improving soil fertility. The focus on capitalist and colonizing socioeconomic processes will have to be dismantled at all levels of East African life. Rural communities and peoples must be the central actors in the process of



restoring ecocentric sustainability to East Africa. Rural communities must also be allocated local control of resources to provide personal incentives for them to preserve the resources and the land sustainably. East African sustainability must begin with listening carefully to the voices and the knowledge of indigenous peoples of Kenya and Tanzania, who have the most intimate sense of the complexities and capacities for sustainability of East African human and environmental processes. The transformation of East African and international relationships with the natural world and with other human peoples will be a long and arduous process, but it is a process that is becoming absolutely necessary. East Africa has reached a level of crisis that forces "Northern" and "Southern" peoples alike to choose, between ecological and social self-destruction, and the struggle for a sustainable process of liberation from these exploitative and life-threatening dynamics. It is fundamentally a choice between life and death. The choice is ours.

## Bibliography

Bizimana, Nsekuye. "The myth of the modern." In *The future of progress: reflections on environment and development*, edited by Edward Goldsmith, Khor, Martin, Norberg-Hodge, Helena, Shiva, Vandana, & others, 121-128. Foxhole, Dartington: Green Books, 1995.

An interesting consideration of the negative impacts of capitalist expansion across the globe from the perspective of a Rwandan woman who has lived in Europe. The author argues that the unending drive for economic growth has contributed to an increasing sense of loneliness, alienation, and unhappiness among Westerners whose spiritual and emotional natures have been sacrificed to the drive for profits. The author also argues that in Africa, the increasingly materialistic desires of the people and the availability of Western technologies have weakened African solidarity, vitality, and sharing that have helped characterize African survival techniques with the environment and with other people. Bizimana suggests that "modernization" be reassessed and discarded in Africa for more traditional-based strategies and ideologies, and suggests that cheaper, more environmentally-reasonable strategies for living with the earth be exhausted before toxic chemicals are embraced from the North (fertilizers, DDT, etc.). Bizimana suggests that Africans embrace the positive aspects of their own traditions and disregard those that are harmful and oppressive (127), and asks for the same to be considered in relation to Western ideologies and practices. The author argues that any socioeconomic system based on "egoism," oppression, and the denial of human interests (for Northern and Southern peoples) will ultimately prove self-destructive and impoverishing across the globe.

Braude, Stan. "Elephant and rhinoceros conservation in Kenya." *Endangered Species UPDATE* 9, no. 3 (1992): 1-4.

A brief article highlighting the conservation efforts and controversies that have revolved around rhino and elephant poaching and protection in the postcolonial era from the 1970s to the early 90s. The author makes a good point in recognizing that poaching has been a significant problem in Kenya because of the money to be made from ivory products on world markets (especially in Hong Kong), as human populations increase dramatically in Kenya and in Africa in general. The author also recognizes that the survival of elephants and rhinos in East Africa is important to the national government, not on an aesthetic level, but as a foreign currency earner for the country, as an "exotic" symbol of African wildlife that draws thousands of tourists to East Africa every year. The worldwide ivory ban and the authority of Richard Leakey in conservation efforts have helped to cut down on poaching in Kenya recently, but as human populations increase and rural peoples are forced to look to poaching as a monetary option to survive (an aspect of the conservation issue that the author unfortunately does not touch upon), the elephant and rhino populations will continue to be threatened by a lack of community-based support and incentives to protect the species.

Cahn, Matthew. "Liberalism and environmental quality." In *Thinking about the environment: readings on politics, property, and the physical world*, edited by Matthew Alan Cahn, and O'Brien, Rory, 120-127. Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1996.

A good consideration of the problematic aspects of sustainability and environmental improvement in the context of the American socioeconomic and political system. The author suggests that "while environmental degradation is certainly not unique to capitalist economies, as a system based on maximizing profit, capitalism is inconsistent with maintaining environmental quality" (126). Cahn defends this perspective by suggesting that there are two fundamental structural tensions between liberalism and environmental quality: "liberalism's emphasis on individual self-interest" and capitalism's constant drive for economic expansion and profit, which has had the effect of the "overuse of limited resources and the degradation of our physical environment" (120). Based on Lockean principles of individual self-interest, liberal capitalism "encourages environmental degradation in several ways" (125). The promotion of self-interest discourages the regulation of private resources that environmental protection relies on centrally. Furthermore, economic success and economic growth in capitalism have been historically synonymous, encouraging profitability and increased production at the expense of extensive destruction and appropriation of environmental resources. Cahn sums it up when he states: "Environmental stress is a net result of unbridled economic growth" (126). The author also points out that the profit motive in capitalist society encourages pollution of resources, rather than protection through recycling, reusing, or reprocessing, because pollution is much more cheap and preserves the profit margin to a greater degree. Under these conditions, the author recognizes that sustainability in the capitalist system is difficult, if not ultimately impossible, because it goes against the fundamental ideological and structural framework of the system.

Cartwright, John. "Is there hope for conservation in East Africa?" *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 29, no. 3 (1991): 355-371.

Summation of problems in Africa that make conservation difficult, including poor economics, cultural aversion, lack of conservation as a development possibility, and increasing population. Examples of Zambia and Cameroon suggest that given the resources and wealth, conservation can work. Also, conservation must be encouraged as a development possibility through profit motives from "developed" countries.

Chiuri, Wanjiku, and Nzioki, Akinyi. "Women: invisible managers of natural resources." In *Groundwork: African women as environmental managers*, edited by Shanyisa A. Khasiani, 19-25. Nairobi: ACTS Press, 1992.

A concise summation of the role of women as environmental managers in Africa and in Kenya in particular. Because women depend upon the land and its resources for the continued survival of their communities, they have developed sustainable land use policies combined with a respect for nature that is less objectifying and mechanistic than new, (national and foreign) government policies. The author suggests that because of their involvement in land management, food production, water and forest management, and wildlife management at the local level, women are significantly involved in resource use, but due to sexist, male-dominated policies that have marginalized women and their traditional knowledge, this involvement has not been integrated into new management policies, at the expense of policy failures and the degradation of resources (as populations have increased, land has been redistributed, and land shortage is now a significant issue, and purely traditional management strategies are often more destructive than sustainable), which women are aware of but are forced to engage in simply to survive on the short term. The authors conclude succinctly with several general suggestions: "Women are responsible for the environmental crises on the continent which translate into food shortages, water pollution and soil erosion. These problems require integration of the traditional holistic environmental management view with the 'new' approaches. It is also essential to recognize and utilize women's skills as environmental managers and eliminate legal, structural and cultural constraints to women's effective management of the environment" (25).

Collett, David. "Pastoralists and wildlife: image and reality in Kenya Maasailand." In *Conservation in Africa: people, policies and practice*, edited by David and Grove Anderson, Richard, 129-148. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Consideration of conservation from colonial images and ideologies that still shape policies today; Maasai pastoralists have traditionally been denied involvement based on racism, British conceptions of man vs. nature, conception of cattle as "harmful." Provides insights on conservation failures in Kenya Maasailand.

Cumming, D. H. M. "Conservation issues and problems in Africa." In *Voices from Africa: local perspectives on conservation*, edited by Dale Lewis, and Carter, Nick, 23-47. Washington, D.C.: World Wildlife Fund, 1993.

A focused look at national park systems in South Central Africa, and the ways in which the successes and especially the failures of parks in this region can more generally be applied to Africa and to conservation in general. Particularly insightful is the author's discussion of current problems with national parks in the SCA: the author recognizes that parks have been fairly successful in protecting wildlife but that the park system itself does not exist in harmony with rural peoples, cultural attitudes, fails to provide for the benefit of the indigenous peoples, and caters mostly to city-dwellers and foreign tourists. Based on colonial policies and currently encouraged by overseas interests who do not want Africa to contribute to global pollution, national parks fail to provide for sustainable development strategies under the false impression that the parks can adequately provide for wildlife and ecosystems in Africa, a position that is clearly untenable as human populations continue to soar and remain unprovided for by the land set aside for the parks. The author calls for a new ethics of conservation that integrates parks into the surrounding fabric of rural peoples and landscapes, allows for intensive community-based utilization, demands budgetary compensation from developed nations if Africa is to remain undeveloped, and involves local people much more directly in the conservation process.

Davidson, Basil. *The black man's burden: Africa and the curse of the nation-state*. New York: Times Books, 1992.

A good consideration of African impoverishment, devastation, and degradation. The author claims that the colonial legacy - and particularly the formation of Africa ideologically and geographically according to a nation-state model - has been directly responsible for the continuing infrastructural nightmares and environmental problems facing African peoples today. Davidson argues that colonialism in Africa must be acknowledged and deconstructed if African underdevelopment today is to be truly appreciated. The author suggests that precolonial Africa was made up of sustainable and working communities and cultures, based on particularly African forms of interaction and political-economic frameworks. The nation-state model introduced by European colonizers - in addition to colonial ideologies, technologies, and techniques - were inadequate and inappropriate to the African context, and as a result have continued to be problematic for African peoples and communities. Davidson also recognizes (although he does not spend enough time stressing the point) that current African problems and disasters are linked to the continuing, exploitative relationships between Europe and America, and Africa, an echo of the colonial legacy that continues to plague African nations and peoples, preventing them from "developing" along lines that are more self-sustaining and less degrading; the failure of the nation-state model reflects some of the deeper failures of capitalist and industrial ideologies that have failed to provide answers around the world (including Eastern Europe, as Davidson notes in drawing parallels between this region and Africa).

Foster, John Bellamy. "Sustainable development of what?" *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 7, no. 3 (1996): 129-132.

A short piece in which the author considers the validity of the term "sustainable development." Although sustainable development supposedly represents a balance between ecological sustainability and economic development, the term tends to refer more to sustained economic growth, because sustainable development assumes that profit margins, GNP, etc. are sustainably increasing. Under this logic, there is a deep contradiction between sustaining natural resources and economic growth. The author argues that a critique of development, and of capitalist tendencies towards self-destruction, are necessary, so that a focus on people vs. profits and on having enough rather than having more becomes a driving ideological force. The author makes an important point in suggesting that people are inseparable from the natural world, and any environmental degradation that development causes will be linked directly to human degradation and poverty (especially in the Third World on the short term). Foster suggests that a radical new ethic of people before profits, of justice and equality above greed and capital, needs to be brought to the fore if environmental and human degradation is truly to be avoided and development is to take place sustainably.

Gereffi, Gary, Korzeniewicz, Miguel, and Korzeniewicz, Roberto P. "Introduction: global commodity chains." In *Commodity chains and global capitalism*, edited by Gary Gereffi, and Korzeniewicz, Miguel, 1-14. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994.

Especially in the first few pages, the authors offer a good explanation of the concept of "commodity chains," a term that has become useful in describing the production chain, the politics, the economics, and the social structures that have given rise to certain commodities, as capitalist forces have become increasingly globalized. Global commodity chains are useful because they allow for a study of the process of capitalist production, and allow one to connect a commodity back to the socioeconomic forces in which its production and transportation are contained. Interestingly, the authors of this section ignore an extremely important set of relationships contained within commodity chains, especially in light of capitalist tendencies towards domination and exploitation of peoples and resources: the authors make no mention of the power dynamics inherent in the production and transportation processes of commodities. Who controls different stages of commodity production and transportation? Who are the commodities targeted towards? Who benefits politically, economically, and socially from the stages of the commodity chains? How do the power dynamics reflect and reinforce systems of inequality and oppression at local, national, and international levels? In relation to these questions, the authors' analysis is glaringly silent.

Ghai, Dharam. "Environment, livelihood, and empowerment." In *Development and environment: sustaining people and nature*, edited by Dharam Ghai, 1-11. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994.

