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THE EVOLUTION OF WILDLIFE CONSERVATION POLICIES IN KENYA

By John S. Akama*

INTRODUCTION

In order to put Kenya's wildlife conservation problems and issues in proper perspective, it is important to trace the historical and political evolution of the country's wildlife conservation policies. The arrival of Europeans in the rural African landscape, in the early nineteenth century, and Kenya's incorporation into the global market economy was a turning-point in nature-society relationships. Many of the contemporary socioeconomic issues of wildlife conservation in Kenya can be traced back to that period.

The underlying socio-economic trend of the conservation of wildlife in Kenya has been alienation of resource user-rights from the rural communities. The proprietorship and user-rights of wildlife resources have been transferred to the state, conservation organizations and tourism groups. In most cases, local subsistence hunting came to be termed as "poaching"¹. Thus, the onset of colonial rule set in motion social and political processes of gradual removal of indigenous decision-making institutions through state wildlife conservation policies and programmes. Rural people's natural resource use methods were weakened *vis-a-vis* those of the state, international conservation organizations, and tourism groups.

This paper gives an historical and political evaluation of wildlife conservation policies in Kenya. It also argues that Kenya's pioneer conservation policies were based on experts' and government officials' conception that indigenous resource use methods were incompatible with the principles and Western philosophy on wildlife conservation. This conceptual and philosophical under-pinning has persisted to the present. However, wildlife conservation policies and programs which derive from this conception coupled with increasing human population in lands adjacent to parks and reserves has resulted in severe and accelerating people versus wildlife conflicts.

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PRE-COLONIAL AFRICAN WILDLIFE RESOURCE USE METHODS

Pre-colonial indigenous communities had evolved various methods for wildlife and other natural resource use. The resource use methods were based on the indigenous people's cultural understanding and perception of the territorial and social landscape². Some of the indigenous natural resource use strategies included pastoralism, shifting cultivation, and hunting and gathering of wild fauna and flora. Pre-colonial Kenyan societies acted upon and modified land, flora, fauna and social strata through such resource use strategies.

Recent research on the history of wildlife conservation indicate that most rural Kenyan communities had governing regulations concerning hunting and use of wildlife products. These were community hunting regulations which subsistence hunters were supposed to follow. For instance, in most Kenyan communities, it was taboo to hunt and kill certain wildlife which was held in great respect and veneration³. The killing of such animals was perceived as bad omen believed to bring natural disasters, such as drought, famine and disease to the community.

Wildlife formed an integral part of the socio-cultural experience of pre-colonial Kenyan communities. Wildlife featured prominently in various indigenous cultural activities and routines. Different Kenyan communities had animals that were recognized as community totems and were held in high esteem and were protected from wanton destruction. These were animals which symbolized a clan or local community, and thus had ritualistic or religious value to the community. Animals which were totems among Kenyan communities such as Kikuyu, Maasai, Meru and Gusii included elephant (*Loxodonta africa*), cheetah (*Acinonyx jubatus*) lions (*Panthera leo*) and leopards (*Panthera pardus*). In most rural communities, folklore, based on various aspects of wildlife, was an important mode of imparting cultural and social values to the youth. Stories of wild animals featured prominently to the extent that the youth accepted them as part of their rural environment. Thus, as children grew up, they were taught how to identify different animals, which animals were dangerous, and the habitats of different wildlife species.

COLONIAL RULE AND ESTABLISHMENT OF PROTECTED PARKS

The declaration of the East African Protectorate (colonial rule) on June 15, 1895, and the arrival of European settlers, amateur and professional hunters

and other trophy seekers led to rapid decline of wildlife populations and destruction of wildlife habitats⁴. Furthermore, the introduction of rinderpest in the late nineteenth century (a devastating viral disease which attacks both wildlife and livestock) had far reaching social and ecological impacts in the Eastern Africa savannas (*The East African Standard*, May 14, 1996). It has been estimated that, 95% of all cattle died of the disease between 1890 and 1892, and wildlife losses especially of the larger grazers were of the same magnitude⁵.

