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THE IMPACT OF ANIMAL RIGHTS ON WILDLIFE  
CONSERVATION AND MANAGEMENT IN KENYA

By

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

# The impact of animal rights on wildlife conservation and management in Kenya

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This dissertation explains the role of the animal rights movement in Kenya's wildlife conservation and management. The research proposes that animal rights principles are a major driver in the formation of Kenya's wildlife policy and management protocol. The dissertation begins with a discussion on the animal rights agenda and how this overlaps with Kenya's wildlife management policies in a way that places Kenya on the international stage as one of Africa's leaders in wildlife conservation.

The second and third chapters address the history of the animal rights movement and the history of wildlife conservation in Kenya with a categorical analysis of the non-government wildlife organizations active in the country. Over the last few centuries, the animal rights movement gained momentum and expanded from animals in captive settings to animals in non-captive settings. The question in reference to animals' condition: "can they suffer?" posited by Jeremy Bentham in 1781, remains at the core of the movement. Initially applied to animal-use scenarios such as medical testing, the concept of suffering has expanded to address sustainable and traditional hunting practices, habitat loss, and even predator-prey relationships. Kenya's colonial wildlife management relied on concepts of suffering and cruelty to develop early hunting and land access laws. Policies in recent decades expanded on the idea that Kenya's wildlife was in danger of extinction and initiated policies that banned hunting and promoted the care of individual animals. In

the 1989, Kenya was recognized for taking a lead role in the ban on ivory, a move that branded the country as a vanguard in the protection of wildlife.

The fourth and fifth chapters use case studies and an analysis of NGO activities to show how animal rights principles unfold in wildlife conservation protocol and in the strategies and tactics of organizations that focus on wildlife protection. Profiles of areas including Meru National Park, and the greater Tsavo region show the geography of the animal rights movement in everything from park creation to regional management. These case studies are followed by a set of management scenarios and organizational practices that embody animal rights principles. By focusing on specific trends in management protocols and organizational strategies, this work highlights the impacts of the animal rights movement in action. The dissertation concludes by drawing on Kenya's unique characteristics from a regional geography perspective and calls into question the future of Kenya's wildlife without the active movement.

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I dedicate this to my grandmothers, Yolanda and Estelle, and to my MamaLyn. These are three fierce women who fought for independence and add shine to this world through their creativity, love, passion, and righteousness.

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## LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS AND AGENCIES

|  |  |
|--|--|
| Africa Wildlife Foundation (AWF)   | Help Our Planet Earth (HOPE)   |
| African Conservation Center (ACC)  | Humane Society International (HSI)                                       |
| African Convention on Conservation of<br>Nature and Natural Resources in 1968. | In Defense of Animals (IDA)  |
| African Wildlife Leadership Foundation<br>(AWLF)                               | International Fund for Animal Welfare<br>(IFAW)                          |
| Agence Française de Développement<br>(AFD)                                     | International Union of Conservation of<br>Nature (IUCN)                  |
| Amboseli Trust for Elephants (ATE)   | Kenya Society for Wildlife   |
| American Anti-Vivisection Society<br>(AAVS)                                    | Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS)   |
| American Humane Association (AHA)  | London Convention for the Protection of<br>Flora and Fauna of the Empire |
| American Society for the Protection of<br>Animals (ASPCA)                      | National Humane Society  |
| Animal Legal Defense Fund (ALDF)   | New York Zoological Society  |
| Animal Liberation Front (ALF)  | People for the Ethical Treatment of<br>Animals (PETA)                    |
| Animal Protection Institute (API)  | Royal Society for the Protection of<br>Animals (RSPCA)                   |
| Animal Rights International (ARI)  | Save the Elephants   |
| Animal Rights Mobilization! (ARM!)   | Society for the Protection of Animals<br>(SPCA)                          |
| Animal Welfare Institute (AWI)   | Taking Action for Animals (TAFA)   |
| Born Free Foundation (BFF)   | The Humane Society of the United<br>States (HSUS)                        |
| Convention on the International Trade in<br>Endangered Species (CITES)         | United Nations Development<br>Programme (UNDP)                           |
| David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust (DSWT)  | United States Agency for International<br>Development (USAID)            |
| Defenders of Wildlife (DOW)  | Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS)                                      |
| East African Wild Life Society<br>(EAWLS)                                      | Wildlife Works   |
| Farm Animal Reform Movement<br>(FARM)  | World Society for the Protection of<br>Animals (WSPA)                    |
| Ford Foundation  | World Wildlife Fund (WWF)  |
| Friends of Animals (FoA)   | Youth for Conservation (YfC)   |
| Fund for Animals (FFA)   |  |
| Global Anti-Hunting Campaign (GAHC)  |  |



## Chapter 1 – Introduction

In many ways, animals define space, place, and even humans. For example, many cultures define humans by what animals are not: moral, ethical, political beings that start and control fire (see: Rowan 1988; Herzog 2010). Despite the differences drawn, humans emulate, worship, cherish, fear, loathe, and control animals; we take them on as our totems, mascots, friends, enemies, and spiritual leaders (Rowan 1988; Baltz and Ratnaswamy 2000; Bulbeck 2005; Herzog 2010). In some cases we control animals as a means to control other humans, especially in rules of access and property rights. Human conflict over animals and animal spaces often manifests in a contest for control between two human social groups. The dominant group imports its value system, and, that in turn shifts the landscape – built or natural – from an animal-based one to a cultural landscape (Emel and Wolch 1998; Emel, Wilbert, and Wolch 2002). With this in mind, the ultimate animal geography question is: ‘in what ways do animals give shape to a place?’ or, more precisely: ‘how do human priorities pertaining to animals shape place?’ This research answers the question of how human priorities for animals give shape to places by explaining the role of the animal rights movement on wildlife conservation and management in Kenya. The hypothesis is that the animal rights movement plays a major role in Kenya’s wildlife conservation and management policies and practice, particularly as result of involvement by wildlife non-government organizations (NGOs).

In the late 1980s, a fierce international debate took shape around the fate of the African elephant (*Loxodonta africana*). Poaching had taken a heavy toll on resident elephant populations in East Africa but populations in southern Africa remained healthy. The proposal to ban all ivory sales under the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species

(CITES) effectively split the continent politically. In the final moments, intense lobbying by the animal rights movement spearheaded by privately funded wildlife organizations and strong support from the Kenyan government proved decisive in the decision to enact an international ban on ivory sales. At the time, the key role of the animal rights movement was well documented (see: Bonner 1993; Duffy 2000), but the on-going relationship between movement activists and wildlife managers has received little attention. Nevertheless, in July of 2007, at an animal rights conference sponsored by the Humane Society of the United States (HSUS) entitled: “Taking Action for Animals,” Kenya was held up as the leader in the protection of free-roaming wildlife in Africa, and ranked as one of the top two countries in the world in this respect, sharing the spotlight with the United States. Kenya’s recognition came primarily for the ivory ban, initiated in 1989 and upheld in June of 2007, as well as its national ban on hunting, initiated in 1977. The 1989 ivory-ban created a channel for other animal rights initiatives to gain strength and affect wildlife policies across the board. Interviews with Kenyan wildlife specialists – including government wildlife professionals, NGO personnel, and independent wildlife experts – confirm that animal rights has a considerable role in the way wildlife management is implemented. What does this mean for Kenya, one of world’s renowned places for wildlife?

The purpose of this research is to explain the ways in which the animal rights movement impacts wildlife conservation and management in Kenya. In other words, how animal rights principles translate into wildlife conservation and management in practice. To begin with, animal rights, the movement, and the organizations associated with it are complex and abstract. Chapter two is a discussion that directly explains animal rights, including the range of moral positions held by different species in different conditions.

As will be explained in detail, the term animal rights applies to a range of human ethics and morals based on the well-being of animals as individuals with a clear expectation of human advocacy and intervention for the animals in undesirable situations. This sometimes imposes human needs and biases onto animal conditions. As with any ethical issue, there exists a range of principles that extend from one extreme – providing the best care for animals used by humans – to another extreme – a staunch no-use-no-exceptions stance that even condemns keeping of pets. Interestingly, the Kenyan-based animal rights movement treats wild and domestic animals differently, whereas the U.S.-based movement embraces wild and domestic animals alike.

With free-roaming wild animals as the central focus, defining rights and animal well-being is narrowed greatly based on the context of the animal's conditionality. For example, many of the animal rights convictions that are central to the movement elsewhere address captive settings: the rights to freedom, reproduction and maternal care, the ability to exhibit natural behavior, the right to access sunshine or shelter from it, and the right to be free from human-caused suffering. Many of these rights are available to free-roaming wildlife, thus rights, and the violations there of, are constricted: the right to live and the right to live free of suffering. While these attributes might logically apply to all wildlife without necessarily requiring an appeal to animal rights, a careful examination of the language used, the ways in which the campaigns are organized, the premises of the results desired, and the connection to the larger animal rights all issues clearly illustrate the presence of the movement even in the free-roaming wild context. In practice, however, the application of these rights to wild animals obscures the boundaries between protectionist measures and conservation, making the movement's impact

challenging to identify, as will be explained at length in chapter three. The conflation of rights and conservation sometimes results in policy that is geared towards the enforcement of wild-based rights but is often carried out in a manner that supersedes the seemingly natural order of an ecosystem purposes, such as the predator-prey relationship or animal die-off due to drought, for example.

For Kenya, the animal rights movement works against any possibility for hunting; limits killing wild animals that are sick, injured, or in conflict with humans (lethal management); facilitates care of young animals considered abandoned; and manages the environment for individual animal well-being; proponents often conduct these activities in contrast with the health of the species, the regional population, or environmental conditions. The third chapter uses these conditions as variables to distinguish between wildlife organizations that embrace animal rights philosophies and principles, and wildlife organizations that focus on traditional conservation. In doing so, the analysis categorizes Kenya's wildlife organizations and draws associations between the animal rights movement and organizational affiliations. As will be exemplified in chapter four, sometimes animal protection efforts are used to gain control of an area; conversely, sometimes control of an area is used to enforce animal protection. Chapter five concludes the study by taking the animal rights examples further to show how humanizing the animals or giving species rank further perpetuates the practices of control and protective management, and actually changes the dominant understanding of the term conservation. Ultimately, the movement's efforts to address free-roaming animals occur under the guise of conservation, making the arguments difficult to counter at the risk of promoting exploitation. One of the best ways to explain the sometimes contradictory action of the

movement and its principles is through examples. Before doing so, it maybe helpful to review the historical narrative to understand how current conditions transpired.

In Kenya, the history of animal rights and wildlife management dates back nearly two hundred years. From the point of first contact, European and Middle Eastern exploration endeavors were fueled by the elephant ivory trade and romance of magnificent beasts. Epic tales of travel involve majestic vistas filled with an array of animals that would soon fill the zoos and museums of the world. The travel journals of Roosevelt and British royalty include vivid accounts of hunting trips that involve teams of up to two hundred men (MacKenzie 1988; Cartmill 1996; Ryan 1996). During the time of the British protectorate, colonial rulers deemed wildlife possession of the elites for hunting and established fortress-style national parks and game reserves, thereby preventing local Kenyans access to and use of wildlife and select habitat as natural resources (see: MacKenzie 1988; Evans 1992; Neumann 1997). Postcolonial efforts to manage wildlife conservation retained western ideals of elite access to both hunting and game reserves (MacKenzie 1988; Gibson 1999; Naughton-Treves 1999). Areas allocated as nature parks became emblematic Edens frozen in time and intended to represent nature without humans, while the humans that lived in the environment for thousands of generations were portrayed as exotic, savage, even animalistic (see: Conrad 1902; MacKenzie 1988; Ryan 1996).

Today, the national parks in Kenya follow the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) category II model based on international western standards of appropriate use (Okello, Seno and Wishtemi, 2003).<sup>1</sup> This is the same model

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<sup>1</sup> Category II protected areas are large natural or near natural areas set aside to protect large-scale ecological processes, along with the complement of species and ecosystems characteristic of the area,

used for many U.S. parks (IUCN 2009), but is not always appropriate for the Kenyan culture or environment. The dichotomy between good users and bad users plays out in these parks. The good users are those who visit parks, pay entrance fees, and value the environment without consumptive use, contextualized as being “in the right” and therefore superior to others. Bad users are deemed to be “in the wrong” because they wish to use the resources for consumptive purposes or (re)integrate their life style within the park environment, the boundaries of which are obscure in many places (Neumann 1997; Elder, Wolch, and Emel 1998; Neumann 2002; Merchant 2004). The tension is exacerbated by conditions outside national parks. The idea of rights for wild animals does not end at park boundaries. Animal rights unfold in local campaigns and a regional movement, both which significantly impact policies, the economy, lifestyle, and landscape. It is estimated that eighty percent of Kenya’s wild animals live outside national parks on private and community lands; this often draws tourists who still expect a pristine setting (Kameri-Mbote 2002; Githaiga 2007 pers. com.). In this context, both the wild animals and park visitors have the right of way in the environment over natural resource users living near the park (Sindiga 1995).

Areas outside national parks possess a strong presence from national and international wildlife organizations that work to cover regions and issues that the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) does not. The presence of NGOs and the international infrastructure of the national parks favor global wildlife campaigns and promote Kenya as an African example in wildlife conservation. Despite a focus on wildlife, the

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which also provide a foundation for environmentally and culturally compatible spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities (IUCN 2009)

international agenda often overlooks the needs of both local people and local ecology, points of contention that become politically charged in the face of human-wildlife conflict (Schroeder 1999; Kellert et. al 2000). National agreements to resolve the tension between local communities and wild animals and reduce the amount of illegal hunting, place Kenya squarely within the international spotlight for animal rights issues. This spotlight positions the animal rights campaign at the center of many natural resource conservation discussions. Nonetheless, limited research exists on the current role of the animal rights movement in the development of wildlife management and conservation practices, specifically in this region. Focusing on Kenya, this research expands the discourse on wildlife conservation and management to include the role of the animal rights movement by exploring current debates on management in the perspective of the region's complex wildlife conservation history.

Historical accounts of the animal rights movement and recent studies on wildlife management and conservation practices suggest that the animal rights movement is an influential factor on the ways in which wildlife management activities are conducted and how conservation plays out as a whole (see: Bonner 1993; Dizard 1999; Duffy 2000; Perry and Perry 2008). For Kenya in particular, the British and American ideals on wildlife management were transferred from Great Britain to Kenya during Kenya's colonial period. The concept rights to wild game stems from western European notions that game animals are royal property. This position combined with expatriate attitudes towards hunting as a sport that should be developed and sophisticated (see: Evans 1992; Neumann 2002) and the global decline of hunting and transition to commercial farming pushed the animal rights

movement forward. Kenya's general wildlife conservation and management of the past century, covered in depth in chapter three, facilitated the establishment of many NGO headquarters and launched the international animal rights campaigns and political outcomes of this type of thinking (see: Parker 2006).

As mentioned earlier, perhaps the event that holds the most notoriety in Sub-Saharan Africa's recent wildlife conservation history is that of the international ban on elephant ivory. The debate that led up to the ban elevated the visibility of a number of wildlife organizations and gave a strong voice to the animal rights movement (Bonner 1993; Duffy 2000). This was preceded by several centuries of unregulated legal and illegal wildlife hunting and ivory harvest, which took a heavy toll on elephant populations in many areas. Early European settlers relied heavily on game meat for survival and the trade in elephant and even hippopotamus ivory, rhinoceros horn, and other wildlife parts to finance explorations and settle in Africa. Records show the trade was initiated by the Portuguese somewhere around the fifteenth century, periodically dominated by Arab nations, then mostly taken over and now closely affiliated with the British during the last century up until the mid-1970s (MacKenzie 1988). East Africa's developed infrastructure – roads, rail, ports, and airlines – promoted travel and export and east African wildlife underwent a marked decline, especially during the latter half of the twentieth century. In particular, the elephant is estimated to have sustained a drop in overall population by roughly ninety percent (Western and Waithaka 2005). This was not true of other areas. Countries in Africa's central and southern regions supported robust elephant numbers and sustained lucrative hunting practices (Bonner 1993; Duffy 2000). Nonetheless, east Africa's declining populations generated international awareness and



an initiative was proposed to ban ivory sales under the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (Bonner 1993).

International, animal-based NGOs took up the cause and made elephant protection and the ban on ivory their central focus. These NGO efforts to initiate a complete continent-wide ban took precedence over the discussions between regulatory conservation organizations and African governments centered on improving regulation of the elephant hunting and ivory trade. Pressure from the international animal rights community and the flood of donor support favored a total ban on ivory trade across multiple countries and reinforced the 1977 ban on hunting in Kenya (Bonner 1993; Duffy 2000). The debate pitted east Africa, where poaching had been rampant, against the southern African states, where elephant populations were relatively healthy.

The NGO campaigns ballooned in response to their own animal-rights focused donors and to competition between the different organizations involved, as each one vied for the position of champion of the elephants. The collective action eventually built up to a fight for a ban on ivory harvest and trade. The African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) took the first major lead in this direction arguing for a ban on ivory exports, which more than doubled its membership. At the time, AWF – then a U.S.-based organization – introduced the problems associated with ivory via direct mailing. The tactic was effective and funds poured in. However, according to Bonner, it was the California-based printing company responsible for producing the solicitation material that advised AWF to move towards a full ban on elephant hunting. This suggestion was based on the funding projections of the AWF campaign (1993). At the same time, pressure from animal rights organizations, namely The Humane Society, Defenders of Wildlife, Friends of Animals, and the Animal

Welfare Institute launched an attack on the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) to support a full ban, as up until that point WWF held a middle-ground position, advocating for stricter regulation rather than a total ban.<sup>2</sup> The animal rights position strengthened through the use of media tactics that displayed graphic elephant hunts combined with campaign titles such as “Chainsaw Massacre” (on the power of shock media and social movements see: Jasper 1997:106) and backdoor political alliances between African government officials and NGO stakeholders. The stakes were raised through interorganization competition, especially between AWF and WWF, both of which played out in political promises. Finally, the tipping point came when the ban received backing by first the Tanzanian government and then the Kenya government, and extensive pressure from the international media pushed the full ban through by listing elephants as an endangered species at an international level (Bonner 1993).

Once the international fanfare subsided, the animal rights movement settled in with a much greater stronghold in the wake and satisfaction of the mission accomplished. Government collaboration and demonstrated international acceptance normalized the presence of the organizations as well as the animal rights mindset, an impressive move as the animal rights movement comes with a stigma of being based on emotion and not science. This stigma, combined with the accepted presence, let the animal rights movement slip under the radar of many scholars studying wildlife conservation in the east African region, but in the years following the ivory ban, the movement and related organizations gained strength and momentum and expanded their goals beyond the protection of elephants. The presence and influence of the animal rights movement on

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<sup>2</sup> The World Wide Fund for Nature (1986) and the World Wildlife Fund, U.S. are two branches of the same organization, WWF.

wildlife conservation is not unique to Kenya (see: Ehrenfeld 1991; Dizard 1999; Perry and Perry 2008) but Kenya's history and current status serve as an excellent case study to demonstrate the ways in which the animal rights movement influences wildlife conservation and management in principle and practice.

## IDENTIFYING ANIMAL RIGHTS

This work examines the role of the animal rights movement in wildlife conservation. Through an analysis of case studies that frame the actions and initiatives of non-government organizations, this research identifies dominant animal rights principles and demonstrates how government-based management decisions explicitly show these principles in action. Further, this work profiles the prevailing strategies and tactics employed by the wildlife advocate groups and ties the initiatives directly to the animal rights movement. Collectively, the case study analysis and strategy and tactic profiles elucidate the animal rights movement in practice as it unfolds on the ground in Kenya's wildlife conservation and management.

The rationale for focusing on actions and initiatives as "principles in action," is twofold. First, by targeting actions and initiatives, this work captures the true nature of the animal rights social movement. Such actions occur and are endorsed by individuals, organizations, and governments; it is not often they can be tied to one single source. Second, by negotiating between the extremes of animal rights actions – those which align with animal rights principles and those which are executed under the auspices of conservation or wildlife protection – this work distinguishes the movement in practice as well as in principle.

The first distinction is between the social movement and individual organizations. This distinction is important as the NGO culture has grown from individual organizations grounded in a social movement, originally called social movement organizations, or SMOs, in the 1950s and 60s (Zald and Ash 1966), to organizations that cover diverse goals, many of which can be separated by different types of ideology but fall under the same organizational structure. At the same time, the animal rights movement has diversified as well; its depth and breadth address situations from captive medical testing to the needs of free-roaming wild animals. Animal rights cases are often found among an NGO's list of undertakings while the organization's overarching mission may be geared towards a wider agenda of environmental protection. In contrast to the formal organizations, social movements generally lack well-defined boundaries and are often not discrete. This research frames social movements as a "loosely organized network of individuals with a similar ideology working for a social change." This definition infers the origin and the affiliate base of a movement are obscure; in many cases, NGOs encourage a movement to coalesce and gain strength through an NGO's organized network. This is exactly the case with the animal rights movement and the affiliated NGOs.

The second reason to capture and analyze actions and initiatives of the animal rights movement is grounded in the movement's recent history and reputation. Over the years, many efforts used to draw attention to an animal rights issue, including public nudity, vandalism, graphic pictures, trespassing, and theft, created an association between irrational behavior and the movement itself (Jasper 1997). As will be discussed in detail in the second chapter, many of the most extreme actions are more closely associated with

activists protesting the fur industry and medical testing and generally fail to address alternative options or unintended consequences that result, such as increased security that reduces flow of information between the industry and the public and a lack of credibility for advocates. Survey data from the 2008 HSUS Taking Action for Animals conference shows a robust sample of roughly eighty percent of organizations in attendance chose not to use the term animal rights for fear of a negative association; on the other hand, individual advocates did identify themselves as animal rightists.<sup>3</sup> Instead, NGOs that focus directly on the prevention of animal suffering, such as the Humane Society International and World Society for the Protection of Animals, instead favor the term animal welfare, expanding its definition to include more liberationist ideals, as well as a newly minted protectionism. The new term, animal protection, is intended to create a wider gap between animal rights and an organization's mission; in fact, it aligns more closely with the no-use mission of the animal rights movement than animal welfare, a term that is fading out. Similarly, the term advocate is preferred over activist, as activists implies a political agenda and carry a similar negative reputation as animal rights. Regardless of the terms used, beliefs that drive actions to improve the treatment of animals – wild, domestic, captive, or free-roaming – are still classified under the animal rights rubric by scholars and the media (see: Dizard 1999; Parker 2006; Economist 2007; Perry and Perry 2008).

It is not just the animal welfare and animal protection organizations that reject the label of animal rights. Wildlife conservation and management organizations share a similar response to the animal rights label; though their projects and programs often reflect animal rights values and use classic strategies of the movement, they typically

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<sup>3</sup> Notes: July 2007

serve a wider mission than just rights, welfare, or protectionism. In the iconic case of the ivory ban, neither of the two NGOs that led the international campaign, the African Wildlife Foundation and the World Wide Fund for Nature, have ever been classified as animal rights organizations, yet their final campaign efforts, both of which deployed emotive language and gory images, are classified as animal rights initiatives (Bonner 1993; Duffy 2000). Not over-articulating principles allows organizations to act eclectically in this way, as we see in Kenya twenty years later.

Currently, the dominant missions of many influential Kenya-focused NGOs range from conventional wildlife management guidelines, including consumptive use, to animal rights. This underscores the need to focus on individual goals of organizational projects and case studies, coupled with strategies and tactics, to reveal the animal rights movement, as these efforts counter many standard management practices based on emotion and perception rather than conventional science, specifically when it comes to consumptive utilization. The tension between the groups' self-categorization and the classification of their actions and initiatives substantiates the claim that the distinction between animal rights and conventional wildlife management strategies is not always clear.

The research strategy deployed here reflects the fact that animal rightists have a strongly negative reputation. Indeed, when interviews were initiated the study purposely avoided direct use of the term animal rights, though it was discussed when the interview climate allowed. Instead, this study used a network analysis to examine how animal rights principles move through wildlife organizations, in their principles activities, to wildlife management activities. Questions include: what principles motivate wildlife

organizations, their personnel, and wildlife specialists? And, how closely do wildlife management policies and practices align with the animal rights principles espoused by wildlife organizations and their personnel? The network of actors whose principles move between conventional management and rightist philosophies includes NGO personnel, independent wildlife experts, KWS wildlife professionals, and tour operators when appropriate. Different NGOs work in different areas and on different projects around Kenya. After detailed interviews with NGO personnel, the study tracked these philosophies from within the organization to the project sites to evaluate the wildlife management in each given area. The study uses five locations based on NGO project affiliations; however, the true focus areas of the research include both field sites and the individual organizations. Further investigation includes observation of management actions to assess how conservation in practice meets the international agenda and human and ecological needs (on connecting sites, see: Latour 2004: 220-246).

Analysis of results shows the degree of influence that animal rights has on management, specifically, which areas show the greatest influence of animal rights philosophies and why, which species are protected, and what management techniques are favored. Further, consideration of actual management scenarios, termed “diagnostic events,” provides qualitative insight into the beliefs of respondents and supports an assessment of how closely the organization aligns with the animal rights movement. Using diagnostic events to test the principles of the organizations, confirmed the placement of organizations within the organization categories and along the animal rights spectrum and demonstrate how the idea of conservation has shifted in the presence of

animal-rights initiatives. Results contribute to the larger definition of animal rights in the context of wildlife management and in specific cultural settings of the development age.

## PHILOSOPHIES, LOCATIONS, AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study centers on conservation in and around five national parks and reserves in central and southern Kenya (see: map 1). The project investigated how the animal rights movement, primarily through the actions of wildlife NGOs, influences wildlife management on the ground in protected areas as well as the neighboring community lands. In doing so, this research: 1) identified the range of animal rights principles that are dominant in the wildlife conservation agenda; 2) traced these principles to the different NGOs and their project leaders and classified organizations according to the range of principles; 3) categorized the active wildlife organizations based on their dominant principles; and 4) evaluated the principles in practice through an examination of management protocol and strategies and tactics at project sites. Results show how the range of principles move through a network of actors and to what degree and in what ways they shape wildlife management practices.

### **Research Questions:**

1. In what ways do animal attributes and classifications motivate the animal rights movement and drive wildlife conservation and management practices?

How are species prioritized in wildlife NGO projects and in wildlife management? In what context do intelligence, beauty, ferocity, population status, and other romanticized images of the animals come into play? Kenya supports some of Africa's most iconic wildlife, including the hunters' favorite big five, a classification



given to the animals that offer the most challenging hunt: cape buffalo (*Syncerus caffer*), African elephant, African leopard (*Panthera pardus pardus*), African lion (*Panthera leo*) and rhinoceros: black (*Diceros bicornis*) and white (*Ceratotherium simum*).<sup>4</sup> Today, the big five is considered a tourist must for wildlife viewing; the animals are protected based on their economic value to tourists and regional natural heritage, but a focus on animal characteristics expands beyond the colonial ideals of a challenging hunt, or even ecological value. Instead, animals are granted protection based on beauty or perceived intelligence (see: Peterson 1993).

In addition to charismatic attributes, a species' population health leads into social and conservation priorities. The classification of "endangered" is determined by population projections; if the population and reproduction rates are below an acceptable number, which varies between species, the population is expected to decline at a rate that makes extinction imminent without human intervention.<sup>5</sup> The term "endangered" is often used as a blanket term to refer to any species that is not sustainable, but other classifications exist. Additional classifications include "least concern," "threatened," "vulnerable," and "critically endangered," in order of severity, each of which is supported by a different level of projected extinction. Least concern, for example, holds no current threat while critically endangered is evaluated to be in immediate danger of extinction. In most cases in Kenya, the classifications for population status are recognized by the government but set by CITES and/or the IUCN, not by the KWS, a leading example that

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<sup>4</sup> The two rhinoceros found on the African continent, the black rhino and the white rhino, are generally grouped simply by their family name, rhinoceros (Rhinocerotidae), and mentioned collectively as such unless otherwise specified.

<sup>5</sup> Estimate projections of extinction varies from species to species

shows how the international community has a strong influence over Kenya's wildlife policy.

Even with the range of population status levels for wildlife, there are three aspects that obscure a true application and understanding of how the classifications are actually applied. First, most people refer only to 'endangered' as an all-encompassing term and one that holds the highest level of threat. Second, these terms are applied at various levels as well, from regional populations to the metapopulation, or total population; in many situations, a species' regional endangered status can be extrapolated to apply to the metapopulation. In addition, in Kenya, wildlife as a whole is often portrayed to be at risk. Considering these three points, the status of endangered is used liberally and it is often hard to distinguish between an endangered metapopulation and an endangered local population, between truly endangered species and the liberally-applied term endangered. This is understandable as endangered species tend to receive more political, economic, and social attention that results in a greater level of protection. As a result, NGOs often fight to retain the endangered status.

Social priority for select characteristics, combined with conditions of rarity, translate into management protocol. Understanding how NGO personnel, researchers, and wildlife managers apply population status terms and classify animals along scales of attributes and select characteristics helps determine how animals are given priority, and by extension, how they are managed. This research asks how these categories are understood and endorsed by NGOs and Kenya's wildlife management protocol, both of which influence natural resource conservation and biodiversity of the region.

2. How do wildlife organizations use strategies and tactics to support the organization and promote the mission? Conversely, how do the dominant strategies and tactics define the organizations?

The animal rights movement is, in part, defined by the strategies and tactics. One of the most challenging aspects of studying animal rights is the reputation the movement has as a result of the strategies and tactics used. While organizations shy away from the term, animal rights, the use of strategies and tactics makes it much harder to disguise their position within the animal rights movement. Motives and philosophies are seen through the actions of an organization. Similarly, the strategies and tactics work to change an existing condition. The strategies and tactics serve as a direct link between the organization and event and reveal an organization's position on a situation from various standpoints: political, economic, social, ethical, and cultural. By evaluating the types of strategies and tactics used, this research is able to determine how organizations align with animal care and use.

Much like the classification of animals, classification of strategies and tactics serve to define the movement in action. Use of emotive terms that describe an animal's feelings or the display of gory images are geared towards engaging the public in the specific situation. Many strategies and tactics skew or highlight facts within a scenario to give bias the situation; they target political decisions and/or politicians, and bring certain situations to light. Not all strategies and tactics are negative; in fact, many are effective in raising awareness and generating much-needed change. This said, a certain style of strategies and tactics is associated with the movement and reveals animal rights principles. This research uses an analysis of strategies and tactics and application of

findings to determine which organizations align with the animal rights movement and in what ways. It then categorizes the organizations accordingly.

3. How do wildlife management practices and organizational affiliations reflect, test and strengthen the animal rights principles upheld by personnel and wildlife specialists?

Quite often staunch positions on species conservation are espoused without significant knowledge of the context of the management decision or outcome (see: Perry and Perry 2008). In order to test the strength of the respondents' positions on different wildlife conservation and management philosophies, follow-up interviews included management scenarios or 'diagnostic events.' Each diagnostic event frames a challenging wildlife management issue, e.g., an elephant calf being attacked by a hyena, lion cubs being taken into captivity. Informants were asked to respond to select events and their responses were used to develop an organizational classification (see: chapter five) as a means to isolate the influence of the animal rights movement as it exists in organizations.

Another analytical tool used in the process of this data is actor network theory (ANT). Part of ANT is the conditionality in which dominant ideas are developed and tested (Latour 2005). Latour acknowledges non-human forms of agency in networking which aligns well with the animal network in shared spaces and animal movement in relocation activities. This is also the subnarrative in the context of deifying animals for protection that supersedes endangered status (see: Whatmore and Thorne 2000). During primary and follow up interviews this research sought to determine which organizations maintained working relationships with one another. It was critical to identify which organizations collaborate on projects and how resources are shared. Similarly, it was equally important to note any divisions between organizational groups, noting issues such

as animosity or organizational tensions. In many cases, different groups enjoy access to different types of resources. Collaboration between groups demonstrates allegiance and strength in positions.

4. How closely do Kenya's wildlife management decisions and conservation protocol align with the principles supported by wildlife NGOs; wildlife specialists? How does this play out in practice?

Field interviews with KWS personnel and park activities were used to identify how the Kenya Wildlife Service prioritizes species. Is it according to ecological conditions, romantic images, research animals, tourist favorites, known individuals, or endangered-status classification? In particular, it was important to note the ways in which this field classification aligned with the NGO responses on species classification. Research questions addressed management procedures for problem wildlife so as to examine the variation in practices and assess these practices as either biologically designed for the respective species or designed for the image or status of that species. Discussion addressed whether or not these decisions differed from wildlife management protocols as outlined in the national management policies, and if so, how?

Habituating or establishing relations and humanizing wildlife is generally discouraged within the conventional wildlife management school of thought (Bejder et. al 2009; Knight 2009). Forming bonds with, giving personhood to, and naming non-human animals is strongly discouraged in the biological sciences on the grounds that this threatens one's ability to make decisions about an individual with relation to the overall health of the species, as a resource and in the scope of human needs (on naming, see: Montgomery 1991; Rowan 1988). Some research institutions and wildlife agencies have strict policies against naming other than a numerical process as with ear tags or radio

collar frequencies. The same holds true for habituating animals; fostering trust between the human species and wild animal species best exemplified in images of Jane Goodall, Dian Fosse, Joy Adamson and their study animals, the chimpanzee group in Tanzania, mountain gorilla group in Rwanda, and a collection of large African cats in central Kenya, respectively. Many NGO websites boast human-animal bonds or connection as a means to imply deep personal connection to the wild. This connection elevates the individual animal over the population of that species and promotes the message that each animal counts. This thinking is directly in line with the animal rights philosophy on individual priority over group management. Though none of the variables mentioned are a sole gauge of the animal rights movement, when multiple variables occur in a situation, this overlap can be used to identify the movement in practice.

Finally, any animal preference can be seen in policies and management decisions. This research looks at the case study areas to show how animal rights principles protect animals in practice. How do different policies and management decisions address known individual animals, animals of preference, and animals in need? Do management practices differ depending on the animal conditions of each region? As parks are gazetted and reserves set aside, conservation and management decisions strongly reflect the dominant social agenda accessing the resource. This phenomena is addressed in the literature on the social construction of nature (Demeritt 2002; Hughes 2005), and can be equally reflected in the geographic design of animal protection.

## **Methods**

Methodologically, this work is set up in an integrated interview structure utilizing network analysis, content analysis, and actual management scenarios to examine animal rights principles. Participant observation and group discussion were employed to supplement one-on-one interviews. Interview data are combined with content analysis from the organizations' websites and grey literature including annual reports and flyers. This documentary evidence also includes content posted in office headquarters. While the primary method for this work relies on verbal data collection, the analysis of content – focusing on organizational strategies and tactics – support the sentiments put forth and later tested in the interview material.