A brief but good summation of the collection of essays in this book, which the author states emerged out of a collective desire "to study the diverse and complex interactions between people and the environment" (1), and how these sociocultural processes relate to ecological and environmental issues. Ghai makes the important point that "programmes and projects concerned with conservation and sustainable development will only succeed on any scale when they address the social factors influencing the way people interact with the environment" (1). Ghai argues that an understanding of gender relations, empowerment issues, access to resources, etc. is essential to understanding the efficacy and history behind environmental management issues. Ghai looks at chapters in the book dealing with tradition and change to emphasize ways in which local systems of knowledge are necessary to empower indigenous communities in relation to environmental management, and looks at issues of oppression and resistance to clearly demonstrate ways in which "European conquest of the Americas and the colonization of much of Africa, Asia and the Pacific was accompanied by seizure of huge tracts of land and dispossession of vast multitudes of people. The same process continues in many rural areas of the developing world, although on a smaller scale and in different forms" (4). He also identifies ways in which local communities have struggled through grassroots movements against these processes, and ways in which "development" continues to include many aspects of dependency and exploitation. Ghai then identifies the roles of gender and property within the context of conservation discussions; often, women are completely denied access to property ownership, putting them in a frustrating position when they recognize environmental degradation around them and cannot act against it; clearly, a struggle against gender dominance and for more sound property systems is in order. Ghai also identifies three main strategies of conservation: the official programs of preservation, rehabilitation and improvement, and "resource improvement efforts undertaken at the initiative of local communities and grass-roots organizations" (7). Ghai recognizes that the official schemes have in general been "dismal" failures because they ignore local communities and fail to respond to regional socioeconomic and political needs, while community-based schemes have rarely had enough funds or acknowledgment to succeed on a large scale. Ghai concludes by stressing that "a social perspective on the environment, as opposed to one based purely on ecology or technology, shows that the issues of resource degradation and regeneration are intimately linked to questions of power, institutions, livelihood and culture" (9). Ghai suggests that only by linking conservation to issues of community empowerment, poverty eradication, and gender equality, can conservation measures begin to be effective. This will also require massive changes in the dominant socioeconomic paradigms based primarily on profit rather than human dignity, and will require changes in global and national political and social forces as well.

Ghimire, Krishna B. "Parks and people: livelihood issues in national parks management in Thailand and Madagascar." In *Development and environment: sustaining people and nature*, edited by Dharam Ghai, 195-229. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994.

An excellent consideration of national parks and reserves in developing countries and the ways in which environmental protection and isolation have often been intrinsically linked to impoverishment and social conflict among local people, often leading to further environmental deterioration due to local people's resentments and lack of options resulting from the sectioning

off of resources and land rights from the people. The author explains this well when he argues "not only that the expansion of protected areas can result in an increasing displacement of people and a disruption of their livelihoods, but also that this process is frequently accompanied by further environmental deterioration, including higher rates of deforestation. Furthermore, the establishment of parks and reserves for recreation and tourism or for purposes of exclusive protection of scenic areas of biodiversity is ill-suited to the developing world and has tended to conflict with the existing, often sustainable, resource use and livelihood practices of the local people" (195). The author pursues this argument by discussing national parks in developing countries in general, focusing on the examples of Thailand and Madagascar, and then concluding with what these examples suggest about national parks in developing nations in general. The author's arguments are pursued most effectively - in the context of this thesis - in the considerations of national parks in general and in the concluding section. The author recognizes that national parks - as well as reserves and sanctuaries - take up a significant amount of land and resources. This is especially true in developing nations, where the growth in areas set aside for parks has been most prominent. (Does this echo of the dependency maintained between North and South, in which developing nations are set aside as tourist destinations for First World peoples to enjoy?) Ghimire cites an increased international concern with environmental protection, the profitability of tourism for developing countries, and the fashionable nature of officials in developing nations adopting an "eco-friendly" stance towards protection, as reasons for this growth. The author then presents a considerable list of developing countries that have set aside 10 or more per cent of their land surface for national parks, including Tanzania at 25 per cent and Kenya at over 10 per cent. The author also notes that although there has been significant attention paid to land protection, there has been almost no attention paid to effective land settlement and agricultural programs in developing nations. This partly stems from colonial management of many developing nations and postcolonial influences in the nations, which based national park systems on the inadequate U.S. model of preserving areas for the recreational benefit of "the public." Colonial considerations of the incompetence and inferiority of native peoples also played into the construction of this model, and as a result, "the interrelated socio-economic aspects, particularly the role that national parks play in supporting local livelihood systems, have frequently been neglected in developing park management plans" (198). Because of these dynamics, the local people have often been seen as the main threat to environmental protection (an implicit reason for setting aside land isolated from the people), and have been marginalized from access to park resources. This has had a number of negative effects, including local antipathy and resentment towards conservation schemes in general, and has led to increased degradation outside of parks by forcing agriculturalists to destructively farm land overintensively, leading to loss of soil fertility, increased erosion, etc. The author concludes that national parks will increasingly become a site of intense, rural social conflict, as local peoples are continually denied access to resources, denied a part in forming more effective and inclusive policy planning and management schemes, are marginalized from the resources and from alternatives to their impoverishment, and are ignored in the light of the priority of protecting flora and fauna from the "predations" of the natives. As long as this imperialist mentality is maintained, local peoples will continue to degrade the environment outside of parks, as they are given no other option, and their resentments of isolationist policies will continue to make them a threat to environmental resources and conservation policies.

Goldsmith, Edward. "Development fallacies." In *The future of progress: reflections on environment and development*, edited by Edward Goldsmith, Khor, Martin, Norberg-Hodge, Helena, Shiva, Vandana, & others, 68-78. Foxhole, Dartington: Green Books, 1995.

An excellent analysis of "development" aid in the Third World. According to Goldsmith, "the 'development' currently imposed by the industrialized nations on the Third World is producing a whole series of interconnected negative impacts on the very people the process purports to help" (68). Fundamentally, this is because "aid" is given to "developing" nations based on Western profit motives for economic growth and expansion, not out of any heartfelt expression of caring; aid is a manifestation of power dynamics that reflects the continued, dependency relationship between North and South that emerged during the colonial period. Through the use of the World Bank and the IMF, aid has been "institutionalized as the industrialized world's principal tool of economic colonialism" (70) in the South (controlled primarily by the United States from 1945 into the 1970s). Goldsmith also argues that economic "development" in the South is not fundamentally helpful because it encourages population explosions that were held in check in precolonial times by traditional societies. The urbanization and technological thrust of Western societies upon the South has created greater problems with famine and malnutrition, especially because the increased production of resources has been encouraged at the expense of local food supplies and sustainability; resources are used to provide exports to Northern countries, encouraging systemic poverty and environmental destruction.

Green, Bryn H. "Conservation in cultural landscapes." In *Conservation for the twenty-first century*, edited by David Western, and Pearl, Mary C., 182-198. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

An interesting analysis of Great Britain's history of conservation that highlights several periods in Britain's history - including the destruction of woods in the Neolithic, the enclosures of areas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the twentieth-century drive for agricultural intensification - that account for the historic demise of wildlife in Britain, and the ways in which this wilderness deterioration forced conservation awareness during the late-nineteenth century. Green suggests that the destructive relationship of the British with wildlife shaped their environmental protection policies (at home and abroad as well), but also that the diversification of species may have been increased in some ways through woodland destruction and the establishment of a patchwork of ecosystems in Britain. Green also suggests that as overproduction becomes redundant, certain areas could be allowed to proceed back into a more natural state.

## **Bibliography (page 2)**

Hales, David. "Changing concepts of national parks." In *Conservation for the twenty-first century*, edited by David Western, and Pearl, Mary C., 139-144. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

An excellent look at some of the strengths and weaknesses of national parks, especially in relation to their historical roots in America; the author recognizes several invaluable reasons for the creation of national parks: parks were generally created for scenic beauty, not the preservation of biodiversity; parks were created for the enjoyment of people, but not for their basic survival, because it was taken for granted that parks had little or no inherent economic value; parks were "set aside" and isolated from human habitation and use; and based on the size and complexity of local agendas in America, parks were controlled and managed by the highest national authorities, and not at the local level. These historical bases of national parks were important in shaping their formation in developing countries where these ideas did not necessarily apply at all. The author also considers recent developments in multiple-use systems for national parks, and the ways in which these are often failures because it puts the emphasis on human development first and on wildlife second.

Hanneburg, Peter. "Cradle of man - and ecotourism." *Enviro* 17 (1994): 28-30.

A fairly simple piece that nonetheless succeeds in describing some of the basic issues at work in nature tourism in Kenya. The author recognizes that the Masai Mara and Amboseli National Park attract 200,000 and 250,000 tourists respectively each year and help contribute significantly to the \$500 million or 10 per cent of the country's GNP made possible by the national parks and reserves set aside for nature conservation purposes in Kenya. The author cites a discussion he had with Richard Leakey, who explained that channeling the funds from ecotourism into the local communities most effected by their set-up is important, if environmental protection and conservation is to benefit them. Without this incentive to preserve wildlife and without local development, Leakey argues, long-term sustainable conservation will not be possible (although he only suggests channeling 25% of tourist revenues to the communities rather than encouraging local communities to implement their own strategies; he encourages dependency over empowerment). The most interesting point that the author makes is in relation to the environmental damage that massive concentrations of tourists force upon the popular parks and reserves. Especially in Amboseli, off-road vehicle tracks and intense disturbance of wildlife migrations and behavior are cited as potentially destructive aspects of ecotourism that may degrade just the wildlife resources that the tourists are coming to East Africa to see. In effect, it is unclear how sustainable ecotourism can be in Kenya in the long-term, on a number of levels, particularly referring to tourist damages (and in relation to local communities' lack of involvement in wealth distribution and utilization) in this article.

Hecox, Eric B. "A comparative analysis of protection versus utilization, Kenya and Zimbabwe." (1996).

An excellent consideration of conservation strategies pursued in Kenya and Zimbabwe, and the ways in which the colonial and postcolonial policies in each country produced different rates of success in the nations. The author suggests that conservation in both of these regions must be built on the premise of sustainable wildlife management that takes into account local customs, beliefs, and involvement. According to Hecox, utilization of wildlife seems to work much more effectively than protection, as demonstrated in Zimbabwe and Kenya. Although the colonial histories in both nations proceeded similarly (massive land alienation by the colonial governments and lack of involvement of local people in policy decisions), Kenya continued this protection scheme after independence while Zimbabwe shifted its focus to involve local people directly in the process of utilization of wildlife. As a result, Zimbabwe was able to alleviate some of the local peoples' hatred of conservation policies (which they linked with colonization schemes) by making it work for them. Although Kenya's national protection scheme seemed to prevent massive poaching in the short-term, it has failed to provide opportunities for the people in the long-term, and thus poaching and other destructive activities are on the increase. Hecox recognizes that utilization must be sustainable and must respond to the specific cultural nuances in a given area, but that it has the potential to be the most effective conservation strategy by making wildlife preservation something that works for the people instead of against them.

Hill, Kevin A. "Zimbabwe's wildlife conservation regime: rural farmers and the state." *Human Ecology* 19, no. 1 (1991): 19-34.

Discusses conservation in Zimbabwe based on success and failure with wildlife protection: based on involvement and planning at the grassroots level for "success," and white colonial enforcements and conservation interests, combined with lack of economic incentives, for the "failures."

Hitchcock, Robert K. "Centralization, resource depletion, and coercive conservation among the Tyua of the northeastern Kalahari." *Human Ecology* 23, no. 2 (1995): 169-198.

Consideration of how conservation can prove harmful to indigenous peoples; based on colonial policies, wildlife protection has ignored the needs and values of indigenous peoples, applying a "hands-off" attitude to animals that displaces "natives" and clears preferred land for the "elite." Hitchcock considers this through the example of the Tyua Bushmen in Zimbabwe and Botswana.