During this period of accelerated wildlife and habitat destruction, pioneer Western conservationists realized that if excessive destruction, particularly of larger wild animals, was not checked, the end result would be extinction. Thus, the pioneer conservationists raised concern about excessive destruction of the savanna wildlife. By the turn of the century, there was growing interest in the West for wilderness conservation in frontier territories worldwide, particularly in the Third World. A social class of naturalists had emerged who advocated wilderness conservation and the appreciation of aesthetic and ethical value of pristine natural areas⁶. These were people who were generally affluent and were not living at the economic margin and were thus able to organize safari expeditions to Kenya and other parts of the Third World. They included people like John Muir, Theodore Roosevelt, William Baille, Abel Chapman, James Stevenson-Hamilton, Carl Akeley, Edgar Rice Burroughs and Mervyn Cowie⁷.

The concern of the pioneer naturalists was fuelled by the realization that pristine natural areas in most frontier territories were rapidly shrinking due to increased human populations with attendant settlement, industrialization and uncontrolled hunting practices. The pioneer conservationists started to organize conservation awareness campaigns throughout Europe and North America. The campaigns were aimed at sensitizing the public, in general and the government in particular, on the social and ecological value of nature conservation. The conservationists put pressure on governments, which had colonies in African and other parts of the Third World such as Britain, France, Germany and Italy, to initiate policies and programs of nature protection.

For instance in 1903, British conservationists formed the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire whose main aim was to sensitize the general public and to urge the British government to initiate and implement policies and programs of wildlife conservation in the East Africa Protectorate and other colonies. The society urged the British government to establish adequate nature reserves before the country was completely settled by farmers and ranchers and the opportunity for otherwise doing so be lost forever. The society sent a committee to Kenya to investigate the game situation and make future recommendations⁸.

In 1913, naturalists from sixteen European countries and North Ameri-

ca held a conference in Basel to formulate conservation guidelines and to agitate for the protection of nature areas worldwide, particularly in colonies where there still existed relatively large undisturbed blocks of land. Eventually, in 1928, pioneer conservationists established an international office in charge of the protection of nature which was based in Brussels. Its main functions were to gather systematic information on the status of nature conservation and formulate nature conservation programs. On October 1933, representatives of European governments, with colonies in Africa, held a convention in London to review the status of nature protection in Africa. Members of the convention reaffirmed their governments' commitment to the establishment of national parks and game reserves in Africa. These international nature conservation initiatives were slowed by the outbreak of World War II. But conservationists from individual countries continued to pressure their respective governments on issues of nature conservation in general and wildlife protection in particular.

In 1939, the British government, as a result of pressure from British conservationists, appointed a game committee to study and make recommendations regarding setting up game parks in Kenya. The committee was mainly composed of British naturalists, aristocrats, explorers and top administrative officials. This committee was to plan the location, extension, constitution, control and management of game parks. Accordingly, the game committee made certain recommendations which were approved by the colonial legislature in 1945. The recommendations of the game committee led to the creation of the pioneer national parks in Kenya which included Nairobi in 1946, Amboseli in 1947, Tsavo in 1948 and Mt. Kenya in 1949 (Figure 1). The committee recommended that for wildlife to be effectively protected from human impacts, the parks should be:⁹

- (a) Under public control, the boundaries of which should not be altered or any portion be capable of alienation except by competent legislative authority;
- (b) Set aside for the propagation, protection and preservation of objects of aesthetic, geological, prehistoric, archaeological, or scientific interest for the benefit and advantage of the general public; and
- (c) In which hunting, killing, or capturing of fauna and destruction or collection of flora is prohibited except by or under the direction of park authorities.