The data presented here reflect the results of thirty five interviews with representatives of twenty separate wildlife organizations and affiliates, and twenty eight interviews with Kenya Wildlife Service personnel in the field areas of the actual NGO projects. In addition, sixteen additional organizations and agencies were analyzed via web content, totaling thirty-six organizations and agencies. The NGO and KWS data were supplemented by key informant interviews with six independent wildlife experts. The strategic plan in this research traced the association between an organization's missions, goals and/or project agenda and its impact in the field by talking with the KWS responsible for the wildlife management of that given area. Within this structure, a third category of respondents emerged, wildlife scouts or private rangers. Representing only a small percentage of the total individuals interviews, these scouts and rangers fill the role of KWS personnel, but are employed by private organizations.<sup>6</sup> In addition to the total

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<sup>6</sup> Scouts are hired privately and by the KWS to patrol an area on foot; their primary focus is to monitor for small-scale illegal activity. They are generally unarmed. Rangers look for small to large scale illegal

collection of interviews, actual management scenarios, or diagnostic events, were collected along the way to serve as discussion points in interviews and challenge the otherwise concrete ideals.

Interview scheduling was contingent upon access and availability. Foremost, interviews were scheduled in groups based on physical location, response rate, and network connections. Specific respondents within organizations were selected according to project position and species interest when possible. For nearly all cases, the primary interviews were arranged with the highest-level of individual in charge of the given organization. Interviews with additional personnel from a given organization are classified as secondary unless specific conditions required otherwise; i.e. director from primary interview requested that someone fill in. When possible, a succession of interviews was scheduled with individuals from organizations that were clearly affiliated via snowball sampling techniques. Respondents were asked for interview recommendations of their partnering organizations or other key informants; the recommended informants were contacted promptly. In some case, a few respondents were available only outside Nairobi. In these circumstances, NGO interviews were always paired with KWS field interviews. Secondary interviews were also nearly always scheduled as follow-up interviews with the same respondent. In a few select cases, and with a slightly higher degree of frequency with KWS than with NGOs, group interviews took place; these were organized as focus groups (see: Babbie 2004).

Participant observation occurred in two forms. First, important data were collected in settings such as lectures, meetings, in office lobbies, and similar settings.

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activity and are often – though not always – armed. Rangers are employed by KWS and usually work on Problem Animal Control. Wardens are employed by KWS, always carry a weapon, oversee a jurisdiction with several rangers, and have the ability to make arrests.



Formal participant observation methods were also employed in activities organized by different wildlife organizations. These included but were not limited to visiting animal sanctuaries and orphanages, joining game drives, and participating in wildlife census activities. In general, participant observation was employed for anything that included deliberate participation in a wildlife-related activity. Attention was paid to elements including group demographics, target goal of the specific activity, dialogue, and reason for and frequency of individual participation. Exact data categories varied from activity to activity.

Collection of diagnostic events occurred in three major ways: through interviews with the KWS personnel in the field; through projects lead by NGOs; and by gathering event summaries covered by the media. The information from the Kenya Wildlife Service provided real-life management scenarios that challenged official policies and often came face to face with human settlements. The NGO work generally targeted specific activities that included animal rescues. Finally, the national or regional news papers, such as Kenya's *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard*, and multinational *The East African* which covers Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, generally report on illegal activity such as attempts at international smuggling of wildlife or their parts or high-profile issues, like national hunting policies. Specific cases were relayed to members of different organizations to increase the accuracy and test the strength of their original stand on conservation philosophy. For example, strong animal-rights sentiments were at times evaluated by discussing a case of predator-prey interaction, asking the respondent to comment on the species of interest.

Overall, diagnostic events were designed to challenge the conservation-based animal rights ideals that emerged in primary interviews so as to examine the limits to, or extent of, a given respondent's beliefs, though at times they were used in primary interviews to spark new or redirect existing conversations. The main objective of the diagnostic events was to advance the second and third stage interviews, ideally after a scheduled visit to the subject NGO's project field site. In hard-to-schedule interviews the diagnostic events were discussed in the first, and sometimes only, meeting. In particular, some of the NGOs and their personnel are either particularly private or of near celebrity status and thus significantly more challenging to secure interviews with.

#### **Location, site selection (see: Map 1)**

This study focuses on five areas of wildlife conservation in Kenya: Amboseli, the Maasai Mara, Meru, Nairobi, and Tsavo regions. The sites were selected based on a profile of wildlife NGO's project in these areas. Specific cases occur both in and outside of protected areas depending on the project at hand. For example, one of International Fund for Animal Welfare's (IFAW) collaborations with KWS involves Meru National Park, while another organization, the Born Free Foundation, works in areas that border Nairobi and Tsavo National Parks, but not within the park boundaries. Initial study locations focused on Kenya's southern Rift Valley: the Amboseli region, the Maasai Mara region, and the Nairobi region. These three sites were identified before the research began, while Meru National Park and the Tsavo region were marked as potential sites and confirmed during early formal interviews. The two latter case studies now serve as cornerstones of this research.

Central to all sites is Nairobi, Kenya's capital, considered the business hub and one of the top media showcases of east Africa (Haugerud 1995). Nairobi is home to regional and national headquarters of most of the wildlife organizations as well as the Kenya Wildlife Service which is attached to Nairobi National Park, the Nairobi Safari Walk, the KWS Animal Orphanage, and the David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust (DSWT) infant elephant center. The park connects the city to the Kitengela plains in the southern Rift Valley. By virtue of its location, the Nairobi wildlife area forces the wildlife community to face challenging management decisions that accompany growing urban development. Discussions are tense and cut-throat as neither the wildlife nor the human community has many options for movement or coexistence.

Amboseli, the Maasai Mara, and Nairobi all benefit from popularity in Kenya's tourism industry, and have well-known human-wildlife conflict issues in their neighboring communities. They rank as the top three safari destinations in the country, so international focus is high. Collectively, these areas offer excellent study conditions to evaluate how wildlife management decisions are carried out outside of the protected areas as the popularity of these areas and density of human residence demands attention. All three areas support a high rate of NGO activity. Many organizations work on a specific area or run issue-specific projects. At the same time, KWS must actively engage in management decisions to mitigate conflict in these high-profile regions.

The Amboseli and Maasai Mara regions offer a perspective on wildlife management decisions and wildlife protection projects without the pressures of urban development. The international visibility of both remains high and their access is fairly well charted. Both areas support rich ecological diversity in a relatively accessible area

and serve as the historic homeland to several different ethnic groups, primarily pastoralist, considered native to the region at large.

The primary difference between the Amboseli and Maasai Mara regions is their management authority. The Mara is the only protected area in Kenya and, in some current documents, still retains the colonial moniker, game reserve, through it is run like a national park and no legal hunting occurs. The Maasai Mara is managed as a regional resource by the Narok and Transmara County Councils, not the KWS.<sup>7</sup> The difference in gazetting translates into differences in tour operations and consequently, a different concept of wildlife propriety in the two areas. This provides sufficient contrast for comparing animal-rights principles in the different settings. The County Councils split management authority between Narok and a conservancy set up by the Transmara conservation community, including local land owners, government officials, and tour operators. The County Council has looser regulations on activities in the Mara, including the number of tourism lodges so use is heavy and opinions run hot. The Kenya Wildlife Service does have an office in the area and is charged with managing wildlife outside the reserve. KWS also handles hands-on tasks inside the reserve – relocation, veterinary care, and lethal management, for example – while all other tasks fall to privately hired game scouts.

Amboseli National Park is run by the Kenya government via KWS; there are fewer lodges and a fewer outfitters and KWS holds a strong presence. The region sits on the border with Tanzania, where hunting is legal, and supports the longest running elephant study. The neighboring communities of Amboseli are primarily still under group property, unlike the Mara region, which is dominated by individual ownership

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<sup>7</sup> Narok District and Transmara District border the east and northwest sides of the Maasai Mara.

arrangements. The larger Amboseli ecosystem is one of the driest regions in southern Kenya, with one of the largest major sources of water inside park boundaries. Many communities have drilled water holes, but this often draws wild animals close to the homes. The human-wildlife conflict in the area draws participation from the NGO community, but not with the same popularity as the Maasai Mara or Nairobi National Park. This said, one of Kenya's best-known wildlife celebrities, Cynthia Moss, made her life's work in the Amboseli ecosystem. Her NGO, Amboseli Trust for Elephants (ATE), addresses elephants throughout Kenya, but has its origin with the Amboseli herd. The program tracks individual animals and their social and genetic relationships, all named accordingly. Few other elephant herds are as well known or well documented as the one in this area, a condition that holds the potential to impact policy on conservation and management in a number of ways.

Not originally on the study-site list, Meru National Park and the Tsavo area now hold the cornerstone positions in this research. Each has high levels of human-wildlife conflict and with low and moderate levels of tourism, respectively. The key difference, and the important variable in these sites, is that both Meru and the Tsavos National Parks have a history of animal-rights activism. The animal-rights narrative can be traced from their inception and is strengthened by a long-term vested interest by a few dominant NGOs. Despite the limited tourism, so strong is their position in the international media that these parks often serve as the stage for Kenya's wildlife conservation agenda.

Meru lies north of the equator in an arid landscape that is considered the frontier region for northern Kenya. This park is challenging to access and does not have the wildlife density that areas with higher rainfall enjoy. Nonetheless, it plays an important part in

Kenya's wildlife history. Meru is the home of three wildlife icons, Joy and George Adamson, best known for transcending the human-wildlife boundary, and Elsa, a lioness raised by Joy and George with whom they maintained a life-long relationship. The human-lion relationship was featured in a novel, *Born Free; a lioness of two worlds*, a story that gained international fame in the 1960s and is still cited today. Meru's distance to Nairobi, limited wildlife tourism, and an increase in regional conflict detracted from the park's popularity. The lack of focus on the park led to degraded infrastructure and quality experience until recently when Meru National park was selected by the Agence Française de Développement (AFD), or French Development Agency, for a rejuvenation project in collaboration with the International Fund for Animal Welfare. The project spanned five years and covered every aspect of the park from new road construction to a massive translocation of over five thousand animals.<sup>8</sup> Today, IFAW maintains strong ties to the park and continues assistance in the form of vehicle and housing maintenance, fuel, and animal-care assistance.<sup>9</sup>

Also on IFAW's project list are Tsavo East and Tsavo West National Parks, a national park complex roughly eight hours east of Nairobi in semi-arid rolling hills. The original gazette was established in 1948 by the founder of an animal-welfare organization and former KWS warden, David Sheldrick. The "Tsavos," which underwent an administrative split along the Nairobi-Mombasa highway to make Tsavo East National Park and Tsavo West National Park, have always been viewed as one region often labeled as one of the largest wildlife sanctuaries in the world (Earthwatch 2010).<sup>10</sup> David Sheldrick's

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<sup>8</sup> See: ADF records; notes from May 2009.

<sup>9</sup> See: Notes, December 2008, IFAW and Meru National Park rangers and wardens.

<sup>10</sup> See also: Southern Kenya Travel Guide on line at: <http://www.insightguides.com/destinations/africa-middle-east/kenya/southern-kenya/overview>; Serena hotels on line at:

influence in the region expanded beyond the national park. He and his wife, Dame Daphne Sheldrick, started a project to raise young elephants thought to be separated from the mother in one way or another. To Daphne's credit, no one has ever been as successful as the Sheldrick Trust is at raising young African elephants well into sub-adulthood. The couple's project is now a formal organization, the David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust, complete with a clear animal-rights message in its actions. David Sheldrick passed away in 1977, but the Sheldrick Trust continued to grow, establishing a base in Nairobi and accepting elephants from anywhere in Kenya. Even with its national scope, the Tsavos and surrounding community areas continue to be the main focus of the organization, especially for elephant releases, but also for new projects that arise as the organization diversifies.

Compliment to the Tsavo parks, the regions outside of Tsavo receive a great deal of attention, too. The local community is an ethnically diverse group with residents practicing agro-pastoralism. The high-density elephant population was the focus of the 1989 ivory wars and served as the media spotlight on illegal hunting and the ivory trade. The proximity to the Mombasa port, former hunting communities, and well-traveled export route make this area a focus for illegal export and the underground hunting trade (Steinhart 2006). As a result, the Tsavos are a focus of international wildlife campaigns, including a U.S.-based for-profit wildlife protection company, Wildlife Works, and one of the larger wildlife protection non-profits, the Born Free Foundation (BFF). Collectively, these wildlife organizations work to address human-wildlife conflicts outside the national parks. Efforts include buying up land, building schools, and tracking illegal hunting. Combined with the Sheldrick's work on elephant protection, the Tsavo area hosts a fanfare of animal

rights activity. Most importantly, all five sites hold strong ties to NGO projects and have KWS personnel who were accustomed to and rely on working with outside organizations.



Map 1: Delineated study areas by region: Amboseli: — Maasai Mara: - - - - -  
Meru: ——— Nairobi: . . . . . Tsavo: - . - . -

(Map graphic: Nations online 2012, modified with graphic, S. Capoccia 2009)

In sum, the cultural dimensions of animal ethics support a wide range of social and political positions. In many cases, this range is displayed within and between human social groups, the dominant of which establishing a value system. For Kenya and the country's wildlife, this value system is greatly influenced by the animal rights movement at the international level from the western cultures. Kenya's history and current wildlife policies paved the way for long-standing involvement from private interest groups,



primarily, NGOs. This involvement is evident in the international ivory ban and in Kenya's amendments to prohibit hunting. But, as stated earlier, little has been done to show the current impact of the animal rights movement and its influence on the geography of Kenya.

In the following chapters, this work will demonstrate the ways in which the animal rights movement impacts wildlife conservation and management in Kenya. The history of Kenya's colonial government with regard to wildlife conservation lays the groundwork for animal rights initiatives as well as for NGO involvement. Through case-studies and narratives, this work shows how the colonial history of Kenya is perpetuated through sustained control of wild animal resources. A comprehensive examination of the moral standing related to the rights of animals goes on to show how human advocacy for animals allows morals to unfold in practice and through policy. Conducting this research through the lens of animal geography provides context on how animals and human perception of animals give shape to an area and how a region reflects animals as actors in the landscape.

## Chapter 2 – A History of Animal Rights

“I paused for a brief moment to shine my flashlight across them and caught sight of a shiny, sleek figure, hopping out of her hellhole. The mink scurried across the ground and out of the barn. While I wanted to focus and appreciate each and every animal as he or she found the way to freedom, I knew I couldn't do so at the expense of those who would be left behind. I had to spend every moment on the farm opening cages to allow as many as possible a fighting chance at a natural life.”<sup>11</sup> ~ On Liberation.

In 1792 Mary Wollstonecraft wrote *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, a literary piece that argues in favor of equal rights for women and in support of treating women like rational beings. So radical was Wollstonecraft's work that a mockery of it was written shortly thereafter: *A Vindication of the Rights of Brutes*. Initially the latter piece was published anonymously, however as its popularity grew, English philosopher, Thomas Taylor, accepted credit for his work. The underlying message in Taylor's writings is intended as a satire, a work in jest: if women could expect basic rights, than so too could animals. Ironically, it is exactly that point that many animal rights activists hold as their central argument today. The fight for animal rights, which targets an animal's right to be free from physical and emotional suffering, and to be treated as an individual, is emotionally charged, politically powerful, and ideally possible.

This chapter provides an overview of the animal rights movement at large. The chapter begins by addressing the history of the animal rights movement, touching upon its obscure origins and addressing the tangible outcome from intangible qualities such as emotion, morals, sentiment, ethics, and a diverse value system. This work defines animal rights both in the abstract and with reference to the concrete organizing principles that hold the movement together. The chapter addresses a wide range of actors within the

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<sup>11</sup> A quote from No Compromise: A Fighting Chance: A First Hand Account of a Mink Raid (no date).

animal rights movement. It is important to recognize that all activists in favor of the rights of animals do not necessarily share the same value system. In fact, Peter Singer, whom many consider to be the leading academic expert on animal rights, points out that many camps within the animal rights movement actually reject each other as animal rightists based on conflicting principles (1975; 2005). The chapter closes with a profile of strategies and tactics; how campaigns and initiatives garner public attention, either eliciting support or rejection; how they push the movement forward; and the ways in which they diversify and obscure its scope. In doing so, this chapter sets up a discussion of how the animal rights movement and wildlife conservation intersect. Overall, the goal of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive understanding of the complexities and impacts of animal rights.

## **HISTORY**

The animal rights movement is not a singular social movement that developed from a key moment in time and or in a linear fashion. Instead, its genesis and boundaries are obscure (see: Thomas 1983; Benford and Snow 2000). One can point to defining moments within a movement's history that serve as mile markers for its development, correlated with a classification of advocacy, and follow the change through different threads of history. The movement is the result of a number of social developments that converge over human's use and understanding of animals. The rise in pet keeping, medical advancements as a result of animal testing, and the increased need to control social classes by controlling access to resources including wildlife, are just a few examples that contributed to the development of animal rights as a large-scale, wide

spread, and well developed social movement (see: Singer 1975; Evans 1992; Stallwood 2002).

While the human-animal relationship dates back more than fifteen thousand years on a global scale, it was not until the last few centuries, primarily in the western world, that records of animal advocates appeared with regularity (Thomas 1983). Several hypotheses exist for when the western-perspective of the animal rights movement actually started. Many examples date back to the 1500s based in Christian biblical and Pagan doctrines. The staging of animal fights as a spectator sport was common place at the time and both Christians and non-Christians prevailed in having them outlawed in some areas (Thomas 1983). Others scholars pinpoint the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a marker for the rise in animal rights advocates possibly as a result of the accumulation of wealth and separation from direct animal use (Thomas 1983; Herzog, Dinoff, and Page 1997). Within the records of people periodically advocating for the rights of animals, it is clear that the animal rights movement was not a unilateral change that emerged as a result of new moral development; nor is there a central focus on animals as whole or a defined set of preferred conditions. Instead a set of classifications and scale determine which animals are entitled to which rights and by whom. In short, these classifications include aspects such as the condition an animal experiences, the species in question, and related human sentiment regarding husbandry conditions pertaining to individual species.

Advocacy for animals primarily surrounds issues of suffering. In some cases, classic suffering is the focus – extreme and unjust pain – often depicted in the movement by animals in captivity in the medical field undergoing surgical procedures without anesthesia. More recently, suffering is interpreted by human standards, frequently around

the event of death: predator-prey relationships, human hunting, and conservation protocols that cull animals to reduce population pressure are all subjects of great concern to activists. The types of animals range from ones considered to be highly intelligent and similar to humans – including primates, whales, cats, and dogs – to animals that are generally shunned by society such as rats or snakes (see: Sugg and Krueter 1994; Herzog 2010). Human sentiment ranges from liberation, releasing all animals from any human contact, to animal care reform, efforts to improve the conditions in which animals are kept. None of the divisions stands alone. In fact, many overlap to form a web of complicated terms and conditions.

In captive settings, animal rights ideals appeared in the use of domesticated animals. Here again, there are divisions within advocacy campaigns, but some theorists point to domestication as a lead into campaigns against both captive wild and domestic animals and other animal-rights related initiatives. With domestication came an uninhibited access to animals and subsequent excessive reliance on and heavy use of animals (Thomas 1983; Caras 1996; Rowan 1988). Nonetheless there is little record of ethics in the history of domestication or early practices of animal keeping, save for kings' royal pets that were cared for lavishly, often with several staff in attendance (see: Thomas 1983; Caras 1996). Pet keeping eventually built in popularity and gained wide-spread acceptance by the 18<sup>th</sup> century. From there, understanding of animal behavior dramatically improved (Thomas 1983; Rowan 1988; WSPA n.d.).

Scholars posit that the popularity of pet keeping revealed the emotional and physical nature of animals while facilitating the acceptance of people's desire to protect animals from emotional and physical distress (Rowan 1988; Guither 1998; on the

growing acceptance of animal protection, see: Haraway 1993). This is not to say that new insight in animal emotions or the animals' experience initiated sweeping change that eliminated animal suffering all at once. Rather, the number of people in support of animal protection reached a tipping point: sentiment was supported by enough people that animal protection initiatives – in the form of protests and writings – were recognized, recorded, and began to exert an influence in policy and practice (WSPA n.d.; Guither 1998).

According to Guither (1998), one of the leading experts on the history of animal rights, England initiated many of the animal rights-based policies that lead early campaigns (1998) perhaps because England supported one of the greatest dependencies on animals and boasted the highest ratio of domestic animals to humans (Thomas 1983). Early animal-rights style sentiment occurred in British laws developed in between 1600-1900s and can be traced to other European laws thereafter (see: MacKenzie 1988; Lueck 1995; Cartmill 1996; Guither 1998). The laws fall into two categories: how hunts were regulated, and how captive and domesticated animals were treated. From the outset hunting laws determined who could hunt which animals and how the animals were hunted based on social status. Certain animals, such as the royal stag (McKenzie 1988), could only be hunted by crowned heads and by approved methods. In fact, gun access quickly became a key determining factor for who could and who could not hunt. By changing the law to prohibit traditional (non-firearm) methods of hunting, governments also prohibited people from hunting who could not afford guns. The laws were written under the auspices of preventing animal cruelty but essentially enforced a class-based system for who had access to wild animals or game, based on specific practices. For example, initially classified as vermin, the red fox (*Vulpes vulpes*) in England was

reclassified as a game species for only the organized hunts and sportsmen, thus preventing peasant chicken farmers from protecting their flocks (MacKenzie 1998, 21-22). Essentially, it was animal rights ideology that separated the sport of hunting from subsistence hunting and hunting as a means to protect property. As the elite movement grew, so, too, did the romanticized image of nature.

For animals in captivity, the first animal-protection laws passed in London in 1781 and 1786 regulating the treatment of animals in the stock yard and requiring a law to perform humane slaughter, respectively. These policies paved the way for a more specific policy in 1822 that prohibited the beating of one's stock (sheep, goats, cattle) under any conditions. This policy developed just prior to establishment of the formal launch of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA), the predecessor to the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) which led the animal rights campaigns for the following century (Guither 1998; see also: WSPA n.d.; and Cartmill 1996).

The frequency of these accounts increased with time and came to a head at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which marks a turning point in the way humans consider animals. Early philosophers explored moral positioning and human responsibility in the context of animal treatment, captive conditions, and ultimately, what should constitute animal abuse. A discourse emerged on how people treated animals and what that treatment meant for the individual animal's quality of life. The notion that an animal could in fact physically or emotionally experience anything – pain or pleasure – countered the dominant belief that all animal activity was merely an auto response to a given stimulus, not a sentient reaction. Animal-rights scholars explain the stimulus-response belief by stating that scientists

equated animals to machines especially in a laboratory setting, in which surgery was performed on awake animals (Singer 1975; Guither 1998; Thomas 1983; Guither 1998; Regan 2003). Three key works that emerged during this timeframe include English philosopher and ethicist, Jeremy Bentham's, 'An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation' (1781); Taylor Thomas's 'Vindication of the Rights of Brutes' (1792); and a century later, Henry Salt's 'Animals' Rights Considered in Relation to Social Progress' (1894).

Jeremy Bentham and Henry Salt were both ethicists, and their works are directed at challenging the dominant thinking. Above all, Bentham, even today, continues to be cited with a high degree of frequency and is considered one of the founders of the formal animal rights movement. To a large extent, the different threads of the historic and current movement coalesce around Bentham's fundamental question – "can they suffer?" – in reference to animal treatment (1781, ch. 17:1). Bentham is the first to formally bring into question the possibility that an animal feels pain, thereby challenging the prevailing medical and animal husbandry practices of his time (see: Singer 1975, on Thomas 1792; Anker 2004, on Bentham 1781). From Bentham's work, the concept of suffering radiated back through time to codify evidence in line with animal rights initiatives – including animal fights and related practices – and radiated forward as the movement developed, applying the idea of suffering to conditions that range from vivisection (unanesthetized surgical experiments), to loss of habitat for wildlife. Interestingly enough, while suffering remains the epicenter of the animal-rights movement, killing animals is usually positioned as a last resort solution even in the context of extreme suffering and many animal rights camps seem to focus on preventing death rather than preventing suffering.



While Bentham and Thomas set the foundation for the current discourse on animal rights, Henry Salt's argument falls more in line with today's environmental movement with a deep connection to environmental studies and animal use based on the position of a naturalist (Bonner 1993). Bentham addressed animal suffering, while Salt took the position that animals should have rights rather than just better treatment. In fact, Salt had no qualms in countering the concept of suffering in the effort to demonstrate the need for rights; going so far as to publish a refutation in *Nature* to the scientific community's critique of his landmark text, *Animals' rights: Considered in relation to social progress* (Salt 1892). In his later work, Salt was an early advocate for personhood of animals, later embraced by animal advocate, Steven Wise (see: 2001b). He also conceptualized animals as slaves, a notion best associated with ethicist Peter Singer (see: 1975; Salt 1900). Of all Salt's contributions, his articulation of rights persists today. "We claim for animals, as for men, in so far as it is compatible with the public welfare, a measure of individuality and freedom, a space in which to live their own lives-in a word, Rights" (p.210). Today, these radical thoughts serve as a pillar for animal rights principles and provide the modern discourse with a foundation.

As mentioned earlier, the work by Thomas was really a satirical position against women's rights and is used now as an example of possibility rather than a template for philosophical grounding. Despite its mockery, the article aptly frames some of the long-standing ideals and controversies that surround the animal rights debate, including individual suffering, animal emotions, and the right to use animals for human benefit. Thomas's work parallel's Salt's position on animals as slaves, but again, as Thomas's suggestion of giving animal's freedom and rights was done in jest, Salt's proposal was

serious. Overall, Thomas's work is one of the founding documents, but used as an example of possibility than accepted as a serious proposal of ethical grounding.

These early writings sparked the discussions that eventually led to the emergence of the additional animal protection organizations. Among the most notable organizations in the United States are the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, (1866), the American Humane Association, (1877), and the American Anti-Vivisection Society, (1882). Continued emergence of additional organizations waned until the mid-1950s when a second upwelling of collective social action led to the development of the Animal Welfare Institute (1951), the National Humane Society (1954), the International Society for Animal Rights (1959), Fund for Animals (1967), as well as countless local groups across the United States and Europe. Still in their infancy, each one of these organizations developed around a specific focus to elicit social change and were therefore best referred to as social movement organizations. In this context, their goals and missions neatly aligned with the dominant philosophy of their member base, making it easy to distinguish them as animal rights organizations (see: Zald and Ash 1966).

Like many social movement organizations, the heightened social and environmental awareness of the 1960s led the animal rights movement and the related organizations to develop and diversify (Guither 1998). The new third wave of organizations formed to meet different principles, and to address needs in different geographic regions, and to include different types of animals and conditions. This includes but is not limited to: the Animal Protection Institute (1968), International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW) (1969), Animal Rights International (1971), Animal Legal Defense Fund (1978), People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) (1980), Animal Rights Mobilization! (1981), Farm

Animal Reform Movement (1981), Animal Liberation Front (ALF) (1982), and In Defense of Animals (1983).

The formation of this third wave of animal rights groups and the way their emergence diversified the existing organizations coincided with the birth of the environmental movement. As a result, the animal rights movement settled in at the intersection of environmental and philosophical discussions (Guither 1998); sometimes as a compliment and sometimes as a contradiction to broader environmental goals. It was during this time period when early conflation of animal rights and wildlife conservation occurred (Guither 1998; Dizard 1999; Watts 2000; Regan 2003; Anderson 2004; see also: Ehrenfeld 1991; Perry and Perry 2008) and many of the organizations that emerged at this time became the powerhouse of the movement.

The growth and diversification of the animal rights movement and related social movement organizations serve to obscure the movement through an expansion of the affiliated organizations. In many cases, organizations broadened their missions to include environmental goals, wildlife conservation, and in some cases even social development, thereby adopting organizational classifications that reflect a wider scope. Furthermore, the strategies and tactics employed by the animal rights movement were often considered extreme, emotional, and even irrational by many in the larger popular audience. Familiar campaign tactics include throwing red paint on fur coats and breaking into medical labs. While such actions represent the minority, they earned enough notoriety within the larger arena of animal advocates that many animal rightists were labeled “crazies” (Herzog, Dinoff, and Page 1997). This is not to say that similar tactics are not used within even the most diverse NGOs, rather they are better hidden within the mainstream mission.

Certainly animal rights organizations still exist and are well known; People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals and Animal Liberation Front are two examples among many organizations that still lead the movement. But in other instances, the animal rights movement has been incorporated into organizations better known for environmental protection, wildlife conservation, pet protection, and species-specific campaigns. For example Defenders of Wildlife is positioned as wildlife conservation and environmental protection, but support animal-rights style campaigns.<sup>12</sup> In order to identify the animal-rights movement it is best to understand first, how to define it, and second how advocates are classified by themselves and by others.

### **SECTORS WITHIN THE ANIMAL RIGHTS MOVEMENT**

As with any ideological foundation, moral priorities surrounding wildlife can differ between interests and between scales. Among these differences, four stand out. First, it is important to acknowledge that the discussion of morals and ethics does not immediately suggest favoring wild animals; often human-rights groups challenge the protection of wildlife protection as such protection can restrict human access to natural resources (see: Wenzel 1991). Second, the scale of different animal-rights campaigns can vary. In some instances, animal rights campaigns are initiated in a top-down manner; national or international groups focus on a local issue. Conversely, local groups frequently present strong campaigns for local animal protection; sometimes this occurs as a grassroots effort while other times, the local campaign is via solicitation of regional initiatives or national organizations (Patterson, Montag, and Williams 2003; Dizard 1999). Third, a range exists regarding captive and wild animals and what are adequate

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<sup>12</sup> For Defenders of Wildlife, see: Species at Risk, on line at: <http://www.defenders.org/species-at-risk>.

living conditions for each. In many cases, this position addresses specific species.

Finally, a divide exists between use and no-use. This divide is perhaps best known as split between animal welfare and animal rights. The discussion of morals and ethics that surround animal rights, from captive to free-roaming, should not automatically favor one set scale, regional or international, nor should the principle position favor animals. It is important to acknowledge the range of moral and ethical positions and scales of interest in order to adequately distinguish the set of principles in question and the scales at which these principles are active. Ultimately, the defining quality in the morals and ethics touted by the animal rights movement is that of empathy for the suffering animal:

“Animals feel and live lives like we do- living animals like you and your family- you want to make life miserable for them.”<sup>13</sup>

The differences occur in how sympathy is defined: in the condition of the situation, with regard to the type of animal in question, and reflective of the regional values. Collectively these factors play a significant role in shaping the ways animal-rights style campaigns are formed.

The rights of animals are evaluated and defined differently by different people. First, what are rights, and second how do people classify rights? In all circumstances, the focus is on the individual animal. The animal rights movement shies away from a utilitarian approach to animals – the greatest good for the greatest number – and instead advocates for rights for each animal. In essence, the movement takes a Hippocratic approach to coexisting with animals: – “do no harm,” – though different animal advocates apply this in varying ways. As noted above, Henry Salt summarizes animal rights as: “compatible with the public welfare, a measure of individuality and freedom

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<sup>13</sup> See: Notes, November 2008, Meeting with Friends of Nairobi National Park. Quote is in reference to losing dispersal land outside the park by a member of the organization.

and space in which to live their own lives” (1900, 210). Salt compares a wild bison to a stall-fed ox assuming that they both deserve the same justice (1900).

Like human rights, the most basic animal rights address access to food, water, and conditions that limit or eliminate suffering. Rights do not vary between captive and wild settings, rather, the context shifts. As mentioned, classic cases include animals used for medical testing or animals use in the entertainment industry. For wild settings, drought or hunting practices threaten animals’ rights. In these cases, each right could be elaborated on, for example: an animal not only has the right to food, but also the right to proper nutrition, and further, the right to “species-appropriate” food. Some advocates go so far as to say animals deserve the right to access species-appropriate food in a natural manner. In the situation of predator-prey relationships, others advocate in favor of the prey species, claiming that the outcome of the chase and potential death is inevitably suffering.

Conditions that limit or eliminate rights can be further expanded. These rights include the right to exercise and natural behavior; the right to roam for migratory species; the right to shelter or seek a hiding place; the right to darkness for nocturnal animals and the right to sunlight for diurnal ones; the right to love and comfort for younger animals; and the right to reproduce for mature adult animals. As expected, these rights vary between species; the needs of an elephant are vastly different from those of a rat. Furthermore, one finds a larger body of advocates for the rights of quality of life for elephant or a dolphin than one might find for a rat or a goldfish (Herzog 2010; see also: Bulbeck 2005). The right to food and water can be measured quantitatively, the right to be free of unnecessary suffering is qualitative; but the rights to love, natural behavior, and the ability to enjoy a natural habitat, are much more challenging to evaluate in a fair way

or to measure their impact. Furthermore, advocates often disagree on which rights trump other rights. For example: in the camp of pet advocates, some advocate against sterilizing cats and dogs as it violates the right to reproduce, while others advocate in favor of this practice as it prevents unwanted pets which are then subject to being killed under animal regulatory laws. The discrepancy in human assessment of adequate rights for animals creates a constellation of principles that not only stretches between the type of rights animals are entitled to but also which animals have more rights than others (see: Torres 2007).

While defining animal-rights may be contradictory in practice, it is critical to understand how the rights of animals emerge in the larger animal rights movement and unfold as impacts in policy and practice, and of course, in the lives of animals. It is believed that animal oppression, whether through confinement, physical discomfort, or other restrictions to natural behavior will change only with “changes in structure and ideology of society” (Torres 2007, 5 on Nilbert 2002). These changes include economic arrangements, social values, political priorities, and individual conduct, all centered on how animals and people coexist (Herzog, Dinoff, and Page 1997). By maintaining the validity of such disparate categories of rights, the movement at times seems to undermine its own efforts. For example, in a multifaceted attack against the practice of hunting, the Humane Society of the United States simultaneously launched one campaign against hunting in captive settings as it eliminates the essence of fair chase, while simultaneously supporting a second campaign against a traditional hunt (wild born, wild killed on open land), on the premise that many animals are only wounded and go on to suffer for days.

Both campaigns are featured on the same page entitled “wildlife abuse,” but their fundamental arguments contradict each other (see: HSUS 2011).

Much of the movement’s inaccessibility can be attributed to the values of individual sentiment and collective culture. A number of scholars investigate questions such as: “why are some animals food?” or “what distinguishes pets from work animals?” or “why do some animals receive protection – wild or domestic – while others go virtually without?” (see: Torres 2007; Beckoff 2007a; 2010; Herzog 2010). Torres refers to this selection of rights and species as “categorical domination” (p. 3), in which there are different types of justification based on human need and the species commodity. Torres chastises scholars, such as Steven Wise, an advocate for legal rights, for ranking species, calling this a hierarchical form of speciesism and equating it to whites ranking other ethnicities (2007; p. 95). Regardless of any effort for equality between species, animals with characteristics such as humanlike intelligence; a recognizable sense of pain or sympathy; those of large size; those with distinguishable family groups or with qualities of might, ferocity, and bravery; and animals considered rare tend to elicit more attention from people than animals that are smaller, less charismatic, and more populous (Thomas 1983; Herzog 2010).<sup>14</sup>

As Herzog points out, it is sometimes impossible to explain why people are drawn to certain animals, be it the color, the size, or a look an animal gives. Many farmers will retain one or two individual animals, immune from slaughter, for no apparent reason other than they liked that one (2010; Bailey 2010). People are drawn to or repulsed by different animals and treat them accordingly for reasons that cannot be explained in words. As this translates into animal rights sentiment, it is equally challenging to

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<sup>14</sup> This list of characteristics is not exhaustive; countless attributes either attract or dissuade advocacy.



articulate motives or define the boundaries. Rather, by identifying a set of beliefs and conditions, the movement can best be conceptualized as it is both advocates a set of entitlements – described as rights – and opposes the violation thereof.