Hyndman, David. "Conservation through self-determination: promoting the interdependence of cultural and biological diversity." *Human Organization* 53, no. 3 (1994): 296-302.

Comments on several perspectives & positions on biological diversity in relation to cultural diversity; claims that traditional perspectives of "classic" conservation and isolation are untenable and based on a misunderstanding of how indigenous people relate to their

environment; calls for "green capitalist" sensitivity that values indigenous beliefs and provides for community-based developments and local encouragements financed by the First World.

Jarrett, Alfred Abioseh. *The under-development of Africa: colonialism, neo-colonialism, and socialism*. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, Inc., 1996.

In the spirit of Walter Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Jarrett presents a more recent account of the oppressive and dominating effects of colonization and imperialism in Africa, including the failure of socialism to provide the socioeconomic miracle that was hoped for in many countries. Like Rodney, Jarrett offers a commentary on African domination and degradation that is unmerciful and angry; the author considers the history of Africa throughout the text to suggest (a bit too idealistically) that the precolonial period was characterized by working and sustainable civilizations that were devastated by French and British colonization especially and continue to be cursed by the echoes of neo-colonial administration, greed, and elitism. Jarrett argues that the exploitation of Africa's "wealth and resources" has been responsible for Africa's lack of development and "backwardness" since the colonial period, and continues to supply Europe and America with resources and labor at the expense of African growth. (Interestingly, he does not identify the lack of control that Africa experienced in the Indian Ocean trade in relation to Indian and Arab encounters, except to point out that the slavery begun with that trade has continued to manifest itself literally and symbolically today.) Jarrett begins by discussing the colonial period in Africa, and states that it was destructive in a number of ways for Africa, robbing the continent of its resources and its precolonial strategies of sustainability, spirituality, and solidarity in African communities. Jarrett stresses that "the colonialistic practice of capitalism in Africa failed to develop social relations and liberate the forces of production as it did in Western industrial nations because it was never intended to do so. Their primary intentions were to develop their own economy by the institutionalizing, controlling, and exploiting Africa" (11). European colonization in Africa was (and is) based on a process of extraction that has made possible the strength of the North at the expense of Southern cultural richness, environmental diversity, and autonomy. In speaking of technological transfer, Jarrett recognizes that "the colonial doctrine was geared to fulfilling the needs of the colonial masters and to strengthening the growth and development of their own countries" (24), by creating a system of technological transfer that favored Northern economic expansion at the expense of Southern growth and health. This was particularly well evidenced in the area of agriculture; colonial administration stressed the importance of monoculture, specialization in cash crops, and "producing crops for international trade, instead of local consumption" (29), which set up a system of dependency in Africa that favored Northern economies at the expense of African sustainability, self-sufficiency, and environmental health; the cash crops supplied resources for Europe and America, and not for Africa, destroyed the fertility of the land, and as a result "African nations became a source of agricultural products for the West" (30). Jarrett adds that the imposition of colonial values - such as capitalist competition, gender divisions, and the conception of "civilization" in urban areas - intensified the separation of Africans from their sociocultural identities and forced ideologies on the African context that were environmentally and socially destructive. The author goes on to concentrate on the neo-colonial period, which has mirrored the colonial period only too well in preserving a relationship of dependency between

South and North. Jarrett suggests that "neo-colonialist" refers to both the African elite whose placement as leaders in Africa politically and economically supports European and American policies of African exploitation, and to the "developed nations" that continue to exert control over Third World nations in Africa. Fundamentally, a type of corporate colonialism continues to be the basis of the socioeconomic relationship between the First World and Africa. Based on IMF and World Bank strategies, "the developed nations are manipulating the world economy to the detriment of Africa's economic progress" (88) to allow for First World economic expansion at the expense of Third World (and First World) social and environmental sustainability. This is clearly evidenced in the existence of "impressive skylines" in major African cities, which are costly and hide the more significant problems of "remote health care, poor housing, poor roads, a general lack of transportation and communication, and inadequate educational systems" (100) in the hinterland. According to the author, this reflects African "governments' emphasis on growth rather than on the more fundamental changes of development" (100), and the dependency of African nations in global relationships: "the neo-colonialist governments of Africa have developed a pattern of "growth without national development," because most of the development projects in Africa are not beneficial to the continent" (101), but are meant to preserve the exploitative and extractive policies forced upon Africa by developed nations during the colonial period and preserved during the modern era.

Joekes, Susan, Heyzer, Noeleen, Oniang'o, Ruth, and Salles, Vania. "Gender, environment and population." In *Development and environment: sustaining people and nature*, edited by Dharam Ghai, 137-165. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994.

A good analysis of gender dynamics in relation to population pressures and environmental change in developing nations, with a particular focus on Malaysia, Kenya (in the Embu region of Mt. Kenya), and Mexico. The piece begins by critiquing the views of ecofeminism (women's affinity to nature) and women and the environment, which are both limited by their over-emphasis on women's roles and connections with nature outside of male responsibilities and socioeconomic tendencies in general. The authors argue that a "developmentalist" approach that examines gender aspects of environmental change case by case is necessary to make full sense of various situations of gender dynamics and social adaptations to environmental circumstances. The authors then examine population theories in developing countries, concluding that the Malthusian perspective (i.e. increased population is linked to increased degradation) and the Boserupian theory (of increased population contributing positively to agricultural growth and productivity) are both inadequate to explain population dynamics universally. Ultimately, a site specific relationship must be acknowledged that may include both or neither models. Based on Oniang'o's work, the regional analysis of Embu in Kenya examines the main forms of environmental problems in the area, caused by prolonged periods of drought and deforestation (based on local and national charcoal / fuelwood needs), the latter of which has been the main form of soil degradation in the area. The authors link this degradation to the gender dynamics in the region, which primarily take the form of an intensely stratified system in which women are regularly denied property rights and ownership of environmental resources. This has a number of consequences in relation to deforestation: women have little incentive to take part in long-term conservation of the land; women are not allowed to plant a diversity of plant species, especially

for their own benefit of fuelwood, and are thus prevented from taking effective steps towards soil conservation by social constraints. Although women in general are "particularly exposed to the negative consequences of environmental factors in this district, and may in general have a better perception of the welfare costs of environmental change to themselves and their families, property and effective land use rights limit women's ability to take corrective action" (160), especially in the areas where soil conservation and reforestation are most needed.

Juma, Calestous. "Managing biological diversity in Kenya." In *Gaining ground: institutional innovations in land-use management in Kenya*, edited by Amos Kiriro, and Juma, Calestous, 125-154. Nairobi: ACTS Press, 1991.

An analysis of conservation policies and roles related to genetic resources and biodiversity in Kenya. Particularly Juma's consideration of "biodiversity in history," related to colonial practices and policies, offers an invaluable description of British strategies and ways in which these affect Kenyan economic policies presently. During the colonial period, the British concentrated many of their conservation efforts on "the introduction of new genetic material into Kenya to establish the colonial agricultural economy" (126). This had important implications in a number of sectors, including forestation, cereal production, the growth of cash crops, and the use of commercial versus indigenous livestock. As a result of these purposive attempts by the British, white settlers had the advantage of production knowledge to ensure that they would control the industries, and particular areas - the "White Highlands" - were set aside for whites to control these industries at the expense of valuable native resources. The consequence of using imported genetic materials - besides British control in the colonial period - was that less destructive and degrading, indigenous resources were invalidated and ignored, disempowering native communities. In addition, high GNP earners in the postcolonial period continue to be resources that are not native to the country but must be imported, continuing a system of national dependency that reinforces the global domination of Kenya by outside forces, and adds to environmental degradation of the country (128-129).

Kanogo, Tabitha. "Women and environment in history." In *Groundwork: African women as environmental managers*, edited by Shanyisa A. Khasiani, 7-17. Nairobi: ACTS Press, 1992.

A good recognition of the ways in which rural women in Kenya, as the key agricultural laborers, have historically contended with environmental management and degradation. The author identifies mainly precolonial and colonial examples to demonstrate that women must be an integral element in the development of effective conservation strategies in Africa. Because women are so deeply involved in agricultural and food production for rural communities, they were forced to develop precolonial strategies that allowed for the survival of their families. Especially because of the semi-arid and arid landscapes dominating Kenya, women developed sustainable strategies, based on limited resources and population density, that allowed for the healthy "coexistence" of agriculturalists and pastoralists with the environment. The precolonial period was thus characterized by techniques such as fallow shifting cultivation and "waste" lands

(as the British colonial government dubbed them) set aside for resources such as fuelwood collection, grazing, etc. The colonial period was characterized by a massive reorganization of traditional land tenure and agricultural systems and a massive redistribution of land for the benefit of white settlers that had devastating effects on the majority of Kenyan rural communities. The disruption of a collective land-tenure system and of fallow shifting cultivation (or of transhumance for pastoralist cattle grazing) forced women to deal with severely decreased land supply, use of fast-growing or cash crops for money that were destructive to the soil, and environmental degradation on an unprecedented scale. The sexism of British colonialism also created an atmosphere of patriarchy that left women out of land use deliberation, even though they were in the best position to discuss the importance of land tenure and management from their individual sociocultural roles in most African societies. Rapid individualization and the colonial refusal to deal with the exploitative problem of land shortage for the Kenyan majority were important factors in shaping women's refusal to complete colonial project attempts aimed at reforestation and terracing: "In an age that was characterized by individual production and capital accumulation, communal soil conservation work was very unpopular" (16). Kanogo concludes by stressing that women must be involved in conservation strategies if they are to succeed in involving people at a community-based level that works for the local people, as women have been involved in effective land management for centuries and have everything to gain or lose from conservation policy implementation.

## **Bibliography (page 3)**

Khasiani, Shanyisa A. "Conclusions." In *Groundwork: African women as environmental managers*, edited by Shanyisa A. Khasiani, 119-121. Nairobi: ACTS Press, 1992.

A short wrap-up of the collection of writings in "Groundwork" that ties the works together well. Khasiani suggests a number of ideas that come out of this study: women have been directly involved in conservation activities for centuries, and colonial policies forced women to engage even more in rural activities and voluntary conservation schemes; development planning and policy formulation based on colonial ideologies have further marginalized women and introduced strategies of economic development that have increased poverty for the majority and have led to environmental degradation on increasing levels; women have been directly effected by environmental resource degradation and thus have been easier to mobilize in efforts to prevent this, although marginalization and oppressive gender inequalities have made these attempts a failure. Khasiani suggests that many steps could be taken to involve women more effectively as environmental managers in Kenya: environmental laws and policies should be more gender specific; women should be incorporated directly into formulation and implementation stages of policy making; a shift in emphasis from exploitation to conservation should occur in policy restructuring (both of which can involve a certain amount of utilization); women should be empowered through ownership of resources that directly effect them; and women's traditional understandings of conservation should be united with modern technologies and perspectives to create more sensitive and sustainable environmental management policies.

Khor, Martin. "Development, trade, and the environment: a third world perspective." In *The future of progress: reflections on environment and development*, edited by Edward Goldsmith, Khor, Martin, Norberg-Hodge, Helena, Shiva, Vandana, & others, 33-49. Foxhole, Dartington: Green Books, 1995.

A short piece that considers the problems historically between North and South. The author does a particularly nice job of concisely describing general principles of colonization in the South, and the ways in which sustainable Third World communities were disrupted by the introduction of Western systems and ideologies. Khor stresses that the pattern historically has been one of Northern domination, in which Western systems have sucked Third World communities further and further into dysfunctional patterns of degradation and impoverishment. The North / South relationship has been consistently one of Western domination and subjugation, and until this relationship is fundamentally changed and Southern communities are allowed to apply sustainable strategies to their lives, the environmental crisis will continue to escalate.