Thus, the initiation of the pioneer wildlife conservation policies and programs in Kenya were aimed at protecting wildlife from perceived destructive forces of humans. Wildlife conservationists and government officials felt that,

for wildlife in the East Africa Protectorate to be adequately and effectively protected, nature conservation areas had to be established and boundaries demarcated which separate wildlife from development activities. The pioneer state wildlife conservation policies and programs to be promulgated in Kenya were aimed at protecting the savanna game from:

- (a) The skin hunters who seek and kill game solely for their skin, leaving carcasses to vultures.
- (b) Natives who cannot be made to understand the advantages of a closed season.
- (c) The wanton sportsmen who shoot females and who kill large numbers of males on the chance of securing a good specimen trophy.

In part, these forms of wildlife management policies and programs were a consequence of conservation and administrative officials' Western experience and environmental values. Due to rapid transformation of nature and disappearance of most wildlife in the West, particularly during the industrial revolution, the general perception among pioneer naturalists was that most human land use practices were incompatible with the principles of nature conservation in general, and wildlife protection in particular.

Furthermore, the underlying concept among the pioneer conservationists and government officials was that indigenous resource use methods were destructive to wildlife and other forms of natural resources. Officials were faced with different natural resources utilization methods, such as traditional subsistence hunting, pastoralism and shifting cultivation, and they had difficulties in evaluating and understanding these resource use practices. Most often, the conservationists and government officials classified African modes of natural resource use as at best "unprogressive" and at worst "barbaric" and to be eliminated. The perception of African methods of natural resources use as retrogressive set in motion top-down government intervention policies and programs to change African resource use strategies¹⁰. When natural resource problems, such as wildlife destruction, deforestation and soil erosion were noticed by state officials and naturalists, the problems were simply defined as caused by irrational land use practices of rural African communities. However, resource degradation was primarily caused by state land use policies including alienation of land for European settlement, confinement of Africans in restricted native reserves and sedentation programs which prevented pastoral communities from utilizing diverse grazing ranges.

Thus, the initial response by the state toward African communities was to force them to abandon the traditional land use practices. For instance, in 1938 the Agricultural department in Kenya, faced with problems of soil erosion, deforestation and environmental degradation in semi-arid areas of Kenya, had the following to say:

Unless some pressure is applied to urge improved methods and practices, and unless such pressure is continuously applied ... it will not be possible to save the fertile areas of Kenya from deterioration ... without the application of compulsion under legislation to enforce improved agricultural practices¹¹.

It was with these environmental perceptions that the pioneer wildlife conservation policies and programs were initiated. Indigenous resource use methods were perceived as incompatible with the principles of wildlife conservation. Thus, when the state established the first national parks, not only was traditional subsistence hunting banned, but rural communities were prohibited from entering the parks and utilizing resources, such as pasture and fuel wood collection.

A case in point was in the Walianguru community. Walianguru wildlife use techniques were perceived as irrational and incompatible with wildlife conservation strategies in the Tsavo wilderness¹². The Walianguru modes of subsistence hunting were also perceived by wildlife conservationists as incompatible with the principles of wildlife conservation in Tsavo national Park. While subsistence hunting was made illegal and came to be termed as 'poaching', sport hunting for pleasure, an entirely Western phenomenon of wildlife utilization was permitted to go on in the parks.

In the 1950's, there was a rapid decline of elephant population in Tsavo. The immediate response of the government officials and naturalists towards the problem of elephant population decline was to intensify anti-poaching measures against Walianguru subsistence hunters. The poaching problem in the Tsavo plains, which was mainly caused by Kamba, Giriama and European amateur and professional hunters, was defined as a "Walianguru problem". With the intensification of anti-poaching campaigns by the colonial government, most Walianguru males (every male adult was a hunter) ended up in prison with hard labour. The Walianguru people as a culture nearly became extinct, much the same as what happened to the Ik in northern Uganda for much the same reason.