The concept of rights emerged in popular discourse over the past two centuries and took a spotlight in the last one-hundred years, especially amongst philosophers (Torres 2007). In the formal context, the concept of rights for both humans and animals is often divided categorically. Examples include: rights of property, rights of authority, rights of will, and rights of interest, the latter being two theories connected with turn-of-the-century jurist philosopher, Wesley Newcomb Hohfeld. An analysis of the rights of interest and will exemplify the challenges of assessing and insuring rights in their obscure nature. For rights of interest, the overarching premise is that there is an interest in the object, outcome, or performance of a given event, and thus individuals bear a right to that which they will protect. In this theory, the strength is in the ability to form voluntary bonds and networks as well as to protect one's self from harm. Examples of rights of interest include access to resources, emotional well-being, rights to equality, and the right to political influence (on an analysis of rights of interest, see: Wenar 2005a, b; 2008; Spector 2009). For animals, this translates into inherent rights: rights to territory, the right to mate, the right to move freely, and the right to express natural behavior.

In the latter, the rights of will, individuals take value in rights as property and a set of privileges governed by the state. Individuals have, as Wenar quotes Hart, “small-scale sovereignty” over possessions which extends to needs (Wenar 2010 on Hart 1982:183). In the rights of will, one finds the basic institution of the state set to illustrate and govern the rights of the individual. Examples of rights of will include rights to

property, autonomy, protection from physical harm (and emotional under stress some sovereign doctrines), and rights to water, all of which apply to animals.

The rights of will and rights of interest include three additional concepts: liberty, power, and immunity. These are classified in the same arena with rights but are positioned as distinct from rights as conditions that are accrued, though rights can be earned from them. Liberty, defined in terms of what one is liberated from, aligns with Singer's definition of liberationists, as the goal is to be released from conditions of suffering and granted conditions of freedom (1975). Power is defined as one's ability to change the regulations, and immunity as exception from default or disability. The rights of will under sovereignty and autonomy are thereby defined by power. Immunity supersedes existing laws; instead immunity aligns with a specific set of circumstances, for example, a wild, free-roaming study animal that is not killed for livestock depredation, as the law dictates. These three conditions, liberation, power, and immunity, serve to test the role of the governing state, whereas rights are explicitly defined as the governing state's responsibility to the individual (Lazarev 2005).

Modern animal rights discussions include the three components: liberation, power, and immunity. The discourse places an equal amount of focus on the collection of interest rights as well as the rights of will, but in many cases rights of will are the backdrop to rights of interest. These concepts challenge animal use and welfare laws, as such legislation, vary regionally, and are not always enforced. In that context, it is almost redundant to argue for rights of will, as it is now well-accepted that animals do feel pain, they can suffer and laws are firmly in place that make it mandatory that the basic needs of

animals under human care are met.<sup>15</sup> Instead, arguments in favor of rights of will address how violations to the rights of will can be reduced or eliminated (see: Stallwood 2002) and how rights of interest must be given more weight. Animal advocate, Sherry J. Clifford, defines these rights explicitly to mean justice. Clifford goes on to include the element of being “morally correct” and having positive ethics which include the extension of natural rights as an obligation for survival and quality of life (1994). This positivist approach to right versus wrong drives campaigns forward by allowing advocates to position themselves in a higher moral standing than those individuals who use animals, or even those who simply do not advocate for animals, thereby justifying animal rights actions as acceptable, just, and good (see: Herzog, Dinoff, and Page 1997).

A non-human animal’s liberation from any human effect exists as the ultimate right (see: Singer 1975). The ability to respond to basic biological needs (hunger, thirst, reproduction) and basic behavioral needs (rooting and scratching behavior for swine and fowl, grooming behavior for primates), and the ability to experience a “natural setting” (sunshine, soil, grass, trees) are feverishly fought for in campaigns (see: Singer 1975, 2005; Regan 1983; Francione 2004). The extreme views of full liberation from humans now applies to companion animals – including well-kept pets – but the general focus tends to be on captive or ill-treated animals. For the less extreme, these biological and behavioral needs serve to justify the inclusion of wild animals that have limited access to suitable habitat from human activity, and/or may be subject to human-induced killing in the form of hunting or culling. Ranging from luxury pets to free-roaming wild animals, inclusion of rights of interest highlights how significant human perception of rights is.

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<sup>15</sup> Exceptions to this are granted for scientific research studies.

Today, suffering remains the epicenter of a cluster of values throughout the animal rights movement, but negotiating individual interpretations of suffering and how suffering applies to different species is complex. A number of categorical divisions radiate from a nebulous set of dispositions which support the idea that animals should be given rights as individuals and as autonomous beings. Some of the categorical divisions are well integrated while others are incongruous. Perhaps the division easiest to identify in the animal rights movement is based on animal use; whether or not it is acceptable for humans to gain from animals. It actually divides the movement in two ways: 1) along categorical lines; different campaigns target different types of animals and their suffering, (for example: some focus on dogs while other campaigns address wildlife); and 2) by theoretical approach; with suffering as central, a continuum exists that ranges from the reduction of suffering to total elimination of animal use.

The theoretical consideration of suffering as a central component of the cause splits the actors into two major camps, reformists and liberationists, each with their own set of extremes. Peter Singer introduced these terms as a means to employ the division of philosophy on suffering, but dominant academic discourse and popular media, including work by Singer, places them under the umbrella of rights (in academic discourse, see: Singer 1975; Stallwood 2002; Perry and Perry 2008; in popular media, see: Economist 2007; Kristof 2009). In popular discourse, the division is commonly molded by the terms as animal welfare and animal rights, respectively. The opposing camps tend to reject one another in practice and similarly, are viewed as distinct by the popular discourse. Rightists are viewed as being extreme, while welfareists are viewed as being rational, an acceptance that leads to expansion of this sect.

In fact, the welfare camp has its own set of literature and is buttressed by related policy (see: Fraser 1995; 2003; USDA 2008). In contrast to animal rights, animal welfare includes a set of governing principles that can be applied in practice and achieved as a goal. This is best seen in farm operations, laboratories, and the entertainment industry, whereby welfare principles (and laws) are employed as part of the animal care practice. Animal rights, on the other hand, is an ideal that promotes a zero-suffering standard equally for all species and cannot be achieved. With this difference in mind, the literature on applied science draws a sharp distinction between animal welfare and animal rights which creates a discourse around welfare and rights as separate (see: Duncan 1981; Francione, 1995; Fraser 2003). In other instances the treatment of this distinction is merged in a philosophy that places the two camps under the same umbrella of ethics; Singer takes the lead on this with the terms reformist, used to define welfare, and liberationists, used to define rightist, and is explicit in the way the two overlap and separate (see: Singer 1975; Francione 1995).

As Singer's terms imply, reformist philosophy adopts the idea that humans' use of animals should be limited when possible, and when absolutely necessary, it should be reformed in any way that minimizes discomfort to the individual animal. Reformist campaigns include pushing for dramatically improved slaughter conditions and limited number of scientific tests on research and medical animals. When an animal does have to be put to death – other than for food – reformists tend to argue for lethal injection administered by trained professionals (Singer 1975). In fact, in many cases, reformists take the rightist stance that humans now have access to such a diverse diet they no longer require animal protein. Others support sections of the food industry that take animal

welfare into consideration, such as organic or free-range meat, eggs, and dairy (Baggini and Fosl 2007; Herzog 2010).

Conversely, liberationist philosophy, as the term suggests, discourages any use of animals by humans, promoting the idea that animals should be totally liberated from human control. This position argues against any use of animals in medical testing, and any use of animals in the food industry. The extreme positions range from promote vegan diets for carnivorous pets and even discourages pet keeping altogether, even ignoring the facts that many popular pets are biologically meat eaters and some animals simply cannot survive outside of human care.<sup>16</sup> The extreme community within the liberationist camp is termed abolitionist. As the term implies, abolitionists frame animals as slaves in human society (Singer 1975).

As mentioned, within the movement, reformists and liberationists separate themselves from each other and do not want to be confused. So dogmatic are the abolitionists/liberationists in their stance against animal use that many argue reformists are not animal rightists at all, hence the use of the term animal welfare (Guither 1998; Dizard 1999; Wise 2001; Regan 2003). Similarly, many reformists do not directly affiliate themselves with the animal rights movement (Dizard 1999), because they fear association with extreme views and the damage this could do to their own public reputation.

In one sense, the divide between the two groups is grounded in conflicting yet staunch ideological foundations, but in another, liberationist tactics set the animal rights movement apart as extreme. Using shocking and often illegal tactics to garner public attention and execute missions of freeing animals, liberationists and abolitionists isolated

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<sup>16</sup> Vegan is defined as not consuming any animal products, not wearing any animal products, and not participating in any activities that require animal products, for example, reel-film, which uses animal-based gelatin as an emulsion.

themselves from the larger movement. In an effort to retain the middle ground and public respect, while simultaneously maintaining the integrity of animal's rights, more moderate liberationists and many reformists began working under the term animal protection. While true animal-rights groups and animal-rights initiatives still persist without cover, there exists a host of animal-rights style initiatives and animal oriented groups that deliberately disassociate themselves with the far extreme animal-rightists. Moreover, the all-encompassing term, animal protection, changes the mission slightly; instead of fighting for animals' freedom, now the goal is to protect animals, which inherently assumes a sense of urgency and harm. Thus far, animal protection does not carry with it the stigma of extreme animal rights, but for academic purposes, all positions exist within the larger animal rights movement. This research follows the popular and academic discourse on animal issues and ethics to use the term animal rights as an encompassing term and will distinguish as needed (see: Perry and Perry 2008).

Further divisions are based on the human-animal relationship, the type of animal at stake, and the condition that animal is in. Within the movement, these divisions of advocacy stretch from totally caged to completely free-roaming treatment of farm animals; animals in the entertainment industry (zoos, circuses, live stage performance, and the media industry); and the fur-production industry (fur farms, wild-caught trapping and clubbing animals for their hides and fur); the pet industry (eradication of high-production puppy mills, promotion of sterilization and no-kill shelters, [though sterilization violates the biological need to reproduce]). Classifications include companion animals (pets and service animals), farm animals, animals in the medical and science fields, animals in the entertainment industry, animals in the fur industry, animals that are trapped and hunted,

and even animals saved from other animals. The focus is primarily on mammals, followed by birds, larger reptiles, and some fish, amphibians, and occasionally invertebrates. Yet another scale exists based on animals that exhibit similarities to or relationships with humans. Some advocates do include all animals, but that is rare (on classifications see: Herzog, Dinoff, and Page 1997; Herzog 2010). Regardless of the focus, the movement is often viewed as a benchmark in humans' development progress, the more progressive a society, the kinder they will be to animals (Rifkin 2002, p. xi).

None of the categorical divisions occurs in a discrete format. A range of acceptable practices is evident for both reformists and liberationist principles in the various target areas described with categories of use. For example, a reformist may argue against all use of great apes in medical testing, or against captive cetaceans, on the premise that there is no way to eliminate their suffering as long as they are in captivity. They may argue against the fur industry on the premise that fur is a luxury item and the animal's body is wasted as a byproduct, but at the same time, they may justify eating organically raised meat. Liberationists, on the other hand, support the idea of computer models for laboratory and medical testing and vegan diets for omnivorous and carnivorous pets (dogs and cats, respectively). In short, within each of the first categories of campaigns, those that address the type of animal use, one can expect to find both reformist and liberationist viewpoints (see: Singer 1975; Guither 1998; Wise 2001).

Because the question of suffering often involves human action and the human-animal relationship, animal rights campaigns target social groups and social practices, eliciting the aspect of power in the advocacy of rights. Hunting practices exemplify the



use of suffering as a means to regulate access to, and use of, animals as natural resources, pitting those who hunt against the animals that are hunted in ways that are clearly exclusionary. In some cases, hunts are limited to certain areas or technologies that financially restrict access by lower socio-economic groups (see: Steinhart 2006). In these cases, representations of ‘good’ versus ‘bad’ use are applied to wildlife management, and often divide elite from non-elite in values and use (see: Baggini and Fosl 2007).

Prior to the development and distribution of firearms, human hunts involved the use of clubs, snares, pit-traps, spears, and bows and arrows. Though diminished, these forms of hunting persisted in economically weak, farming, and traditional hunting societies and stood as the dominate hunting practice in many rural and nomadic communities through this last century (MacKenzie 1988; Cartmill 1996).<sup>17</sup> Despite their efficiency, these hunting techniques were framed as cruel to the animals and marked the hunter as uncivilized compared to the use of a firearm, which underscores the idea that progress goes hand-in-hand with animal care, though epistemologically, this is challenging to prove. Standards and policies set over the last few hundred years worked to reduce the reliance on traditional hunting techniques and promote hunting with guns. The heavy reliance on animal-rights values to justify minimizing and even outlawing most forms of hunting without a firearm is validated by pitting concepts of careless and unsympathetic actions against regulated, precise, and noble respect for the animal being killed (see: MacKenzie 1988; Cartmill 1996; Steinhart 2006). This example also highlights how the movement is expanding a large focus in the area of free-roaming wild animals.

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<sup>17</sup> Many non-firearm hunting techniques are resurging in popularity as a measure of marksmanship or skill and framed in the global northern hunting practices as more astute. In Tanzania, bow hunting permits are now more costly than those for fire-arms (Sitter 2011).

While the animal rights movement gained momentum in the areas of domestic and captive animals, a change was happening with wild animals as well. Towards the middle of the last century the popularity of the camera began to parallel and even overtake the popularity of the gun. Though it did not eliminate hunting, the camera did expand the activities of nature encounters, replaced the gun in some instances. In doing so, the camera modified the use and organization of game reserves and other areas protected for access to wildlife. The camera was certainly not an invention of the animal rights movement, however this timely transition was endorsed by the movement as the gun's alternative, even, as noted by Haraway, a more feminine form of enjoying wildlife than the domination of the gun (Haraway 1993; Ryan 1996; Bronner 2008).

The camera is portrayed as an object that monitors, as a mother would, the condition of its focus. The gun, rather, is a perpetrator that eliminates its subject. Within this context, there exists the obvious extrapolation of gun to male and camera to female. Hunters, predominantly male, conquer the land in domination of nature as the female backdrop. At its extreme, the analogy is a notion of abuse and molestation of nature even to the extent that rape is implied (see: Bronner 2008, p. 87 on: Adams 2003; Luke 1998; 2007). Portrayed as an extreme violation – sexual conquest without consent – the animal rightists' stand against the hunter's image becomes twofold: first as a barbaric practice of killing and second as the dominator of life. This critique, framing hunting as male versus female, negates the idea that hunting is either survival or a practice of subsistence. In the sense of hunting as domination, it is easy to justify the damning of hunters for the sake of nature's rights, and it underscores the notion of nature as an Eden rather than a network

of natural resources. The camera literally enters the picture as the peaceful alternative; an alternative able to capture relationships and behavior of animals.

A second argument against hunting branches off from the gendered concepts of guns and cameras. In many cases, animal rights activists equate hunting with barbaric and backwards thinking. Advocates claim that humans have passed the stage in evolution where hunting is necessary, and can now rely on other options for survival (see: Singer 1975; Regan 2004; Bronner 2008). They also confer that all wildlife is endangered and any consumptive use threatens the long-term survival of all species.<sup>18</sup> These concepts of advanced civilization counter the idea that traditional or subsistence hunting is acceptable. While in conversation, more liberal individuals will acknowledge hunting as a means of survival when it is deemed necessary (see: Bronner 2008), the practice is generally shunned by large-scale organizations.

The Humane Society of the United States and People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals have entire departments dedicated to ending the practice of hunting, calling it “wildlife abuse,” “slaughter,” and “massacre.” In other arenas, entire organizations are dedicated to the anti-hunting campaign (see: Help Our Planet Earth, and Global Anti-Hunting Campaign). The use of the emotionally-loaded terms conjures an element of suffering and pits human actions against the well-being of wild animals. In this way, the organizations use morals and ethics to underscore the unfair practices of hunting and pit social groups against one another as right versus wrong. Such efforts to stop hunting enlarge the scope of the animal rights movement and expand the application of the

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<sup>18</sup> See: Notes from July 2007: interviews with U.S. advocates; notes from January 2009: focus group with youth groups.

suffering concept to include the killing of animals in addition to the more traditional concern over the mistreatment of animals.

Today, free-roaming wildlife tests the principles of the animal-rights movement while simultaneously challenging classic notions of conservation. Free-roaming, wild animals are not subject to direct human treatment, but are subject to management policies, that frequently include hunting. The emergence of wildlife in the mainstream animal rights movement, and similarly the movement's emergence in wildlife conservation, underscores Guither's analysis of early animal-rights policies, as they could be seen in early hunting policies. Modern wildlife issues within the context of rights place survival of individual animals as paramount among the goals of wildlife protection. Ethics of animals' access to or denial from resources, prioritization of species, and the principles around capture and management killing practices fall under the category of human mistreatment of animals. These principles work against traditional conservation which relies on the ecosystem approach: a focus on interspecies networks and nutrient cycling and management aimed at maintaining balance. In many cases, conservation policies include killing animals through hunting or culling as key tools to ensure the long-term protection of a species (Bolen 2002). "Hunter conservationists" are challenged and even sometimes mocked in the animal rights arena.<sup>19</sup>

While the question of suffering remains the central to the animal-rights agenda, in the context of free-roaming wildlife, many situations entail outright death more so than suffering. Many natural processes such as drought, starvation, predation, disease, and injury serve to challenge animal rights principles by positioning freedom from suffering against

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<sup>19</sup> Comment on the ethics of conservation from a public forum discussion from AAG, 2012.

freedom from captivity. Of course, a sharp focus also exists on humans as the agent of killing, whether it is for hunting or to end the suffering of a sick animal. As a result, many campaigns target anti-hunting initiatives, as discussed. After anti-hunting, campaigns include supporting programs that prevent suffering and maintaining access to elements such as water, even preventing predation which is seen as prioritizing one species over another.

Non-captive wild animals generally have the ability to respond to basic biological and behavioral needs at will: forage for food and water, search for a mate, seek shelter. Therefore, rights of will: “what rights does a captive animal have?” shift to rights of interest: “what are an animal’s rights to access prey, defend territory, and utilize space?” The issue opens up discussion for how each species is prioritized in the composition of a given area’s wildlife population. For instance, in Uganda, an elephant cull was authorized when it was determined that the elephants’ modification of forest habitat posed a direct threat to the other species in the area, specifically, chimpanzees (Bonner 1993, 101). Conversely, tension is now rising in the conservation community of the United States around the bald eagle. A species that “soared off the endangered species list,” (see: CNN 2007; Roach 2007; Science Daily 2007) bald eagles have been eating other endangered avian species, acts that would normally be managed with population control by selective killing or relocation (Laham 2009). Yet, so iconic is the eagle that no management efforts can be initiated. Under ideal conditions, such instances where one species dominates a habitat or threatens another species would be managed by conservation specialists, but strong animal rights campaigns force wildlife managers to consider conditions such as species popularity, public image, and public perception in regards to how the habitat is

maintained. Questions arise such as: from a public perspective, when is killing for management acceptable? Who is given the rights and/or responsibility to carry out lethal procedures? And how do lethal management procedures differ between species?

Over the past two hundred years the anti-hunting campaign held several different positions, from promoting elite status and the use of firearms (Evans 1992) to labeling all practices inhumane (Regan 2004). Regardless of the stance, such campaigns have been influential in measurable ways, most often placing hunting communities oppositional to animal rights communities (see: Dizard 1999). Today, strong anti-hunting campaigns rely on a moral and ethical framework that condemns hunting but has now expanded to sway the public opinion against other forms of killing for lethal management in conservation and policy decisions (see: Peterson 1993; Dizard 1999; Bronner 2008; Perry and Perry 2008). This becomes critical to geography as conservation plans often embody a tension between local values and international priorities for wildlife management based on dominant morals and ethical positions (see: Bonner 1993; Neumann 1997; Schroeder 1999).

In recent decades, animal rights liberationist and reformist principles became increasingly evident in wildlife management. Wildlife conservation is considered a recent target area for the animal rights movement (see: Dizard 1999; Perry and Perry 2008), and this connection is not well understood. Traditionally, the study of animal rights is most often seen in the social sciences and philosophy which contributes to the disconnect. Two key contributions that address animal rights in wildlife management include Anderson (2004) and Sunstein and Naussbaum (2004). These works discuss the animal rights perspective to wildlife management and conservation. The overarching claim is that it is

unjust to judge animals and animal use from the perspective of so-called ecosystem approach. This critique of ecosystem management as it applies to wildlife protection is addressed by Ehernfeld (1991) and most recently by Perry and Perry (2008). They both discuss the challenges of incorporating the animal rights perspective in a management concept that deals with numerous species and numerous environmental conditions. In particular, both mention management practices that attend to ecosystem problems associated with invasive, usually non-native species.<sup>20</sup> Neither the mute swan (*Cygnus olor*) in New England nor grey squirrel (*Sciurus carolinensis*) in Italy are indigenous to these areas, and both threaten to out-compete native species, some of which are considered threatened or endangered. Nonetheless efforts to reduce or eliminate the exotic populations are met with strong resistance from the animal rights community (see: Perry and Perry 2008).

The collection of published examples of animal rights in wildlife management can be strung together to form a composite a picture of the impact the animal rights movement has on wildlife management and conservation. In addition to the ivory ban campaign, key-stone cases include attacks on the harvesting of fur seals (*Callorhinus ursinus*) (Henke 1985), the international ban on whaling (Peterson 1993), and the reintroduction of grey wolves (*Canis lupus*) to the northern U.S. Rockies (Fischer 1998). These cases provide excellent examples and can serve as continual reference points. More recently, literature on animal rights and wildlife management and conservation has surfaced on the editorial pages, such as Perry and Perry's piece discussing the animal rights campaigns in favor of exotic, invasive species, or within the framework of a larger question on morals, as can be

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<sup>20</sup> By definition, an invasive species is one that dominates a habitat with few limiting factors and threatens the long-term survival of other species within that habitat (Smith and Smith 2012).

seen in work by Duffy (2000) and Neumann (2004). The opinion pieces indicate mounting concern for the disconnect between animal rights and conventional conservation; they also point to the fact that there is a notable lack of research that directly focuses on the impact of the animal rights movement on wildlife management and conservation. While the principle studies on animal rights are found in fields such as philosophy, sociology and law, newer research, including work on conservation, can easily be situated in and expanded to other fields, in particular political ecology and animal geography.

Within the scores of principles that surround environmental management, wildlife policies generate heated reactions as these policies, at times, pit people, against animals. It is in this framing of opposition that the animal rights movement emerges. Wildlife policies geared towards conservation either designate separate areas for wildlife and people or direct how people organize their lives with regard to wildlife interaction and project how these conditions unfold in the future (Bryant and Bailey 1997; Kameri-Mbote 2002). Environmental NGOs play a significant role in the creation of these policies. As a result, many wildlife policies are designed for international standards and set to meet priorities of the developed world but often have the biggest impact on local people (Peluso 1995). Bryant and Bailey state that such environmental NGOs “possess a strong ‘moral’ character seemingly absent in most other actors,” and go on to use the African elephant and ivory ban to exemplify this statement (131, 1997). This moral character is seen in animal rights organizations as they lean on the idea that nature is vulnerable and in need of ultimate protection (Bronner 2008). In many ways this embodies the classic preservation-versus-conservation debate, a debate made famous by John Muir and Gifford Pinchot. Nonetheless, political ecologists who focus on east and



southern Africa tend to overlook the role of moral obligation towards animals. The target has been to debunk neocolonial perceptions of black Africans and their role in environmental and wildlife degradation. Thus far, the discipline largely misses the moral character with regard to wild animals (Lynn 1998; Watts 2000).

### **STRATEGIES AND TACTICS**

The animal rights movement is abstract and often obscured in wildlife organizations by the mission of conservation. As a result, a significant focus is placed on the strategies and tactics used and how they align with the animal rights literature and publically acknowledged animal rights groups. The strategies and tactics used within the animal-rights movement range from blatant exposé of undesirable practices to covert efforts to gain control of resources which further obscures the nature of the movement. Shock tactics involving the use of graphic images or literature with gory details paired with images of young animals tucked in close to the mother or guarded by the father were some of the most common and effective approaches. Since then attempts to garner public attention have diversified, perhaps as much as the movement itself. Today graphic images are still prevalent within the animal rights material, but other methods are employed as well. Internet mailings, celebrity endorsements, adopting scientific claims, and calculated information to favor one side or disgrace another, are all examples of the ways in which animal rights campaigns are designed to maintain and grow a larger member base.

Initially, animal rights campaigns were primarily centered on the medical field. Beginning in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the goal of animal rights campaigns was to expose the treatment of animals in scientific research, the types of medical tests that were going on, and the degree to which these individual animals were subjected to experiments that were

considered to be harsh, cruel, repetitive, and even unnecessary. There was little public knowledge about the practice of animal testing so the strategies and tactics of graphic exposure had a significant impact. Groups tended to focus on vivisection, the dissection of a live animal without the use of anesthesia, and relied heavily on pictures of animals in extreme pain and suffering as a means to elicit human emotion and motivation to campaign for change (see: Singer 1975; Wise 2001a, Stallwood 2002).

In the formative years, the animal rights campaigns enjoyed a measurable degree of success. At first exposure to the treatment of animals in medical facilities, the general public expected reform for these practices. Scientists found themselves in a position of having to legally defend their practices. Medical facilities were motivated to streamline their activities and policymakers to craft legislation to govern animal testing activities in a way that would still promote scientific progress while minimizing unnecessary suffering (see: Animal Rights History 2012). The video age escalated the urgency for change, capturing the movement and sound of these animals (Baggini and Fosl 2007; Blankfield 2009). Campaigns gained strength and notoriety in the 1960s, and animal protection legislation was created along with the development of environmental protection policies. The U.S. Animal Welfare Act passed in 1966, and similar legislation was enacted in other nations. But for animal rightists, the campaign was not over. Rather they expanded their reach to address the fur industry, trapping industry, circus industry, farming industry and eventually, the condition and management of free-roaming wildlife (see: Clifford 1994; Blankfield 2009).

One of the most notorious of the extreme strategies and tactics used by animal-rights groups involved the use of red paint or other red substance to vandalize fur coats

and other fur garments as well as to deliberately vandalize stores that sold fur. Sabotage of both merchants and products was concurrent with the development of visual media that exposed conditions under which furbearing animals are kept and how they are killed. Wild-caught, these animals are often snared in a leg-hold trap and kill with a blow to the head. Captive raised, furbearing animals are kept in small cages in close quarters and are either drowned or electrocuted before skinning. Animal-rights advocates managed to expose these events and were so effective that a separate social movement was born; the anti-fur movement. This movement carried with it a social black eye for those in the trade and won power over the fashion industry to the point that large-scale fashion shows and beauty contests actually banned the display of fur. The legitimacy of fake furs was even questionable and contingent upon individual contest rules and regulations (see: Stallwood 2002; Blankfield 2009).

Other well-known efforts include laboratory break-ins and property destruction estimated to cost as much as 100,000 USD per event (see: Clifford 1994; Blankfield 2009). The covert and destructive operations were generally carried out by the less public organizations such as Animal Liberation Front, but collaboration between ALF and other, more public outfits, such as PETA clearly exist. The fugitive-style actions of secret groups allows the public groups to shrug off responsibility for extreme, irrational, and often illegal actions, but the collaborations facilitate a transfer of funds and information between the public programs and secret groups. For example, Blankfield (2009) carefully chronicles a 1984 laboratory break-in executed by ALF. He outlines the collaboration of ALF and PETA in this event by highlighting PETA's technical editing and public

distribution of roughly sixty hours of video taken by ALF.<sup>21</sup> While events happened prior to, and after, the 1984 break in, the subsequent release of the film *Unnecessary Fuss*, marks the start of a well-organized widespread movement in the 1980s. It was after this film and during this time that the animal rights movement came to a head, experiencing “explosive growth and greater acceptance by the American public” for a second time (Blankfield 2009, p. 4).

But concern was rising. These activities generated a whole host of new legal concerns. Media coverage of the fur and medical industries’ vandalism created associations between animal-rights groups and trespassing, vandalizing, sabotage, and theft. Ultimately the more extreme actions on behalf of the more extreme animal-rights groups, not the least of which is Animal Liberation Front, were labeled as terrorist activities (Monaghan 1999; Young 2002). Moderate actions, while still extreme in many cases, were tainted by the legal backlash generated from the destruction of property. It was at this point when the strategies and tactics pushed past the point of public tolerance and the animal-rights movement began to change (Wise 2001). This further divided the liberationists from the reformists and at this point, a new tactic came into play (Singer 1975; Wise 2001).

Blakefield quotes Jasper (1997) in stating that the strategic use of scientific language on the part of the animal rights advocates gave credibility to the animal rights movement insofar as it provided what appeared to be a sound scientific platform from which to make the claims of unnecessary torture (2009). This lingua scientific has stayed strong. Claims of the inclusion or lack of scientific evidence are used with a high degree of frequency, and are done so quite often as a means to overshadow other important facts

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<sup>21</sup> [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nlooe\\_AMP5w](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nlooe_AMP5w)

related to a given situation. For example, Daphne Scheldrick, founder and current head of the David Scheldrick Wildlife Trust, frequently claims that elephants are one of the only species to have a genetic memory (DSWT 2009).<sup>22</sup> The premise is that elephants remember events from one generation to the next. But Daphne's claims are not substantiated by research; nor can she differentiate between an elephant's genetic memory and that of instinct. Other methods that have a scientific connotation include using words such as conservation, to protect endangered species or by conducting a study and independently publishing the faux-scientific or quasi-scientific findings on the organizational homepage, thereby avoiding the peer-review process. Examples of these latter two tactics appear in the Born Free Foundation and the International Fund for Animal Welfare (see: BFF 2007:Report; IFAW 2012: Using science).

So powerful are the strategies and tactics of these animal-rights minded organizations that some science-driven conservation organizations evolved to embody similar ideology and take up similar campaigns. The World Wildlife Foundation and the African Wildlife Foundation represent two examples. Both initially started as conservation organizations, but now offer adopt-an-animal programs and denounce hunting; both competed to champion the elephant ivory case in the 1980s and both continue to support the campaign (see: WWF 2012:Adoptions; On ivory campaigns, see: Bonner 1993; Duffy 2000). Similarly, interviews with animal rights groups reveal that, while the staff and program objectives align with animal rights philosophy, the outward messages of the organizations are protection or conservation. Despite this merger, what seems to remain consistent is the idea of suffering, the focus on the individual animal. And, while some organizations claim to shy away from animal rights shock tactics, many

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<sup>22</sup> See also: Notes from June 2009 with DSWT

strategies and tactics continue to include gory images extreme animal conditions. The difference is that these now address free-roaming wildlife and fall under the auspices of conservation.

### **WILDLIFE CONSERVATION AND ANIMAL RIGHTS**

The range of the animal rights movement stretches from reforming current animal-use practices to staunch no-use principles, respectively divided between welfare and rights in some literatures, and from select captive/domestic species to free-roaming wildlife. In many cases, different positions within the movement conflict with one another, philosophically, to the extent that disagreement exists as to the true nature of animal rights. In many ways, the range of animal rights is not unlike that of wildlife conservation policies and practices that are known to have a range of political, social, and economic origins from local community to international interests.

In many places, including the United States, Great Britain, Kenya, and Tanzania, wildlife laws used in current policy stem from hunting regulations and game-damage control measures developed in the early 1900s and the subsequent environmental policies developed in the 1970s. Many of these policies stem from principles similar to those embodied in the animal rights movement, for example minimal suffering and a right to natural behavior (Lueck 1995; Gibson 1999). As these policies emerged, so, too, did a body of literature which challenged man's role in managing nature. George Perkins Marsh published "Man and Nature in 1864, at the turn of the century, John Muir emerged with ideals of nature as a temple. Avid naturalist, Aldo Leopold, worked to change the face of conservation practices by endorsing the idea of restoration and questioned the strong anti-

predator movement dominant in his time. Of the conservation and environmental publications in the last century, “A Sand County Almanac” was framed as one of the two most important (Duffy 1991). Leopold championed a new land ethic in which he advocated for a species-focused approach and respect of all wildlife (see: Leopold 1949). Many scholars cite Leopold and his work as a key to the emergency of the deep ecology movement, a driver for the shift in wildlife policies and practices away from conservation governing the use of a natural resources (a la Gifford Pinchot) towards a philosophy of preserve and save (a la John Muir; on Leopold, see: Sessions 1987; on deep ecology, see: Guha 1989; on management shift, see: Bonner 1993, 97).

The value shift in wildlife conservation makes wildlife management as much of an emotionally charged issue as a politically charged one. By design, conservation policies regulate access to and control of natural resources. Many studies point out that the conservation priorities in east and southern African states limit local access to, and control of, wildlife while simultaneously promoting international access in the form of tourism, hunting and oversight by western NGO experts. The wildlife management shift towards protection is reflected in greater involvement of donor-funded non-government organizations such as the Sierra Club, the Nature Society, and World Wide Fund for Nature and an increase in nature tourism (see: Bonner 1993; Duffy 2000; West 2006; Schaller 2007). In many ways, these, and similar organizations, harness the animal rights movement to generate public support, particularly for international campaigns

The early works on animal rights – from its mockery to its endorsement – carved out a literary niche for the movement’s foundation. The messages of suffering and

prevention of cruelty are espoused by current models of animal rights in both the popular and academic discourse. While the movement suffered from the backlash of extreme tactics associated with the public outcry over some animal treatment, the fur and medical industry, in particular, strategies and tactics still reflect shock value and power of emotional connections. The following chapter demonstrates how Kenya's wildlife conservation and management developed in conjunction with the animal right movement from initial management strategies imposed by British rule, to the current wildlife value system promoted by the economically elite international stakeholders. Overall, the goal of this chapter has been to provide a comprehensive understanding of the complexities and impacts of animal rights.

Kenya serves as an ideal location to study the animal-rights movement in wildlife conservation and management for several reasons. Kenya's history as a hotspot for international exploration and subsequent settlement laid early the geographical framework needed for the area to support development and the international metropolitan community that would go on to serve the outreach to the Sub-Saharan and East African regions at large. Kenya's ease of access and developed infrastructure made it a top choice for international wildlife tourism and regional headquarters for wildlife organizations. In doing so, Kenya developed a strong relationship with the international community and enjoyed the lead on animal-right-style policies (see: Bonner 1993; Leakey and Morell 2011). While other countries support similar policies, not the least of which is South Africa, none have Kenya's extensive history or international spotlight on animal rights.