Korir-Koech, Michael. "Evolution of environmental management in Kenya." In *Gaining ground: institutional innovations in land-use management in Kenya*, edited by Amos Kiriro, and Juma, Calestous, 21-34. Nairobi: ACTS Press, 1991.

A consideration of environmental management in Kenya from a historical perspective of colonial and postcolonial conservation policies, including the Kenyatta and Moi eras (i.e. independence to the present). Although the postcolonial considerations of conservation successes are fairly biased in assuming the success of environmental management under the Kenyatta and Moi administrations, the author does present a fairly good analysis of colonial policy interests and mismanagement of land and resources. Because colonial officials saw "great agricultural potential" in East Africa, they were extremely concerned with soil conservation (although game reserves and parks were also an essential area of conservation policy). The failures of colonial conservation models were complex, but were primarily the result of a Eurocentric ideological framework that was responsible for introducing conservation models - such as mono-cropping, commercial livestock husbandry, and introduction of non-native cash crop and tree species - that ignored indigenous systems of sustainability in an African environment in which these models did not work effectively. In addition, the British considered African peoples inferior and incompetent, and as a result the African management strategies were ignored and preferred lands were cleared for the white settlers (e.g. the "White Highlands"). This had the effect of confining increasing African populations (due to enforced colonial sedenterization, health care, etc. which the author presents a particularly good analysis of, pg. 26) to smaller areas, according to enforced policies of privatization of land that made the traditional system of cultivation shifting untenable and destructive rather than sustainable for African communities. Colonial enforcements and monopolizing of preferred lands, and isolation of "wastelands" as national parks that could no longer be used as grazing lands and resources by native peoples (an aspect not considered in this section), had the effect of creating a vast sense of native resentment against conservation policies that would be a huge obstacle in postcolonial periods. The author points out that the "moral" of

this story is that colonial strategies were disastrous largely because they failed to take into account social, political, economic, and cultural structures that connected African peoples sustainably to the environment, and as a result, colonial strategies drastically disordered conservation systems that worked and created a legacy of lasting dependency and degradation.

Korten, David C. *When corporations rule the world*. West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press, Inc., 1995.

A blistering account of the ways in which the globalization of the economy according to principles of economic growth and capital extraction have led to massive corporate control of Northern and Southern political and economic institutions. According to Korten, corporate strength internationally has increasingly led to a state of "corporate colonialism" that promotes profitability and economic expansion even when it is at the expense of the basic human needs and sustainability, creating a system of resource exploitation and domination that is proving extremely self-destructive to the survival of the human race and the sustainability of the planet. Korten's consideration of global systems of domination and oppression is particularly relevant in connection with this thesis in relation to the chapter entitled, "People with No Place," which brings together much of his ideas on the extent of corporate colonial control worldwide and traces the connections between traditional colonialism in the 18th and 19th centuries and modern systems of international imperialism and corporate colonialism. As Korten acknowledges clearly, "the Western development enterprise has been about separating people from their traditional means of livelihood and breaking down the bonds of security provided by family and community to create dependence on the jobs and products that modern corporations produce. It is an extension of a process that began with the enclosure, or privatization, of common lands in England to concentrate the benefits of their production in the hands of the few rather than the many. The colonial era extended the process to the people of nonindustrial lands. Post-World War II development assistance and investment continued the same basic process - under a more subtle and friendly guise - monetizing the production and service functions of the social economy, replacing locally controlled systems of agriculture, governance, health care, education, and mutual self-help with systems that were more amenable to central control" (251). Korten provides a general historical consideration of this trend to suggest that "from colonialism to development to structural adjustment, the people of Southern countries have been integrated into the global economy, step by wrenching step" (253), according to systems of Northern domination that have preserved a dependency relationship with the South. Monetization, military assistance, encouragement of Southern exports of goods for Northern markets, and enforcement of Northern goods upon Southern markets at the expense of locally produced goods, have all reinforced Northern strength and wealth at the expense of those conditions in the South. Korten uses the discussion of Southern impoverishment and degradation to suggest that "the economic growth of a globalized free market that weakens and destroys the bonds of culture and community to the benefit of global corporations" (257) cannot possibly provide a sustainable or egalitarian model for social and environmental survival because it is based on profit and expansion motives of the few that are necessarily opposed to this model. Korten's consideration of the IMF, the World Bank, and GATT / WTO in the chapter, "Adjusting the Poor," reinforces this position by documenting numerous ways in which these organizations "have become

increasingly intrusive in dictating the public policies of indebted countries and undermining progress toward democratic governance" (165) because they represent Northern power interests predicated upon the stifling of Southern democracy, self-sustainability, and local empowerment to preserve the globalization of corporate colonialism. The promotion of economic growth and of resource extraction has set up an oppressive system that benefits the few at the expense of the many, and this is revealed clearly in the ways in which power have been hoarded in the North and preserved by stifling the human capacities of communities and nations worldwide.

Kundaali, John N. "Making conservation and development compatible." *Ambio* 12, no. 6 (1983): 326-331.

A good consideration of environmental degradation and development in the East African Region, especially related to the issues of deforestation, population pressures, industrialization, and coastal resource degradation. The author uses these examples to suggest that development and conservation must be compatible if both are to survive in the long-term, especially because poor environmental management and utilization in the short term can self-destructively threaten just the resources that make development possible and profitable. The author uses examples of the deforestation of mangrove forests to demonstrate ways in which this activity destroys the resource basis for the shrimp markets (because the shrimp rely on the mangroves for survival), the deforestation of tropical forests and woodlands to demonstrate ways in which the local peoples are robbing themselves of the protein source of monkeys through the activity, and the ways in which siltation of rivers, toxic dumping in the ocean, and coral sawing destroys habitats for fisheries, destroys the coral and tourist markets, and destroys the coral buffer zone protecting coastal housing from tidal destruction. Population increase and expansion have made traditional practices - such as cultivation shifting - destructive and ineffective, often destroying the very resources that communities need for long-term survival. The author urges that greater consideration of the links between economic development and ecological diversity be considered to allow for the continued sustainability of both.

Lindsay, W.K. "Integrating parks and pastoralists: some lessons from Amboseli." In *Conservation in Africa: people, policies and practice*, edited by David Anderson, and Grove, Richard, 149-167. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Emphasizes failures of Amboseli National Park connected to colonialism and the exclusion of the Maasai; threatened species part of lack of valid development plans and frustrations of people.

Marcuse, Herbert. "The new forms of control." In *Thinking about the environment: readings on politics, property, and the physical world*, edited by Matthew Alan Cahn, and O'Brien, Rory, 112-119. Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1996.

Marcuse presents an excellent, critical analysis of the totalitarianism of the modern age, arguing that we have arrived at a point in the "progress" of modernization in which we have the potential to "release individual energy into a yet uncharted realm of freedom beyond necessity" (112). However, the modern age is characterized by just the opposite trend, in which toil and poverty are maintained repressively, and in which "false needs" of material consumption and luxuries characterize most of the things that make us "happy," and allow us to relax and consume. Marcuse argues that in our society, this proliferation of false needs has led to a "euphoria in unhappiness... no matter how much such needs have become the individual's own,... they continue to be what they were from the beginning - products of a society whose dominant interest demands repression" (114). Basically, Marcuse argues that the modern age is characterized by the perpetuation of "obsolete forms of the struggle for existence" (113) that directly threaten the realization of the potential for overcoming necessities in human existence; the modern age is contrary to progress towards a greater degree of human liberation. Marcuse suggests that "advanced industrial society is approaching the stage where continued progress would demand the radical subversion of the prevailing direction and organization of progress" (119), and that the "powers that be" stifle this trend to maintain domination over the society, by encouraging a kind of "one-dimensional thought" and a preservation of obsolete necessities that preserve systems of power as they currently exist. According to Marcuse, this reveals "the internal contradiction of this civilization: the irrational element in its rationality" (119). As advanced industrial societies "progress" towards the potential for unimagined human liberation from necessity, they also attempt to "contain this trend within the established institutions" (119), and herein lies a significant contradiction. If the modern age is to remain consistent to its aims for "progress," it cannot "struggle for existence" and deny it simultaneously, and remain faithful to a quest for human liberation. Clearly, Marcuse's criticism focuses on capitalism's tendency to preserve unnecessary forms of profit motives and appropriation, which are contradictory to true progress towards human liberation from the toil of labor and the struggle to gain one's livelihood through private enterprise. This contradiction is also played out clearly in relation to environmental issues today: continuing obsolete forms of resource use - pollution, waste, etc. - further constrain humanity by forcing us to pay for clean resources; continuing to rely on fossil fuels when we have the potential to make use of solar power, electric power, etc. prevents humanity from progressing towards a more pollution-free environment (and one in which the production of energy and fuel, and the toil of labor contained therein, would be unnecessary).

Marekia, E. Njeri. "Managing wildlife in Kenya." In *Gaining ground: institutional innovations in land-use management in Kenya*, edited by Amos Kiriro, and Juma, Calestous, 155-176. Nairobi: ACTS Press, 1991.

An excellent analysis of the historical roots and current failings of wildlife conservation in Kenya and to a lesser extent in Tanzania. The author argues that the instituting of the U.S. parks ideology of isolationist management during the colonial period completely disregarded social, cultural, and political systems in place in Africa and created numerous land-use conflicts and forms of land degradation inside and outside of the parks. Marekia stresses that significant decimation of wildlife was caused by white hunters, the slaughter of animals during the world wars, and that parks were originally set up as "playgrounds" (157) for the whites that hid the fact

that significant access to important resources were being denied to indigenous peoples; "the idea behind establishing parks was to protect nature from the natives" (157). Marekia makes the important point (often overlooked by analyses) that white colonial officials, fearing the native resentments of conservation which denied them access to resources, actively sought to set up a postcolonial group of elitist rulers that catered to their needs and ideologies (i.e. Nyerere and Kenyatta especially). The national parks and reserves were set aside based on the American isolationist model, a move that proved disastrous for the East African majorities who relied upon the resources in park and reserve spaces for their livelihoods (158-159). The author suggests that setting aside large areas for parks and reserves is irrational when a majority of the people do not accept the resulting landlessness and impoverishment; new multi-use policies targeted for the benefit of the people must be devised to prevent national parks from becoming islands (which will lead to biodiversity loss and overpopulation (pg. 167) and to prevent increasing human and land degradation outside of the protected "band aids." Marekia also demonstrates - by speaking of destructive potentials of over-used tourist runs and mismanaged county councils for reserves - that postcolonial strategies have continued to be plagued by problems because they do not adequately address the needs of local peoples. Unchecked agricultural expansion and settling near reserves "may be the greatest threat to wildlife conservation in Kenya" (166), especially because the bulk of wildlife populations exist outside of reserves where land use may determine the survival of many species. Development around marine (168) and wildlife parks has been damaging and does not take into account the importance of wildlife as a lasting and sustainable resource. Marekia stresses that wildlife conservation will only truly emerge if it has utility as a profitable resource for the local communities; they will only preserve it if they have the incentive to sustain its presence. This is especially important as land use for food production and an increasing human population make it important to devise ways in which people will respect the presence of wildlife around them rather than seeing it as intolerable and antagonistic (e.g. because it destroys crops, people, etc.). This will require that wildlife conservation and economic welfare emerge hand in hand and that people are educated about the importance of preserving wildlife as a long-term resource.

Marx, Karl. "The two sides of society." In *Social theory: the multicultural and classic readings*, edited by Charles Lemert, 36-74. Boulder: Westview Press, 1993.