POST-COLONIAL WILDLIFE CONSERVATION POLICIES

The colonial policies and programs of wildlife conservation and the assumptions on which they were based have outlived the political structures which brought them into being in Kenya. When Kenya gained its independence in 1963, it inherited four national parks and six reserves from the colonial government. There are now thirteen national parks and twenty-four reserves which cover about 10% of the country¹³. The national parks are exclusive state protected lands and are managed entirely for the conservation of wildlife, whereas national reserves are created on any type of land, and usually, with the consent of local authority (County Councils). The parks have become important centres of tourism attraction. Tourism has become Kenya's leading source of foreign exchange. As is the case with most Third World countries, the conservation of wildlife and the development of wildlife-based tourism in Kenya is greatly influenced by Western cultural and environmental values. Most wildlife conservation and tourism projects in Kenya have been initiated with the assistance of conservation and development organizations which are based in the Western world.

Western conservationists and scientists still play a significant role in the conservation of Kenya's wildlife. A number of Western conservation organizations have established offices in Kenya which act as watchdogs and assist the government in wildlife conservation. These organizations include, International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), World Wildlife Fund (WWF), African Wildlife Fund (AWF), the Max Plank Institute and Frankfurt Zoo. These conservation organizations recognize the remaining high concentration of tropical savanna wildlife in Kenya as a 'world heritage' which should not be allowed to disappear but should be protected for the benefit of future generations¹⁴.

The conservation goals and objectives of international conservation organizations are framed and dominated by Western ethical and environmental values, and western scientific philosophies. The Kenya Government, as is the case with most Third World governments, follows the international guidelines and philosophies of nature conservation. As the country's wildlife conservation legislation states, the main objective of national parks and reserves is to preserve in a reasonably natural state examples of the main types of habitats which are found in Kenya for aesthetic, scientific and cultural purpose¹⁵.

In this regard, wildlife conservation in Kenya continues to emphasize law enforcement to protect the wildlife resources. The main focus of the state has been on the enactment of tougher conservation legislation, reorganization of

the wildlife conservation department, retraining of wildlife conservation personnel, the prevention of rural peasants and pastoralists from entering and utilizing park resources, and the intensification of anti-poaching campaigns in the national parks. Thus, for instance, in 1976, after a re-examination of the deteriorating situation of the wildlife resources, the government decided to amalgamate the functions and responsibilities of the Game Department and the National Park Service under a single new government department - the Wildlife Conservation and Management Department (WCMD). In 1977, in an attempt to control the problem of poaching, which was wide-spread in the country's national parks and reserves, the government banned all forms of hunting. In the following year, through an act of Parliament, the selling of all forms of wildlife products was banned¹⁶.

However, the promulgation of legislation did not prevent further deterioration of the country's wildlife resources. In recent years, increased poaching activities have taken their toll on Kenya's wildlife population. In the 1980s, some large tropical mammal species, such as elephants and rhinoceros (*Diceros bicornis*) were nearly brought to extinction by poaching. For instance, it was estimated that in 1973, Tsavo National Park had an elephant population of over 38,000 animals. This was probably one of the largest concentration of elephant herds in the world, but by 1989, the elephant population at Tsavo had been depleted to less than 5,000 animals. Country-wide, the number of elephants declined from 130,000 to 20,000 due to four decades of heavy poaching (*Daily Nation*, May 15, 1996). In the 1960s the rhinoceros population in Nairobi, Amboseli and Tsavo national Parks was estimated at 8,000 animals. At present, their number has been reduced to about 400. During the 1990s, the poaching problem in Kenya's national parks has been minimized mainly due to anti-poaching campaigns.

Although the government of Kenya is currently committed to the preservation of the country's wildlife resources, parks at present confront many problems including accelerated destruction of wildlife habitat, the continued decrease of wildlife species both inside and outside park boundaries, land use conflicts between the local people and wildlife, and the local people's suspicions about and hostilities toward the state policies and programs of wildlife conservation.