Using Kenya as a case study for the impact of animal rights sets a foundation to develop comparative research in other areas. Tanzania and Uganda, for example both



banned hunting in 1977 and signed the CITES treaty to prevent the trade in elephant ivory (as mentioned in Chapter 1), but both countries improved hunting regulations and were successful in reinstating hunting as a management tool and tourist draw. Malawi, South Africa, and Zambia all support well-known wild animal orphanages, but none have programs as old as Kenya's and none have a well-developed program for elephant calves. In the last year, Zambia and Botswana, both banned hunting as a result of pressure from the international animal-rights community, an amendment to the countries' wildlife policies that gives wildlife experts concern for long-term management implications (Becker 2013; Boyes 2013). Studying Kenya's development and wildlife history with regard to the influence of the animal rights movements serves as a springboard for analysis of comparative studies.

The above and ensuing discussion profiles the dynamics between wildlife conservation initiatives – with a heavy emphasis on the moral positioning of the animal rights agenda – and in a manner that translates into the Kenyan conservation narrative. The obscure nature and intangible qualities of the animal rights movement efface boundaries between wildlife conservation grounded in a scientific and ecological agenda and conservation carried out as a means of animal protection. As a value network the broad scope of animal rights holds the movement together from the staunch liberationists to the flexible reformists. The strategies and tactics used reveal more about the movement as it is embedded within organizations than isolate animal rights groups as a whole. It is precisely these strategies and tactics that are used to pinpoint the animal rights movement in Kenya, as will be described in Chapter 3, and follow through the subsequent chapters.

## Chapter 3 – The Animal rights network in Kenya; the analytical terrain

“A family of majestic elephants gather at a waterhole to drink. Long-legged, extraordinary giraffe stretch to reach tree-top acacia leaves. A magnificent pride of lions stalk the sun-bleached savanna. Wonderful, evocative images. Incredible, awe-inspiring creatures. And so many more - zebra, rhino, leopard, hippo, not forgetting birds and the smaller creatures. Kenya’s unique, irreplaceable... natural heritage.

“But right now these animals face an uncertain future. Since the elections early last year, visitor numbers have dwindled.

“The Kenya Wildlife Service reports a staggering 90% drop in tourist revenue. With little income from tourists and parks almost empty of visitors, cut backs are inevitable and poaching is on the increase. Animals are under threat from despicable wire snares. The images are horrific. The suffering immense. Death is slow and agonizing....

“I’m sure you will agree we can’t let this happen. Help us please. Our team at Born Free Kenya is working tirelessly to gather snares, tackle poaching and fight the deadly ‘bushmeat’ trade.

“Kenya’s precious wildlife needs protection now and for the future.

“Kenya - the start of Born Free, at the heart of Born Free. Please help.

“Thank you”

~ **Virginia McKenna**, Founder and Trustee

“Our wildlife faces many challenges. Illegal poaching, the illegal bushmeat trade, competition for land with our growing human population. But with your support we can overcome these challenges.”

~ **Hon Dr Noah Wekesa**, Kenyan Minister for Forests & Wildlife

You can help! Make a donation on line.

The predicted demise of the African elephant has been a leading mantra in the animal rights agenda for over twenty years. “Burn, baby, burn” is the chant that rose up in the smoke at the monumental ivory burning in Nairobi National Park in 1989. This chant rings through the last few decades and was present at a subsequent ivory burning in

July 2011. At face value, Kenya's decision to burn its ivory stocks was an impressive demonstration against the ivory trade and the killing of elephants. A closer analysis suggests it was more of a public relations smoke screen targeted at the animal rights movement channeled through the wildlife donor community.

In 1989, the first event burned roughly three million U.S. dollars worth of ivory from Kenya's stock pile; this burn was meant as an international message that ivory's value was not worth the loss of the country's elephants. Richard Leakey, the influential leader of Kenya's ivory campaign, assured the government that donor funds would be far more lucrative than the ivory itself (Leakey and Morell 2001). Additional motives include placing Kenya at the forefront of the campaign against ivory as a means to solicit international support by way of tourism (Bonner 1993). The second burn in 2011 reinforced these messages, but neither burn was more than an effort to mask the lack of regulatory enforcement, and as some suggest, corruption at the heart of the ivory trade.<sup>23</sup> The media circuses created by millions of dollars of ivory set aflame did far more in terms of increasing donor support through the presence of large-scale wildlife organizations than in the way of decreasing elephant deaths. On the ground the tensions remain the same: illegally harvested ivory still escapes Kenya's borders. Local communities living in rural areas feel betrayed by their government which they see as according animals, especially elephants, more rights than people.<sup>24</sup> Countless top-down efforts to mitigate the tension between Kenya's wildlife and local community members

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<sup>23</sup> Some feel the 2011 burn was undermined by the fact that none of – or at the very least, very little of – the ivory burned was actually from Kenya's national stock pile. Rather, the collection burned was ivory confiscated in Singapore and DNA tests suggested its origins were Malawi and Tanzania. See also: Notes from December 2008 with Wildlife Works

<sup>24</sup> See: Notes from January 2009 with J. Muthai from Born Free, KWS interviews and community conversations

do so with limited success. Meanwhile donor funds from the international community continue to pour in, creating a codependence between donors and organizations, and between organizations and the Kenya Wildlife Service which benefits directly from the funding support and provides access to wildlife projects.

Credit is given to the ivory ban for saving the African elephant specifically in east Africa (Western and Waithaka 2005). In many ways, however, the protection afforded to elephants reinvigorated the idea that western ideals are needed to safeguard Kenya's wildlife from local pressures.

This philosophy extends from the massive pachyderm to the minute dik dik (*Madoqua ssp*). So successful is this idea that it serves as the heartbeat of countless non-government organizations that promote the protection of wildlife. Many, like the David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust, emerged right after the amendment to ban hunting in 1977, while others developed in the years leading up to the 1989 ivory ban. Other organizations already in existence, include the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW) and Humane Society International, gained their formal footing in Kenya during the ivory ban's campaign events, whereas the Born Free Foundation and Youth for Conservation, came about in the wake of the ban when donors were eager to see the policy carried out. Collectively, wildlife-protection organizations identify the retention of the hunting ban and ivory ban policies as central to their goals given their ongoing concern that all of Kenya's animals are in danger of going extinct.

Today, the mantra remains the same. Wildlife-protection campaigns are supported by evidence of illegal hunting activities. Websites and flyers prominently display horrific images of animals stuck in snares or traps or killed with arrows. Nearly every wildlife-

protection organization addresses the illegal hunting trade, commonly called the bushmeat trade or poaching, by employing scouts or facilitating volunteer-based poaching raids. Successful scouting activity is touted on websites as a measure of victory against suffering and as a means to solicit additional funding. From the initial policies set forth by the Royal Society for the Protection of Animals to the current ideals championed by private wildlife organizations, notions of suffering and saving perpetuate the animal rights philosophy and influence the ways in which wildlife conservation and management is practiced in Kenya.

This chapter chronicles the development of the animal rights movement in Kenya and classifies the organizations that are involved. Starting with the introduction and development of colonial policies, this work looks at how wildlife management principles and social status expanded from England to the Kenyan protectorate. Ideas of status, access, and rights serve as the overarching themes while the notions of suffering and respect for the animals work as justification against local use and in favor of elite access. These sentiments started in the early 1900s, gained momentum through the 1930s, 40s and 50s, and developed a stronghold during Kenya's independence in 1963 that has been maintained ever since. The chapter's second section offers an in-depth examination of how the collection of non-governmental organizations influence the wildlife conservation and management within Kenya, particularly from an international level. Using international ties and often working out of international offices, wildlife-protection campaigns generated a multinational force that impacts how decisions are made and the ways in which wildlife is controlled. The last section of the chapter provides a categorical analysis of some of the

major stakeholders in the current campaign. This analysis uses strategies and tactics, the positions and experience of key organizational players, network affiliations, and other indicators to determine how each organization aligns with the animal rights movement, and with other like-minded organizations in Kenya.

### **DEVELOPMENT OF KENYA'S WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT; EMERGENCE OF ANIMAL RIGHTS**

The animal rights movement in Kenya has distinct origins and a clear structure, unlike that of the larger, more universal animal rights movement, though pin-pointing the actors today remains as challenging as it is in the international context. As far back as 1895, the British enacted hunting policies with a narrow and arguably self-serving set of animal rights principles put in place by the Royal Society of the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (1903) to favor European-style hunting with guns, versus African-style hunting, including pit-traps, bow and arrows, and snares, which were then and are today, deemed cruel to the wild animals (Bonner 1993; Ryan 1996; Naughton-Treves 1999; Prendergast and Adams 2003). While it took nearly six decades for policies against local hunting practices to be a central focus of wildlife conservation and management in Kenya, framing the hunting activities as cruel to the animals and labeling the humans as barbaric today serves as a constant reminder of colonial philosophies to local communities (see: Duffy 2010). In addition to formalizing hunting policies, the colonial government also established game reserves modeled after the European-style reserves. Four main regions were set aside in a semi-formal manner: the Maasai Mara Game Reserve, the Southern Reserve, the Northern Reserve, and the Eastern Reserve. The latter three are now home to Amboseli National

Park, Meru National Park and the Tsavo National Parks, respectively, while the Maasai Mara is now formally the Maasai Mara National Reserve (see: Steinhart 1989, 1994).

The duties of monitoring the wildlife ranges, and the wild animals within, them fell to a skeleton-crew game department run by the colonial government. Game management activities defaulted to the regional interests, which often included hunting, while the wildlife agency, still in its infancy, was formally recognized by the early 1930s by the London Convention for the Protection of Fauna and Flora. The department was comprised of explorers, hunters, naturalists, and other European aristocrats. As a result, funding came partly from Europe's high society, especially hunting parties, and partly from the sale of wildlife parts and game-related revenues slated for the European market. Sale of rhinoceros horn and elephant ivory proved particularly lucrative (see: Bonner 1993; Gibson 1999). In addition, the early rangers, Bill Woodley, David Sheldrick, Jack Barrah, and George Adamson, Kenya's first four game wardens, were hunters and safari guides and took posts as game warden partly to protect their own assets. In many cases, these rangers received nominal pay and funded their activities with their own resources (see: Steinhart 1989, 1994). The patchwork funding that came together was buttressed by guided hunting safaris and a growing body of international support for Kenya and its wildlife populations.

Even with international support and a commodity chain, development of the nascent agency only focused on prime areas and prime species as needed. As Mwenja states, unless an issue was of direct interest to the ranger, Kenya's game department took a 'laissez-faire' approach to management. This meant that hunting communities, such as the Akamba, Meru, and Waata, could still effectively hunt, so long as it was away from

established warden posts (2008; see also: Beinart 1990; Steinhart 1989; 1994). In fact, Steinhart points out that hunting communities such as the Waata, were so comfortable in the bush that hunting practices often went undetected by the patrolling European rangers (1989; 1994). In time, this frustrated personnel and strengthened the mission of the game department, which was to assess natural areas and accrue animal census data as a means of establishing guidelines for management. This early information set the foundation for national parks, game reserves and other protected areas. Measures were implemented to ensure that legal hunting fit strict criteria including closed seasons, selection for animal sex and age, and using fire arms exclusively (Akama 1998; see also: Gibson 1999). Akama points out that language in game management policies referred to traditional wildlife management practices as “barbaric” and “unprogressive,” and underscored the need to eliminate these practices (1998:4; see also: Evans 1992). Analysis of this language shows evidence of the emerging animal rights movement as it highlights elements of suffering and cruelty as well as disrespect for the individual animal, all at the fault of traditional hunting practices.

While the early decades of Kenya’s wildlife management exhibited only superficial and written contempt for local practices and animal rights, another international event was brewing: World War II. The Second World War delayed the formalization of the Royal National Parks of Kenya, which was an integral part of the London Convention for the Protection of Fauna and Flora, but also set the stage for Kenya’s game department to emerge, evident even now in the modern Kenya Wildlife Service. Often overlooked in historical accounts, Kenya served as a battle ground and resource for British soldiers. Many war-related activities were based in Kenya. Colonial



parties and native Kenyans alike were recruited to serve, including key-ranger figureheads such as David Sheldrick and Bill Woodley. This shifted the current focus away from wildlife activities to an agenda of national protection still but formed the basis of the game department.

Participation of local Kenyans in the war served as training for up-and-coming game rangers and scouts. When the war ended and military personnel returned to their existing activities, game rangers retained the military approach to patrol the game ranges. Fraught with the evidence of local hunting activities and a growing large-scale underground ivory trade together with an increase in international tourism, rangers such as Woodley and Sheldrick leaned heavily on war-like actions. Rangers employed coercive techniques and interrogation along with military-style patrols and management of game scouts to pursue illegal hunting (Steinhart 1994), but two additional aspects held back the advancement of such efforts. First, the game department was still young and lacked resources and personnel. Second, while wildlife-protection and game patrols appear central to the game department activities in retrospect, in fact many of the department's resources were dedicated to lethal game management and the protection of agriculture and homesteads (Steinhart 1989; Gibson 1999).

In 1945, the National Parks Ordinance was issued to establish and protect formal game reserves, national parks, wildlife sanctuaries, and similar protected areas. This was followed by the formation of Kenya's first national park, Nairobi National Park, in 1946, followed by Amboseli National Park in 1947, and the Maasai Mara Wildlife Sanctuary in 1948. Some of the more prominent parks and reserves, such as Amboseli, were gazetted in areas with a permanent water source or lush vegetation which drew high-concentrations of

wild animals on a seasonal basis. By the nature of the National Parks Ordinance, policies were exclusionary, restricting access privileges to the wealthy resident Europeans and U.S. expatriates and international tourists. Indigenous communities were removed and excluded from access (see: Honey 1999; Mwenja 2008). This measure, combined with development pressures and mounting international interest in Africa and its wildlife, made legal control of hunting practices progressively more stringent and continued to eroded local access to wild game and habitat, both considered critical for a sustainable lifestyle. Interestingly enough, conversations with wildlife experts reveal a dominant belief that 60-80 percent of wildlife exist outside of protected areas, often on community lands, migrating into parks for the water reserves primarily during the driest parts of the year, a set of conditions that remain true today (Kameri-Mbote 2002; Githaiga 2007 pers. com.).

Outside protected areas increased urbanization, a steady rise in human population, excessive hunting, and unmanaged access to protected areas translated into loss of habitat for wildlife and declining wildlife numbers (see: Western 2005). The drop in wildlife and absence of a highly-developed wildlife department created a sense of urgency. A second branch of wildlife management emerged as a non-governmental sector in the form of special interest groups and hunting organizations with a vested interest in conservation and maintaining elite privileges. Despite the direct correlation between colonial use and management of wild animals and declining populations, the international community embraced the idea that the wildlife decline was a result of heathen practices on the part of the African community. It was generally accepted that Africans did not respect wild animals and took them savagely without concern for conservation (Bonner 1993; Duffy 2000; 2010). In many cases, organizations such as the Kenya Society for Wildlife (est.

1956), advocated for the rights of wild animals, thereby convicting the local community of violating the animals' rights (Mwanje 2008; Duffy 2010). The African Wildlife Leadership Foundation (est. 1960) endorsed similar beliefs (on conflicting rights, see: Duffy 2000; 2010; on NGO formation, see: Bonner 1993; see, also: Mwanje 2008). The original arguments stood on the moral grounds that the protection of these areas and the wildlife held immeasurable benefits for society as a whole (Kenya Wildlife Conservation and Management Act of 1974; Anderson and Grove 1987). This research argues that in the face of dominant philosophies on ethical treatment of wild animals and in the absence of a strong government, the special interest groups and indigenous communities became adversaries, essentially pitting the rights of people against the rights of animals, and reinforcing colonial control from a position of presumed moral superiority.

Efforts to reverse this opposition and ease tensions have been made by programs that work to reintroduce communities to local wildlife with varying degrees of success, as will be discussed later in the chapter. However, it was not just the early organizational efforts that created the divide. The organizational goal was to save the animals. The champions of this effort were primarily European and U.S. based stakeholders and wildlife lovers. It formalized the us-versus-them scenario in a long-standing campaign that is often framed as a war for wildlife (see: Duffy 2010, p. 79-111; see also: Neumann 1997; 1998; 2002; cf. Leakey and Morell 2001). When Kenya gained independence from colonial rule in 1963, the campaigns escalated. The country experienced a rise in social conflicts regarding wildlife and a surge in protection campaigns (Steinhart 1994). In Kenya, elite control was redirected into and thus strengthened the NGOs and tourism industry as political engineers. The Kenya Society for Wildlife combined with their Tanzanian

counterpart to form the East African Wild Life Society (EAWLS), the African Wildlife Leadership Foundation reorganized to form the African Wildlife Foundation, while the World Wildlife Foundation established a Kenyan-based office. Maintaining the romanticized image of nature proved more of a challenge without enforcement so the NGO community worked to influence policy by acting as donors to the Kenyan government (see: Anderson and Grove 1987).

In 1973, Kenya's independence gave the new government officials an opportunity to glean profits from the existing setup. Even with Kenyans in control, indigenous people were still deemed barbaric and unethical in their hunting practices and remained unable to hunt. Kenya's Game Department was reconfigured into the Game Counsel, though many of the goals remained the same: addressing problem wildlife, regulating hunting and tourists activities, preventing illegal off-take, and mitigating human-wildlife conflict. The Counsel, fraught with corruption, lacked strict regulatory action or enforcement and with the increase in international tourism government officials took the opportunity to glean profits from the existing set up. As a result, the national parks and Kenya's wildlife continued to decline (Gibson 1999; Bonner 1993; on exclusion policies see also: Steinhart 1994; Akama 1998; Neumann 2004).

Conditions of corruption and exploitation were not unique to Kenya. Similar scenarios occurred in Tanzania and Uganda. By the middle of the 1970s, corruption in east Africa was rife between wildlife officials and the hunting industry. In Kenya, the Game Counsel and Kenya's National Parks Service were combined to form the Wildlife Conservation and Management Division (WCMD). This allowed management officials control across the private land-national park boundaries. But the noticeable exploitation

of wildlife led to a drop in tourism, as did the related deterioration of the nation's infrastructure. As a means to reinvigorate the country's third largest economic industry, Kenya asked for a loan from the World Bank. This did not come without stipulations. A higher order of affiliation was at work: the donor financial institutions and the wildlife-protection organizations collaborated on the facilitation of this loan and insisted that Kenya ban hunting altogether. Tanzania and Uganda shared an analogous state of affairs; in 1977 all three countries issued an amendment to their wildlife conservation and management acts that instituted a ban on all hunting to regain control until regulatory actions and wildlife populations could support off-take (Gibson 1999; Honey 2008).<sup>25</sup> Tanzania reinstated hunting in 1984, while in Uganda, hunting has returned in limited fashion in specific areas, but Kenya's ban has remained in force (Bonner 1993). Many claim that Kenya's ban on hunting is maintained not on the premise that commercial hunting could not be sustained, rather, that the local hunting pressures would exceed that of sustainable consumption, and that prevailing methods for harvest were unethical. Even with the hunting ban in place, the policy proved ineffective. Initially, management policy permitted killing wildlife for control purposes: to control problem animals and reduce populations, but it did not effectively curtail and the underground illegal hunting, and local subsistence hunting (Bonner 1993; Parker 2006; see also Akama 1998). In 2002 nearly all killing for management was outlawed with the exception of animals that caused human deaths and serious livestock loss (Parker 2006; see also Akama 1998).<sup>26</sup> Even so, management implications generally apply to only the most popular species; killing less-

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<sup>25</sup> Bird hunting was still allowed but in limited areas with strict regulation and under neocolonial regulations: with expensive licenses and through the use of firearms which also require cost-prohibitive licenses. See: Notes from May, June, July 2009 with Jack Barrah.

<sup>26</sup> See: Notes from November 2008.

popular animals such as hyenas, snakes, rabbits, birds, small carnivores, and even some primates generally goes unreported, as will be explained in detail.

The elephant population in east Africa continued to be a target for ivory, as did the rhinoceros for its horn, and politicians enjoyed lucrative kickbacks from their sales. Kenya absorbed much of the attention as the hub of the region which kept the country in the spotlight. In the 1980s, elephant killing increased significantly in response to an economic boom in Arab nations from increased petroleum sales (Gibson 1999; see also: Bonner 1993) and the Kenyan elephant population fell by close to 90 percent from 160,000 to 19,000 (Western and Waithaka 2005) while the black rhinoceros populations dropped from 20,000 to 400 (Okita-Ouma, Amin, and Kock 2007; see also: Western 1985). The international community was well aware of the decline in elephants so when Kenya asked the World Bank Organization for assistance a second time, the offer once again came with contingencies (Gibson 1999). The World Bank maintained strong ties with WWF and other wildlife protection organizations. Concern for elephants had been on the rise and reached a tipping point with the international community; the focus on the decline in elephants and rhinos in east Africa expanded to include all of the sub-Saharan elephant range states and drew more international attention in the early 1980s than did east Africa's general wildlife troubles in the 1970s. An initiative was put forth to list the African Elephant as an endangered species – Appendix I – through the Convention on the International Trade in Endangered Species, an initiative that would seriously restrict the trade in elephant ivory (see: Bonner 1993; Duffy 2000).

By this point a host of other wildlife organizations had been established, not only in Kenya, but in the rest of the world. Many organizations adopted a clear animal-rights

agendas and took on causes outside of their geographic region, two aspects central to the ivory ban campaign. Initially solicitation sought to discourage purchasing ivory, but the idea of saving the elephant, and saving individual elephants, quickly built up to a campaign for a full ban. Several key figureheads took the stage in support of the ban on ivory, not the least of which includes Iain Douglas-Hamilton and Richard Leakey.

Iain Douglas-Hamilton was influential in raising awareness regarding the complex behavior and social structure of the African elephant. As a zoologist, he dedicated his doctoral studies to elephant behavior and chronicled the long-term familiar relationships (see: Douglas-Hamilton 1972). From there, Douglas-Hamilton continued to publish findings on elephant social structure and the species' conservation status specifically with regard to the hunting industry (see: 1975; 1985). This research contributed to a change in the way some people think about the elephant, shifting from a wild animal to a family-oriented species. This change is seen in many conservation agendas, placing the species on the periphery of management. Peterson's and Ehrlich's work supports the position on the conservation position, acknowledging that the behavior and size contribute the elephant's place of reverence in the wildlife protection community (1993; 2009). Douglas-Hamilton's work on elephants and enflamed the international debate around the trade in elephant ivory, as he stood as a spokesperson on the expertise of elephant conservation and the need to list them as an Appendix I species through cites (Bonner 1993; Leakey and Morel 2001). Douglas-Hamilton went on to create the organization, Save the Elephants, and was instrumental in the success of elephant-celebrity and scientist Cynthia Moss.

Richard Leakey, son of the famous archeologist, Lewis Leakey, positioned himself as an elephant icon in the media and challenged the east African governments to take a stronger stance in the CITES convention. Leakey's media-savvy tactics drew international attention and called for more pressure from the NGOs involved (see: Bonner 1993; Duffy 2000; Leakey and Morel 2001). The African Wildlife Foundation took the lead in this direction. At the time, AWF – then a U.S.-based organization – introduced the problems associated with ivory via direct mailing. The tactic was effective and funds poured in. The direct mailing company AWF used was the first to advise the organization to move towards a full ban; the company's recommendation was based on funding projections combined with the idea that the targeted donor community wanted to save animals, not regulate policy (Bonner 1993).

In addition to saving animals, competition between organizations fueled the fire. Pressure from animal rights organizations, namely the Humane Society of the United States and Friends of Animals, exerted pressure on WWF to support a full ban. The Animal Welfare Institute, whose founder had never been to sub-Saharan Africa, had strong U.S. political ties. The Animal Welfare Institute enlisted the help of Daphne Sheldrick, now widow to the famous warden, David Sheldrick, to create a video of young elephants abandoned, presumably, by the ivory trade. The animal rights position gained strength through media tactics (on the power of shock media and social movements see: Jasper 1997:106) and backdoor political alliances between the east African governments and the private organizations on which the government had come to rely. In actuality, it was Tanzania that first signed the CITES treaty. This, combined with inter-organization competition led AWF and WWF to push the ban on ivory through for Kenya, which stole



the spotlight for from Tanzania (Bonner 1993). The overwhelming international support also pushed Richard Leakey into the director's seat for the Wildlife Conservation and Management Department (precursor to the Kenya Wildlife Service) and allowed him to rebrand the agency as the protector of elephants (see: Leakey and Morel 2001).

Today, the message of the ivory ban campaign is still prevalent and strong. Many organizations display poster campaigns, old and new, against elephant ivory. One of the key slogans that has persisted through the years, "Only elephants have the right to wear ivory," demonstrates the underlying animal rights message while simultaneously humanizing animals as if they were participants in the fashion industry (see: figure 1)

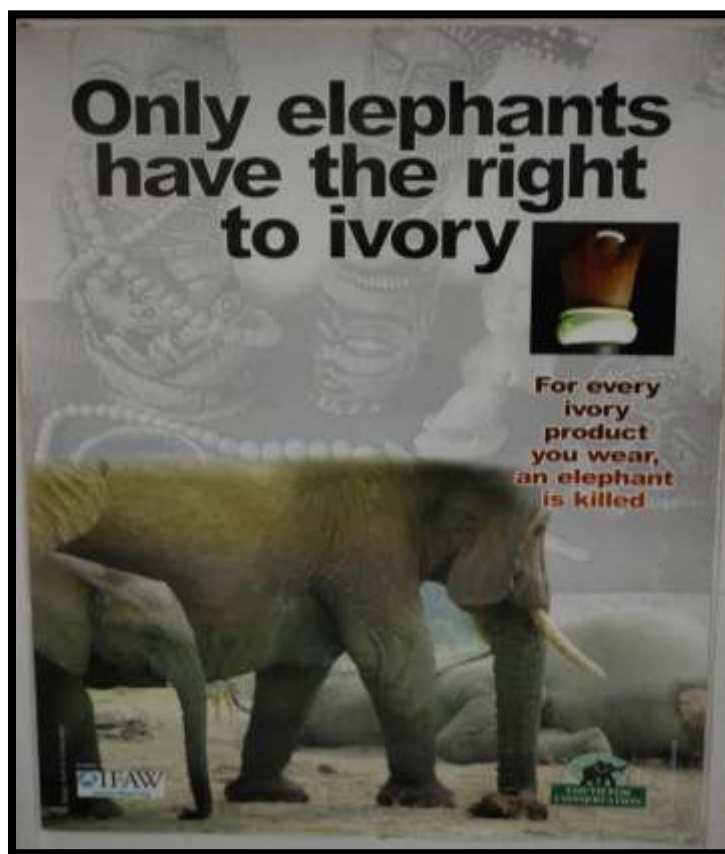


Figure 1: Anti-ivory poster by the International Fund for Animal Welfare. This and similar posters are common in the offices of wildlife-protection organizations (Photo credit: S. Capoccia)

Credit is given to the ivory ban for saving the African elephant specifically in east Africa (Western and Waithaka 2005). In many ways the protection afforded to elephants actually reinvigorated the idea that wildlife conservation policies in east Africa could, as a whole, increasingly favor wild animals over people, and perpetuates a neocolonial relationship between international power and local use of resources. Resulting policies change property rights, disrupt community structure and even promote militaristic action that results in the loss of human lives. Under the auspices of conservation and animal rights, Kenya's new policies continue to be self-serving for international organizations and exert a broader influence on the political ecology of the region.

### **KENYA'S ANIMAL RIGHTS IN POLITICAL ECOLOGY: MANAGEMENT IN PRACTICE**

The above discussion profiles the dynamics between wildlife conservation initiatives – with a heavy emphasis on the moral positioning of the animal rights agenda – and resident east African communities. A second dynamic exists between the animal rights groups and the traditional wildlife conservationists. The focus of animal rights is on the survival and humane treatment of individual animals. Traditional conservation plans target the ecosystem, which sometimes includes hunting, culling, restricting movement of, and relocating animals as key tools in the long-term protection of a species (Smith and Smith 2012).

Distinguished work assessing wildlife conservation strategies and consequences in east and southern Africa include: effects of the ivory ban (Bonner 1993; Duffy 2000); indicators for successful community-based conservation (Child and Bergström 2001); politics of consumptive use (MacKenzie 1988; Gibson 1999); the impacts of conservation

on local communities (Hughes 2006b); the politics of community justice in wildlife conservation areas (Neumann 1997; 2002; 2004; Schroeder 1999; 2007); an analysis of the international community's conservation strategies and the future of conservation (Brockington, Duffy, and Igoe 2008; Brockington 2009; Duffy 2010); and colonial wildlife management practices and local hunting activities (Steinhart 1989; 1994; 2006). Collectively, the literature centers on the way overarching wildlife conservation policy plays out in the lives of indigenous Africans. Historical events and the resulting policies frequently put local communities – pastoralists in particular – at odds with wildlife. Early European hunts, settlement and farming left much of the wildlife and many African peoples on the savannah landscapes with few permanent water sources and under conditions of uncertain rainfall (Campbell 1986; Kjekshus 1996; Neumann 1997; Gibson 1999; Hodgson 2001). Today, pastoralists compete with wild animals for resources that were historically shared over large stretches of land prior to the encroachment of modern development and regulatory conservation laws (Steinhart 1989; 1994; 2006; Schroeder 1999; 2007; Kjekshus 1996; Hodgson 2001; Hughes 2006b). Extreme cases of competition and resulting conflict have an “us”-versus -“them” rhetoric, wildlife and the international community in one camp, the local human residents, poachers and habitat encroachers in the other (see: Leakey and Morell 2001; Wolfensohn, Seligmann, and El-Ashry 2001; Neumann 2004).

In an effort to reconcile conflicts and promote development, NGOs developed countless community-based conservation (CBC) projects, but few achieved the targets they hoped for (reduced human-wildlife conflict, increased wildlife numbers, increased tolerance for wildlife on behalf of the people). Initially, these projects started out as top-

down programs with little transparency between the overarching authorities (government, NGO project leaders). Benefits were limited and packaged in the form of a community asset: a cattle dip, medical clinic, or school, usually strategically placed near the home of community leaders. Individual benefits were scarce as was community involvement in decision making and the question remained whether tolerance for wild animals would increase due to the sharing of seemingly unrelated assets.

A second style of CBC projects followed in conjunction with the existing asset-exchange programs. In the more recent system, some of the management and direct benefits are devolved to the community. Benefits include allowing tourists to travel on the community land in exchange for “bed-night” and conservation fees for each traveler. Some compensation for livestock and crop loss is paid by either the Kenya Wildlife Service, tour operators, or conservation organizations operating on the land. This reduces the communities’ need to file multiple requests for basic social services and creates a better understanding of wildlife management decisions (Child and Bergström 2001). Regardless, even the communities involved in second-generation CBC projects are constrained by the lack of access to natural resources, community political dynamics, and minimal hands-on management.

Overall, the constant adjustments CBC projects have faced over the years left an exhausting trail of trial-and-error pilot programs, termed “revisionism” by Agrawal and Gibson (1999). These projects are accompanied by a number of studies on CBC’s efficacy, or lack thereof, the results of which show that success is challenged by: 1) insufficient revenue reaching community members; 2) faulty decision making processes for wildlife management which leave communities out on the pretense that they lack both

skills to handle and the value to protect wild animals; and 3) over prioritization of the rights of wildlife over people (Gibson and Marks 1995; Ndung'u, Kariuki and Sumba 1996; Hackel 1998; Child and Bergstrom 2001; Goldman 2003; Gadd 2005; Brown and Decker 2005a,b; Balint 2006). Few studies unpack the ethical or moral positioning of individual animals that is fostered by the international NGO community, while elsewhere, sport-hunting-based CBC's kill animals (see: Campbell and Vainio-Mattila 2003). This research posits that the long-standing community-wildlife conflict is rooted in the animal rights ideal insofar as none of the existing projects favor the rights of the people over the rights of the animals.

Initially, the animal rights platform was used to give Europeans the hunting advantage over native Africans based on the notion of cruelty in the pit-traps, snares and spears used in African hunting practices (Naughton-Treves 1999). With the wide-spread shift in wildlife conservation ideals, the animal rights movement reconceptualized the hunter into the image of the poacher, an image of Africans that is as produced in contrast to the image of Edenic nature (Neumann 2004; West, Igoe and Brockington 2006). Because hunting, for the most part, goes against contemporary ideas of animal rights, the idea of the (unregulated) poacher in conservation is still heavily used as a campaign tool by wildlife organizations to solicit donor funds and protect wild animals.

It is also well established that the needs of people in impoverished conditions, such as rural Kenya, fall second to the needs of the wildlife in the creation of parks and the surrounding conservation areas (Bonner 1993; Neumann 2004; Schroeder 1999; 2007; West 2006; West, Igoe, and Brockington 2006; Duffy 2010). Some of the issues that surround both first and second-generation CBC projects involve limiting community

access to natural resources and poor management of wildlife with regard to human-wildlife conflict. Other, more serious conservation effects involve the complete relocation of people and the creation of environmental refugees (Brockington, Igoe and Schmidt-Soltau 2006). In general, the topic of animal rights has stayed on the sideline of most studies with the exception of work by Raymond Bonner (1993) and Rosaleen Duffy (2000). Understanding the position of the animal rights movement in these decisions helps separate the large-scale environmental protection initiatives from those geared towards prioritizing individual animal rights.

These aforementioned key studies address the animal-rights strategy across a constellation of non-government organizations. The specific focus on ivory ban's impacts on policy and communities demonstrate its importance in the animal rights movement in east Africa, specifically Kenya. Bonner and Duffy acknowledge the role of the animal rights movement in championing the cause for an international ban on ivory, which, as Bryant and Bailey point out, was seen in the United States African Elephant Conservation Act of 1988 prior to developing policy in African countries (1997, see also: Princen 1994). By Kenya taking the position of champion of the international ban, the country reinvented itself as the leader in elephant protection and vanguard of wildlife conservation for Sub-Saharan Africa.

The attention that scholars pay to the animal rights position brings scientific credibility to the wide-ranging impact that emotional and moral positions have on social networks, international policies, and of course, the biology and ecology of an area. This study uses the work by Bonner and Duffy, as well as other founding works in political ecology, as a springboard to further investigate the ongoing impacts of the animal rights

movement through the network of NGOs and through observing how wildlife management plays out in the field between different species and in different conditions. By focusing on Kenya as a key player in the animal rights movement, this research contributes to the understanding of how the movement gives shape to East and Sub-Saharan African conservation, biodiversity, and politics.