A good summary of some of Marx's main points and ideas in relation to his excellent analyses of capitalist dynamics and tendencies. Marx's writings deconstruct capitalist institutions and workings to demonstrate ways in which the system reproduces itself, is alienating and exploitative, and contains a number of fundamental and self-destructive contradictions. For the purposes of this thesis, Marx's analysis provides an invaluable foundation for understanding some of the basic dynamics in capitalism. Marx stresses that the labor production of the worker in the capitalist society is fundamentally alienating. According to Marx, the externalization and objectification of labor from man is an enslaving process that wrests from human beings their species being (i.e. "the productive life is the life of the species" (40)); capitalism is founded upon the "estranged labor" of workers. "Through estranged, alienated labor, the worker produces the relationship to this labor of a man alien to labor and standing outside it. The relationship of the worker to labor engenders the relation to it of the capitalist, or whatever one chooses to call the

master of labor" (42). On an international scale, this has important consequences for the ways in which peoples relate to each other, and has been significant in promoting a socioeconomic system globally that encourages economic growth and expansion at the expense of human needs and interests. In Marx's discussion of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in "The Communist Manifesto," Marx makes several especially insightful points. He stresses that capitalism has not liberated societies from oppression, but "has established... new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones" (44), and dismisses the idea that privatization of property and estrangement from labor are "natural" processes. Rather, they are historically manifested social structures that reflect capitalist tendencies and not "human nature." Marx also makes an important point in arguing that the bourgeois embrace of exchange value - and the capitalist ethic of economic growth and expansion - has brought about the stifling of human potential in a number of ways, contributing to a global system of economic expansion today that is increasingly in opposition to the human interests of environmental and social justice. "Naked self-interest, callous 'cash payment'... has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom - Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation" (45). Marx was also ahead of his time in saying that capitalism "creates a world after its own image" (46), as the globalization of capitalism today is accomplishing just this, creating an international dependency relationship that favors the "towns" at the expense of the country on a national level, and the "civilized" countries at the expense of the "barbarian" ones on an international level (46). Marx also argues that the exploitation of labor in the form of the proletariat will ultimately prove self-destructive for the capitalist system (although the increasingly extractive relationship with the environment is proving to be an even more significant factor that presents the possibility of the breakdown of not only the capitalist system but the earth's ecosystems as well). It is important to note - in connection with this thesis - that Marx's ideas on crisis situations in capitalist structure have been clearly played out in the relations between Europe / America and Africa; the "conquest of new markets" (47) in Africa allowed European capitalism a "lease on life," as Walter Rodney puts it, and the "more thorough exploitation" of these markets today is making it increasingly difficult for capitalism to handle the crises of impoverishment, degradation, and oppression that result from North / South relationships in Africa and throughout the world.

## **Bibliography (page 4)**

McNeely, Jeffrey A. "Protected areas and human ecology: how national parks can contribute to sustaining societies of the twenty-first century." In *Conservation for the twenty-first century*, edited by David Western, and Pearl, Mary C., 150-157. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

A good analysis of national parks and their functions and limitations. The author demonstrates that "biosphere people" - developed nations - and "ecosystem people" - or developing nations - both have ways of conserving nature that work effectively in their particular cultural and social contexts. The author also recognizes that the control of parks by a national authority and the

boundaries of parks have traditionally encouraged an isolationist perspective that has been used in "the tropics" to keep the people from the resources and from sustainable livelihoods. McNeely calls for an emphasis on conservation as a primarily human problem, and suggests that national parks (and conservation policies in general) could incorporate more sustainable ethics of "ecosystem peoples" than they have traditionally.

Michael, Mark A. "International justice and wilderness preservation." *Social Theory & Practice* 21, no. 2 (1995): 149-176.

Claims in a philosophical piece that for international ecocentric protection to take place, wealth must be redistributed to Third World nations to make wilderness preservation plausible and fair. (Although he fails to mention that wealth should be redistributed based on how Third World peoples have been oppressed and dominated historically.)

Murphree, Marshall W. "Decentralizing the proprietorship of wildlife resources in Zimbabwe's communal lands." In *Voices from Africa: local perspectives on conservation*, edited by Dale Lewis, and Carter, Nick, 133-145. Washington, D.C.: World Wildlife Fund, 1993.

A good summation of the ways in which conservation schemes in Zimbabwe have involved or excluded rural communities and the majority of "the people" in the country. The author suggests that communal proprietorship of wildlife resources dominated precolonial conservation policies, a sustainable system that supported local consumption and survival that was severely disrupted by colonial land-management policies that confined communities to "native reserves." These destroyed the economic potential of the land, traditional land use policies, and created a rural understanding of nature as someone else's resource - the "white man's" - that should be resisted when possible. The national programs of WINDFALL and CAMPFIRE are reviewed by the author to show ways in which utilization of land and wildlife that provide economic incentives to the rural peoples to preserve the "resources" can restore a sense of communal proprietorship and can work on a sustainable, long-term basis (implemented at the national governmental level). WINDFALL largely failed, according to the author, because its attempts to provide for the local people in terms of meat and revenue largely failed, while CAMPFIRE embraced more fully the ideas of national cooperation with local communities, and turned policy theories into action in 1989, and has had great success allowing rural peoples to sustainably take control of their lives. However, CAMPFIRE has its problems as well - it has drawn three main lobbies of wildlife, agricultural, and resettlement agendas, and the direction that CAMPFIRE takes in response to these will prove decisive for conservation purposes. Also, individual households have not been involved enough in the proprietorship model, and in this sense a further devolution of bureaucratic authority and control is necessary. Although safari hunting is proving to be the most profitable system right now, other forms of conservation strategies must be experimented with to determine what works most effectively for the people and the land involved.

Netboy, Anthony. "Tourism and wildlife conservation in East Africa." *American Forests* 81, no. 8 (1975): 24-27.

Interesting as a reflection of the classic conservation mind-set of Western thought that emphasizes the importance of wildlife protection without considering the basic survival needs of East African peoples. Netboy recognizes the destructive results of colonialism without tying them to the poverty of the Third World at present. Whereas wildlife is seen as belonging to "mankind in general," the redistribution of wealth necessary to make that possible - and desirable for Africans - is not.

Norton-Griffiths, M. "Economic incentives to develop the rangelands of the Serengeti: implications for wildlife preservation." In *Serengeti 2*, edited by A.R.E. Sinclair, and Arcese, Peter, 588-604. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Argues convincingly that traditional eco-tourist protection plans fail to include indigenous peoples. To profit more completely from the land, they will turn to ranching and agriculture, which have adverse effects on protection but allow the people better standards of living. This can only be halted if the people - in this case the Maasai - are granted full compensation for non-development of the land.

Nzomo, Maria. "Policy impacts on women and environment." In *Groundwork: African women as environmental managers*, edited by Shanyisa A. Khasiani, 101-117. Nairobi: ACTS Press, 1992.

An excellent, concise analysis of environmental degradation, policy implementation, and the necessary role of women in designing any successful and lasting environmental conservation strategies in Kenya and in Africa in general. The author quickly recognizes that a discussion of the environment must include both the "natural" and the human (social) aspects of the term, especially in a consideration of conservation and degradation in Kenya (and in most of the Third World), because conservation and poverty (especially in colonial and postcolonial periods) have been intrinsically linked. Although national development plans included environmental conservation objectives from the 1960s to 90s, most of these have failed to manifest themselves in practice due to lack of funds, corruption at the state level, and a failure to recognize the connections between infrastructural dysfunction and environmental degradation. This failure is especially evident in consideration of the major target group dealing with environmental management - women - who have traditionally been ignored at all levels of the conservation process. As Nzomo observes clearly, women have historically been most involved in community initiatives, are primarily responsible for food production and marketing, are involved at all levels of educational training, and are primarily responsible for environmental resource utilization (both in positive terms and negatively). This last point is especially important because policy makers often fail to make the connection between women's poverty, gender inequality, and lack of adequate opportunities (economically, in food production, at national levels, etc.), and the

resulting environmental degradation that they often, unintentionally contribute to as a result. Women have remained marginalized from control of productive resources and policy-making power at all sociopolitical levels, and Nzomo argues that this marginalization is directly responsible for much of the rural degradation of environmental resources. According to the author, women must be given greater opportunities, "alternative livelihoods," and involvement in direction of their own lives if effective mobilization of women and effective environmental management for most of the country is to emerge. Effective policy restructuring requires that women are involved at all levels of decision making, especially in the regions of agriculture, health, education, and technology. A much greater awareness of the connection between poor women and environmental degradation in the rural landscape is also necessary for effective environmental conservation strategies in Kenya to emerge, and women's traditional role in community initiatives should be fully supported and taken advantage of. Nzomo concludes by suggesting that these principles of policy restructuring are sensible and necessary because they allow for sustenance of the basic needs of the majority rather than the accumulation of wealth by the nation's top elites.

O'Connor, James. "Is sustainable capitalism possible?" In *Is capitalism sustainable?*, edited by Martin O'Connor, 152-175. New York: The Guilford Press, 1994.

A good theoretical analysis of the supposed "sustainability" of capitalism. According to the author's definition of "sustain" in relation to the preservation of global capitalist accumulation, the upholding of certain luxuries and ways of life for people, the subversion of people's sociocultural systems to wage and commodity forms, and especially in relation to the sustainability of biological and ecological processes, "the short answer to the question 'Is sustainable capitalism possible?' is 'No,' while the longer answer is 'Probably not.' Capitalism is self-destructing and in crisis; the world economy makes more people hungry, poor, and miserable every day; the masses of peasants and workers cannot be expected to endure the crisis indefinitely; and nature, however 'ecological sustainability' is defined, is under attack everywhere" (154). O'Connor defends this position by looking at a number of aspects of the controversy over issues of sustainable capitalism. He points out that the green and corporate understandings of sustainability are significantly different; while greens search for ways to sustain biodiversity in the context of a capitalist system, corporate leaders think in terms of sustaining profit margins and capital accumulation, regardless of the ultimate impact on the environmental resources involved. O'Connor also considers the first and second contradictions of capitalism suggested by Marxian theory (which refer to the commodification of labor and of nature respectively) in order to demonstrate the ultimately self-destructive tendencies of capitalism that are antithetical to its own socioeconomic sustainability, not to mention the sustainability of biodiversity and ecological processes globally. O'Connor concludes by suggesting that the exploitative and dominating tendencies of capitalism - especially played out in the relations between the "North" and "South" - are ingrained in the nature of capitalism itself, and as a result it is difficult to imagine that capitalism could provide a sustainable ecological model globally when it can not even provide a sustainable socioeconomic and ecological model for capitalist, overdeveloped powers in the world. In the last analysis, O'Connor suggests that if any kind of long-term ecological preservation and human justice are to take center stage as

guiding ideologies, a kind of sustainable socialism must emerge out of collective efforts of group that stand in solidarity against impoverishment and degradation worldwide. Although O'Connor recognizes that this may be an unlikely scenario, he sees even less chance for an effective, long-term, sustainable approach to capitalism emerging.

Owen-Smith, Garth. "Wildlife conservation in Africa." In *Voices from Africa: local perspectives on conservation*, edited by Dale Lewis, and Carter, Nick, 57-69. Washington, D.C.: World Wildlife Fund, 1993.