The present management strategy for Kenya's national parks do not correspond with the socio-economic, cultural, political and ecological realities of the regions where the parks are situated. Most park managers are narrowly pre-occupied with protecting park fauna instead of with conserving whole ecosystems of the parks and the surrounding areas as healthy, self-sustaining ecological units. For instance, over 90 percent of the park officials (game

ranchers and wardens) interviewed in Nairobi and Tsavo National Parks, in 1992, reported that their main work duties included the collection of gate fees from tourists, providing security to visitors, patrolling the park to control problem animals and against poachers¹⁷. However, none of the park officials mentioned duties outside the national park (i.e., taking part in community wildlife conservation, or having dialogue with the local people on matters related to park management). Consequently, a social and ecological disequilibrium has developed between the national parks and surrounding environments which are experiencing rapid human population growth. The human populations have exceeded the carrying capacity of the land.

There is a general lack of involvement and participation of local peasants and pastoralists in matters of policy formulation, implementation and evaluation of state conservation programs. Private benefits of conservation to individuals, households and even the entire community are not made clear or may be non-existent. Inequalities in the distribution of benefits and costs of conservation among different groups are the critical sociopolitical problems confronting wildlife conservation in Kenya. It has been argued by a number of natural resource researchers that where the government introduces measures of conservation that exclude people from resources long used by them, the people come to view the project as a zero-sum game where their loss is exactly others' gains¹⁸.

Thus wildlife conservation policy options and implementation strategies are most often not derived from the complex and changing social and ecological realities of the rural Kenyan landscape. Important social issues responsible for people's use of natural resources cause excessive destruction and degradation of wildlife resources. Such social issues include a lack of alternative sources of income, unequal landholding and sharing of wildlife conservation benefits.

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The underlying social trend of wildlife conservation policies and programs in Kenya has been to take away the wildlife resource user-rights of the rural peasants and pastoralists. With the establishment of national parks and reserves, the social and economic forces influencing conservation and use of wildlife resources have come to be controlled by the state, conservation organizations and tourism groups. However, as recent history of wildlife conservation has shown, the future of the country's wildlife resources remain uncertain. Thus, there is a need for the initiation of alternative wildlife conservation poli-

cies and programs aimed at the social and economic empowerment of rural peasants and pastoralists. In order to conserve wildlife resources, it is urgent to develop alternative conservation strategies which take into account the interests of rural peasants and pastoralists. If one empowers the local communities surrounding the parks, so that local residents can themselves benefit from the wildlife resources on an economically and ecologically sustainable basis, then there is a chance of winning their support and lessening the escalating conflict of interest. The following principal elements can assist in the incorporation of the local people in the planning, management and harnessing of wildlife resources:

1. Wildlife conservation should be viewed in the context of the social and economic activities of the local peasants and pastoralists in the environments where the national parks and reserves are situated. In the developed countries, perhaps, wildlife conservation can be justified in terms of aesthetic values. In the rural African context, it must be justified in terms of helping the rural people meet their basic needs.
2. It is urgent to reverse the laws and policies which exclude rural communities from participating in wildlife conservation programs and activities. The local people have lost traditional access and control over wildlife resources to the state, international organizations and poacher groups over the years. Wildlife resources have been converted into state and international resources, while the local user-rights have been eliminated. Consequently, the local people have no sense of ownership or responsibility for the wildlife resources.

The most important component of a strategy to safeguard wildlife resources in rural environments is to place them under the control and management of local people. Most of the revenues generated from wildlife conservation and tourism programs should be used in the immediate environment to help solve socio-economic problems. They should be used, for example, for compensating the local people for wildlife property damage, alleviating local problems of poverty, famine, lack of clean water for domestic use and fuel wood, and generating jobs locally in tourism and wildlife management. In implementing community-based conservation programs, Kenya can use information from programs which are already in place in countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia and Namibia so as to avoid pitfalls¹⁹.