### **ANALYSIS OF NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS.**

The proliferation and diversification of animal rights-based organizations has led to a myriad of organizational structures. This research identified three categories of organizations and a fourth category, the government. First, and most abundant, is a category of organizations best termed wildlife-protection organizations. Protection organizations employ the animal rights movement in campaigns and projects, but, as will be explained and with the exception of one, do not outwardly espouse animal rights as a mission. Rather they cloak their activities and philosophy as conservation. The second category, science-driven organizations, is heavily grounded in natural resource management from a scientific perspective. The third group of organizations is philosophically aligned with the protectionist category and often networks within it, but has a different origin: that of business. These business-based organizations rise up from private, U.S. -based or European-based safari companies and are organized as foundations affiliated with the business branch of the operation. Finally, while not formally organizations, a fourth category emerged: government agencies. These were included as collaborators to the focus projects. With a sharp focus on the animal rights movement, these categories were identified using a set of variables compiled from the academic discourse on animal rights

combined with an analysis of attributes present in strong animal-rights campaigns, such as PETA and ALF. With the exception of a few organizations, the division between categories was clear cut.

The differences between the categories of organizations demonstrate a clear division in philosophies towards management. Of the thirty-six organizations analyzed only four fell into the category of science-driven, while the remaining were clearly wildlife-protection organizations embodying and channeling the animal rights movement, business-based organizations that also capitalized on animal rights philosophies, and the government agencies. The financial power that comes with the body of donors within the wildlife-protection groups wields strong political influence for the ways in which wildlife conservation and management are carried out.

The organizational analysis is particularly important in developing the argument that the animal rights movement is powerful yet evasive. As mentioned earlier, the reputation of the animal rights movement is often seen as emotional or irrational, so all but a few organizations reject the term animal rights as part of their mission. Even so, as traditional wildlife conservation organizations expanded their scope and worked to gain political influence, some of their project goals were aligned increasingly more with animal rights philosophy than with the classic conservation ethic inclusive of sustainable use. Overall, many wildlife-focused organizations serve as generalists with an umbrella mission but work in specific regions or on specific projects that align more with animal rights philosophy than the larger conservation ideal while other wildlife-focused organizations took a scientific approach that aligns with traditional conservation. In this context it is possible to pinpoint animal rights initiatives within the more generalized representation of



conservation without knowing what to look for. This research parsed out the movement under its guise of conservation by identifying a collection of indicators that maintain consistency throughout the movement at large. As discussed in earlier chapters, these principles apply to domestic and wild animals, captive and free-roaming. But in the context of wild and free-roaming animals the identification of animal rights sentiment is much more challenging than one might find in a captive setting.

First and foremost, campaigns or projects that address wild animals as individual autonomous beings, especially ones not classified as endangered, are marked as having an animal-rights approach. This, combined with a set of ethics focused on animal suffering as central to a project's campaign, set the foundation for assigning organization to the animal rights movement. After completing an analysis of aspects present in clearly identified animal-rights agendas and organizations, a concise set of variables was used to identify the animal rights movement within organizations that classified themselves as wildlife conservation or wildlife protection. For Kenya, animal-rights identification variables include: 1) how wildlife is conceptualized: positions on hunting, the elephant as an endangered species, humanizing and habituating animals, and captive rearing of orphaned animals; 2) strategies and tactics/language used to recruit support and donor funding; 3) experience of the director ; 4) partnering organizations/agencies; and 5) type of conservation activity.

None of the variables is a single indicator of the animal rights movement or lack thereof. Rather, the categorization occurs when a collection of variables is compiled and reveals consistent characteristics in the way organizations operate. Collectively, these variables not only define the organizational categories in philosophies vis-à-vis wildlife,

but also how they are operationalized in practice. These variables demonstrate how the animal rights principles dominant in Euroamerican societies have become globalized and influence the development of Kenya in the global discourse around conservation.

### **1) Hunting, elephants, and orphans**

The most telling variable is the organization's position on hunting. Hunting provides the first major divide between organizations that support and those that do not support the animal rights movement. For Kenya, hunting stood out as a focal point for three of the largest wildlife-related political decisions: the ban on hunting in 1977; the ivory ban in 1989; and the recent initiative to re-write the Wildlife Conservation and Management Act. With the recent proposal to reopen hunting in the policy, the practice of hunting proved decisive in the division between the animal-rights agenda and traditional conservationists. Many organizations cite the prospect of hunting as threatening to bring about the demise of the country's wildlife. Boundaries are blurred between hunting within and outside of national parks and charismatic megaspecies are often framed as the targets of hunts (see: Figure 2).<sup>27</sup> In fact, the proposal to renew hunting clearly addresses specific areas outside national parks and species that could sustain off-take. Furthermore, it does not dictate that hunting will immediately ensue; rather it provides the option should the government want to allow for hunting in the future (KWS 2010). Organizations and individuals in favor of hunting in Kenya were not included in the animal rights group, while those that opposed hunting in Kenya – and overall – were included as animal-rightists.

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<sup>27</sup> See: Notes from November 2008 with Wildlife Works and Youth for Conservation; January 2009 with Born Free Foundation, Wildlife Works, and Youth for Conservation.



Figure 2: Anti-hunting campaign in the Jomo Kenyatta Airport, Nairobi, Kenya. Sponsored by the International Fund for Animal Welfare. Photo credit: S. Capoccia

The business-based organizations aligned with the wildlife-protection groups, but the science-driven organizations addressed wildlife from a population standpoint. In general, these organizations support traditional conservation which includes killing wild animals for management and consumptive purposes as elements of long-term sustainable management. This does not mean hunting species in compromised populations, only those populations that can sustain periodic off-take either ecologically, socially, or politically. Many of the organizations' directors spoke openly about the animal rights movement as the driving force that inhibits Kenya's ability to instate sustainable hunting practices, and they lament the fact that hunting cannot be used as a conservation tool. The trend with organizations that are anti-hunting is that they also tend to subscribe to the belief that the elephant is in danger of going extinct.

Currently classified as endangered in Kenya through the IUCN and CITES, many scientists feel the size of Kenya's national elephant population as well as the density of isolated populations is viable and far exceeds carrying capacity (Birkett 2002). The other side of this debate cites the elephant population as a fraction of what it once was, roughly two-thirds of the population size from the 1940s, and argues that it is at risk of going extinct (Armbruster and Lande 2002). The classification of "endangered" proves fruitful for wildlife organizations, in particular if the species in question is held up as a deity, as is often the case with elephants (see: Peluso 1993; Peterson 1993). The debate around the African elephant is popular in conservation circles in Kenya and facilitates expansive discussions regarding the management ethos, many of which revealed additional variables that further separated the science-driven organization from the wildlife-protection groups (see also: Ehrlich 2009). Other African range states, such as South Africa, work against the animal rights movement to allow for lethal management – both culling and hunting – and spend vast amounts of resources to implement birth control measures (Ehrlich 2009). By contrast, Kenya resists any effort towards elephant population control and does so at the expense of degraded habitat and interspecies competition.<sup>28</sup>

In line with anti-hunting and endangered elephants, wildlife-protection organizations are fully in support of human intervention in the care of orphaned and injured young wild animals, whereas the science-driven organizations take a strong stand against it. Orphaned animals are found by tourists and wildlife scouts and brought into holding facilities such as the Nairobi Animal Orphanage. Elephants and rhinos are brought directly to the David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust and Elephant Orphanage. In both cases, the animals

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<sup>28</sup> See: Notes from March 2009 with EAWLS H. Beltcher; notes from February and March 2009 with D. Rotcher; and notes from May 2009 with KWS M. Okello.

are made available to the viewing public and donations are solicited for their care. The Nairobi Animal Orphanage is said to be the most prolific part of the Kenya Wildlife Service aside from funds generated from organizational partnerships.<sup>29</sup>

David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust and Elephant Orphanage remains the second flagship of wildlife orphan care. Based in Nairobi National Park, a full-fledged facility exists to care for young elephants, usually brought in under the age of two and assumed to be abandoned by one means or another. Some young elephants have fallen into human-dug wells; others were rescued from hyenas; some were just identified as they wandered alone, an activity fairly uncharacteristic of elephants under the age of thirteen. The orphanage is a large part of a parent organization, the David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust, currently run by Daphne Sheldrick, the late David Sheldrick's wife, and is the funding engine for the group.

Twice a day the young elephants – fully habituated to human contact – are paraded to a demonstration area to play in the mud, frolic in the dust, eat a morning and later, an afternoon, snack from a bottle, even kick a ball around, and rub up against members of the audience (see: Figure 3). Visitors pay an average of eight U.S. dollars for an opportunity to see the elephants and their keepers. On any given day the orphanage can support several hundred visitors. After their experience, visitors meander through an exhibit on illegal elephant hunting, complete with graphic images of snared trunks and legs, gaping wounds, and even dead adults bloated from the sun and sometimes ripped open by vultures. Complement to this exhibit is an opportunity to sponsor wildlife scouts or even adopt elephants. The program is wildly successful, and funds are channeled through some of the local organizations that have a greater influence on grassroots projects.

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<sup>29</sup> See: Notes from November 2008 and February 2009 with KWS Munira Bashir.



Figure 3: David Sheldrick Elephant Orphanage in Nairobi, Kenya. Here visitors pay ~8 USD to have up-close exposure to elephant calves (Photo credit: Stella Capoccia).

Even in the absence of live animals, “adoption” of virtual orphans is a popular strategy among the protectionist organizations; it plays upon the sentiment of the donor and need of the animal. Born Free Foundation and IFAW do not have wildlife rehabilitation in their programs, as the Sheldrick Trust does, but they do capitalize on many of the same aspects as the Sheldricks. Both organizations offer animal adoption and identify cases of suffering and abuse. For Kenyan projects specifically, the two organizations offer graphic accounts of the illegal hunting trade and create a sense of urgency for dwindling wildlife. These organizations frequently network together and with other organizations that share similar objectives, both local and international. In some instances their strategies and tactics differ: IFAW enjoys a much larger funding base and can contribute to large-scale projects such as the revitalization of national parks, whereas the Born Free Foundation has closer ties to local organizations and often runs volunteer projects that feed back into the donor

momentum. While neither explicitly claims the animal rights position, both endorse missions that speak indirectly to the agenda.

To improve the welfare of wild and domestic animals throughout the world by reducing commercial exploitation of animals, protecting wildlife habitats, and assisting animals in distress. We seek to motivate the public to prevent cruelty to animals and to promote animal welfare and conservation policies that advance the well-being of both animals and people (IFAW Mission 2010).<sup>30</sup>

The Born Free Foundation is a dynamic international wildlife charity, devoted to compassionate conservation and animal welfare. Born Free takes action worldwide to protect threatened species and stop individual animal suffering. Born Free believes wildlife belongs in the wild and works to phase out zoos. We rescue animals from lives of misery in tiny cages and give them lifetime care (Born Free Foundation Mission 2010).

The use of terms such as *welfare*, *cruelty*, *compassion*, *misery*, and of course, *suffering* align with the dominant principles within the movement and guide the activities of both organizations.

In most cases, science-driven organizations shun the rescue, rehabilitation, captive care, or related wildlife reliance on humans, with the exception of critically endangered animals. Several interviewees state that this blurs the boundary between humans and animals and leads to habituation.<sup>31</sup> Even in the face of scientific resistance and despite the inherent problems with habitation, orphan/adoption practices prove an excellent strategy for fundraising and open the discussion to the language and messages conveyed through the animal rights movement on wildlife conservation.

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<sup>30</sup> The IFAW mission changed in 2013 to read: "Our mission: IFAW rescues and protects animals around the world." On line at: <http://www.ifaw.org/united-states/about-ifaw>

<sup>31</sup> See: Notes from March 2009 with EAWLS H. Beltcher, D. Rotcher,

## **2) Strategies and tactics**

The aforementioned categories lead directly into the types of strategies and tactics used to recruit support and donor funding; this includes the language used. For the strategies and tactics, this research looked at the use of shock and emotive terms and images as indicators of the animal rights movement. As Jasper points out, shock is employed as a means to raise awareness and generate social and political change (1997); for the animal rights movement, nothing could be more accurate. Gory pictures frame the animal condition with urgency and individuality. Classic animal-rights tactics include the exposure of grotesque situations in which animals endure suffering, descriptions of animals that humanize them (beautiful, mothering, frightened), and campaigns that target providing an animal resources that it may be entitled to (see: Figure 4). This approach has an overreliance on the cute and cuddly, appealing to the vulnerability of animals in the face of destruction.



Figure 4: A pile of gazelle heads as an illustration of a shock tactic used by the Born Free Foundation against local hunting (Photo credit: Born Free Foundation 2008b).



Projects within the science-driven organizations are geared towards peer-reviewed science and are similarly often funded by peer-review grants and fellowships such as the National Science Foundation or Fulbright. Project funding support includes research fees and research grants, membership dues, and paid subscriptions to published literature and lectures. Representatives from these organizations are often invited to conferences and influence treaties supported through international government organizations such as CITES and the IUCN, and in some cases produce joint publications on the conservation agenda (see: Anderson and Grove 1987). In Kenya, the African Conservation Center (ACC) and the East African Wildlife Foundation are the two organizations that have the strongest representation amongst the science-driven group, whereas the African Wildlife Foundation, the World Wildlife Fund, and the Wildlife Conservation Society represent science-driven organizations that lean more towards rightists positions in their political stance, project orientation, donor funding, and member base.

The ACC was set up specifically to be a hub for wildlife science. Their mission is to: “Conserve wildlife... through collaborative application of scientific and indigenous knowledge, enhanced livelihoods and development of local institutions” (ACC ‘mission’ 2011). The organization was inspired by the New York Zoological Society and the Wildlife Conservation Society, both U.S. -based wildlife organizations, but the ACC has its headquarters in Kenya and was created by Kenyan nationals. Other ACC affiliations include the Ford Foundation, the United Nations Development Program, and the U.S. Agency for International Development.

### **3) Experience of the Director**

Another variable in the divide between science-driven and protection-driven groups is that of educational attainment of organizational leaders. Not initially obvious in the original content analysis or preliminary website surveys, the education of the directors emerged as a trend during the primary interviews. Part of the initial dialogue included a discussion of the respondent's history. All of the protection-driven groups had directors or leading personnel that held the top position do so through experience or inter-network recommendations. With the exception of IFAW, none of these directors had a formal education in natural resources or related fields. Several of the directors held associate degrees in business or marketing. Most had experiential knowledge they gained from volunteering and working their way up in the organization. While this difference is not clearly pegged to an animal rights philosophy, it does indicate a difference in approach to conservation management between running an organization on resource management versus business or marketing. In many cases, marketing entails "selling" or "adopting" orphaned animals, a strategy heavily employed by most protection-driven organizations.

This difference in professional portfolio serves as an indicator for difference in approaches to conservation. Without a doubt, field experience is invaluable, especially with regard to regional wildlife conservation and management concerns, however, in most cases a lack of university training can limit the scientific approach to wildlife conservation protocol. The David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust, Wildlife Works, and Born Free Foundation are all good examples. Daphne gained her position as the wife to David Sheldrick, one of Kenya's first game wardens, and learned techniques in the field. The current manager of Wildlife Works is a friend-of-a-friend whose job is to live on and manage property purchased by a California-based t-shirt company. It was at this t-shirt company that the

Born Free Foundation's regional manager got her start. She began as the t-shirt company's project manager, having selected this project as part of a certificate program for two-year business degree. A creative and charismatic individual, she took on larger roles within Wildlife Works and was recommended to the position of regional manager for Born Free.

The local protection-based organizations follow suit with experience based professionals leading the organizations. Interviews with local organizations revealed that all of them hired directors or managers who came from the organization's volunteer base. The local groups work only in Kenya, are run and staffed by Kenyans, and have their headquarters and all offices in Kenya. Many of these organizations are supported by the larger groups, Sheldricks, Born Free, and IFAW, so many of the local managers earned education certificates that were funded by or run by the larger organization group. The current director of the African Network for Animal Welfare (ANAW) began his career as a volunteer for Youth for Conservation (YfC) and accepted a voluntary post with the Sheldricks assisting with elephant care. He was then recommended for the position of YfC Director, a position he held for several years before taking his current post at ANAW, in part, on the basis of recommendation from the Daphne Sheldrick. The replacement director of the Youth for Conservation was similarly groomed as a volunteer and took a number of positions in the organization before moving to the director's post in 2002. Daphne paid for his education at the KWS Wildlife Training Institute, an entity run in partnership with IFAW.

IFAW is an outlier in this category, though only marginally. Historically, directors of IFAW's regional office in Kenya have all had at least a four year degree, if not a Masters, in some form of natural resource management or biological sciences. The

interesting twist in the IFAW scenario is that a number of senior scientists and managers in KWS have had their education funded through IFAW and previously worked for both IFAW and KWS. At the top of this list is the current regional director for Kenya-IFAW, Michael Wamithi, who at one time held the position of director for the Kenya Wildlife Service, as well as a number of other positions from warden to head of security. With few exceptions, the directors' histories lead into the strategies and tactics each organization uses to solicit donor funding and international support. The high-rate of inter-organizational hires demonstrates collaborative thinking and a unified political front.

The lack of a university-based natural resource education is not unique to the protection-based organizations. The third group of organizations, business-based, shares this trait as well. In this group of active nongovernment organizations, the center is tourism operation. Well known, primarily expatriate, high-end safari operations (see: Thompson and Homewood 2002) nearly always have a counterpart NGO. These organizations arise in response to a number of factors. First, tour operators possess an intimate knowledge of regional wildlife habitat as a result of their business. Second, such operators have a long-standing relationship with the wildlife in their area; they often recognize, name, and even habituate individual animals to human presence. Third, human-wildlife conflict with local communities in the given area often comes with assault on the safari business; when ignored by KWS, local people take matters into their own hands and chase off or spear the wild animals thought to be raiding crops. In some cases this occurs with animals the tour operators know quite well. In an attempt to resolve the tension between the community and the wildlife – be it livestock raiding by wildlife or illegal hunting by the community – the tour operators establish a nonprofit fund geared towards protecting the wildlife and

sometimes helping the community. The tour operators become the face of wildlife in that area and, through their business, tap directly into a wealthy donor community. Their access to international funding makes them politically powerful as a collective group at the national level and as individual operators at the local level. Despite their influence, this research did not identify one business-based group leader who had a university education related to the natural sciences. In fact, many founders took over the business from their family and did not attend university at all.

The only categorical group that consistently supports a minimum of a four-year degree in natural or related sciences is the science-driven organization group. All the directors of these organizations have a university-based education of at least a bachelor's degree, but many are qualified at the Masters or Ph.D. level and all are in natural resource management or similar fields. The same is true for project managers and other staff that fall under the class occasion of research scientists. Organizational campaigns target population research, critical habitat, or the recruitment of additional land for conservation. The goals and missions of these organizations reflect the traditional view of conservation – inclusive of consumptive use – and are supported and promoted through peer-review scientific research. Because of this, directors have to have experience in the scientific realm, which translates into university-based education in a scientific field.

As mentioned above, educational experience is not a stand-alone indicator that flags the animal rights movement. It is an attribute that demonstrates the priorities of the ways in which an organization operates. When addressing the conservation approach, the prioritized university scientific training by including a degree as part of the qualifications to run the organization. Conversely, organizations that focus on protecting wildlife were

measurable less concerned about the directors' educational attainment and more focused on the individuals' affiliations or record in the animal rights movement through volunteer positions. The consistency in which the education indicator occurs not only shows a divide in conservation philosophy but also in organizational affiliation, as protection-driven organizations often share or recruit staff from one another's personnel or volunteer base.

#### **4) Collaborations with other organizations**

Collaborations occur in two ways: between private organizations and between a private organization and the Kenya Wildlife Service. Within these collaborations, a clear divide exists. None of the organizations classified as science-driven maintained collaborations with wildlife-protection groups; nor did the science-driven groups facilitate any long-term partnerships with KWS other than in the form of permits or for specific research projects, all activities that support clear outlines and term dates.

On the other side, the wildlife-protection groups do network together. Protection groups also formed long-term partnerships with KWS, many of which are multi-year agreements in the form of financial sponsorship to KWS on behalf of the organization in exchange for access to projects inside park boundaries (see: Figure 5). Collaborative ties provided a clear division between the two camps – science and protection – and offer insight into the social network of the organizational alliances.



Figure 5: Demonstrated collaboration between the International Fund for Animal Welfare and the Kenya Wildlife Service (Photo credit: S. Capoccia)

Collaborations between organizations occurred both horizontally – with the big international NGOs –and vertically, between the international NGOs and the local ones. The Born Free Foundation, David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust, and IFAW represent the three most powerful organizations in this group, and perhaps in Kenya. They control national parks, boast multi-year partnerships with the Kenyan government, and appeal to the international public by developing a sense of urgency and responsibility for animals in need. These organizations maintain close ties with local groups, Youth for Conservation, Wildlife Clubs of Kenya, African Network for Animal Welfare, and Wildlife Works, some of the more active and high-profile organizations in the country. Of the strategies and tactics defined, one that is powerful, yet often obscure, is that of collaboration between the two group sizes. These alliances are complex and creative, an exhaustive list of which would be nearly impossible to compile.

The networks formed within the protection-driven groups serve as pools between streams that collect and disseminate the animal rights movement across Kenya. These ties

influence how the organizations are structured and the ways they function. Daphne Sheldrick, for example, acknowledges that she cannot accomplish what she would like to at the local level and is happy to support African Network for Animal Welfare on their grassroots wildlife-protection campaigns. ANAW, which was the most outwardly animal-rights group interviewed, purposely hires personnel with different ethnic backgrounds for grassroots campaigns. Kenya is home to roughly forty-three separate ethnic groups each with its own vernacular language. In many rural areas, neither of Kenya's national languages, Kiswahili or English, is spoken by the young, the old, or the undereducated, especially in the most rural areas of the country, areas which often sustain the highest percent of wildlife. Between 2008 and 2009, ANAW staff members boasted speakers of eight different vernacular languages spoken as a primary language (not including Kiswahili and English) and four others spoken as secondary languages. What ANAW lacks is institutional resources, such as web design technology and a strong member base. Instead, they rely on the David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust for financial support. While Daphne gains rural access, ANAW gains funding and exposure that it would not have on its own.

Business-based organizations are particularly important to the Sheldrick's elephant orphanage and DSWT as a whole. As stated, these organizations developed out of high-end safari operations. It is through exactly these affiliations that many of DSWT's elite patrons as well as young elephants are acquired. Essentially, the safari industry serves as a countrywide network and watchdog for any orphaned elephants. In the event a young elephant is identified, DSWT will air lift it to Daphne's home base in Nairobi, and invite any of the travelers witness to the rescue to come visit the young animals and follow them on the web. The elephants are sometimes named after a tourist or the region in which the



animal was found; initiatives that form direct connections between the animal and the donor.

KWS is not exempt from these protectionist affiliations. In fact, partnerships between KWS and David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust, IFAW, and the Born Free Foundation strengthen the political agenda set forth by the larger organizations. Daphne's Trust strives to ensure a strong affiliation with the Kenya Wildlife Service, a relationship that was a trigger for the formation of both the organization and the KWS (see: chapter four). Today, the Trust focuses on: 1) higher education of several KWS wildlife managers; 2) a mobile veterinary clinic for wildlife around the country; 3) game scout patrols; and 4) the expenses of the elephant orphanage. Similar scenarios exist between other protection-driven organizations and the Kenya Wildlife Service.

Perhaps the two most significant case studies are illustrated in the Meru National Park Revitalization Project and in Tsavo National Parks and surrounding areas. In Meru, IFAW maintains a partnership with KWS that has stretched over a decade now. Initially established to rebuild the park, IFAW is now a primary source of revenue that supports the park's roads, vehicles and some warden housing. For Tsavo, the network between the David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust and the KWS, as well as between them and other supporting protection-driven wildlife organizations, works in the form of a management tool for areas adjacent to the park and for species that are not of high concern for KWS. Both cases are covered in detail in chapter four. Other comparable affiliations occur at various scales throughout Kenya: in Amboseli, the network occurs between the Amboseli Elephant Trust and KWS; in the Maasai Mara it occurs between business-based organizations and the local government.

These partnerships are based on exchange of credit on a project and access to a specific national park or private community land. The stronger the relationship an organization has with KWS, the greater its notoriety and the more involvement and control they have on wildlife conservation and management. These aspects translate into visibility within the donor community and continued support, which, in turn, translates into an asset for KWS. Much like the exchange of personnel, collaborations between the like-minded organizations result in strength in numbers and a unified front, in some ways forming a large metaorganization. At the same time, collaborations between the government and private organizations routinely neglect civil society and the governing body politic. Bringing a moral agenda into this mix reconstructs the agenda for wildlife conservation (on separation and collaborative powers, see: Latour 2004).

### **5) Involvement in conservation**

The final variable addresses the organization's involvement in conservation. In fact, it is the affiliation with KWS that leads directly into the organization's involvement in conservation. Wildlife-protection organizations engage in conservation "on the ground," so to speak, employing wildlife scouts to search for illegal hunting and injured wildlife. These organizations advertise their activities to their donor community, which often sponsors activities or individuals. Several large-scale organizations, such as IFAW, boast multi-year contracts on park projects. As implied, this type of affiliation creates a dependency of KWS on IFAW; park projects often result in higher maintenance costs and a sustained need for donor funds. Other organizations, such as the DSWT, maintain contracts to cover veterinary costs in an area, while the Born Free Foundation supports a partnership with

KWS that allows volunteers to look for illegal hunting along park boundaries.

Organizations that are science-driven serve in an advisory capacity to the KWS, but much of their involvement in conservation comes in the form of academic research. Science-driven organizations host visiting scholars and researchers and promote studies that follow the scientific method instead of emulating management.

A prime example of science-driven research comes out of the African Conservation Center. The ACC facilitates two types of project initiatives: 1) projects affiliated with local institutions and natural resource management; and, 2) independent research projects, usually university based, that are independently funded but hosted through ACC. Such projects focus on community sustainability, maintenance of pastoral livestock systems, biodiversity studies, and support of indigenous lifestyles. The language used to address wild animals includes ecology terms such as: abundance, dispersal, distribution, migration, habitat selection, and predator-prey relationships. Nowhere in the ACC headquarters office, in ACC literature, or on the website is there any mention of animal adoption or animal suffering; nor is there any reference to animals using descriptors other than identifiers, e.g.: ear notch, large male. In rare cases, animals are identified by name or as individuals under a scientific protocol: a radio collaring code or ear-notch code. The ACC does not offer school fees or build community structures; nor does it sponsor community projects or individuals for special training.

Interview data demonstrates tensions that arise between organizational approaches. ACC personnel maintained that the Kenyan government is strongly influenced by and affiliated with the animal rights movement and agenda, and point to the affiliation between former vice president Moody Awori and IFAW as one of the prime reasons that controlled

hunting has not been reinstated in Kenya. Field interviews with local Kenyans who live and work in regions where ACC projects operate appreciate its attention to local knowledge, but express concern that the ACC has limited their donations to the community. For example, ACC shares a project area with the Amboseli Trust for Elephants, which sponsors secondary school children, sometimes through university, and pays a consolation fee to community members for livestock lost to wildlife. Discussions with local community members reveal the fact that such contributions sway the local community in favor of one organization or another. The Amboseli Trust for Elephants is well-respected for its contribution to the community and community members react favorably towards the organization's requests. The ACC has a positive reputation but community members are clear in their concern that the ACC does not provide direct sponsorship of education or other community projects.<sup>32</sup> ACC personnel acknowledge that community-wildlife conflicts must be resolved from the ground up, integrating human needs with wildlife management – something that is poorly supported politically – rather than in response to financial support from an overarching organization.

The East African Wild Life Society shares many similarities with the ACC in personnel, structure, mission, and beliefs. Their project scope places a strong emphasis on biodiversity and ecosystems. EAWLS outwardly supports consumptive use of natural resources for sustainable conservation and community development. Funding comes primarily through a paid membership base and dissemination of scientific literature specifically through a bimonthly publication; SWARA (antelope in Kiswahili). EAWLS takes the position that while the illegal and unregulated harvest of elephants occurs to the detriment of individual elephants, the population of elephants as a whole is not in danger of

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<sup>32</sup> See: Notes from June 2009 with Jackson; ATE C. Moss

going extinct. They also purport that the burning of ivory will not thwart the ivory trade and local hunting could be beneficial if regulated properly. Overall the organization works against focusing on individual animals and has received much recognition for their scientific contribution from research that addresses both local ecology and local communities.

### **Organizational classification**

This research used the aforementioned variables to critically analyze wildlife-focused organization and projects in Kenya together with the impact such organizations and projects have on wildlife conservation and management as a means to determine their qualitative impact. Based on interview data and organizational material – web content, printed literature, activities, funding and affiliations – the analysis formed three major categories for Kenya’s wildlife organizations: science-driven, wildlife-protection, and business-based. As mentioned earlier, the fourth category, government agencies, was important to note as several agencies were critical parts of the affiliation network and conservation projects. Each differs in terms of organizational principles, the type of people they hire staff positions, and their funding and conservation strategies. Of course, the distinction is not always discrete; generalities exist within each category while individual organizations vary. Some organizations clearly stood out as organizations that align with and rely on the animal rights movement: African Network for Animal Welfare and the David Scheldrick Wildlife Trust, for example. Others maintained classifications that range from animal welfare to conservation, but support individual projects that can be classified as animal rights. The International Fund for Animal Welfare and African Wildlife

Foundation are two examples, respectively. Using animal rights principles and common strategies and tactics, a second stage analysis classified projects and initiatives of the select organizations with a specific focus on those identified as animal rights.

This analysis is critical in nature as a means to identify the scope of animal rights movement's influence in Kenya. The understated character of the movement coupled with the focus on free-roaming animals serves to envelope wildlife conservation in the larger animal rights scope. Science-driven organizations are then hard to distinguish unless specifically identified along the same set of variables. For the animal-rights community, expanding an organization's mission and placing conservation-oriented projects at the forefront of the activities masks the specific animal rights work that serves as the powerhouse of an organization's funding stream. The complete analysis helps to define organizational categories and their related institutional operations; separate the wildlife protection groups out from the science-driven organizations; and categorize the operational philosophies of the business-based groups that lean heavily on the larger network of organizations and the international animal rights agenda.

A focus on individual animals, the targeting of suffering, the use of extreme tactics and emotive descriptors, and campaigns that focus on rights – these variables identify the animal rights movement in practice. The affiliations and director experience further underscore the division in philosophy between groups. Though they may outwardly appear to be similar, organizations differ markedly in their approach to conservation and the public awareness generated among their donors. After reviewing material from up-front animal rights groups and projects, such as People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals and Animal

Liberation Front, these indicators serve to bridge the gap between organizations and projects that distance themselves from the animal-right agenda and the movement itself.<sup>33</sup>

All but a few organizations fell squarely on one side or another. The African Wildlife Foundation and the World Wildlife Fund are two organizations that walk the line between protection-minded and science-driven. These organizations serve as a bridge between science-driven and protection-driven organizations. Both organizations are viewed as leaders in wildlife conservation and wildlife-protection arenas, for the most part because both support middle-of-the-line philosophies. Both AWF's director and WWF's regional director are highly educated wildlife professionals with impressive experience. This standard is reflected as well in the professional scientists working for the organizations on regional projects, nearly all of which outwardly focus on biodiversity and wildlife protection. There is some attention paid to community development, but usually done in reference to the organization's missions and projects at large.

Both AWF and WWF lean heavily on the idea of endangered species and the rapid decline of habitat as program priorities. In doing so they create a sense of urgency and underscore the importance of each individual animal rather than taking the population approach. In some cases descriptions for animals and projects capitalize on human emotion in human terms, soliciting empathy: "An elephant's tears" and "Baby gorillas in the mist" are two examples of stories found in the AWF website. Kenya is conspicuously missing from the WWF main page list of countries, but the organization represents both a landholder and influential party in the country.<sup>34</sup> Its strategies and tactics represent the

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<sup>33</sup> For PETA, see: <http://www.peta.org/features/default.aspx?PETATags=Wildlife&PETAOrTags=0>  
For ALF, See: <http://www.animalliberationfront.com/wildlife>

<sup>34</sup> For elephants, see: <http://www.awf.org/blog/an-elephant%E2%80%99s-tears/> hard copy available, for gorillas, see: <http://www.awf.org/blog/baby-gorillas-in-the-mist/> hard copy available

larger organization and international level by supporting adoptions, reporting on priority species, disclosing the horrors of the illegal hunting industry, and calling on citizen action for support. The WWF is not a strong presence in Kenya for its projects on the ground. Rather it piggybacks on to other organizations like the AWF and maintains a presence in the political arena in order to facilitate project funding and international reputation.

The analytical terrain of wildlife conservation groups in Kenya demonstrates strong representation from the animal rights movement. From its inception, Kenya's wildlife management developed around the influence of international priorities. This chapter shows how the movement is manifested in the dominant wildlife conservation groups. These organizations routinely use strategies and tactics including, trends, language, images, objectives, and goals derived from the larger animal rights movement as a whole. These were grouped into logical categories as variables that, when applied through an analysis of wildlife conservation groups, demonstrated the different types of groups and how each group aligned with the animal rights movement.

The analysis used the application of these variables to assess the mission and operations of the dominant conservation groups. In nearly all accounts, the analysis clearly showed the strength of the animal-rights representation. WWF and AWF were effectively the exceptions that proved the rule. The wildlife-protection and business-based groups' use of emotive images, from cute and cuddly to gory and fierce, effaces traditional conservation by individualizing the wild animals subject to management. This tactic is coupled with business and marketing approaches towards soliciting financial support. Widespread condemnation of consumptive use of wildlife perpetuates notions of suffering



and the idea that wild animals are endangered, a notion that is extended to the elephant despite a growing body of studies that indicates the elephant maybe at carrying capacity in most regions of the country. The collaborations that form between organizations show alliances built on similar philosophies. The science-driven organizations denounced the emotional attachment to wild animals on the premise that it jeopardizes productive, sustainable conservation management. Further, as mentioned above, the strategies of the science-driven groups directly address expanding the body of scientific knowledge through grants, fellowships, and peer-reviewed publications all of which address ecosystem function.

Based on these findings, I conclude that the animal rights movement has and continues to play a major role in the institutional structure of the wildlife conservation network. From the adoption of colonial policies to current policy decisions, this work demonstrates the strength of the animal rights movement in wildlife conservation and management throughout the last century and a half. The collection of beliefs that form the animal rights philosophy are clearly seen within the majority of wildlife organizations active in political circles and management activities. Applying these beliefs and the practices within the animal rights movement as variables, this research illuminates the animal rights movement in practice, as an agent of influence on policy, and as a key driver in the funding stream from the international community.

## **Chapter 4 – Impact of Animal rights in conservation management and Kenya**

Kenya has been called the Gateway to Africa, an imaginary space filled with rolling planes, exotic peoples, trumpeting elephants, ferocious lions, and graceful ambling giraffes. It is precisely this image that Kenya works to maintain: an Eden in need of protection, and the prototype for the entire continent. In reality, Kenya is one of dozens of nations competing for the international spotlight and the country's effort to stay at the forefront of the global African ideal takes many forms. Kenya encourages international involvement, in its wildlife sector in particular, and it receives both financial support and international fame as a result. As explained in previous chapters, this international support has a strong showing from the animal rights movement.