An excellent consideration of the "passions and prejudices" that have historically shaped conservation policies and dynamics in Africa. The author traces conservation through traditional African practices and into the colonial era to demonstrate that a certain degree of harmony between indigenous peoples and wildlife allowed for the precolonial survival of both, while European contact led to massive changes that were largely responsible for the environmental degradation and conservation policies needed today. The author makes an analogy between precolonial Africa and preindustrial Europe to demonstrate the ways in which wildlife and land were set aside as "royal preserves" for wealthy Europeans that formed the foundation for tourist-based conservation schemes of parks and reserves shaped around aesthetic beauty (based on the American model) that predominate today. European considerations of Africa as their property were used to separate Africans physically and culturally from their livelihood, and European preoccupations with hunting "game" (another "royal" attitude and luxury) and introduction of firearms were directly responsible for the decimation of wildlife species. European systems of single-use (ranching, agriculture, etc.) also led to significant land degradation, and this led to some colonial officials' alarm over this loss (of property, not a potential resource), and resulting conservation policies designed for the use of Europeans. The racist and heavy-handed policies led to native resentment and prejudice that continues today (and was a significant attitude used in the drive towards independence), and has been significant in current conservation failures. Parks and reserves were also placed in economically nonviable areas, and wildlife outside was considered colonial property. These attitudes and actions have significantly effected postcolonial conservation schemes. Besides preservationist models of parks and reserves, game ranching has become popular (though it is generally controlled by whites and not blacks even today), and hunting is accepted as an economic option, echoing largely of colonialism. Little has changed today, as black Africans see little or none of the profits from these activities, are not involved in policy decisions, and thus are often (at best) indifferent to conservation. The author stresses that the alienation of rural blacks from the continent's wildlife by Eurocentric legislation during the colonial era is the "greatest single threat" to preservation. The people must be involved in the conservation process, must reap the tangible benefits of it, should be encouraged to approach it at least partly through traditional practices, and must be funded in their endeavors by wealthy nations, if the wildlife is truly a global heritage (and as a payback for centuries of exploitation).

Parkipuny, Moringe S. Ole, and Berger, Dhyani J. "Maasai rangelands." In *Voices from Africa: local perspectives on conservation*, edited by Dale Lewis, and Carter, Nick, 113-131. Washington, D.C.: World Wildlife Fund, 1993.

A thorough analysis of the historical relationship between the Maasai and the conservation process in Kenya and Tanzania, which has primarily led to the exclusion and the exploitation of the Maasai in both countries in colonial and postcolonial contexts. The encroachment of agriculture and peasant communities, and parks and reserves as islands of wildlife preservation, have severely limited Maasai land. The loss of land, of grazing options, etc. can be traced to dislocation of the Maasai from traditional grazing land by European colonizers, the formation of parks and reserves, the disregard for Maasai lifestyles, and the setting aside of preferred land for settlers, all of which have continued in the postcolonial era, and which are leading to a disintegration of traditional Maasai lifestyles (as they seek agriculture, etc. for supplements to survival and as privatization is encouraged over communal lifestyles). The changes in pastoralism that have been forced on the Maasai, the failure of Kenyan alternative schemes of conservation, and the lack of funding have all led to conservation disasters and increasing environmental degradation that require communal strategies, involvement of the Maasai, and more serious consideration of traditional practices that work if the rangelands - and the Maasai - are to be preserved. The devastation resulting from wheat-growing (in Narok, for example) and the inefficiency of single-use, cattle grazing rather than combined cattle-wildlife grazing are cited as examples of ways in which the rangelands continue to suffer from Eurocentric mismanagement and lack of Maasai involvement.

Perkin, Scott. "Multiple land use in the Serengeti region: the Ngorongoro Conservation Area." In *Serengeti 2*, edited by A.R.E. Sinclair, and Arcese, Peter, 571-587. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Basically, multiple land-use has good theories but has failed to involve local people and problems at all; land has been fairly well-protected but people have been losing out severely. The idea of multiple land-use has potential, though, especially as population increases make national park models untenable.

Rawls, John. "The problem of justice between generations." In *Thinking about the environment: readings on politics, property, and the physical world*, edited by Matthew Alan Cahn, and O'Brien, Rory, 104-111. Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1996.

The excerpt from *A Theory of Justice* considers the implications of "justice between generations," which Rawls argues, demands that "each generation must not only preserve the gains of culture and civilization, and maintain intact those just institutions that have been established, but it must also put aside in each period of time a suitable amount of real capital accumulation" (105). Rawls stresses that "capital" involves not only "factories and machinery" (107), but also culture, knowledge, and, in this case, natural resources and environmental

splendor. Furthermore, "saving" this capital can take many forms (i.e. in relation to the environment this might involve national parks, sustainable resource utilization, etc.). Rawls makes the point that any conception of justice must consider the issue historically, over time. In particular, a just society must include saving capital so that future generations can benefit from the freedom that these savings represent. Rawls also stresses that "a high material standard of life" (108), and saving for "various grand projects" (106), is not necessary to provide for the basis of a just society, as justice entails working "in free association with others... to achieve this state of things great wealth is not necessary. In fact, beyond some point it is more likely to be a positive hindrance, a meaningless distraction at best if not a temptation to indulgence and emptiness" (108). (...What would Rawls have to say about these luxuriant and exploitative tendencies, short-term goals, and lack of long-term, sustainable planning, especially for "the poorest peoples," in capitalist societies like our own? Is America a "just society" by Rawls' standards?...)

Ribeiro, Silvio, and Wrenfelt, Birgitta. "A socio-ecological proposal to link North and South." In *The future of progress: reflections on environment and development*, edited by Edward Goldsmith, Khor, Martin, Norberg-Hodge, Helena, Shiva, Vandana, & others, 166-170. Foxhole, Dartington: Green Books, 1995.

A brief piece that effectively focuses on the European values of dominion and domination that have effected massive colonial and postcolonial impoverishment and degradation of people and the environment throughout the world. The authors correctly state that the South will never be able to "duplicate the development pattern established by the North because the world system, based on domination, continuously acts to perpetuate the inferior position of the developing world" (166). The authors argue that for problems of social and environmental justice to truly be solved, a "new concept of reality" is necessary that is not based on domination and dominion (as is the global capitalist system today), but rather on the interconnectedness of human beings as a part of the natural world. The authors make a good point in suggesting that the ecological crisis must be viewed not only in light of ecosystems but also human, social systems as well; both are threatened by increasing environmental degradation and are intrinsically related to each other in a consideration of degradation and impoverishment.

Rodney, Walter. *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. 2nd ed. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1981.

One of the classic texts on colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa; an excellent and blistering account of Third World underdevelopment, exploitation, and oppression in Africa. Approaching the subject from a Marxist perspective, Rodney argues forcefully that European and American involvement in Africa has been, first and foremost, based on a continuing relationship of dependency and domination. This relationship - repeated on other continents throughout the world - has allowed Europe and America (the latter especially after WW II) to develop more quickly and progress technologically and economically at the expense of Third World

development, autonomy, and self-sustainability. A key to Rodney's analysis is contained within his Marxist approach, which compels him to argue that capitalist ascendancy in Europe and America has been made possible by the subjugation and enslavement of peoples throughout the rest of the world. However, Rodney does not follow up on this point to suggest clearly that these exploitative relationships are inherent in capitalist dynamics (although Marx certainly held to this point). Rodney's analysis is also problematic in two other respects: he tends to glorify the successes and capacities of African peoples (e.g. African nations were not purposively involved in the slave trade but were drawn into it unwittingly); and he looks to socialism as the answer to Africa's ills, although this "answer" has yet to pan out for Third World nations as the globalization of capitalism continues. Nevertheless, Rodney's account of African relations with Europe and America is powerfully damning and accurately traces the oppressive dynamics between North and South that are generally glossed over in international political and economic considerations. Rodney considers African domination and exploitation with a level of thoroughness - in terms of education, trade, agriculture, politics, slavery, etc. - that leaves little doubt as to the validity of his overall argument; the colonization of Africa by Europe was an intensely degrading and destructive process, and ultimately, "the only positive development in colonialism was when it ended" (261). However, as Rodney unmercifully documents, the neo-colonial and capitalist involvements in Africa have only perpetuated colonial attitudes, ideologies, and relationships: although colonial armies, settlers, and administrators are no longer physically present in Africa, the impact of (primarily American-led) structural adjustments, World Bank funding, and the manipulation of African elites and officials have continued to reinforce a significant relationship of dependency, domination, and African impoverishment.

## **Bibliography (page 5)**

Schnaiberg, Allan, and Gould, Kenneth Alan. *Environment and society: the enduring conflict*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

An excellent critical analysis of the relationship between natural and human interests in industrial societies; the authors recognize from the outset that the modern system, based on capitalist ideologies of economic expansion and profit motives, is "built on a central belief that [it] can progress by conquering nature and expanding production" (v). The authors conceive of this system as a "treadmill of production" and argue that it "has continued to erode environmental systems and to impoverish increasingly larger numbers of people. Indeed,... the inherent logic of this political-economic system is in fundamental and enduring conflict with the realities of both global environment and social justice within and between societies" (v). The authors explore this premise throughout their work to suggest that the modern, capitalist system based on economic expansion and growth is inherently self-destructive, exploitative, unsustainable, and degrading to both the environment and to human societies around the world. In the context of this thesis, two chapters by Schnaiberg and Gould are particularly representative of the manifestation of this conflict between Southern and Northern countries. The first - "Opting Out or Waiting to Enter?: The Underdeveloped Countries" - concentrates on the relationship between Northern and Southern countries in relation to the treadmill of production.

According to the authors, the South has historically been forced into a position of dependency based on the drive for economic expansion and resource extraction embraced by Northern, political and economic ideologies. The authors begin with a good summary of colonization, which has consistently forced upon Southern countries "the negative social, economic, and environmental impacts of the colonial experience" (166). The main aim of colonialists' subjugation of Southern peoples and lands "was to enrich themselves and their nations by removing anything of value from the South and repatriating that wealth to the North" (166). The authors make the important connection that Northern wealth, industrialization, technology, and military strength has been made possible by the continued plunder and domination of Southern peoples and resources; the ideologies of economic growth and extraction have been made possible thanks to significant social and environmental injustices committed against Southern peoples and resources (168-169). Because Northern modernization has been made possible at the expense of Southern social and environmental vitality and self-sufficiency, the attempts to create a Southern treadmill are bound to fail, contributing only to Northern power (and to further human impoverishment and environmental degradation) rather than Southern autonomy, "democracy," and "progress." Even if certain Southern nations are able to embrace modernization as a guiding force for economic and political "development," it is clear that the resulting social and environmental ills involved with this move will not promote human and natural interests; "those national governments that are most willing and able to deny or suppress social equity and environmental goals may ultimately prove to be the fastest developers" (195). The second chapter - "Ecological Sustainability: Of What? For What?" - provided some excellent insights into the issues of sustainability. Clearly, based on the authors' discussion of power relationships between the North and South, the treadmill of production is not a sustainable model of social and environmental reproduction in the long-term. Regardless of the way in which "sustainability" is intended (i.e. economically or environmentally), it is clear that the assumptions underlying the treadmill - of endless growth and endless resource supply - are invalidated by the fact that we live on a finite planet with finite resources (202-203). "If economic expansion is constrained in the long run by these ecological limits, then any socioeconomic system predicated on the assumption that infinite economic expansion is possible, desirable, and necessary must ultimately fail. Thus, if ever increasing global poverty and unemployment are not sufficient to bring the assumption of economic expansion into question, the collapse of the global ecosystem on which all life depends will" (202). Based on this acknowledgment, the authors stress that the "long-term economic, social, and ecological sustainability" (205) of any socioeconomic system must be judged by its capacity to sustain its human and natural resources and to make possible social and environmental justice. The authors then use the phrase, "reduce, reuse, and recycle," to suggest ways in which societies can embrace possibilities towards sustaining the resources upon which a socioeconomic system (and life on this planet) depends. Ultimately, "reduction" and "reuse" represent the most significant departures from the treadmill, as they demand that people not only lower consumption, but fundamentally embrace principles at odds with the dominant and prevailing model of economic growth, expansion, and extraction. This would require such significant changes to the current system that the authors feel it is unlikely that they would be realistically possible within the next 20 to 50 years. However, it is also clear that recycling - which does not require significant changes in the modern power structure and social system - is only prolonging the inevitable self-destruction of the treadmill. Under the circumstances, the authors suggest that a transition to a "recreation industry economy" may provide the best possibility for embracing more sound

models of environmental and social sustainability in the near future. Recreation and tourism have the potential of being less extractive of resources and degrading of the environment, and could be a first step in raising people's awareness to the aesthetic and spiritual importance of the natural world. However, the authors admit quite honestly that tourism and recreation are not the ideal answers; they may be the first step towards sustainable economies, but they "still produce many negative environmental impacts" (214). Tourism and recreation provide a short-term escape for elites that can afford it, but the poor (especially in the developing world) generally cannot afford it, and if their resources are to be used for environmental protection, "they must be given a means by which to reap economic benefits" (214) from this protection. Tourism and recreation can also "overload local infrastructures" and contribute to severe degradation if access into and pollution of "pristine" areas are not restricted. Limiting access should not be based on money, the authors argue, as this merely reinforces the negative power dynamics and relationships which provide the underpinnings for the treadmill. Tourism and recreation also create negative social impacts - especially in the context of Southern countries - by encouraging people to rely on the cash economy rather than on local production and self-sufficiency. In effect, there is a clear danger inherent in tourism and recreation economies to preserve and increase dependency and degradation rather than reversing these processes. This suggests that at least some structural change is necessary if these economies are to be most effective (i.e. wealth needs to be redistributed, local communities must be able to control the resources and the benefits of the economies, etc.).