However, simple transition to local people living near parks does not necessarily lead to improved wildlife conservation and socio-economic well-

being of local people. Furthermore, most of the so-called community based conservation programs have ended up being the co-opting of local elites in wildlife conservation projects with little meaningful involvement of the majority of rural peasants, particularly in conservation project design and management. For instance, in 1989, the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) (a quasi-government organization in charge of overall wildlife management) started implementing community based wildlife conservation and nature based tourism projects in areas around Amboseli Park and Maasai Mara National Reserve²⁰. The new policy aimed at encouraging the local people to form wildlife conservation associations to participate directly in wildlife conservation and tourism revenue generation programs. However, these wildlife associations have ended up being dominated by local elites who monopolize and control most of the tourism revenues accruing from camping and lodge concessions, and park gate entrance levies.

Perhaps, the main reason why community based conservation programs fail is due to lack of coherent policies and legislation which delegate responsibility and authority on wildlife conservation from powerful stakeholders (the state, conservation organizations, tourism groups and local elites) to rural peasants. In order for local community participation to succeed, local people need sanctioned authority for wildlife and tourism resource proprietorship to determine and sanction user-rights, including the right to determine the nature of conservation programs to be initiated and the right to benefit fully from the wildlife resources. The authority should also include the right to sanction access to wildlife resources and protection from external encroachment of powerful interest groups including local elites.

Hence for community based wildlife conservation programs to pose a real challenge to the status quo, conservation alternatives must be part of a wider debate as to how to construct an alternative 'new world order' in which people themselves, rather than outside interests, determine and control their lives. Consequently, policy and institutional mechanisms need to be put in place which encourage local participation in the design, implementation and management of conservation projects. To achieve these changes will require the decentralization of wildlife conservation authority and decision from the national level to legitimate and democratically elected regional and grassroots institutions and organizations.

Consequently, legitimate decision-making institutions at the local and village level should be identified and used in the planning, implementation and evaluation of new strategies of wildlife conservation. These local organizations and institutions, such as local councils of community or village elders, women's welfare organizations, and local church institutions can play an important role. They can build local community consensus concerning conservation and plan

the use of benefits from wildlife for community development.

NOTES

1. Concerning historical analysis of Africa's national parks and reserves, see A.D. Graham, *The Gardeners of Eden* (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1973), D. Anderson, "The Scramble for Eden: Past Present and Future in Africa", in D. Anderson and R. Grove (eds.) *Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Practice* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), and J.A. Akama, L.L. Christopher, and G. Wesley Burnett, "Conflicting Attitudes Toward State Wildlife Conservation Programs in Kenya", *Society and Natural Resources*, 8(1995), pp. 133 - 144.
2. I. Sindiga, "Land and Population Problems in Kajiado and Narok, Kenya", *African Studies Review*, 27 1(1984), pp. 24 - 39, D.I. Campbell, "The Prospect for Desertification in Kajiado District, Kenya", *Geographical Journal* 152 1(1986), pp. 44 - 45, and P.D. Little, "The Link Between Local Participation and Improved Conservation: A Review of Issues and Experience", in D. Western and R.M. Wright (eds.) *Natural Connections* (Washington DC: Island Press, 1994). These authors present interesting discussions and concepts on indigenous cultural understanding, perceptions and institutions, and how they influence rural natural resources use in general, and wildlife conservation in particular. Most often, indigenous understanding and perception on natural resource conservation are quite different from those held by state officials and conservationists.
3. See W.J. Lusigi, *Planning Human Activities on Protected Nature Ecosystem* (Verlag, Germany: A R Gantner, 1978), and J.L. Bernsterin, *Economic Variations Among the Maasai speaking Peoples*", in B.A. Ogot (ed.) *Ecology and History in East Africa* (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1979).
4. See Graham, *The Gardeners of Eden*, for an interesting account concerning colonial influence on Wildlife Conservation programs in Kenya.
5. A.R. Sinclair and M. Norton-Griffith, *Serengeti: Dynamics of an Ecosystem* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979) ascertain that the outbreak of rinderpest epizootic in the Eastern and Southern Africa's Savannas during the late 19th century, had devastating ecological and social effects in the region (most of the larger grazing game and livestock was wiped-out by the new viral disease).
6. For a really interesting discourse on the evolution and spread of Western environmental values, particularly those of North America, to Third World countries. See R. Nash *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New York: Yale University Press, 1982).
7. Renowned Western naturalists such as John Muir, Theodore Roosevelt and William Baille played an important sociopolitical and economic role in helping Shape Public Opinion in Western countries in favour of the conservation of wildlife in frontier territories, such as Africa, see Graham, *The Garden of Eden*, Kenya Wildlife Service, *Annual Reports for 1956 - 1957* (Nairobi: Government Press, 1957) and N. Simon, *Between the Sunlight and the Thunder*