This chapter presents site-specific research to demonstrate the geography of the animal rights movement and its impact on wildlife conservation and management in Kenya. It will cover the Tsavo East and West National Parks and surrounding region and Meru National Park as two areas bearing the imprint of animal-rights initiatives. These two areas are followed by examples pertaining to the Amboseli ecosystem and the Maasai Mara region as secondary examples of the animal rights movement and its geographical impact. Integrated in the case studies are data from interviews with NGO personnel, special interest groups, the Kenya Wildlife Service, and independent stakeholders. The conclusion of the chapter includes an overview of the impacts of animal rights on wildlife conservation and management and summarizes the network of actors that drives the funding for related management policies.

The animal rights movement is evident across Kenya. From the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport in Nairobi to the foothills of Mount Kenya, in offices of small-scale

hotels to the country's government offices, and in the pages of Kenya's newspapers, one can find posters, reports, articles, and campaigns that target and address the rights of animals and the violation thereof. Regardless of the location, the movement is connected through a network of wildlife organizations and their advocates. For the most part, the organizations target specific geographic areas and affiliated projects which reflect the personal experiences of their founders. Together, the Tsavo, Meru, Maasai Mara, and Amboseli regions sit at the heart of the geography of animal rights in Kenya; these areas serve as hubs and generators for other effects throughout the country, collectively providing a nation-wide impact but independently hosting three distinct narratives that continue to invigorate the animal rights momentum.

This chapter will canvas the Tsavo area and Meru National Park as two individual case studies framing the conditionality of habituated animals and social construction of an Edenistic nature, respectively. A third case study combines the Maasai Mara National Reserve and the Amboseli area as regions that highlight animal-rights style initiatives towards mitigating issues with human-wildlife conflict and animal protection. Tsavo is placed at the forefront of this chapter, as it is at the forefront of Kenya's wildlife history. It was in the Tsavo region that the Kenya Wildlife Service began; Tsavo also provides a wide array of animal rights initiatives in practice. The work in Tsavo analyzes a historical narrative, reconceptualizing the activities as animal rights principles in light of the dominant philosophies. This case study then goes on to show how humanizing animals – interacting and addressing them as humans: as friends, by name – works to supersede national policy and generates privileged access and international support. Following concepts of humanizing and park protection, this chapter moves on to profile Meru National Park.

originally considered the crown jewel of the country, Meru degenerated over time in the absence of tourist activity and in the face of regional civil conflict. The park's rehabilitation works to capture the historical ideal of the park as a place of peace and human-animal harmony, as well as position the park as a protected zone for the wild animals at risk. In the Amboseli and Maasai Mara regions, by contrast, the focus is strictly on organizational efforts to minimize wildlife loss. The chapter closes with an overview of how these case studies embody the movement, fostering unrealistic expectations of a do-no-harm nature between all species.

### **TSAVO – HISTORY, HABITUATION, AND PRIVILEGE**

The Tsavo region provides a rich canvas of animal-right initiatives, engendered with patriarchal dominance and matriarchal caring that, in many ways, serve as the foundation for Kenya's wildlife conservation and management. The case study for Tsavo highlights the animal rights narrative from a European historical perspective. Starting with initial western management, Tsavo supports a long animal rights history. From the park's inception, the first warden, David Sheldrick, espoused strong animal rights principles. Sheldrick's beliefs towards animal use and treatment set the foundation for the first wildlife management training camp, an initiative that gave rise to Kenya's wildlife management agency. As the development of region progresses as a protected zone for wildlife, this work demonstrate how wildlife habituation and humanizing animals play directly into the animal rights philosophies and goes on to shape the region and its wildlife management policies. In Tsavo, specifically, the condition transitioned from patriarchy to matriarchal dominance. First, David Sheldrick exerting militant force for protection, followed by Daphne, who took

over the condition of care through organizational oversight and maternal acts of raising elephant calves. In this transition, the Sheldricks' Trust served as a lucrative funding source that nurtures elephants and the Tsavo parks alike.

The Tsavo area is roughly half-way between Nairobi, Kenya's capital, and Mombasa, one of east Africa's most active port cities. The hot, arid land is a historical hunting ground for native Kenyans and international hunters alike; it hosts populations that are representative of nearly all of Kenya's wildlife along with a few permanent water sources. Today, the area supports a sizeable flow of tourists and several large-scale wildlife NGOs. It is divided into common property lands, individual homesteads, private wildlife reserves, and two national parks, Tsavo East and Tsavo West, originally one continuous protected area divided in two by one of Kenya's largest highways. Together, the two national parks are commonly referred to as the Tsavos.

These parks lay at the epicenter of the country's current management protocol while the region is an active stage for on-going animal rights projects. In recent decades, the Tsavo region has been featured in the media coverage of the ivory wars, as the hotbed for conflict and promise of resolution. The area's proximity to the port and large population of elephants always made it a favorite destination among elephant aficionados; in some cases, for hunting, in others, for photography. Most recently, in July of 2011 an ivory burn was organized in this area as a means to denounce the ivory trade and highlight the importance of the Tsavo area for elephants (Agutu 2011). While the role the Tsavo area plays in the ivory issue is important, the region's animal rights narrative dates back much further and plays out in the rest of the Kenya's wildlife management protocol.

Waata and Akamba are two of the communities dominant in the Tsavo area; both share a history of skilled hunters with intimate knowledge of the land and both groups aided early international explorers, travelers, and ivory traders in their expeditions. The relationship between the local people and growing expatriate community turned adversarial with the formation of protected areas and militant wildlife management tactics, in particular with the efforts put forth by the team charged with the task of monitoring and managing Tsavo (Steinhart 2006).

Two of the most eminent figureheads in the Tsavo area are the late David Sheldrick, one of Kenya's original game wardens, and his wife, Daphne, founder of the Tsavos, and honorary founder of the David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust. Sheldrick took his post in the Tsavo area as a game warden, safari guide, and hunter in the mid 1930s (DSWT 2011). It is from the Sheldricks' first post in Tsavo that the animal rights movement took hold: from management tactics and organization of personnel, to the formation of a wildlife trust. Furthermore, the maneuverings of the Waata and similar groups were so stealthy it was nearly impossible for the European wardens to track or catch them. With impact low and enforcement challenging, many traditional hunting practices continued until after the Second World War (see: Steinhart 2006).

Sheldrick's involvement in the war brought monumental change to wildlife management (Steinhart 2006). A scholar of the bush, he noticed the increasing off take of elephants and rhinoceros as a result of the area's proximity to the Mombasa sea port. Sheldrick accordingly refocused his efforts on wildlife protection and launched a campaign against any illegal off take. This effort was manifested in two ways. First, he used coercive military tactics with local communities, convincing people that he already knew them as

hunters and any additional information would protect those whom he interrogated. Second, he organized a tactical range in Voi, the major town just west of the Tsavos, to engage in armed training activities<sup>35</sup>. In essence, this was Kenya's first wildlife management training program, and one that set the precedents for wildlife management throughout the country. Today, the Kenya Wildlife Service prides itself on being the foremost paramilitary wildlife organization in the world.<sup>36</sup> Wardens, decked out in army green attire complete with medals and emblems of rank, carry heavy artillery and pursue wildlife management with a defense approach. The militarization of wildlife management gives a violent dimension to conservation with an undertone that animals must be fought for.

In addition to establishing the existing wildlife management protocol, David and Daphne took up wildlife rehabilitation to facilitate care for orphaned and injured animals, in particular, elephants. Initially, the project focused on animals found in the Tsavo region, but their efforts eventually expanded to encompass most of Kenya. Over time, Daphne perfected the technique of raising elephant calves, a skill that virtually no one else has since mastered. In 1976, the Sheldricks secured housing inside the boundaries of Nairobi National Park and relocated their primary operations there while retaining a secondary stage of rehabilitation at their original site inside Tsavo West. When David passed away in 1977, Daphne formalized the David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust in his honor and continues to grow the project. She maintains exclusive access to elephant calves and most rhino calves throughout the country. The high survival rate of these animals granted Daphne a kind of celebrity status. She was decorated by the Queen of England as a Royal Dame in 1989 and later given an honorary doctorate by Glasgow University in 1992, titles that contribute to

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<sup>35</sup> This is now the Manyani Field Training School, run by KWS to train law enforcement personnel.

<sup>36</sup> See: Notes from November 2008 in with KWS personnel in Meru National Park; notes from June 2009 with KWS and DSWT personnel in Tsavo East National Park and KWS personnel in Meru National Park.

massive funding and help her promote intimate experiences with rhino and elephant calves (DSWT 2010). While framed as a “small, flexible organization” (DSTW 2011), the Trust holds a significant amount of political power through its networks and associations within and outside of KWS. This starts by individualizing and providing exposure to elephant calves in Nairobi.

Elephant calves are brought in from throughout Kenya; original territory ranges from the high north in Samburu and Turkana, to the east in Shimba Hills and the Tsavos, to the west in the Maasai Mara. All calves are cared for at one central location in Nairobi where international visitors are able to see and interact with them for roughly eight dollars per person (see: Figure 6). At face value this may not seem to amount to much, but visiting hours occur twice daily and can host over one-hundred and fifty people each time. In addition, sales of merchandise, adopting individual elephants, sponsoring the de-snaring project, and out-right donations all accumulate to support the project. DSWT experiences a windfall of financial success that translates into political leverage in several ways, in particular through the support she provides in Tsavo.



Figure 6: Visitors at the Nairobi branch of the David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust animal orphanage engage with a young male black rhinoceros. Photo by: S. Capoccia.



One of the more visible structures is a large stockade constructed just inside Tsavo East. The stockade is the answer to the question that starts at the Nairobi elephant orphanage: “where do these young elephant calves go when they get older?” Once the calves reach several years in age – roughly four to five, varying between individuals and between sexes – they are moved in small groups to Tsavo where they spend their days walking with their human counterparts through the brush of the park and spend the nights protected in a large stockade enclosure. The goal is to release the calves and have them accepted by a wild herd of elephants. For some calves, this has been the case, but for many, the success is unknown. There are reports of adult elephants returning to the stockade area to show their young or to be released from a snare.<sup>37</sup>

With ten to twenty elephant calves released each year, questions remain regarding the project’s success, local implications, and management used for elephants that have been through Daphne’s program. None of the animals released are marked in any way or tracked to monitor success. The idea is that the habituated elephants should be treated no differently from the totally wild ones.<sup>38</sup> However, lack of marking and tracking success also hides failure and limits responsibility. This makes it particularly challenging when habituated elephants – those which have become comfortable with people and show limited wariness of humans – wind up on farmland or other human-populated areas adjacent to the park.

While neither the wardens and rangers nor Daphne felt that the release of habituated elephants increased the number of problem animals in the area, managing problem areas

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<sup>37</sup> See: Note from June 2009; DSWT personnel in Tsavo East National Park.

<sup>38</sup> See: Notes from April 2009 with DSWT on identification: many elephants are identified by their ear patterns.

does present a unique challenge to animal rights proponents. Data from interviews with regional KWS personnel reveal that negative incidents are frequent, incidents that create animosity between Daphne and KWS. In such cases, habituated elephants are identified by their behavior and sometimes by their former handler. KWS personnel maintain that they will do everything within their power to resolve problem animal issues without lethal means but per protocol, if violations to the community are serious or repetitive, problem animals are killed as part of management action. Daphne says she understands this but, keeps an open line of communication with regional authorities which she claims results in a different outcome for the elephants. Local KWS personnel agree with Daphne, stating that if an animal is believed to be affiliated with the David Scheldrick Wildlife Trust, the organization is contacted before management steps are taken and an elephant is killed, giving some elephants rights over others. The dismissal and diversions of these issues suggests that dependency between DSWT and the KWS is strong enough to influence management protocol, at least at the local level.

For the Tsavo region specifically, DSWT covers a large portion of veterinary care and fuel for some of the vehicles in the Tsavo region, which, one of the senior wardens estimates include fifty land vehicles at 18,000 liters of diesel per month and two air planes.<sup>39</sup> The exact amount of fuel donated is unclear – possibly unrecorded – but it was acknowledged that the function of vehicles in the parks could not happen without the Sheldricks. When asked directly about the amount of support given, the DSWT responded that they help as needed, especially for veterinary care. This expands the number of animals treated and extends the range over which KWS can patrol. In turn, this benefits DSWT, as a large percent of their funding comes from exposure to, and adoption of, injured and

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<sup>39</sup> See: Notes from June 2009 with KWS and DSWT personnel in Tsavo East National Park.

orphaned animals found in the wild. This also creates a dependency between KWS and DSWT: KWS relies heavily on Daphne to fund certain sections of the Tsavo-based operations while Daphne relies on the government to maintain permits for keeping wild animals and operating inside both the Tsavos and Nairobi National Parks.

In addition to the financial provisions for vehicles, the David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust supports select KWS personnel, another way to form allegiance between KWS and DSWT. The senior warden in Tsavo East received a fellowship from DSWT for part of his Bachelors and all of his Master's degree. He speaks fondly of Daphne and the Trust and does his best to meet the goals of both KWS and the Trust.<sup>40</sup> Other wardens and rangers share a similar sentiment as they receive support in a variety of ways; sponsored children and paid medical bills are two examples. The presence of DSWT is felt through the workings of both park headquarters, and efforts are made to maintain open lines of communication. Overall, it is the Sheldricks and their strong desires to protect the wildlife of the Tsavo region that set the foundation for the protected areas

Over the past few decades, DSWT developed robust programs that raise funds to support orphan programs and wildlife campaigns that address the growing tensions between humans and wildlife. Daphne is strongly opposed to legal hunting and supports a de-snaring team that works along the boundary of the Tsavo parks and private community lands. DSWT maintains close ties to Nairobi and the Tsavo National Parks through support of management activities. Interviews with Tsavo East's wardens confirm that it would be challenging to perform work duties without the support of DSWT. Daphne's access to land and wild animals, and the parks' access to funding and institutional support creates a strong

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<sup>40</sup> See: Notes from June 2009 with KWS senior warden for Tsavo East National Park

mutual dependency. This goes on to shape the area in terms of conservation protocol and open the doors for other organizations.

Today, the Tsavo region supports a number of NGOs that collaborate with KWS and with each other. Among the many organizations that have moved into the Tsavo region, the International Fund for Animal Welfare and the Born Free Foundation are two of the most well-known in the area. According to one of the senior wardens, IFAW holds a five-year contract with the Tsavo parks to accomplish tasks based on five themes: 1) research; 2) conservation education; 3) community outreach; 4) human-wildlife conflict resolution; and, 5) park operations and security. Specific project objectives include: bringing water to animals in times of drought; building schools; helping to service vehicles and roads; and constructing and supporting an electric fence in certain areas to prevent human-wildlife conflict. Born Free frequents the area for desnaring projects, the results of which are then posted on the web and used to generate more donor funding. This organization holds close ties with Wildlife Works, a group that maintains a trust for private land adjacent to Tsavo. They also maintain financial ties to IFAW and the Sheldricks, all of which tout their protection of the same area.

Without a doubt, the location of and activity around the Tsavo parks facilitates illegal hunting and the trade in wild meats. For that, KWS relies heavily on the participating NGOs to patrol and manage the problem. The area has thus been branded as a problem zone for illegal hunting and trade in wild meat. The warden stated “[IFAW] asks for priority projects for the park. You know, poaching is going up and CITES allowed sales to China. With the drought, there is more bushmeat and the cost for that is lower than

[goat].” The split between Tsavo East and Tsavo West is a major highway that facilitates imports and exports. “Bushmeat is mounting especially at the stopping and waiting points; here they will buy.”<sup>41</sup> Despite the expressed concern around the illegal trade, KWS exercises their authority most often when the animal in question is one of high priority for the country. Larger animals found snared or killed in snares – zebra and giraffe – often garner the attention of KWS officials. Species of concern – elephant, rhinoceros, and lion – always require an assessment and report. But the smaller animals, particularly those outside the park boundaries, rarely receive attention from KWS. Otherwise, efforts to curb the illegal hunting trade fall almost exclusively to the wildlife advocate groups that work in areas outside the park. These activities are welcomed by KWS as means of extending management to a wider territory.

In 2009, a privately-organized desnaring patrol uncovered thirty gazelle carcasses and one common warthog (*Phacochoerus africanus*), all of which were reported to the KWS authorities. The response by KWS was to do nothing as the animals were not of high concern for the agency, the patrol region fell outside the park jurisdiction, and the efforts to prosecute exceeded the implication of the crime.<sup>42</sup> This reaction reflected the early practices of the British patrols: focus only on the game species in areas of colonial interest. It also aligned with the proposed hunting policy insofar as only strong populations in specific areas would be subject to hunting. The geography of this division shows the animal rights movement in action. First, in areas of high international focus, the animal rights movement is used to justify patrol in militant fashion in defense of the animals through militant patrols. Second, areas of low priority, animal rights principles are relied upon to

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<sup>41</sup> See: Notes from June 2009 with KWS personnel in Tsavo East National Park

<sup>42</sup> See: Notes from January 2009, participant observation.

maintain international concern through the solicitation of NGO activity aimed at protecting animals outside park boundaries through desnaring projects. Both the KWS patrols and NGO activity uncovers animals in distress, followed by veterinary care or animal-rescue operations.

On the other side of the fence, NGOs have much to gain from the interdependency that exists between KWS and NGO activities, not the least of which is the Tsavo area. As mentioned, financial support opens the administrative gates for NGO activity within park and political boundaries. Clearly, access to park interiors and species of high concern, such as elephants or rhinoceros, garner overwhelming international support for NGOs, so too, do activities outside parks and with species of lesser concern. Because minimal government action transpires in response to the illegal harvest of wild animals of lesser concern, (impala (*Aepyceros melampus*), dik dik, common warthog, even plains zebra (*Equus quagga*)) especially outside national parks, private desnaring patrols take up a majority of the management responsibility.

The private desnaring teams remove snares and release live animals caught in them. These activities meet the organizational missions and goals of protecting wild animals from harm and NGOs document desnaring activities to measure and account for their own success, often keeping the snares on display (see: Figure 7). Such activities demonstrate involvement in the conservation agenda. The results justify the need for NGO involvement in wildlife management activities and serve to maintain relationships between KWS and the relevant NGO. Desnaring patrols that turn up snares and animals are featured on websites and NGO reports as effective action in the protection of wild animals. The Born Free Foundation, IFAW, and the David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust all feature their desnaring

patrols, and highlight activities by NGO scouts, volunteers, and staff (see: Figure 8). From a funding perspective, patrols can be sponsored by donors, snares can be purchased, and future activities can be sponsored and credited to the donor. From a conservation perspective, projects, support, and management activities strengthen the need for donor support, which, in turn, serves to strengthen the ties between NGOs and the KWS. The Tsavo area has essentially become a breeding ground to fund wildlife protection NGOs that capitalize on the animal rights movement for access to and control of the region.



Figure 7: Snares on display at the entrance to the Born Free Foundation headquarters in Nairobi.  
Photo by: B Henne.

Tsavo serves as one of the cornerstones of Kenya's wildlife conservation and management. This region supports the European perspective that outside management is needed for guidance and protection. The DSWT habituation of young elephants and rhinos works to justify animal protection efforts by presenting the animals in a human light with human needs and treating them as individuals. Meanwhile the market for desnaring projects

perpetuates the need for organizational activity. Combined, these projects bring support and focus on the Tsavo area and keep it at the forefront of the government's priority wildlife regions.

| Month            | Ranches covered        | De-snaring days | No. of snares | Live | Dead |
|------------------|------------------------|-----------------|---------------|------|------|
| Nov 2006 (trial) | Kwa Kyelu, Amoline     | 3               | 77            | 21   | 56   |
| May-June 2007    | Kwa Kyelu, Amoline     | 6               | 71            | 32   | 39   |
| June-July 2007   | Maanzoni, Malinda      | 6               | 96            | 48   | 48   |
| August 2007      | Mulwa, Masika, Mulinda | 6               | 70            | 49   | 21   |
| Sept 2007        | Portland Ranch         | 6               | 112           | 81   | 31   |
| Oct 2007         | Kapiti Ranch           | 6               | 194           | 114  | 80   |
| January 2008     | Kapiti / Lisa          | 6               | 410           | 274  | 136  |
| March 2008       | Konza / New Astra      | 6               | 136           | 104  | 32   |
|                  | TOTAL:                 | 45              | 1166          | 723  | 443  |

Figure 8: Desnaring activity, showing the ranches that the project has covered to date and the number of snares that have been collected, and animals found: live or dead. (Born Free Foundation 2008a).

### **MERU: RELOCATION AND SPECIES COMPOSITION OF THE UNATTAINABLE EDEN**

In addition to the Tsavo area, Meru National Park serves as a second example of how the animal rights movement plays a strong role in the geography of Kenya. From its very inception, this park embodied animal rights and animal geography in its creation, later in its conflict, and most recently through the relocation of wild animals and reinvention of the park ideal. Meru supports a long-standing history of animal rights initiatives that produce a ripple effect on the attitudes within the park and management actions in and around the region. Conservation decisions in the area make Meru an



excellent case study to further demonstrate the role of animal rights in the conservation and management of Kenya's wildlife. The park's history bridges the role of non-government organizations with the formation of wildlife policy in the country and demonstrates impacts on biodiversity and biodiversity and the social construct of nature.

Meru National Park is situated in Meru District, Eastern Province. It stretches out over a woody-grassland that straddles the equator. Mount Kenya rises to the south of the region and desert stretches out to the north. Meru Park is the best known park in the Meru Conservation Area, a complex of five other protected areas: Kora National Park to the southeast, Bisanadi National Reserve to the northeast, Mwingi National Reserve also to the southeast but parallel to and more westward than Kora; and Rahole National Reserve, an area that abuts Mwingi only and juts out to the east.<sup>43</sup> All but abandoned, it was Meru's animal rights history that gave the area new spotlight for a massive development undertaking.

Gazetted in the late 1960s, the park was formed specifically in response to the need for animal rehabilitation services in the area. At one time, Meru National Park was considered one of, if not the, most popular destinations in Kenya, but between the 1980s and 1990s the park's popularity decreased. Ethnic conflicts in and around, and to the north, of the park, combined with local resistance at the creation of surrounding parks, especially Kora, and an increase in access to parks closer to Nairobi, have over time, reduced the popularity of the park for tourists (see: notes, Peluso 1993; Steinhart, 1989, 1994; Trillo 2009). It is exactly that history and recent revitalization that make Meru an

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<sup>43</sup> Bisandi is formally Kitui National Reserve; Mwingi is not always included in the Meru Conservation Area.

ideal area to demonstrate how the animal rights movement unfolds on the ground and influences wildlife policy.

A decade before the park was officially formed in the late 1950s, a British wildlife ranger, George Adamson, accompanied by his wife, Joy, began working in the arid lands of central Kenya on the northern boundary of Mount Kenya.<sup>44</sup> During one of his patrols, George was charged by a lioness which he then shot, leaving three orphaned cubs. Two of those cubs were exported to a zoo in the Netherlands while the third, considered too weak to travel, stayed with the Adamsons (Adamson 1960). This third cub, named Elsa by the couple, soon gained world recognition and set the stage for a series of events that can still be measured today.

Joy Adamson spent her days raising Elsa. She kept a journal of her experience and her love for the lion which she later published in a landmark novel, *Born Free: a Lioness of Two Worlds* (see: Adamson 1960). This novel detailed her relationship with the female lion and became an international bestseller. Joy is often ranked as one of the leading matriarchal naturalists of her time, classified along with her peers, Jane Goodall and Dian Fossey. Her compassion for and dedication to the lioness were admired by many in the western world, as was her ability to transcend the human-wildlife boundary. While the Adamsons had a number of other wild animals during their stay in the region, none quite match the fame of Elsa. Their story attracted visitors from around the globe, and to this day, many still make the pilgrimage to see Elsa's grave.<sup>45</sup>

At face value, the story of a woman and lioness walking side-by-side in the wilderness tips into the fantastical, a story eager to be told. From an animal-rights

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<sup>44</sup> George Adamson was actually born in Rajasthan India in 1906, while it was still under British Rule (Fatheroflions.org)

<sup>45</sup> For details on the history and Elsa's and Joy's graves, see: [www.fatheroflions.org](http://www.fatheroflions.org).

perspective, the focus on the individual animal, the way in which the lioness was humanized, and the privilege the animal had are all aspects that supersede wildlife management. Readers gave Elsa personhood (see: Wise 2001a) which erased the animal's nature as an obligate predator. The story created a fantasy in which Eden emerged; Joy conceptualized as the lamb, Elsa, the lion. The image of harmony overrode aspects of Elsa's habituation to people, normalizing an otherwise un-normal relationship. There was, and is, an expectation that the right humans could simultaneously exist harmoniously with predators. The story captures both transcendence and power in the animal world and glorifies the human-animal relationship in a way that is almost never possible.

Joy's and Elsa's story brought international fame to Kenya and Meru National Park which led to three important developments. First, the attention brought to this region led the Kenyan government to gazette the area as a national park: Meru National Park, named after one of the prominent ethnic groups of the area, the Meru and the district in which the park is found (KWS 2010).<sup>46</sup> Second, though only marginally related to this region, the Adamson's story with Elsa led to the formation of one the most influential animal rights organizations in the country: the Born Free Foundation. In 1984, the Adamsons' story became a full-length feature film. While the film focused on the Adamsons' experience, the filming included a number of captive wild animals, including an elephant that was later sent to the London Zoological Society and died soon after. Moved by the elephant's death, co-stars, Bill Travers and Virginia McKenna, started a foundation to help wild animals in captivity: the Born Free Foundation. Today, Born Free is an international organization with offices on four continents and in seventeen countries

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<sup>46</sup> See: Notes from December 2008 KWS personnel

including a regional office in Kenya (BFF 2011). While international efforts focus primarily on captive settings, in Kenya, Born Free focuses on exposing and eradicating illegal hunting activities, most often in the southern regions of the country, with a major focus on the Tsavo region.

The third major event involves revitalizing the park. Meru national park's history and location recently led up to a multimillion-dollar redevelopment project, complete with road infrastructure, housing developments, human-assisted wildlife migration and a shift in ideology. It is framed as a revitalization project but with respect to the ecosystem and park history it aligns more with the social construction of nature rather than recreating what once existed. The idea of revitalization addresses Michael Roche's notion of social construction of nature in the concept of authenticity (2002), David Hughes's position on re-writing natural history as a means to justify and protect the new nature (2006a), and David Demeritt's position on the social construction of nature as both an idea and a built product (2002). Collectively, the works demonstrate that the revitalizing efforts more aptly reflect reimagining and reinventing the park as an Eden that is only achievable in future aspects, not the historic condition.

As mentioned earlier, Meru Park and the region declined in popularity, in part as a result of regional conflicts. Meru's geographic region is vulnerable to exploitive illegal hunting pressures and has a history of social conflict between ethnic groups. Between 1970 and late 1980s, during the height of the ivory trade wars informal reports claim the region lost an estimated 3000 elephants (IFAW 2011). In 1988 the area was deemed an "elephant war zone" by *The Washington Post*, and in 1990 the park was considered to be "in tatters" by *The New York Times* (Perlez 1990; Bonner 1993). Raymond Bonner, who

paid a visit to George Adamson, describes this area in his 1993 monograph, *At the Hand of Man: Peril and Hope for Africa's Wildlife*, stating his disgust at the sight of a dead elephant killed for its tusks. But the conflict did not end with wildlife. In 1989, three tourists were killed in Meru National Park and George Adamson, himself, was killed one mile from his camp in Kora, then a National Reserve (Perlez 1990). By the 1990s Meru National Park was ranked the second-to-last visited park, and visitation continued to decline (Akama 1999). It was during this time that Richard Leakey took the Director's seat for the Kenya Wildlife Service, claiming that he would root out any illegal activity within its ranks. One of Leakey's earlier measures is associated with the death of George Adamson: he formalized Kora as a national park as a means to escalate control of this area through the placement of park rangers instead of police or formal military. During the same timeframe, CITES listed the elephant as an Appendix I species which further validated the need for enhanced protection of Meru and surrounding parks. The region was – and still is - considered Kenya's 'front line' for anti-poaching efforts (Thouless et al. 2008, p. 36).

As political unrest percolated through the northern and central regions, parks in the southern region were increasing in popularity and access. Amboseli, Nairobi, and Tsavo East National Parks along with the Maasai Mara Game Reserve were seen as politically and economically safe for tour operators as well as physically safe for tourists (Akama 1999). Joy's and Elsa's fame resonated with that of other high-profile wildlife celebrities including Daphne Sheldrick, who could be seen in Nairobi and Tsavo, and Cynthia Moss, a wildlife icon well-known for her long-term studies of elephant populations in Amboseli. Both women dedicated their lives to protecting the welfare of

wild animals, in particular, elephants; both are in areas considered safe for the public with relatively easy access; and both are alive and willing to meet the public. As tourism fluctuated in Kenya for a variety of reasons – from international markets to the country’s political instability – the tourist market was concentrated in areas that held more stability. For areas like Meru, lack of support meant roads degraded and safety issues were still unpredictable and the park was left out of the tourists’ consideration (on tourism fluctuation, see: Akama 1999, p. 19-23). But the memory of Elsa and the Adamsons was not gone entirely; it lingered in the area and the minds of wildlife advocates and inspired a wave of change.

Motivated by the Adamson’s history and the region’s historical fame, Meru National Park became the subject of a massive redevelopment project that includes road infrastructure, housing developments, human-assisted wildlife migration, habitat enhancement, stronger security, and a shift in ideology. In 2000 the French government’s development agency, Agence Française de Developpment (AFD), selected Meru National Park, a former “crown jewel” safari destination, to launch a pilot conservation and development project. Some funds are solicited through private donors, but it does not make up the majority of the allocated amount. AFD established an office and projects in Kenya in 1997 and had been working primarily on the tourism sector. AFD’s assessment of the country put a high value on Kenya’s landscape and its key role in development. AFD’s goal for the Meru National Park project was to invest in an area that had historical value and could uplift the economy through development.

Secondary to AFD’s goal of development was the focus on a pilot conservation project through collaborative efforts, specifically with the government. Though

secondary, this is the section of the project that receives the most attention. AFD required the Government of Kenya (GOK) to lead their portion of the funded project and was favorable to additional collaborators. The International Fund for Animal Welfare partnered with the Kenya Wildlife Service on a proposal to revitalize Meru National Park which AFD accepted (IFAW 2002).<sup>47</sup> A discrepancy exists over which agency or organization is responsible for the initiation of this project, but the funding channels are fairly clear. AFD reports and interview data indicate the collaboration was directly with the KWS, and IFAW partnered on some aspects of the project through their own funding (see also: AFD 2010).<sup>48</sup>

Regardless of the initiator, IFAW has a long-term history with KWS and was well invested in the outcome of the park. IFAW and KWS collaborate on large-scale funding projects, establish multi-year financial partnerships, and share organization and agency directors, respectively. IFAW's intimate knowledge of KWS helped facilitate permits, limit conflict of ideas, minimize bureaucratic road blocks, and ultimately insured that the project would move forward smoothly. Unlike AFD, IFAW's funding is almost exclusively donor generated, both private and corporate. IFAW's mission includes protecting wildlife, protecting wildlife habitat, and preventing cruelty to animals, so donor funded projects must align with this mission (IFAW Mission 2010). Their focus on wildlife and wild animals, combined with their ties to the Kenya Wildlife Service made IFAW an ideal partner for AFD to complete the Meru revitalization project. AFD received the partnership as a positive asset and the project went forward in several phases.

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<sup>47</sup> See: Notes from June 2009, IFAW.

<sup>48</sup> See: Notes from December 2008 and March 2009 with Meru National Park KWS and March 2009 with AFD Kenya Project Coordinator M. Matilde

The tasks were split between AFD and IFAW. AFD took responsibility for funding the infrastructure development – including roads, airstrips, tourist lodging, and ranger housing – and some security enhancements. A sub-agency of AFD, the French Fund for Environmental Management, collaborated on the environmental portion with IFAW. IFAW also took security enhancement and funding recruitment but managed these two fields as aspects of wildlife conservation. IFAW placed conservation activities under the larger heading of biodiversity rehabilitation, the aspect that receives the most attention. This administrative maneuver demonstrates the need to cloak the animal rights movement in scientific or conservation-related activities.

The biodiversity rehabilitation primarily involved stocking animals in the park, but is more commonly referred to as “restocking” as the term connotes a return, rather than introduction. Animal restocking took place in large and small animal groups over roughly a decade; all told, several thousand animals were moved from areas throughout Kenya to Meru National Park. This (re)stocking happened three different ways. The first and most significant in terms of population numbers was through repatriation; this involves moving animals into an area with the intent of reestablishing an endemic or indigenous population. Repatriation occurs with individuals or groups of animals; the goal of which is to reestablish or strengthen an existing population originally from that given area, though it is unclear whether any of the animals were locally extinct. Second, animals were and continue to be, moved to Meru National Park through the process of relocation, moving individual animals out of areas deemed no longer suitable for that individual or group of individuals. In this case, relocation generally happened as a result of development or human-wildlife conflict. Lions were one of the main species relocated



to Meru National Park from other areas throughout Kenya, such as the Amboseli region after repeated livestock kills. Finally, translocation was used to establish new populations, specifically of the white rhinoceros by moving animals in that had not ever been previously established. This process is not common as it often results in problems with the spread of exotic species (for definitions, see: Dodd and Seigel 1991). In the case of the white rhino, animals were translocated into the area as a means to overcome a conservation threat and restore a dwindling population, regardless of the fact that the species is not native to the area (Western and Vigne 1985).

With different stakeholder groups organizing, executing, and keeping track of the animals' movement, inconsistencies exist regarding animal numbers and movement time periods. Formal reports indicate that restocking efforts started in high numbers during the second half of the project, 2005-2007. IFAW's report indicates that the movement totaled 1321 animals of mixed species in small groups over time to the end of 2007. There is also some detail about a well-known group of elephants and group of problematic lions, (IFAW 2008a). Further investigation on specific events shows that animal movement began as early as 2000 (ENS 2007) as a means to relocate problem animals and protect them from being killed in response to human-wildlife conflict. As of 2009, these placement actions were ongoing and the number of animals thought to be moved is more accurately between four and five thousand (notes on AFD 2009; ITN 2007). While exact numbers vary between different sources, the final species counts include leopards, lions, elephant, white and black rhino, plains and Grevy zebra, impala, bushbuck, Maasai and reticulated giraffe, and other general gazelle. Based on interview data and informal news reports, the most impressive of these animal numbers is the impala at fourteen hundred

and the plains zebra at thirteen hundred over several moves.<sup>49</sup> Other species were moved in groups that range from ten to pairs and singles. And, while no formal reports exist, there is some evidence suggesting that a few restocking efforts failed as a result of poor planning. One event in particular cites heavy rains and poor roads for a relocation failure, forcing the animal-movement team to release animals enroute (see: Bushdrums Blog 2006).