Sheil, Douglas. "Tanzanian coastal forests - unique, threatened, and overlooked." *Oryx* 26, no. 2 (1992): 107-114.

A good summation of information relating to coastal forests in Tanzania, which are rich in biodiversity but ignored by most national and international conservation efforts. Centers on the case study of Kirengoma Forest to give a sense of exploitation in the form of logging, encroachment, and charcoal production based on the basic needs of local people. The author suggests that conservation strategies involve the consultation and direct involvement of local people in the sustainable development process.

Shiva, Vandana. "Globalism, biodiversity, and the third world." In *The future of progress: reflections on environment and development*, edited by Edward Goldsmith, Khor, Martin, Norberg-Hodge, Helena, Shiva, Vandana, & others, 50-67. Foxhole, Dartington: Green Books, 1995.

A good consideration of biodiversity, exploitation, and colonization in India. In relation to this thesis, the first several pages provide a good consideration of the ways in which Western solutions are being encouraged for ecological crises while indigenous ideas in the South are being ignored. The author argues that this situation is disconnected from the historical realities of massive, Southern exploitation by Europe and America from colonial periods to modern times; indigenous systems primarily allowed for ecological sustainability while European colonization

"began a worldwide rape of the Earth's resources" (50) that has continued in the globalization of Western, socioeconomic systems today. Shiva argues that Western, reductionist science provided a foundation for conquering nature through a male-dominated colonialism that sought to destroy the sacredness of nature and the idea of "nature as held in common by and for all" (51). The privatization of "the commons" and the Crown's disregard for the commons as "wastelands" in England set up a pattern that was to be repeated throughout the South; the needs of indigenous peoples were ignored just as were the English peasants'. Shiva recognizes that the destruction of biodiversity in favor of genetic uniformity in agriculture has been increasingly destructive in the Third World, encouraging economic expansion for the West and environmental and social disasters for the South.

Simbotwe, M. P. "African realities and western expectations." In *Voices from Africa: local perspectives in conservation*, edited by Dale Lewis, and Carter, Nick, 15-21. Washington, D.C.: World Wildlife Fund, 1993.

A good criticism of the ignorance and indifference among colonialists and modern conservationists that has shaped the lack of consideration of the importance of African cultural values and beliefs in relation to sustainable development and effective land management. The author argues that traditional African practices generally had built-in ways of conserving wildlife and protecting natural resources so that they were not overutilized, through the use of taboos, a complex nomenclature identifying the importance of certain plants and animals, etc. The importance of these beliefs has been totally disregarded by the West and this has helped contribute to the massive environmental pressures that have emerged in Africa today. The author argues that Western conservation philosophies are often untenable in Africa because they are based on an understanding of nature - and a policy towards the preservation of "aesthetic beauty" - that does not apply in the African case. Effective conservation in the future must embrace much more seriously what traditional African ways of conserving wildlife have to offer.

Stahl, Michael. "Land degradation in East Africa." *Ambio* 22, no. 8 (1993): 505-508.

Based on the author's extensive experience with development administration, the article provides a good analysis of the problems of soil erosion in the East African highlands. According to Stahl, agriculturalists in the highlands tend to follow destructive land-use techniques based on short-term harvests and production because of basic needs that must be met in a Third World setting. Land degradation may be halted or reversed if sustainable resource management techniques are implemented, but usually these programs in bunds and terracing, agroforestry, and livestock management have had limited success because they are instituted at the government level; more involvement "on the ground" must take place for local communities to reap the benefits of conservation and embrace its long-term advantages.

Veit, Peter G., Mascarenhas, Adolfo, and Ampadu-Agyei, Okyeame. *Lessons from the ground up: African development that works*. Washington, D.C.: World Resources Institute, 1995.

An in-depth account of development and conservation issues looking at poverty, high population, lack of community inclusion in decisions, and lack of national aid and encouragement in developing countries. The authors consider possibilities for improvement through 23 case studies that seem to help local peoples' situations from a grassroots level and help make conservation profitable and integral to human survival and diversity.

Vivian, Jessica. "NGOs and sustainable development." In *Development and environment: sustaining people and nature*, edited by Dharam Ghai, 167-193. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994.

An excellent consideration of the roles of NGOs in developing countries; despite the supposed capacity of NGOs to provide alternative development strategies based on local concerns and community-based involvement, they have traditionally been restricted in their ability to be truly innovative due to a number of factors, including their narrow focus on particular projects and their lack of involvement with communities on a long-term basis, but most important of which is the unrealistic and restricting expectation of donors of NGO success stories with development projects and programs. In recent years, NGOs have been increasingly considered the best option for promoting sustainable development in developing countries because they are supposedly well-suited to dealing with the issue on a small-scale, individual basis. The author uses the case study of Zimbabwe to explore the effectiveness of NGOs further, presenting a concise analysis of environmental degradation in the country which has historically been complicated by a number of socioeconomic factors, including poverty, lack of resources, and lack of land ownership by women, to suggest that an understanding of power dynamics in Zimbabwe is necessary if development policies are to be truly effective (187). Vivian reinforces this idea further by presenting a historical analysis of colonial and postcolonial rural development policies to demonstrate the ways in which official mismanagement of rural areas and mistrust of rural peoples has led to marginalization and continued impoverishment of local communities (180-182). However, the post-independence government has also attempted to explore new possibilities that might involve rural communities more in the process of reversing environmental degradation, including crop diversification and indigenous crop promotion programs, as well as wildlife production programs through CAMPFIRE, although it is unclear how many communities this is ultimately useful for. The author then explores rural NGO operations in Zimbabwe, based on firsthand studies, to suggest that although NGOs have the potential to be flexible, to respond quickly to changing situations, to provide services to the "poorest of the poor" in local communities, and to help create programs that can be sustained by local communities, their record to date evidences their failure to accomplish these tasks in reality. Vivian suggests that NGOs have been partly limited by their inability to connect focused project plans and limited time frames to the greater context of socioeconomic impoverishment and degradation in Zimbabwe and in the Third World in general. Even more importantly, NGOs have been unable to explore innovative approaches to involving rural communities within project attempts, and have tended to echo official mentalities towards local peoples, because they have

been hampered by donors' supply of funds for projects conditioned by donors' expectations of success stories in regards to the projects. The author argues that for NGOs to be truly effective in Zimbabwe, and in general, they must be allowed to be innovative and flexible. Donors should not expect success stories but should allow for the consequences of failures that truly innovative approaches entail. The author recognizes that in addition to overcoming this "magic bullet" mentality, NGOs must respond to the socioeconomic realities that face specific communities; "only when innovations make sense in technical, economic, and social terms, are they likely to be successfully adopted... and lead to improved environmental outcomes" (191).

Good quote on colonial mismanagement in Zimbabwe: "The most important obstacle that conservationists came up against was the resistance of the rural people. Beinhart (1984: 52) notes that rural anti-colonial struggles coincided with the periods of the government's heightened commitment to agricultural development schemes in the 1940s and 1950s, and argues that 'the two phenomena are not unconnected.' Indeed, it is clear that in colonial Zimbabwe rural people were justified in equating 'development' with oppression and impoverishment" (181).

Vos, Robert O. "Thinking about sustainable development: what's theory got to do with it?" In *Thinking about the environment: readings on politics, property, and the physical world*, edited by Matthew Alan Cahn, and O'Brien, Rory, 281-291. Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1996.

A good summation of a number of theoretical perspectives presented within the book that consider Western philosophy and social theory by classic and contemporary minds on the subject of socioeconomic and political systems within the realm of environmental ideologies. In particular, the author focuses on the issue of sustainable development and reassesses "classic and contemporary political thought" to provide insights into the subject. According to the author, Aristotle's theory of freedom and necessity can be linked to sustainable development to provide for a new definition of the issue: "environmental policy choices that, at a minimum, sustain freedom and democracy for future generations" (281). The author recognizes that such a consideration of sustainable development has rarely been attempted, but that by revisiting classic and contemporary theories on human freedom and sociopolitical systems we can begin to connect the environment to these texts. The author actively investigates this by beginning with Aristotle's ideas on freedom and necessity, and concludes that Aristotle's conception of present actions increasing the realm of necessity and encroaching upon the freedom of future generations is directly applicable to the sustainability of natural resources and the environment in general, especially because so many later theorists embraced Aristotle's basic ideas on the subject of freedom and necessity. Vos then proceeds to consider John Locke's ideas on property and freedom, recognizing that the idea of "sustainability" and of limited natural resources was not an issue for him (an interesting point as Locke's theories have been instrumental in capitalist ideologies). The author also points out that Locke's ideas of wasted, unused land represent "an undervaluation of ecological systems, creating a legacy with which we must still grapple today" (283). Moving on to Rousseau, Thoreau, and Emerson, the author argues that although these theorists "could not anticipate the theory of sustainability" (284), they nevertheless were concerned with "the effect of modernity on human freedom" in a more metaphysical sense: Rousseau was concerned that people had become too accustomed to luxuries, which had increased their conception of necessity and narrowed their abilities to live freely; Thoreau was deeply concerned that material possession had distanced humanity from spiritual and more basic

needs; and Emerson argued that an embracing of natural experiences, and dropping our materialist preconceptions can be extremely liberating experiences. Emerson and Thoreau were also deeply concerned with the disenchantment and domination of the "other" (the realm of necessity and nature), which they did not consider at all desirable, as it had the potential of ultimately dominating human nature as well. The author connects these ideas together and suggests that our current path - which involves massive changes and degradation of the environment - robs future generations of the ethical choices for the "good life;" as the realm of necessity becomes greater on a metaphysical and physical level (materialism, luxuries as "needs," degrading of water, air, and food sources, etc.), the concerns of these theorists in relation to the infringement on the liberty of later generations become especially meaningful. The author then considers the ideas of Marx and Marcuse to demonstrate ways in which theorists began to directly address the implications of modernization and environmental change in the modern age. Based on references Marx made in his work to the importance of nature as a source of wealth comparable to labor, recent reinterpretations of Marx have considered the possibility of an ecological crisis emerging out of capitalism resulting from the destruction of nature's use-values, "a crisis of supply" (288). Marcuse argues that capitalism significantly threatens the human potential for liberation from necessities as we have known them by "the implanting of material and intellectual needs that perpetuate obsolete forms of the struggle for existence," evidenced in the effects of pollution, environmental degradation, and appropriation that make the purchasing of clean air, water, and "natural splendor" necessary (289), a situation that is clearly being played out today in First and Third World nations alike. The author suggests that Marx's and Marcuse's theories in combination evidence some of the contradictions inherent in capitalism today, the crises that it is self-destructively leading towards, and the freedoms and liberties that it is taking away from future generations. From this discussion the author concludes that considerations of human democracy and sustaining nature are intrinsically linked: "When the broader public awakes to the close connection between protecting the biosphere and preserving freedom for the future, support may finally emerge to launch the serious transformations required to achieve ecological sustainability into the next century" (290).