- (London: Collins, 1962).
8. See Lusigi, *Planning Human Activities on Protected Nature Ecosystem*, Simon, *Between the Sunlight and the Thunder*, and Kenya, *Wildlife Service Annual Report*.
 9. See Lusigi, *Planning Human Activities on Protected Nature Ecosystem*.
 10. However, it has been argued that there was a misconception by pioneer conservationists and government officials on indigenous resource use methods, such as traditional subsistence hunting, pastoralism and shifting cultivation. These methods were perceived as being against the principles of wildlife conservation. In consequence, indigenous resource use in national parks and game reserves was banned. See P. Yeager and N. Miller, *Wildlife Wild Death: Land Use and Survival in East Africa* (Albany: State University of New York, 1986).
 11. P.M. Blaikie, *The Political Economy of Soil Erosion in Developing Countries* (London: Longman, 1985) uses the conceptual framework of political-ecology in evaluating relationships between various factions involved in natural resource conservation in Third World countries. The political-ecology model postulates that actions taken to conserve natural resources (i.e. wildlife, forest and soil resources, etc) cause socioeconomic conflicts among different stakeholders, who react in one form or another to protect the perceived interests. Consequently, what originally started as an environmental issue is eventually transformed into a political process of expression.
 12. For a dramatic demonstration on how state wildlife conservation programs disenfranchised the user-rights of indigenous communities in Africa, see J.A. Murray, *The Elephant People* (London: Camelot Press Ltd., 1967).
 13. International Union for the Conservation of nature (IUCN), *The World Directory of National Parks and Other Protected Areas* (Gland, Switzerland: IUCN, 1989).
 14. J.S. Akama, "Western Environmental Values and Nature-Based Tourism in Kenya", *Tourism Management*, 17 8(1997) pp. 567 - 574.
 15. For primary information on the role of the Kenya government in the management of the country's wildlife resources see Kenya Wildlife Service, *A Policy Framework and Development Programme, 1991 - 1996* (Nairobi: Kenya Wildlife Service, 1990).
 16. Kenya Government, *Policy on Wildlife Management*. Sessional Paper No. 3 (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1978).
 17. Luisigi, *Planning Human Activities on Protected Nature Ecosystem*; Akama, "Western Environmental Values and Nature-Based Tourism in Kenya".
 18. Natural resource researchers contend that in conservation measures which exclude local people from resources long used by them, the people come to view the conservation project such as national parks and other stated protected nature areas as a zero-sum game where their loss is exactly others' gain. See Little, "The Link Between Local Participation and Improved Conservation: A Review of Issues and Experience", Yeager and Miller, *Wildlife Wild Death: Land Use and Survival in East Africa*, and Blaikie, *The Political Economy of Soil Erosion in Developing Countries*.

19. For a detailed account on the implementation of community based conservation programs in Africa see Little, "The Link Between Local Participation and Improved Conservation: A Review of Issues and Experience", and S. Metcalfe, "The Zimbabwe Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources" (CAMPFIRE) in D. Western and R.F.M. Wright (eds.) *Natural Connections* (Washington DC: Island Press, 1994).
20. However, most of the recent rhetoric on community based conservation programs and local community participation in wildlife conservation has failed to achieve positive results. Most often, the so-called community-based programmes have ended up being the co-opting of local elites in wildlife conservation and tourism development with little meaningful involvement of the majority of rural peasants in the Third World, particularly in project design and management, see Akama, "Western Environmental Values and Nature-Based Tourism in Kenya", and I. Sindiga, "Wildlife based Tourism in Kenya: Land Use Conflicts and Government Compensation Policies Over Protected Areas," *Tourism Studies* 6(1995) pp. 45 - 55.