The leading mission of the animal relocation efforts spoke to the goals of revitalization: building the park back to its “original” state. Under the goal of park revitalization, masses of animals were repatriated from high-density populations, usually on private or public land, to the low-density area of Meru National Park. In this context, Meru National Park served as a dispersal zone, especially for impala and plains zebra, protecting them from culling. In other cases, animals were considered to be in conflict zones of one sort or another and movement protected them from illegal hunting. Elephants considered rogue, usually young and in human wildlife conflict areas, were moved out of their original home territory and into the park. As mentioned, lions as well as leopards were relocated as a result of a livestock loss. Gazelle and other ungulates were moved from areas considered to be high-frequency illegal hunting areas. Three critically endangered species in particular were repatriated and translocated to Meru in the hope of expanding populations: the black rhinoceros, and the white rhinoceros and the Grevy’s zebra, respectively. For the animals Meru offered a viable haven and many of the relocation efforts were framed as a rescue as well as a restocking effort. The park now provides a protected habitat for these animals some of which will expand the population and home range.

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<sup>49</sup> IFAW reports 411 and 611 animals (IFAW 2008a)

Restocking was geared towards revitalizing the biodiversity – number of species – and biodensity – number of individuals – of Meru but a closer look reveals that efforts reinvented the area as well. Whether one-by-one or in groups of hundreds, animal numbers increased in Meru National Park, but this did not ensure an identical replica of the area's historic vitality or composition. Because of the region's limited historic access – arid land miles from the Nairobi with few roads – data on ecological surveys are limited.<sup>50</sup> Records barely date back before the 1940s – the Adamsons' time – and even so the specifics are unclear.<sup>51</sup> For some species, it is unknown the extent to which the population ranged in the Meru area. Lion, leopard, elephant, plains zebra, bohor reedbok (*Redunca redunca*), gazelle, and black rhino existed in the area, but the density and range can only be generalized at best. Of all the strategies for replicating the original biodiversity, relocation offers the best approach. Breeding populations could be decisively placed in prime habitat and reproduction guided by environmental drivers, competition, density and dispersal over time.

The high numbers repatriated to the park reflect the organizational need to rapidly change the park and the total available population and density of each species moved. The ease with which each species can be moved varied. The plains zebra is a hearty animal that does not easily go into shock as a flighty gazelle might. Furthermore, should a mortality incident occur, this would be less serious as it is not a species of conservation concern in Kenya and fairly stable throughout east Africa (IUCN 2011; Hack, East and Rubenstein 2002). In terms of actually moving animals, it is far less difficult to trap and transport zebra and gazelle, animals that herd easily, move in groups, and do not often

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<sup>50</sup> See: Notes from December 2008 (17<sup>th</sup>) on how to access historical records regarding species accounts.

<sup>51</sup> See: Notes from December 2008.

require anesthesia. Conversely, hippopotami are a challenge to relocate; these animals are defensive when approached and, when anesthetized, retreat to the water and risk drowning. Hippos' sheer size and the trapping difficulties make it costly and unrealistic to move more than just a few animals at a time (Nielsen 1999). With such technical concerns in mind, it is also important to consider animal movement from an animal rights perspective. The number one principle in wildlife handling is a hands-off approach. It is widely accepted that any manipulation of wild animals carries with it the risk of injury and death. From an animal rights perspective, the social recourse associated with a failed mission can be challenging from a publicity standpoint. While not explicit in the dialogue, it makes sense to move the stronger species in sustainable populations and/or frame the animal movement as a rescue operation to minimize social backlash as a result of an animal injury or death as demonstrated in the efforts to mitigate animal loss post-release inside the park.

Finally, some species were introduced to the area: the Grevy's zebra and the white rhino, in particular. The Grevy's zebra's historical range is not confirmed to include the region of the park while the white rhino was never extant in the area. Meru National Park represents a frontier for these two species and for conservation efforts to use ecological revitalization as an opportunity for species recovery. While IFAW reports that 'Elsa's country... is now a pristine wilderness' (IFAW 2002, annual report), my analysis demonstrates that the region is more of a constructed landscape. Political, economic, logistical, and national ecological factors play a role in determining the biodiversity of Meru National Park and undermine the idea of pristine or untouched wilderness. In this context, the animal rights movement was used to fund and justify the activities in

achieving pristine conditions, but falls short of the goal as the movement's philosophies put life over living freely.

With consideration for the major investment of wildlife restocking, Meru's regional history of illegal hunting had to be considered. Protection for the renovated park and wildlife came in two forms: fencing and patrols. For the free-roaming animals, the park received a fleet of vehicles and an army of wardens. KWS personnel share narratives of intense competition for recruitment and job placement followed by high-risk patrols to protect the park from poachers and encroaching herders. Roughly twenty ranger posts exist throughout the park, each with ten to fifteen men who guard in two-week cycles on foot and by vehicle. Impressive as this is, the lion's share of the protection goes to a select few: the Grevy's zebra and the white and black rhinoceros.

Both species of rhinoceros and the Grevy's zebra are kept in a 44-square kilometer enclosure surrounded by a 12-foot fence of high-voltage electricity. The captive space called The Rhino Sanctuary is large enough for the native vegetation to support the inhabitants, but the agenda for protection supersedes that of natural interaction. By design, the Rhino Sanctuary is not only for protection against illegal hunting, but excludes wild predators as well. As a result, the sanctuary prevents natural predator-prey interactions; limits immigration emigration, and dispersal for smaller wildlife; and completely prevents any migratory movement for larger animals, which, for the Grevy's zebra, even eliminates reproduction. For the rhinoceros, argument for protection aligns with the region's history of illegal killing of the animals for the horns, but the zebra present a challenging case of animal rights: rights of one animal over another and the zebras' rights of life over natural behavior.

Initially, the Grevy's zebra were allowed to roam in the park. Males establish territory and collect females by protecting water sources. Behaviorally, this causes the male Grevy's zebra to stay in one small location and fend off intruders. As a result they were easily picked off by lions; the zebra dropped from twenty animals to only eight female individuals at which point wildlife managers relocated the remaining eight to the sanctuary. Park rangers felt this was a positive decision, specifically because without males the remaining female animals could not defend themselves and were also falling prey; the sanctuary would keep the animals safe. KWS rangers described the sanctuary as "natural," "good," "pristine," and "wild;" they state that it is not always easy to find the animals. Safari blogs discuss the animal encounters as mystical and personal.<sup>52</sup> All rangers interviewed agreed the animals must be kept safe, especially if tourists want to see these animals, and there is no difference between the habitat quality of the enclosed are compared to the rest of the park.

The interview data from the rangers suggests that their sentiments are similar to the sentiment of the conservation community and tourist sector.<sup>53</sup> The idea that the animals inside the sanctuary are free and can be seen as if they are not enclosed is widely accepted, as detailed in game lodge blogs: "The size of the sanctuary ensures a feeling of wilderness, and finding the rhino is still a game drive challenge!" (Elsa's Kopje 2010, 3); and, in reference to two young rhinos: "These new babies are in good health and you might have the chance to spot them and their mothers" (Rhino River Camp 2010). In reference to the sanctuary's authenticity: "many visitors find their experience inside the gates the real wild part of the safari" (BushDrums 2012).

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<sup>52</sup> [www.bushdrums.org](http://www.bushdrums.org); [www.rhinorivercamp.com](http://www.rhinorivercamp.com)

<sup>53</sup> See: Notes from December 2008 with KWS personnel in Meru National Park

The animal rights movement largely ignores natural forces as conditions in search of harmony and protection. Predation, for example, tests the dominant principles of anti-suffering and rights to live. The foremost example is Elsa, the predator whose charismatic personality eschewed the fact that lions are obligate carnivores. By ignoring ecosystem function, the animal rights movement can avoid selecting one species over another based on Darwinian principles of survival. This harmonious ideal has been adopted by the Kenya Wildlife Service in Meru, as well as other protected areas throughout the country.<sup>54</sup> Ideas of free and wild are clearly paramount to the image of Meru National Park, but the reality of that can be theoretically challenged.

The desire to keep nature wild and pristine is a recurrent theme in the discussion around Meru National Park. Paul Udoto, a KWS spokesperson is quoted in *National Geographic*, stating: “We want to make Meru National Park an exclusive park for high-end tourists where they can experience total wilderness,” (Okeowo, 2007). Meru’s wildlife is impressive in terms of the number of animals moved and biodiversity created, but these efforts must be considered in the way the area is portrayed as natural. Terms such as “biological rehabilitation” and park “resurrection” are used to describe the restocking and infrastructure efforts (see: Atkinson 2007; CNN 2007) with a strong religious subtext. The use of these terms conceptualized the area in a biblical tone by saving the park and, like the animal rights movement, painting one group of people as ethically wrong while identifying others as ethically and morally good. Ecologically, the sheer number of animals moved can be conceptualized as a mass migration, in this case a human assisted one. Efforts to reinvigorate the park with wild animals does increase the

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<sup>54</sup> The Meru Rhino Sanctuary is now one of nine government and five private rhino sanctuaries that protect wild animals from the ecosystem function.

biodiversity of fauna and promote tourism, but do not recreate the ecology of the Adamson's time. For example, neither the Grevy's zebra nor the white rhinoceros are recorded as native to the area. Of course both are native to the sub-Saharan grassland biome but not within the Meru ecosystem. This tests the idea of geographic regions including biological community and ecosystem, as larger circles are drawn to justify purity in composition. Furthermore, by promoting the idea of original or static ecosystems, this project ignores long-term ecological trends such as plant succession and climax communities.

The additional support of armed guards and extensive network of park rangers to maintain the boundaries tests the tension between free-roaming and captive wildlife. Interviews with rangers reveal that their most exciting days are when they are successful at catching poachers.<sup>55</sup> This overwhelming sentiment divorces management from conservation insofar as the duty of wildlife professionals has more to do with protection efforts and notions of power than it does biological efforts and aspects of science. Furthermore, the fully-enclosed Rhino Sanctuary, which limits migration and dispersal and relies on human intervention for genetic diversity, is clearly a captive setting regardless of the goal of long-term wildlife conservation. The captivity does not undermine the area's integrity as a national park; rather, it reframes the national park as an area for animal display and animal protection, and of course, one of historical value in the history of Kenya's wildlife conservation and management, complete with Joy, George, and Elsa Adamson.

During a series of field interviews with Meru National Park wardens and rangers, respondents were asked to discuss the most important players of Meru National Park. The

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<sup>55</sup> See: Notes from December 2008, June 2009 with KWS officials from Meru National Park



responses highlighted two key players: IFAW and Joy Adamson, IFAW is addressed in this quote:

“You know IFAW has done so much good here. Everywhere you look there is something, something, something moving about. In fact there are so many jobs now and wildlife is not killed. We must always be respecting them for what they have done for us. They are so good. You see if the vehicle needs petrol [or if there]... is ... [a] problem, we just call them and it is fixed.<sup>56</sup> If a wild animal is injured they will help us. They will come for baby elephants if the mother has gone. They will even come for lion cubs if they have been left” (KWS ranger in Meru National Park).

Mention of ADF was scarce and only among the top wardens. This is not surprising; when the project came to an end, ADF moved on to subsequent commitments. IFAW stayed on and continues to help facilitate park operations. As was suggested in the ranger’s quote regarding vehicles and animal care, many improvements made to the park now exceed the KWS allocated budget, and therefore continue to rely on external assistance to function. A dependency now exists between the expanded park assets and the ability for the park to function financially. Interestingly enough, ADF is not always mentioned in even formal KWS and IFAW reports.

In addition to IFAW, the Adamson story still holds a critical place in this area. When rangers spoke of Joy, they said she was a very big draw and tourists want to see where she was, to “know where she walked and lived.” Her story is alive and well and part of the park culture. In many ways she has been canonized in the name of animal protection. The tourist industry capitalizes on the imagination of tourists who come to Meru to follow up on the literary icons. Joy, George, Elsa, and many of the other animals Joy and George raised are part of the parks’ narrative and the regional vocabulary. Many long-term Kenyan residents in the safari industry have first-hand accounts of interactions

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<sup>56</sup> Original quote reads: “or whether it is somehow problem” notes: 17 December 2008.

with George Adamson, and any number of his captive, habituated wild animal counterparts. In fact, this is one issue that unites the science and wildlife protection camps. Respondents from both sides spoke of George as a dear friend and had terrific stories of lions playing soccer, cheetahs sleeping in their beds with them, and a menagerie of unnamed gazelles, monkeys, and the occasional bird.<sup>57</sup> Each person illustrates his or her story with passion and the privilege and thrill of transcending the human animal bond. Few, though, spoke at all about Joy or Elsa. Joy was reputed to have become distant with Elsa's death, and both Joy and Elsa passed away prior to the development of many safari operations or current wildlife organizations. Their story, however, remains a legacy termed the "trophy of the Park" by many professional safari companies. Their graves are key stopping points on any safari and still a major draw to this area.

It was the rehabilitation of Elsa the lion that led to the rehabilitation of Meru the park. With the park's revitalization, came rehabilitation of roads, construction and reconstruction of buildings, restocking of animals, reimagining history, and reinventing the future. Migration of roughly four thousand animals took place not only to replicate the parks original inhabitants, but more so, to reflect the current status of Kenya and the modern priorities of the wildlife industry and conservation. Animals were moved based on strategy, need, desire, and demand as much as they were moved to repatriate existing populations. The Meru National Park experience is one of history and icons, the wildlife a showpiece of the park, but the human-wildlife relationship imparts cultural values of romantic notions of nature on the region. Today, even current human residents and tourists strive for an intimate and personal experience with individual animals, as Joy and

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<sup>57</sup> See: Notes from February 2009 with A. K. Taylor, D. Young; March 2009 with D. Rotcher, DSWT, W. Bradley Martin; notes from June 2009 with R. Leakey

George had. Humanizing animals and animalizing the humans blurs the species boundaries and places a level of importance on the individual. Saving young from abandonment and saving the endangered from predators are regular practices that occur at the park despite the long-term effects placed on the animals themselves. For the Grevy's zebra, the basic rights to reproduce and roam free come second to being alive and well-fed. It brings into question what the rights of animals are and if the very movement of zebra from their original territory to Meru violated those rights.

The larger picture of revitalization and investment in the spirit of animal rights strengthens ties between KWS and IFAW and furthers the long-term dependence on each other. While the mission of IFAW speaks more closely to animal welfare, their stance against hunting, efforts to save individuals, and narratives on the rights of animals places them in the traditional animal rights category. The Meru National Park project is no different. The focus is on park conservation; but the driving agents are deeply nested in the animal rights movement. The project itself gives merit to IFAW as an organization working towards progressive conservation while drawing support for the agency's position as a champion of animal welfare issues. The end result is a change in the species composition, a result of mass migration of wildlife via animal relocation, and a change in ecosystem dynamics from altering the biodiversity and biodensity and the obvious prevention of ecosystem function. The support of park staff created loyalty for the stakeholder groups; IFAW's name appears at every opportunity – from vehicles to ranger badges – so the staff are constantly reminded of the investment instead of environment.

## **AMBOSELI AND THE MAASAI MARA: PROBLEM ANIMAL SOLUTIONS**

While Meru and the Tsavos serve as cornerstone case studies in the larger animal rights movement in Kenya, a network of similar scenarios exists throughout the country. Amboseli and the Maasai Mara National Parks, and their respective surrounding regions, stand out as important case studies for the strategies and tactics used to influence management regarding animals in human-wildlife conflict. These parks are among the most heavily visited tourist destinations within Kenya's park complex. Both the parks and their surrounding regions are particularly sensitive areas as they attract significant international attention to both human and wildlife causes.<sup>58</sup>

Compared to the organization of Kenya's other parks, the Maasai Mara holds two differences which shape the animal rights movement in the area: government oversight and frequency of use. First, unlike the Tsavos or Meru, the Maasai Mara was created specifically as a hunting reserve for large game animals. In order to transition to park status, management was transferred to the district County Counsel, a government jurisdiction similar to a province. The animals in the area are managed by KWS, but human activities – from livestock grazing and weekly markets to safaris and biological research – in the area are dictated by regional government authorities instead of national ones. The second major difference is the high level of tourist traffic and equally high number of lodges. This comes in combination with a shift in land use. Wildlife dispersal areas of the Mara region frequently extend past the protected zones into locally-owned community lands. Over time, safari operators established business cooperatives with group land owners to include community lands on the safari drives; in some cases, even

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<sup>58</sup> The Maasai Mara, is Kenya's portion of the Serengeti.

to build lodges. The latter part of the use, collaboration with land owners, is not unique to the Mara, but in this case it often comes with exceptional political ties to local politicians as a result of the County Council.

Politics of access aside, the Maasai Mara's high frequency of tourist use translates into a strong investment on behalf of the safari operators. Instead of large-scale organizational involvement, as seen with IFAW, each one of the operators has an investment and small-scale impact on a local region through business-based organizations aimed at protecting wildlife in their area. Aspects such as quality of wildlife and prime wildlife viewing have a direct impact on the vitality of their business. By limiting illegal harvests animal populations are maintained and tourists are protected from witnessing any unpleasant experiences. Tourists rave about the intimate experience of an opportunity to participate in animal rescues. Contact with elephant calves or cheetah cubs generate customer accolades that are great for business and donor relations.<sup>59</sup> Tourists are often asked to help manage the situation or even be responsible for holding onto the young animal, thereby promoting the human-animal bond and generating an intimate wildlife experience. Many tour operators will fight over the opportunity for the heroic moment.<sup>60</sup> Because of the competitive edge in the Mara, there exists a high degree of territoriality in the tour operators' safari regions, and much of the support they generate is put back into their area of operation. In order to gain control over wildlife the safari companies must endear themselves to the specific communities. In particular, a number of high-end tour operators have created endowments, trusts, foundations, or similar organization to

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<sup>59</sup> See: Notes from February 2009 with A. K. Taylor; notes from May 2009 with DSWT.

<sup>60</sup> See: Notes on the on-line cheetah cub conflict in the Mara with Action for Cheetahs and the tour agency.

facilitate fundraising for community enhancement and animal protection in their immediate area.

Much like the larger organizations, the business-based foundations of the safari companies employ strategies and tactics associated with animal rights to solicit business. Activities are divided into animal-protection measures and community support measures. From the Anne K. Taylor Fund: “Our objectives are for (1) Anti-Poaching/Snare Patrols; (2) Wildlife Rescues; (3) Community Education and Support; (4) Micro-Finance” (AKTaylor 2011, objectives). From the Masai Mara Fund: “Raising funds for the animals of the Masai Mara.” While their mission is simple, the description of funding is explicit for injured and orphaned animals: “Any contributions put forward will help towards the health and well-being of these magnificent (sic) animals” (Masai Mara Funds 2009). For animal protection, foundations hire private scouts; embark on desnaring patrols; provide veterinary care to both wild animals and community livestock; fund human-wildlife conflict mitigation programs; and even raise young wild animals deemed to be abandoned. Nearly every high-end safari lodge has a few resident animals that have been habituated and/or hand-raised accompanied by a story of wildlife peril, suffering and rescue.

For community support, activities include building schools and/or offering school fees for individuals, providing local communities with small-scale work as a scout for small salary, and funding other community projects such as cattle dips and digging wells. In exchange, the community is expected to have a higher tolerance for the wild animals and turn to either the tour operator or KWS if there is a problem animal that must be dealt with. Scouts are usually hired from within the community and are expected to serve in a

manner that reports “insider” knowledge, creating a tension between loyalty to one’s community and one’s employer (see: Figure 9). Even at a small scale, these types of activities create dependence between the tour operator and community members.



Figure 9: Community scout from the Maasai Mara region. His uniform shirt reads: “Working together for wildlife.” On the left is a cape buffalo calf assumed to be an orphan. Part of the scout’s responsibilities is to raise and protect this calf. Adult cape buffalo are considered one of east Africa’s most dangerous animals. (Photo by: S. Capoccia)

In addition to using community investments as a means to protect wildlife, the business-based organizations serve to support larger operations. Many of these groups are tightly connected to organizations such as IFAW, the Born Free Foundation, and the David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust. As mentioned in the discussions around the DSWT, the tour operators, related safari guides, and tourists are, in many ways, considered the frontline of wildlife protection. After days spent driving transects of national parks, reserves, and even on private or community land, safari goers are often the first to find orphaned, abandoned, or injured animals. In some cases safari operators take it upon themselves to care for these compromised animals, but in other cases they turn to the larger organizations for assistance. Daphne Sheldrick maintains close ties with safari

operators as they are the ones who encounter orphaned elephant calves. The Born Free Foundation partners with safari operators to access projects and communities for education programs and restricted areas for anti-poaching patrols. IFAW offers funding to initiate new, or enhance existing, community and animal-welfare projects. The high number of individual safari operators and their related foundations work together as a collective bargaining unit and as field agents for the larger more powerful organizations. Whether community or animal-based, the safari operators target their efforts towards mitigating animal loss. These organizations market their foundations as programs that protect wildlife in an animal-rights context: saving individuals, highlighting the suffering individual animals endure from illegal hunting, anthropomorphizing the animals observed on safari, and erasing the population aspect of conservation management.

The aforementioned animal condition is similar in the Amboseli area, but the organization structure differs. Amboseli offers a final perspective on the ways in which the animal rights movement impacts Kenya's wildlife conservation and management. Amboseli supports a combination of small-scale operations and a charismatic mega personality. At the forefront of the region stands Cynthia Moss, a long-term elephant researcher who is embedded in the Amboseli ecosystem and much of the surrounding community. Cynthia traveled to east Africa for the first time over thirty years ago on a safari as a journalist. It was during this trip that she fell in love with elephants and the region. She started as an affiliate of Iain Douglas-Hamilton, one of the world's renowned experts on elephant, working as his assistant before establishing the Amboseli Trust for Elephants. Since then, Cynthia has gone on to become an international spokesperson for the east African elephant population and is well-received in wildlife advocate networks.



The presence of the Amboseli Trust for Elephants is believed to help thwart illegal hunting, reprisal killings, and KWS killing wildlife in response to damage complaints. Much like other organizations, ATE offers employment and education to the communities in areas of ATE projects, but their strategies differ in terms of human-wildlife conflict. The Amboseli region is well-known for lion and elephant conflict with livestock and some agriculture. In response to socio-political tensions regarding the rights of wildlife over the rights of people, communities in this area undertake clandestine operations to demonstrate their outrage. A prime example is the killing and scalping of lions affiliated with livestock and human loss. These events have been covered in the international media (Roach 2006), but government crack downs and enforcement of wildlife protection laws have done little to ease the tension.<sup>61</sup> Similar reprisal actions occur with elephants, as well, and Moss's organization, ATE, works to reduce the animal loss and lessen the community tensions.

In addition to the community employment and education programs, ATE offers a consolation program to help alleviate frustrations with lost livestock and crop raids in the local community. The program is intentionally designed as consolation, not compensation. "We want to say '*pole* [Kiswahili for sorry] for your loss' instead of compensation: paying for the [full] value. We cannot always assess the true value of cattle, and that is not our role."<sup>62</sup> Responsibility for a value assessment actually falls to the government, which is supposed to compensate families for livestock damage, although payment does not often occur. Each region is equipped with a problem animal control (PAC) team trained to respond to human-wildlife conflict through the hazing,

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<sup>61</sup> See: Notes from June 2009 with Jackson and KWS warden in Amboseli National Park, A. Holk

<sup>62</sup> See: Notes from June 2009 with ATE

removal, and/or killing of problem animals. Of course, each situation is different and each species has a different protocol, but ATE positions itself in between the PAC and the community to provide an alternative to the KWS management protocol and “ameliorate the situation” (ATE 2009, p. 3).

In times of human-wildlife conflict, Moss allows local residents to turn directly to the organization, which reduces the tensions the community members feel for wild animals. The ATE serves as an immediate resource whereas, in many instances, KWS funds are simply not available or the burden of proof for livestock loss is too challenging to demonstrate and compensation requests are rejected (see also: Manyara and Jones 2007).<sup>63</sup> In addition, once depredation is confirmed, KWS is responsible to haze, relocate, or kill the offending wild animal; once the incident has occurred, it may take days to identify the correct wild animal. If the animal is a species of concern, management often involves authorization from KWS headquarters. For these, an a myriad of case-specific issues, the challenges associated with the KWS problem animal control comes with a multitude of frustrations; ATE works to limit frustration around wildlife and even community frustration with the KWS.

Though it is unclear what occurs with animals associated with multiple offenses, interview and web dialogue suggest that the ATE consolation program results in increased community tolerance for a wild animal’s first offense (ATE 2005; 2006; 2009). Conversations with community members reveal that in many cases, they are happy to have a lump sum of cash, roughly the equivalent of 40 USD, which they can use on immediate needs like medical expenses or school fees, and they are less concerned with

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<sup>63</sup> See: Notes June 2009 with Jackson and A. Holk

the problems brought by wild animals.<sup>64</sup> In fact, many community members have a direct ATE contact programmed on their cell phones, an avenue to access help that is far more difficult to secure with KWS. ATE's programs are favored by community members and show the power of the animal rights movement in the organization's efforts to affect how wildlife is managed. This said, ATE has a long presence in the area and positive interaction with the communities as well as within KWS. Interviews with the Amboseli senior warden reveal a close relationship between ATE and the KWS team. The multi-decade investment in elephant herds of the area makes ATE the 'go-to' organization for most elephant-related issues. In fact, though not official policy, regional KWS informants state that they often consult ATE for elephant management actions in the region.

As it turns out, the relationship that ATE has with the communities not only changes the way KWS operates in that area but also the way other organizations are received at the local level. The Amboseli region is the central focus of the African Conservation Center for biodiversity studies and the African Wildlife Fund is "Heartland" program.<sup>65</sup> ATE's generosity to the community endears the local people the organization and raises the expectations of other NGOs. Community members state that the ACC rarely pays for educational expenses, medical fees, or wildlife-related loss so they are not preferred as an organization with which to work.<sup>66</sup> The ACC respondents expressed frustration that community expectations exceed that of reducing human-wildlife conflict and the notion of "gifting the community" often stands in the way of

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<sup>64</sup>See: Notes from February 2009 with A. K. Taylor; notes from June 2009 with ACC, ATE, and KWS warden A. Holk

<sup>65</sup> <http://www.awf.org/content/heartland/detail/1283>

<sup>66</sup> See: Notes from February 2009 with A. K. Taylor; notes from June 2009, Jackson, et al.

productive science.<sup>67</sup> AWF's Heartland scientists agree with ACC: communities look to wildlife organizations to have their general needs met. Unlike ACC, AWF has projects scheduled to accommodate community needs, efforts that shift the focus of conservation to development. Anderson and Grove claim that such projects have merit for immediate community needs, but should be carefully assessed for long-term sustainability as many are geared towards control of the region and access to resources, one that creates a dependency on the organizations (1987).

While all areas have issues of problem animals, the Amboseli and the Maasai Mara regions stand out as key areas for the strategies and tactics employed. Wildlife-human conflict isolates individual animals in the situation; programs in each area work towards protecting those individual animals from the community and from the national wildlife management policy. The programs in place supersede national policy with grassroots initiatives. At an international level, these cases are of particular interest because of their popularity with tourists. With this in mind, the government acceptance of organizational efforts allows KWS to take a backstage to the frontline foundation, minimizing government interference and promoting stakeholder control. In this context, the wild animals, the key to the safari industry, are treated as individuals in need of protection from both the community and the government. Again, these studies reinforce the message that wild animals are at risk of exploitation and that outside, Euro-American management is still needed for protection.

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<sup>67</sup> See: Notes from March 2009 with ACC

## **CASE STUDIES OVERVIEW**

For the geography of conservation in Kenya, wildlife protection organizations serve as vectors for the larger animal-rights movement, especially the international organizations. These organizations align with the movement to access international donors and perpetuate Kenya's international reputation as a wildlife Eden in need of protection all the while reinforcing neocolonial notions of national irresponsibility. This does not frame NGOs as animal rights organizations; rather they are seen as protectionist organizations that capitalize on and channel the larger movement through to select projects and regions. In many cases, the wild animals in question are not classified as endangered; by traditional conservation standards, management should then address the species at a population level rather than individual animals. Individual animals stand at the focal point for endangered species, generally with the goal of revitalizing the population. Instead, Kenya's animal rights movement focuses on individuals, regardless of their conservation status. In the case of Meru, this can go as far as to remove endangered species from the breeding population.

These case studies are crucibles for Hippocratically-minded wildlife management throughout Kenya and in many areas in the rest of the world. The cases illustrate a "do-no-harm" mentality that is virtually unachievable when ecosystem function is considered. In some cases, a total dismissal of the predator-prey relationship occurs. Of course, decisions in wildlife conservation and management are not always easy nor are they straight forward as management policy. In many cases, individual animal protection does more for human emotion than for the whole of a species or regional population, an aspect that drives the animal rights movement and can create conflict in management protocol.

Interviews with Moses Okello, KWS senior elephant warden, states that formal policies prevent anyone, including Daphne Sheldrick nor Cynthia Moss have any say over elephant protocol but their long-term research has contributed to Kenya's understanding of elephants and gone on to shape management policies.

Meru, however, embraces the stakeholder philosophies and includes them in national wildlife management policy. Meru contains a suite of constructed ideals for nature and the rights of animals. The revitalization project in Meru National Park provided IFAW with political leverage inside Kenya, as a KWS collaborator, and outside the country, as a conservation organization, not just an animal welfare one. The funding stream for the Meru project is divided between several large-scale entities, AFD in particular, but only IFAW remains in the park and receives the majority of credit. The park's history of animal protection and ethic of care for individual animals is captured in the revitalization project while the nation-wide relocation of animals to Meru underscores the ecosystem engineering required to bring the park up-to-speed with expectations.

Overall, the network of organizations and individual actors that crisscross the national park complex and the surrounding ecosystems operate on the basis of a strong web of animal rights initiatives. The dependency created between the Kenya Wildlife Service and the individual organizations promises to perpetuate elements of risk, loss, need, and urgency with regard to wildlife. As a result, a larger dependency is created between the wildlife protection organizations and the larger international animal-rights network supporting the protection of Africa's diverse wild animals, rolling plains, and exotic peoples. Areas such as Tsavo, Meru, the Maasai Mara and Amboseli serve as regions that attract and magnify these far-reaching animal rights initiatives.

## **Chapter 5 – Diagnosing Kenya’s conservation; strategies, tactics, and emotional pressure**

The traditional idea of protecting free-roaming wildlife under the guise of conservation has been vigorously defined to include sustainable consumptive uses such as hunting and culling as a population management technique (see: Bolin 2002; Ehrlich 2009; Smith and Smith 2012) two forms of killing that correlate with maintaining sustainable wildlife populations. Traditional conservationists tend to rail against ideas of humanizing, anthropomorphizing, and the captive care of wild animals outside of specific instances. As ideals change, so too does the meaning of terminology. When once the term conservation was juxtaposed against the term preservation as a use and anti-use paradigm, conservation today is often used to mean no use and ultimate protection. This contradiction is evident in Kenya’s wildlife policy, aptly named the Kenya Wildlife Conservation and Management Policy, as well as much of the wildlife advocates’ rhetoric, what the Born Free Foundation calls “preaching conservation.”<sup>68</sup> This chapter examines the concept of conservation through an analysis of interview data generated through discussion of diagnostic events. It then follows up the responses with a categorical analysis of organization strategies and tactics aimed at garnering public support and influencing policy, ultimately shifting the conservation agenda away from population management towards one that has a strong ethic of individual care.

One hundred percent of informants who fell in the wildlife-protection camp reject the idea that conservation should include killing animals, either for hunting, for population management, or as a management tool in response to human-wildlife conflict. The sentiment is that wildlife is at risk and humans now have alternatives to killing for any reason. Some

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<sup>68</sup> See: Notes from November 2008, January 2009, March 2009 with Born Free Foundation E. Muti and A. Owen.

respondents went on to say that conservation was “protecting all wildlife” while one informant pointed to the United States as a reason to prevent hunting at all costs, because the United States wildlife was also at risk.<sup>69</sup> What does this mean for wildlife management and how does it influence the way people understand conservation?

Initial results of this study were tested against a series of actual wildlife management events to confirm the classification. These events, termed diagnostic events, were taken from reports in the newspaper, conversations with wildlife officials, and findings throughout the study. They were addressed in the first round of interviews and also during follow up interviews, when possible. The goal of the events was to test the integrity of an organization’s standing on the animal rights principles with regard to challenging wildlife management scenarios. Examples include: hyena attacking an elephant calf; wildlife population reduction (e.g. hyena population reduced to protect rhinoceros; and elephant population reduced to alleviate environmental pressures); supplemental hay and water being brought into drought areas (e.g. hippo and elephant habitat augmentation); confining animals to a captive lifestyle as a means to save them from death; crop raiding/livestock loss; and human loss. Each event was presented in a manner that juxtaposed an ecosystem function (e.g. drought or predation) or human loss against the life of the animal. In some cases, that of the hyena attacking an elephant calf, the force of nature was in fact, another animal.

In nearly all cases respondents who aligned with animal-rights variables selected the animal over the natural forces: habitat augmentation over drought, and the survival of more charismatic animals over the ones less favored. Two events that spurred popular discussions came from Mzima Spring in Tsavo West and the David Sheldrick Elephant Orphanage. The

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<sup>69</sup> See: Notes from November 2009, E. Kariuki of BFF pointed to the United States as a reason to stop hunting. Notes from May 2009 with BFF P. Odhiang



first, Mzima Springs, is home to a renowned pod of hippopotami. During 2008-2009, Kenya sustained a severe long-term drought; many of the smaller permanent water sources were impacted and much of the vegetation dried out. The hippos were suffering from a food shortage so DSWT, BFF, and IFAW collaborated to bring hay and water to the hippos in Mzima Springs. The question with this diagnostic event is in what circumstances should humans allow nature to take its course? Additional discussion addressed topics such as drought as natural ecosystem event and population oscillations, as well as the ethics of augmenting a habitat past what it can sustain and the interspecies competition that occurs as a result.

As mentioned, all of the respondents in the wildlife protection groups endorsed the efforts to protect the hippos against the drought. Some reasons cited were specific: making sure the hippos stayed in Mzima Springs, protecting animals from suffering; other reasons were general: because it was the right thing to do and because Kenya's wildlife is going extinct.<sup>70</sup> No one had a response for the interspecies competition that occurs from the environmental degradation of a habitat that supports more individuals than the resources can sustain. All respondents felt it was a good conservation measure to take care of the animals when they could not care for themselves. These sentiments were echoed in a complementary scenario with augmented elephant habitat. In this case, Wildlife Works, a U.S. -based company (not organization) owns land adjacent to the Tsavos. They support an impressive elephant population and do so, in part, by maintaining several large water tanks. The tanks are designed intentionally so that they cannot be accessed by cattle, but by default, the water is off limits to other species, such as zebra, buffalo, and gazelles, giving elephants the environmental advantage. Again, all respondents offered overwhelming support citing the endangered nature of the elephants and the

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<sup>70</sup> See: Notes from March 2009 with S. Itela of YfC; January 2009 and March 2009 with J. Ngunyo of ANAW; and February 2009 with A. K. Taylor; notes from June 2009 with ATE; January 2009 with A. Owen.

need to restrict cattle grazing in the area.<sup>71</sup>

A second nature-versus-nature scenario came from an elephant-rescue case identified at the elephant orphanage in Nairobi. Here, a young elephant was featured as a rescue target, the handlers pointing out the damage to the animal's tail and back side. In this situation, tourists on safari had witnessed a clan of hyenas that had separated the elephant cow and its calf and were attacking the calf. The tourists intervened. The safari guide contacted Daphne Sheldrick and the Kenya Wildlife Service and the calf was rescued. Once inside the orphanage, it was given veterinary care for its injuries (it was missing part of its tail and sustained several large bite marks including a sizable chunk from the top rump) and was cared for with the other elephants. Daphne was directly questioned about the ethics of choosing one animal over others; she cited the endangered status of the elephants and the need to protect each one. She also indicated that hyenas are rarely successful at killing an elephant, even one this small, and the larger concern was a failed kill and long-suffering calf. Her goal was first to ensure the animal didn't suffer, second to protect an individual in a dwindling population. When KWS was confronted regarding this incident, the initial reaction was that it could not have occurred. When in fact the event was confirmed, the KWS respondent cited the fact that the hyenas had already been chased off, thereby rendering the animal truly abandoned. In that respect the rescue was authorized.<sup>72</sup> Other respondents initially approved the scenario, but felt uncomfortable when asked about the rights of the hyenas. By and large, justification followed the dominant idea that elephants are endangered and must be protected.