## **Bibliography (page 6)**

Wamalwa, Betty Nafuna. "Indigenous knowledge and ecological management." In *Gaining ground: institutional innovations in land-use management in Kenya*, edited by Amos Kiriro, and Juma, Calestous, 35-49. Nairobi: ACTS Press, 1991.

An excellent consideration of the importance of indigenous knowledge in effectively making conservation policies sustainable and empowering for local communities. The author points out that semi-arid and arid landscapes and peoples have historically been marginalized by the development policy, and have never "been developed to serve the areas on their own terms" (35), but as a source of human labor during the colonial period and as a dumping ground for human expansion during the postcolonial era. Wamalwa argues that the key to successful conservation strategies lies in the traditional knowledge of local peoples, and supports this by suggesting that: indigenous management was necessarily conservation-based to allow for survival; management

was based on a local view of the world addressing the particular intricacies of single ecosystems; everyone was involved in agriculture, hunting, gathering, etc. to a certain extent, allowing for broad-based knowledge and understanding of the surrounding world; traditional knowledge and expertise were based on experimentation and accumulation of experience and thus were integrally tied to the local environmental elements; and resource utilization was approached with a "trinity of tools," including physical, intellectual, and spiritual tools. These tendencies made conservation less anthropocentric, mechanistic, specialized, and conquering of nature than modern techniques, and encouraged a sense of harmony, sensitivity, and close connections to the land and nature. The author suggests that a greater appreciation of these ideas and an embracing of these characteristics will allow for more successful and valid forms of conservation in the future. Although Wamalwa suggests that the spiritual connection to nature - the significant difference between traditional and modern strategies - is not necessary for sustainability, it is unclear if a completely mechanistic view of nature can succeed in sustaining nature for its own sake (and as the primary motivation for preservation of "resources," as discussions of "sustainable capitalism" make clear). Still, the author suggests that adaptability and willingness to change have marked traditional strategies, and evidence ways in which new technologies could be successfully incorporated into indigenous models. Wamalwa uses the example of the Akamba people to reinforce these ideas, and to suggest that the Akamba quite purposely (pg. 44) used certain combinations of crops (pg. 46-47), shifting cultivation, and certain types of soils to live sustainably in particular areas as communities. (The author stresses that women were not allowed property rights, an issue that has become increasingly problematic for women as men move to work in the urban environment and women are prevented from making ownership decisions regarding clear signs of degradation they see around them.) The author concludes by acknowledging that Kenya - like many Third World countries - adopted (or was forced to adopt) foreign conservation strategies that considered indigenous methods ineffective and irrational: "this view has been part of a legacy that was brought with Western education which has profoundly affected policies for these areas" (48). Wamalwa urges that indigenous knowledge must be integrated into modern policies if the increasing populations are to be fed and provided for without degrading resources as they have been until now.

Western, David. "Conservation without parks: wildlife in the rural landscape." In *Conservation for the twenty-first century*, edited by David Western, and Pearl, Mary C., 158-165. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

The author provides a good summation of how conservation must be primarily a human affair, and given this acknowledgment, the traditional national park model will fail to adequately provide for the preservation of wildlife by itself, because most wildlife and most ecosystems lie outside of national park islands (as demonstrated in the East African example). In this light, it is necessary to consider the ways in which wildlife and people can coexist outside of parks by capitalizing on relationships that sustain wildlife and provide incentives (economic and otherwise) for people to promote preservation. According to Western, land pressures have historically been responsible for much less wildlife extinction than human attitudes and practices, although this will begin to change as human populations continue to skyrocket. In this

light, though, there is the potential for management policies based on multiple use of land and wildlife, "allying" wildlife with humans (or making it useful to people in sustainable ways).

Western, David, and Wright, R. Michael. "The background to community-based conservation." In *Natural connections: perspectives in community-based conservation*, edited by David Western, and Wright, R. Michael, 1-12. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1994a.

A good background summary on some general trends in conservation throughout human history. The authors make a good point in recognizing that the romantic notion that Stone Age and Neolithic peoples coexisted in harmony with nature, is a misleading position; limited technology, low populations, and restricted markets prevented human cultures from exploiting resources significantly, although a certain holistic sense of the world did exist in many parts of the world (though not generally in Europe). Population expansion during the Neolithic - especially into unpopulated areas - was responsible for significant wildlife extinctions. The authors continue by presenting a good analysis of the emergence of modern conservation ideologies and understandings, beginning in the 1850s with humanitarian concerns that translated into the call for the ethical treatment of animals as well (in Europe and North America, and imposed in other countries by Western colonial powers). In the United States during the early to late twentieth century, two distinct positions of sustainable use and utilization of wildlife on the one hand (Gifford Pinchot), and radical preservation on the other (John Muir), defined many of the environmental struggles according to models of state ownership and protection. During the 1960s and 1970s, the weakness of both of these philosophies - especially in Third World contexts - became more and more obvious; local people were isolated from the state ownership and use of the resources. The appearance of many new factors (and the acknowledgment of them), such as population explosion, environmental degradation, consumerism, and pollution, the emergence of grass-roots developments and small-scale projects, and the increasing awareness and call for human and especially indigenous rights all worked to lay a foundation for community-based strategies in conservation thought (and less so in practice until recently). The increasing sensibility of the importance of biodiversity and local peoples allowed Western developed nations to recognize the interconnection of the two; the preservation of one globally required the protection of the other. At the same time, calls for animal rights and community rights have often been antagonistically considered, bringing into question who should control the land and resources globally (i.e. outsiders or the locals). The authors recognize that the real challenge of community-based conservation lies in combining biodiversity and local control / sustainable use of resources into a whole that succeeds in effectively incorporating both, as the majority of the world's resources and biological areas exist outside of parks in rural areas directly effected by local communities. Respect and involvement of rural peoples and a thorough consideration of the "rights, responsibilities, and capacities" of all peoples involved, will be integral to the process, and a rediscovery of traditional practices and management will be necessary to help recognize ways in which rural communities' "coexistence" with nature traditionally can work effectively within a modern context.

Western, David. "Ecosystem conservation and rural development: the case of Amboseli." In *Natural connections: perspectives in community-based conservation*, edited by David Western, and Wright, R. Michael, 15-52. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1994b.

A great, in-depth analysis of Amboseli National Park in Kenya, using 30 years of Western's personal experience to compliment his understandings of history, ecology, and power dynamics in the Amboseli ecosystem. Basically, Western charts the history of Amboseli from precolonial to postcolonial eras, suggesting that especially after the British colonization of East Africa, the conservation strategies instituted in the area have been exploratory. In particular, Western looks at the traditional coexistence of the Maasai pastoralists of the area with the environment, and the ways in which they have been continuously marginalized by sociopolitical forces and conservation schemes that have failed to include them in the conservation policies they are directly affected by. Western traces the history of British colonization of Kenya to demonstrate that the British drive for land alienated the Maasai in the Southern Reserve and forced them away from their traditional grazing areas after Amboseli shifted from a hunting preserve to an area of land protection. The control of the area by county councils was also worse than having the area protected as a park, as the land was not as well protected and the county officials still kept the Maasai from access to resources. Because of growing international conservation movements and the view that rural pastoralists and their cattle adversely effected the land, the Amboseli area was developed into a national park that completely kept the Maasai out of the interior. Western makes the important point that "after Independence, conservation remained the preserve of expatriates (mainly ex-colonial officers). Not surprisingly, then, the protection-against-people view of parks persisted...The largely mechanistic views of nature in vogue reinforced protectionist policies and hands-off management. The absence of human activity, itself an artifact of the establishment of parks, seldom was mentioned or considered" (19). Nevertheless, Amboseli has also been the focus of new attempts at conservation in East Africa, and has significantly influenced national and international reassessments "in bringing about recognition and acceptance of the need to direct conservation benefits to local communities" (44). Attempts at locally based conservation, multi-use buffer zones, and community-based benefits from wildlife protection have been attempted at a number of levels, and although none have proved completely successful, the Maasai have benefited in tangible ways that have given them confidence that wildlife conservation can work for them and not just against them (this is true in relation to community-run group ranches and profits from tourist ventures to a certain extent, etc.). However, Western makes an insightful point when he recognizes that the "traditionally benign relationship between the Maasai and wildlife" (48) that has allowed conservation strategies to succeed in the past will become less conceivable as more Maasai gain access to capital, resources, schooling, etc., dissolving the traditional cohesiveness of the people as a group that could be dealt with as a homogenous entity. As individual land ownership and privatization of resources increases, it will become increasingly important to communicate with the Maasai on equal terms rather than the traditionally paternalistic and dominating relationship that has existed between the pastoralists and the national government. Western argues that management of Amboseli will have to take place on a broader basis, ensuring that landowners continue to respect wildlife through ecologically sustainable activities, and suggests that the massive overpopulation of elephants, zebra, and wildebeest in the park could be one source of utilization for the people directly affected by their presence in Amboseli. Western comments that: "To believe that wildlife will be conserved for its own sake as long as Maasai traditions

survive is unrealistic. The biggest challenge lies in continuing to find ways to accommodate both interests and in maintaining a large arena of physical overlap based on economic and noneconomic values that are meaningful to landowners" (49).

Wiertsema, Wiert. "Paths to sustainability." In *The future of progress: reflections on environment and development*, edited by Edward Goldsmith, Khor, Martin, Norberg-Hodge, Helena, Shiva, Vandana, & others, 172-175. Foxhole, Dartington: Green Books, 1995.

A short work which touches on the idea of "development" as a fundamentally Northern notion that is in opposition to true environmental sustainability and human social justice. According to the author, "development" for the few has historically "only been possible at the expense of many others," partly because the idea emerged out of European ideologies that have proved domineering and disempowering for Southern peoples and environments. The author also argues that "sustainable development" is ultimately a myth that requires little real change in Northern power structures and will only serve to sustain Northern domination at the expense of international social and environmental health. Although the author offers no real answers, Wiertsema suggests that true change can only come about when local communities are empowered; ultimately, solutions must come from "the bottom up" if systems sustaining domination and oppression are to be overcome.

Wright, R. Michael. "Conservation and development." In *Voices from Africa: local perspectives on conservation*, edited by Dale Lewis, and Carter, Nick, 183-192. Washington, D.C.: World Wildlife Fund, 1993.

A well thought-out analysis of donor aid in Africa related to conservation and development strategies. The author recognizes that donors from wealthy Northern countries have often been less than benevolent and desirable for African peoples, especially on a local or rural level, because of the history of domination and inequality in communication and relations between the two groups. Although donor aid, especially in the form of NGOs, has often been well-intentioned, it has been riddled with failures for a number of reasons: donors have tended to communicate with national governmental forces rather than local constituencies; "traditional village-based, subsistence oriented development is neither encouraged nor supported" (184); donor aid usually emerges in terms of finite projects where the process of "native" capability and sustainability of the projects is not considered. The author recognizes that effective donor aid must be carried out on as equitable a basis as possible, requiring that issues of poverty and powerlessness be considered centrally in an analysis of conservation and development. The scope of projects has also been historically problematic: large projects have generally failed to respond to local needs while small-scale, NGO attempts fail to address larger social issues and structures. Wright calls for donors to establish new relationships with rural African people and communities that do not so intensely create dependency relationships. This requires that donors support the development of trained leaders from Africa rather than from Northern countries, allow for the development of accountability and managerial capacities of the local people

themselves, and respect the capacity for self-reliance in African communities. Only by sincerely respecting the contributions that African communities have to offer, and by designing donor aid so that the "project" is not an end in itself but part of a process towards sustainable and self-reliant community development, can donor aid become less repressive and more empowering for African peoples.