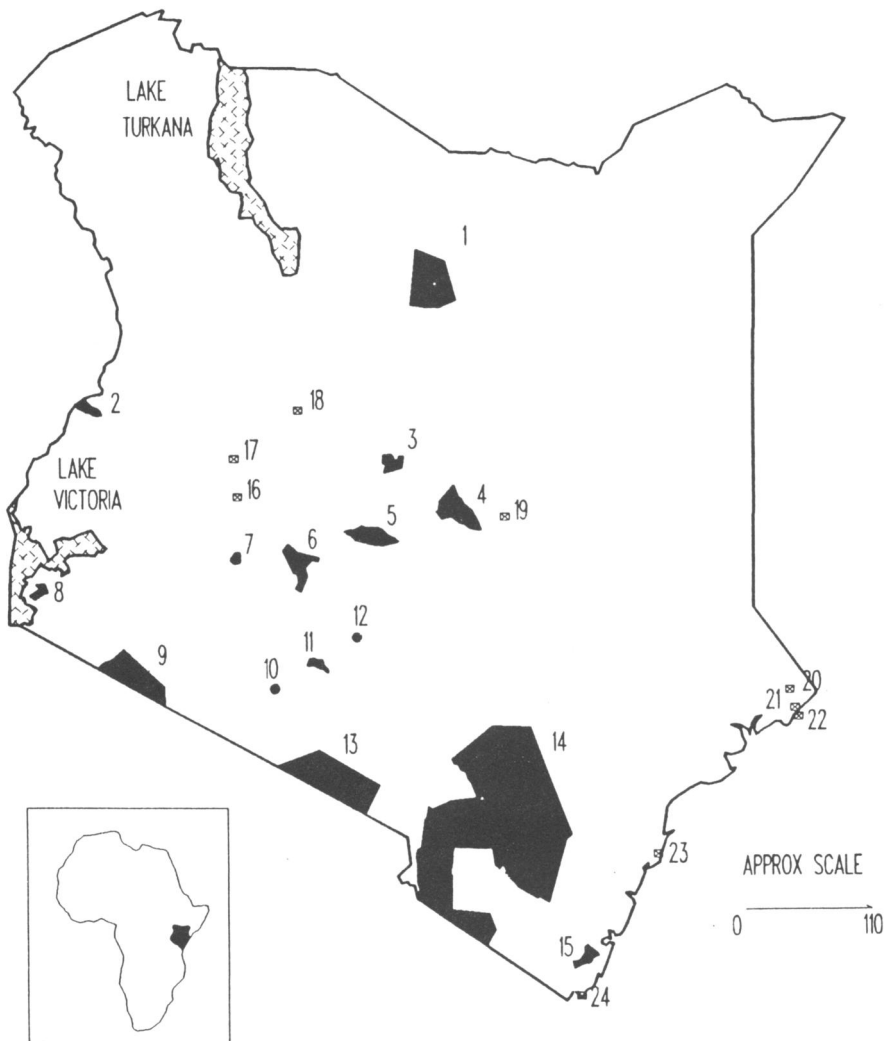


Figure 1: Selected National Parks and Reserves of Kenya

1. Marsabit, 2. Mt. Elgon, 3. Samburu-Buffalo Springs, 4. Meru, 5. Mt. Kenya, 6. Aberdares, 7. Lake Nakuru, 8. Ruma, 9. Maasai Mara, 10. Olgasailie, 11. Nairobi, 12. Ol Doinyo Sapuk, 13. Amboselli, 14. Tsavo, 15. Shimba Hills, 16. Lake Bogoria, 17. Lake Baringo, 18. Maralal, 19. Rahole, 20. Boni, 21. Dodori, 22. Kiungu, 23. Watamu-Malindi, 24. Kisite-Mpunguti.