Ultimately, preventing the death of wild animals, especially the charismatic ones, prevailed in the wildlife protection groups. The answers for the science-driven organizations, as

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<sup>71</sup> See: Notes from December 2008, Wildlife Works; notes from January 2009 with BFF focus group.

<sup>72</sup> See: Notes from March 2009, May 2009 with M. Okello from KWS

well as the individual wildlife experts, regularly defaulted to classic conservation management that involves population control (culling) and assessment of habitat with regard to the endangered status of the animal at hand. Several respondents made disparaging remarks about the intent behind wildlife rescues and those involved, especially in the elephant-hyena case. Nearly all denounced the keeping of wildlife in rehabilitation conditions and many cited the lack of hunting as one of the main issues that resulted in the scenarios presented.

Of all the diagnostic events, only one served to divide the wildlife-protection groups: human death. Human loss fell into two categories. The first diagnostic event profiled the loss of a child to a lion in the Amboseli area. This event received overwhelming support in favor of the child and against the lion. The family had been trying for months to receive compensation and all parties interviewed, including the Amboseli Trust for Elephants, Amboseli's head warden, the local community respondents, and the science-driven community felt the lion should be killed and KWS should not hesitate with compensation.<sup>73</sup> It was unclear why the compensation has been stalled or at what stage the process then stood, but even the KWS warden expressed frustration with the process.

The second diagnostic event revisited a historical event from 2006 during which a local expatriate, Tom Cholmondeley, shot and killed a local Kenyan seen walking with an illegally-hunted impala. The Cholmondeley event split the wildlife-protection respondents along ethnic lines, ancestral Kenyans supported the victim, Robert Njoya, while the respondents with European backgrounds supported Mr. Cholmondeley. All parties agreed that Mr. Njoya should not have taken the impala, but the European informants believed Mr. Cholmondeley was justified in his act in protecting Kenya's wildlife. In this case, the aspect of human loss had more

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<sup>73</sup> See: Notes from June 2009, ATE and A. Holk with KWS in Amboseli National Park.

to do with ethnic tensions than animal rights, and in that manner, no one felt Mr. Njoya was in the right for taking the impala. For the science-driven group, all felt Mr. Cholmondeley was out of line and that there were laws in place to deal with Mr. Njoya. One independent respondent, a veterinarian, indicated that if hunting was allowed, the event would not be an issue but also stated that Mr. Cholmondeley's irrational behavior landed the wrong man in jail; Mr. Cholmondeley would have been much better off to involve the KWS and make an example out of Mr. Njoya. I suggested this to a wildlife-protection respondent who felt that it was only an impala and KWS would not come for an impala, which justified Mr. Cholmondeley's actions.

The original intent for using diagnostic events was to test and challenge the respondents' positions; leading animal rightists into discussions about the challenges that come with wildlife management. In fact, the diagnostic events did just that, but not as originally intended. Initially, the use of these scenarios was to literally diagnose unclear responses, but few respondents waived on an issue. Instead, the management scenarios further cemented the wildlife-protection groups within the animal-rights movement while positioning the science-driven groups along lines of ecosystem science. The KWS respondents fell in the middle, but the supporting policies spoke directly to the animal-rights movement. The focus on the supporting policy illustrates how wildlife management in action can change the larger understanding of conservation.

Like the animal rights movement itself, several concurrent and overlapping events led up to this change in meaning for conservation. The general negative reputation of the label, animal rights, sent advocates looking for a new guise. At the same time, the global movement away from hunting, especially in Euroamerican societies, left conservation action open for new interpretation (for a decline in hunting, see: Brown et al. 2000; Zinn 2003). Wildlife

organizations took on new project geared towards protecting species rather than species management and new organizations, such as IFAW and Defenders of Wildlife, emerged from this movement. Many animal rights advocates fell in line with the wildlife protection projects under the auspices of conservation, thereby creating an uneasy merger between animal rights initiative and wildlife protection initiatives, both now operating under the title of conservation. Kenya's wildlife management history clearly illustrates this change.

The change in understanding of conservation represents a rhetorical shift. Frustration is felt by the science-driven community for the ways in which the meaning of conservation has been coopted thereby guiding policy and management decision for wild animals. For Kenya, the understanding of conservation as a no-use practice is reinforced through the strategies and tactics used by wildlife-protection organizations. Furthermore, such organizational ideals are then translated into policy, giving legitimacy to principle which can then be enforced (see: Peluso 1993).

The strategies and tactics can be directly translated into funding, recruitment, political power, and expanded access to natural resources. This follows a cyclical equation: the more money an organization has at their disposal the more influential that organization can be in the political arena and the more funding recruited (Avina 1996). For wildlife in Kenya, the political arena is the Kenya Wildlife Service. The basis of this analysis is to focus on dominant strategies and tactics that are either prominent in one NGO or region or consistent across several NGOs. The literature addressing strategies and tactics of NGOs lacks a clear definition of these terms which are often used interchangeably (see: Winston 2002; Sasser et al. 2006) but definitions are implied. While strategy is best defined as a plan of action and a tactic as the implementation of that plan; strategy is often used to encompass both.

For wildlife advocate groups in Kenya, strategies and tactics are geared towards access to wildlife and political leverage – both social and political – and to draw donor funding. The donor market around the charismatic animals and the orphan animal commodity chain is just one of several prominent strategies employed by organizations that go on to shape the image of Kenya's wildlife. It is also important to recognize at the outset that not all strategies and tactics are clear. Some appear only through an investigation. As explained, several protection-driven organizations support select secondary students through a university education, an initiative that often goes unpublicized but wields significant leverage if an NGO-sponsored graduate secures a post for KWS. These individuals carry with them a strong sense of indebtedness to their academic sponsors; in turn, these sponsors enjoy access to wildlife that may not otherwise be available to them. Other strategies are bold and challenging. Animal adoptions, for example, target the donor market without disguise. The portrayal of animals, for example, can be seen quite clearly in an organization's marketing: young, helpless animals, or protective maternal females. This chapter examines the idea of conservation through organizational principles and strategies and tactics. It is best done so through a review of categorical variables: 1) species hierarchy; 2) the orphan commodity chain; 3) Anti-hunting and the collaborative network of animal defense; and 4) Community projects, gaining the inside advantage. Each section includes aspects of animal classifications, funding strategies, community projects, use of media and perception, government funding, and network affiliation, that tie the animal rights movement together.

### **SPECIES HIERARCHY**

At the heart of animal rights sentiment is the premise that all animals are created equal,

but as Orwell wrote “some animals are more equal than others” (1945, p. 112). Indeed, some humans go through great pains to ensure equality in practice, but in reality, human treatment of animals is skewed based on characteristics that include but are not limited to: the animals’ size, human likeness, rarity, human perceptions of beauty, usability, human necessity, ferocity, humans’ social standing, exposure to the animal, and culture (Callicott 1992; on animal classification see: Burghardt and Herzog 1992; Herzog 2010). In many cases these animals are afforded a higher level of protection than others. As Peterson and Peterson illustrate, some animals, like the elephant and whale, are canonized or deified as pseudo gods and therefore virtually immune to lethal management (1993).

Human biases for animals expand into an immeasurable number of biases towards how each animal should – or should not – be treated. Aspects of animal treatment range from land use and property regulations to wildlife management policies and tourist destinations. If an animal is consumptively used, Callicott argues that some humans justify this use on the premise that there is respect for the animal and the understanding is that the use in question will not endanger the species as a whole (1992). Conversely, some animals are respected to a point of reverence or protected as icons and can only be used in rare cases, if at all (see: Peterson and Peterson 1993; Bulbeck 2005; Herzog 2010).<sup>74</sup> This speaks to the larger issue of which social group holds the power to assign priority to which animals. Callicott states that intrinsic value is often held as a baseline but goes on to question the true neutrality of intrinsic value: any value at all is subjective thereby qualifying nature by human standards (1992).

In most cases, the assignment of value defaults to policy and practice; for Kenya, the favored animals are those that were preferred historically by colonial elites access. Drawing on

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<sup>74</sup> This does not indicate a homogenized social opinion, rather a politically dominant one. Also, some societies, such as Japan and Norway, still practice consumptive use of these animals.

their contemporary elite status, wildlife protection communities are quick to lay blame on local communities for any anonymous wildlife killings (see: Neumann 1997). For example, in response to a rhino death of undetermined cause, a blogger quotes: “this makes me so sad! those people are so sick for doing this!”<sup>75</sup> The knee-jerk accusation highlights animal preference and social priorities, as well as an animal rights perspective that justifies laying blame and perpetuates notions of morally right versus morally wrong. In Kenya, many of the animal rights principles show up in practice in wildlife management actions and in conservation priorities.

Benjamin Kavuu, deputy director for the Kenya Wildlife Service, stated on behalf of the KWS director, Julius Kipn’gtitch, that the department’s list for species of top priority fit into two categories: 1) ecological concern, and 2) species of interest (see: Figure 10) based on the animals’ endangered status and the animals’ rank in tourists priorities.<sup>76</sup> These priorities were presented in November of 2008 at a round-table conference to the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Interestingly, the order is ranked based on national heritage principles as guidelines for management priorities, not true conservation need based on IUCN/CITES recommendations. In the category of ecological concern, all species are loosely considered endangered. In the second category, species of interest, the species do not have to be endangered at any level, though some may be through the lumped groupings.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> 21 January 2012, Rhino death posted on FaceBook by Richi Mutua. Transcript available

<sup>76</sup> Based on the IUCN rating list.

<sup>77</sup> Two additions have been made to this list: 1) all scientific names were added and 2) formal names, such as “African” and “mountain” were added, the list presented used local names, such as buffalo and bongo respectively.



| Ecological Concern                               | IUCN/CITES Status                                 |
|--|---|
| Elephant ( <i>Loxodonta africana ssp.</i> )      | Near threatened                                   |
| Black rhino ( <i>Diceros bicornis</i> )          | Critically endangered                             |
| <i>Panthera leo</i> )                            | Vulnerable  |
| Grevy's zebra ( <i>Equus grevyi</i> )            | Endangered  |
| Cheetah ( <i>Acynonix jubatus</i> )              | Vulnerable  |
| Wild dogs ( <i>Lycaon pictus</i> )               | Endangered  |
| Hiroa ( <i>Beatragus hunteri</i> )               | Critically endangered                             |
| Stripped hyena ( <i>Hyena hyena</i> )            | Endangered  |
| White rhino ( <i>Ceratotherium simum</i> )       | Endangered  |
| Mountain bongo ( <i>Tragelaphus euryceros</i> )  | Critically endangered                             |
| Roan antelope ( <i>Hippotragus equines</i> )     | Least concern continent wide, endangered in Kenya |
| Sable antelope ( <i>Hippotragus niger</i> )      | Least concern continent wide, endangered in Kenya |
| Species of interest                              | IUCN/CITES Status                                 |
| African leopard ( <i>Panther pardus pardus</i> ) | Not listed  |
| African buffalo ( <i>Syncerus caffer</i> )       | Not listed  |
| Spotted hyena ( <i>Crocota crocuta</i> ) –       | Least concern                                     |
| Giraffe, all species                             | Not listed  |
| Marine species (not specified)                   | Indeterminable                                    |

Figure 10: Kenya Wildlife Service Species Priority, a list presented by Benjamin Kavu on behalf of Julius Kipn'gitch to USAID (November 2008).

The list of ecological concern is notable as it includes some of the lesser known mammals in Kenya, but it is based on heritage priorities, with protection and management as a means to an end. Second, the list totally excludes smaller animals presumably because they are hardest to see by the tourist. The list represents the agency priorities which align with financial

stakeholders – such as organizations – and tourist interest, rather than ecological significance. The elephant, classified as near threatened according to the IUCN Red List of 2008 takes priority over all. This is not surprising as Kenya reinvented itself in the wildlife management arena as a leader in conservation by leading the ban on ivory, a key moment in the animal rights movement. Nonetheless, the species as a whole numbers an estimated 20,000 individuals in Kenya alone (Okello et al. 2008) with a population density that threatens to out-compete other, more vulnerable species (see also: Pringle 2008).<sup>78</sup>

Other species of high ecological and social priority range from critically endangered to no concern but management tactics do not always align accordingly. The three species considered to be critically endangered: the black rhino, hirola, and mountain bongo, are interspersed throughout the list, not at the top, but do require complete collaboration within KWS to execute management protocols. In other words, local managers must consult regional and national levels regarding any management action. Also of importance, the Grevy's Zebra and wild dogs are endangered, with cheetah and lions listed as vulnerable; each of these species is featured in wildlife advocate campaigns and thus is managed for high-social interest on behalf of KWS. The hyena and antelope species vary as least concern and locally endangered, respectively, but are managed differently. Classified as a scavenger, the hyena can be killed by local KWS without consultation of higher authorities if the need arises.<sup>79</sup> The antelope, on the other hand, must have upper-level management authority as must the leopard and buffalo, two animals of least or no concern in regards to their endangered status, but which

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<sup>78</sup> See: Notes from March 2009 with D. Rotcher

<sup>79</sup> Animal classifications such as predator and scavenger are based on dominant behavior or human understanding of animals but often, the animals' behavior counters these terms. Hyenas, for example, are excellent hunters.

complete Kenya's historic 'big five,' trophy animals.<sup>80</sup> In many cases, elite preference for a species controls the amount of agency support that species receives. Typically, mammals receive the most protection. Within the mammal class, attributes such as large, fierce, human-like traits, and an animal's ability to engage with humans are favored. Taken as a whole, the organization of management protocols aligns with a social agenda rather than an ecological one. For the animal-rights movement, justice for all animals is idyllic but impossible; for support, an organization must focus on animals of greatest social interest in order to raise funds and reinforce the need for protection activities.

Interviews with KWS professionals at Amboseli, the Maasai Mara, Meru, Nairobi, and Tsavo National Parks and Nairobi Headquarters reveal a clear pattern of preference for the species of ecological concern and species of interest. Above all, no one can make a major management decision on an elephant without full approval from the main office, usually the head of elephant conservation, but when it comes to a large tusker, often the KWS director, Julius Kipn'gitich, must get involved. Autonomous decisions on animal hazing – using scare tactics or other negative conditioning to move and keep animals away from human-occupied areas – are allowed and can be authorized at the regional level, but must immediately be reported to the species management officer in Nairobi.<sup>81</sup> Any veterinary or lethal action must be done with full approval from KWS headquarters. The same protocol is true for both species of rhinoceros, though rhinos rarely cause problems in local communities.

For animals such as lions, leopards, and Grevy's zebra, hazing, veterinary care, and lethal management can occur without initial consent, but all activities must be reported.

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<sup>80</sup>See: Notes from 2009 with M. Okello of KWS

<sup>81</sup> The goal of animal hazing is to develop a negative association with humans. Pellet guns and pepper spray are often used to haze problem animals on a first office of human-wildlife conflict with the goal of thwarting future conflict.

Relocation of these species cannot be completed without consent from KWS Headquarters. At the other end of the spectrum, animals such as all species of hyena, most primates, small mammals, and reptiles can be managed in any way without consent or report, even by local people through de facto law.<sup>82</sup> The discrepancy in the management of these species clearly indicates the type of reputation each animal has. An elephant or rhinoceros, as one might suspect, could generate unwanted attention from the media and international community, where as hyenas rarely draw the limelight. In fact, a few cases exist where tourists encountered a clan of hyenas attacking an elephant calf and intervened, saving the calf but depriving the hyenas of food. The KWS policy supports these actions by allowing for the calves' intake into the Sheldrick Elephant Orphanage.

The prioritization of animals is not based on true rights or equality; rather it is based on a set of preferences espoused by the dominant human group, in this case, wildlife-protection groups and the larger international community. Ultimately, these animals bring tourists, support the economy and the country's reputation, and ensure long-term relationships between stakeholder groups – such as wildlife organizations or tourism operations – and the government. Studies have analyzed the ways in which humans associate with animals (see: Peterson 1993; Rowan 1988; Bulbeck 2005; Herzog 2010) but the sentiment behind why people love “certain” animals is abstract and challenging to articulate. As listed above, ultimately characteristics such as size, power, likeness to humans, and rarity create veneration for certain animals, often humanizing them, which then is converted into support for their protection. Focusing on these species in need is just one of many organizational strategies and tactics used to gain donor support and political power.

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<sup>82</sup> This list is general, specific exceptions exist.

## **ORPHAN COMMODITY CHAIN**

For all the priority animals, perhaps the group that draws the most attention is that of young animals, especially those perceived to be in need of human care. Young animals assumed to be injured or abandoned by the female are cared for and reared by people, underscoring the Hippocratic sentiment central to the animal rights movement, do no harm through the provision of human care. In Kenya, this practice is written into policy, young animals are not to be left in the field. The Kenya Wildlife Service must be notified of each incident and then will authorize the young animal's intake.<sup>83</sup> From here, the young are cared for in one of three ways: 1) in one of the established animal orphanages, most notably the Nairobi Animal Orphanage and the David Sheldrick Elephant Orphanage; 2) in the compound of the nearest national park, where they are cared for by KWS personnel; or, 3) by individuals who hold special permits, usually resident expatriates involved in the safari industry.

In all three instances of care, tourist exposure to the young wild animals turns into profit through financial sponsorship, often termed 'adoption.' The sponsor is encouraged to develop a relationship with the individual orphan, either through personal meetings or through literature featuring the animal's narrative. This practice promotes concepts such as ownership or guardianship which, in turn, continues to support and protect the animal throughout its lifetime. In the individual cases, young animals are shown to tourists and increase their allegiance to the area or safari organization. For the larger facilities, proceeds from exposure to young wildlife are so lucrative they sometimes serve as the central funding source of an entire operation. The KWS animal orphanage in Nairobi is estimated to gross three million Kenya shillings (40,000 USD) just over the Christmas holidays and bring in more visitors than any

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<sup>83</sup> There are many instances of unauthorized animal intake throughout Kenya. Orphaned cheetah cubs are a favorite in the safari industry; their unauthorized care often leads to rifts between safari operations and between business-based groups and KWS.

other national park in the country.<sup>84</sup> As mentioned in chapter four, the David Sheldrick elephant orphanage in Nairobi serves as the primary interface between tourists and the organization, and generates an average of 150,000 KSH, or the equivalent to 2400 USD, per day. Income figures do not account for the daily cost of operations and, as is the case with the KWS orphanage, they are largely estimates over a generalized time period. Nonetheless, proceeds are both impressive and sufficient to keep the facilities at the forefront of the organizational and agency agendas.

Maintaining animal orphanages and facilitating animal adoptions – activities that are not necessarily mutually exclusive – are not the only indicators of the animal-rights movement's presence and influence. Instead, these activities are a critical component of the ways in which wildlife advocacy groups function and represent an ideal in the philosophies central to the animal-rights movement, one which NGOs capitalize upon. Saving the individual, especially by extending one's resources for the care of an animal perpetuates the notion of do no harm; it also places humans in the ethical position of nature's caretaker and the individual animal's judge. These actions call upon the hierarchy of rights placing the right to life of the animal over quality of life, issues, which include the right to roam, the right to exhibit natural behavior such as foraging or digging, the right to be free from captivity, and the right to reproduce. In many ways, this represents a contradiction to the Hippocratic stance: by removing the animal from the habitat, humans override the rights of nature. If the young is truly abandoned, then it should be subject to a predator-prey relationship; if the young animal was not, then the human care robs it of natural rearing; in either case, the habituation to

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<sup>84</sup> See: Notes from January with M. Bashir from KWS.

humans prevents the animal from experiencing a natural life cycle, even in release cases.<sup>85</sup>

Instead, the preferred species are given priority in human care, and this often consigns the animal to a life of captivity.

In many cases, the aspect of animals in need falls into a commodity chain that can be purchased (adopted), sponsored, or economically endorsed. Though wild animals do not fit the formal definition of extraction with regard to natural resource management, the idea of the animal is, in essence, extracted from the biology of the species. Organizations use an ideal, including notions of suffering and rescue, to gain access to markets and subsequently, politics, neither of which would otherwise be available. In this case, the property with value takes two forms: the first form is the “idea” of saving or protecting the animals; the second is the animal(s) themselves. Reexamining the idea of rights, this practice produces a larger question in the form of which social groups maintain rights to the animals? By Kenyan law, the citizens of Kenya own the wildlife and the government cares for this resource by way of the Kenya Wildlife Service. The value, in this case, is maintained at a high level by perpetuating the idea that all wildlife is endangered, when in fact, limited information exists locally as to which species actually are endangered and which are not. Further, some species, such as the elephant, are represented by the government as endangered while many top wildlife scientists argue that in fact the elephant has recovered in Kenya to the point that its density threatens to outcompete other species and even puts elephants’ well-being at risk in the case of drought or other extreme environmental events.

The animal hierarchy in Kenya demonstrates the power of the animal rights movement in the ability to override policies on resource use as well as that of scientific and economic

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<sup>85</sup> Human intervention does occur with traditional conservation, but the general practice is to limit or minimize habituation to humans in every way possible. For some species, such as mountain lion (*Puma puma*), this is nearly impossible and human intervention is often illegal.

information on the value of consumptive use. A staunch policy exists against the consumptive use of wild animals. However, the orphan commodity chain counters that policy by keeping the animals alive. In the live state, the government, the safari industry, and private organizations can profit from control and sometimes ownership of wild animals. Much like previous hunting laws which made consumptive use financially out of reach for local Kenyans, the practice of care for and profit from orphaned animals functions the same way: the cost-prohibitive practices are available only to the wealthy and politically savvy. Furthermore, habituation flies in the face of natural rights. Animals are taken into human care under the auspices of conservation at the expense of a free-roaming life and ecosystem function for the sake of fundraising and to perpetuate the idea of animals in need. In an interview with a wildlife manager regarding the paradox of orphaned animals and conservation, the interpretation for Kenya's wildlife management priority was "to protect all wildlife." The term protection has a wider birth of interpretation and leads directly into the recent nomenclature of wildlife protection organizations, placing protection over rights. To protect implies to negate death, and therefore justifies efforts to save animals despite the contradictions of right to life over right to a natural life.

### **ANTI-HUNTING AND THE COLLABORATIVE NETWORK OF ANIMAL DEFENSE**

Hunting is perhaps the most polarizing wildlife management issue in Kenya, dividing the conservation community in a way that distinguishes the animal rights advocates from the wildlife scientists more effectively than any other proposed action. Included in Kenya's original 1963 Wildlife Conservation and Management Act, hunting in Kenya was banned through an amendment in 1977. It was reinstated on a trial basis on private land as a 'cropping' initiative in 1996 only to be revoked a second time in 2002 as a result of animal



rights initiatives. Informal reports and interview data from hunting supporters claim that wildlife populations actually increased with hunting (see: Parker 2006).<sup>86</sup> Such generalized claims are well supported by a wealth of literature on population models (Bolin and Robinson 2003; Smith and Smith 2012), but no such data exist for Kenya's wildlife populations and the animal rights groups counter that numbers were falsely represented by opening fences and driving the animals into the hunting zones prior to the census.<sup>87</sup>

A network of organizations joined forces to maximize financial and local resources. The David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust and Born Free Foundation paired up with Youth for Conservation and the African Network for Animal Protection utilizing the donor funds brought in from the first two organizations to sponsor activities with local Kenyan youth conservation volunteers recruited and cultivated by the second two.<sup>88</sup> The collective effort is credited with the successful re-banning of hunting. According to Josphat Ngonyo, director of ANAW, local volunteers held candlelight vigils throughout Nairobi for days on end, an activity that was sponsored by Daphne Sheldrick.<sup>89</sup> ANAW prides itself on its institutional diversity, with professional outreach staff from eight different ethnic groups around Kenya. Mr. Ngonyo stated that ANAW staff members are required to speak their vernacular language, an attribute, he points out, that provides unparalleled entry into local communities around the country. Other organizations also claim credit for assisting in the efforts. For example, tight relations exist between one of the daughters of Kenya's most recent former vice president and IFAW, while Wildlife Clubs of Kenya align themselves with Youth for Conservation in their ability to

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<sup>86</sup>See: Notes from December 2008 with Action for Cheetahs

<sup>87</sup> See: Notes from January with J. Ngonyo from ANAW, S. Itela from YfC

<sup>88</sup> See: Notes from January with J. Ngonyo from ANAW and A. Owen with BFF; notes from April 2009 with BFF

<sup>89</sup> See: Notes from April 2009 DSWT

recruit and inspire volunteers.<sup>90</sup> Both of these organizations exchange volunteers with the David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust and Born Free Foundation, and often receive special project funding from both. Collectively, these organizations manage a multifaceted approach to the hunting debate. Despite the political affiliations and long-standing residence enjoyed by the pro-hunting community, the animal rights initiative had more political leverage and won the campaign, effectively banning hunting in Kenya (see also: Parker 2006; Economist 2007)

It was not until recent initiatives to update Kenya's Wildlife Conservation and Management Act that the topic of legal hunting in Kenya returned to the discussion. Since this point, the option for game hunting to be legalized in Kenya has charged the conservation discussion and polarized the dominant organizations. Discussions center on the sustainability of wildlife, but different groups possess different opinions on the overall conservation status. The pro-hunt group (which, ironically, includes many who do not actually hunt) support the idea that hunts can be regulated sustainably in regions outside of national parks with species that are not considered threatened or endangered. The position rests on extensive scientific research on hunting as an integrative management tool (see: Bolin and Robinson 2003; Smith and Smith 2012). Collectively, the position within the pro-hunting community was not to immediately reinstate widespread hunting, it was to retain the option in the policy rather than eliminate it altogether.<sup>91</sup> Generally, the ideals of the pro-hunting community are prominent throughout the organizations classified as scientific and the community of independent wildlife professionals.

Conversely, the animal rights community rejects the idea that hunting in Kenya could

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<sup>90</sup> See: Notes from February 2009 with WCK.

<sup>91</sup> See: Notes from February with an anonymous elephant specialist, J. Barrah, KWS M. Bushir M. Norton-Griffiths, D. Rotcher; notes from May 2009 with KWS head warden J. Kiawa, EAWLS H. Beltcher; notes from December 2008 with L. Frank;

ever be sustainable based on the risk of exploitation and the impacts to individual animals and endangered species. To contest the idea of hunting, wildlife advocate groups rely on a range of strategies and tactics that challenge the credibility of hunting in the scientific arena while redefining the scope of the animal rights movement. Initially, the anti-hunting camp split between beliefs that hunting is sustainable in areas other than Kenya and that hunting is not a viable management tool for wildlife anywhere, a key variable that divides the wildlife conservation organizations from the wildlife advocate organizations (see: chapter 3). But the campaign against hunting in Kenya unites the moderate and extreme camps around an animal-rights agenda to prevent the consumptive use of wild animals, period.

Central to the campaign are the organizations most closely affiliated with the Kenya Wildlife Service: IFAW, BFF, and DSWT, and the local organizations: YfC, ANAW, and the Wildlife Clubs of Kenya. Together these organizations capitalize on the international donor community as well as the local communities. These organizations maintain the frontline of the campaign against hunting but receive support from the moderate conservation organizations, such as the African Wildlife Foundation, the World Wildlife Fund, and Wildlife Direct, an organization run by Richard Leakey. The latter organizations do not lead anti-hunting campaigns – in fact informants, including Leakey, acknowledged that in some locations, hunting is an integral part of successful wildlife management – but they all simultaneously maintain a clear public position against hunting.<sup>92</sup> This collaboration demonstrates the bridge between the animal rights movement and organizations framed as conservation groups. The united front between organizations reduces the resistance placed upon anti-hunting efforts, especially as a result of scientific inaccuracies promoted by the campaign.

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<sup>92</sup> Notes from June 2009

Buttressed with generous funding and strong political support, the animal rights campaign launched large-scale anti-hunting campaigns as early as the end of 2005, when Kenya's national wildlife census was getting underway, a precursor to a public draft of the new Wildlife Conservation and Management Act. The strategies targeted the international community, East African community, local youth, and national political arena, each with a different approach. Use of internet campaigns promoted the anti-hunting agenda on a large scale, and of late, there has been a measureable increase in the use of social media sites to promote the cause. But the message has also extended beyond the World Wide Web. The national and international news media featured articles by staff writers affiliated with IFAW. The material discussed the perils of hunting, framing all wildlife in Kenya as at risk (see: Figure 11). Perhaps most notable was a six-foot-by-eight-foot illuminated poster at the departure gate of the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport (see: Figure 12).



Figure 11: A male impala from the Maasai Mara depicted as a target in an article against hunting, (Photo credit: the East African, E. Muli, 21, Feb 2009)



Figure 12: Anti-hunting campaign in the Jomo Kenyatta Airport, Nairobi, Kenya. Sponsored by the International Fund for Animal Welfare. Photo credit: S. Capoccia

In Kenya, international travelers arrive and depart the country three ways: by boat, at the port of Mombasa; by road from a neighboring country; or by air. For the most part, unless the traveler is already connected into the East African network, people entering and departing Kenya do so via air. For departures, there is only one gate in the entire airport through which all travelers must pass, the ideal location for a parting message: “We hunt, we lose.” The ‘we’ is all encompassing, but the messages targets the elite, international community. With few exceptions, every single person leaving Kenya, regardless of the purpose of travel, passes this message under the image of a nuclear lion family with a set of rifle cross-hairs positioned squarely over the male. The text is short and clear, but the underlying message implies a threat to the nuclear family and economic loss. The suggested exploitation touches upon animal family bonds, nurture and protection, and emasculation of the guardian male under attack. The focus on the male rather than the female lion, offers implications of trophy hunting and domination of nature combined with undertones of neocolonialism (see: Ryan, 1996). While this message is viewed by everyone departing, it can be inferred that the target audience is the

safari-goers, individuals who spent upwards of thousands of dollars traveling Kenya viewing wildlife.<sup>93</sup> Many travelers are fulfilling their life-long dreams to go to African. Some experienced intimate connections with (or even spiritual transcendence from) individual wild animals (see: Bulbeck 2005; Herzog 2010). To have these types of experiences paired with the idea of hunting creates a powerful tension between wrongs and rights.

The placement of the poster is not only pertinent in the amount of exposure it received from departing travelers, but also speaks to the political connections of its sponsors. The airport poster against hunting reveals formidable connections between IFAW and the Kenyan government that demonstrate political influence and a manipulation of conditions. The image, which was paid for by IFAW, is in a government building, despite Kenyan laws that dictate that solicitation and marketing is strictly forbidden in all government buildings (Kenya Law CAP 487). Throughout the entire departure area, the only visible marketing is from the airlines affiliated with the airport and Kenya-sponsored banks. For the government to allow such large and prominently placed solicitation reveals strong ties that extend past the wildlife agency into other government sectors. The written message alone challenges the idea that the government of Kenya remained unbiased in the crafting of the new Wildlife Conservation and Management Act, thereby overlaying the strategically placed publicity against the backdrop of persuasive and effective government affiliations.

The analysis of the message exposes several inaccuracies that are persistent throughout Kenya's animal-rights narrative. Both the original 1963 Wildlife Conservation and Management Act and discussions which address the draft of the new policy speak clearly to hunting as a regulated activity. In such a context, the hunting of threatened or endangered

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<sup>93</sup> The average Safari in 2008 cost \$2500.00 USD per person without airfare. This figure is an average of roughly eight well-known safari companies, including Ann K. Taylor safaris, Abercrombie and Kent, and Young Safari Company.

species, such as lions, would never be allowed. In fact, the discussions around hunting address small and medium-sized ungulates from viable populations such as Thomson's and Grant's gazelle (*Eudorcas thomsonii*; *Nanger granti*), impala, plains zebra, and warthog. Interview data shows that strong proponents of hunting also work on conservation plans to protect and increase populations of vulnerable species including lion, bongos, and even elephant, despite the debate that exists over elephant's population density. Several respondents from the science-driven organizations felt that sustainable hunting could generate revenue sufficient to support a given region's conservation, but also expressed concern regarding the resistance from the animal rights community.<sup>94</sup> On the whole, the access to government property, public solicitation, and the distortion of information highlights the range of strategies and tactics employed by the animal rights community and the weight the cultivated sentiments have on wildlife policy in Kenya.

The hunting debate uncovers underhanded tactics that involve the distortion of information and use of emotive terms. Latour points out that emotion can blur science and policy (2005, 253) and that agents of change strive for favorable regulation. This type of discourse is prominent throughout the wildlife-protection organizations and represents a common misunderstanding in the larger animal-rights movement. Examples include erasing the distinction between endangered status and viable populations and between regulated and non-regulated practice. Terms such as "bushmeat" and "poaching" conjure images of a savage, unregulated trade. Conversations with organization volunteers and interns – some of whom are scholars of the KWS wildlife management training program – show that the dominant belief is that all wild animals in Kenya are in danger of going extinct, and that hunting promises to expedite the process.

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<sup>94</sup> See: Notes from February 2009. H. Beltcher, M. Norton-Griffiths, D. Rotcher, an anonymous elephant specialist; notes from June 2009 J. Barrah,

In depth discussions with Kenyans volunteering in the wildlife arena show that the anti-hunting message ignores ideas of regulation in both harvest rates and hunting location.<sup>95</sup> When asked, nearly all the respondents felt that hunting was a violation of the principle of offering animals refuge in national parks. An equally overwhelming sentiment supported the belief that hunters would discriminately kill the largest animals and most of the male animals, leaving unbalanced populations that could not recover. One respondent termed the proposal for hunting “ukoloni,” the Kiswahili word for colonialism. The conversation also often included mention of the potential drop in non-hunting tourists as a result of the eminent lack of large bull elephants and male lions. Populations that are accurately listed as endangered, by national policy or international organization (i.e. CITES, IUCN) reflect the premise that the species is literally in danger of extinction. None of the fourteen informants in three different focus group settings could distinguish between Kenya’s endangered and non-endangered wildlife and some had attended wildlife college.<sup>96</sup> The notion that all of Kenya’s wild animals are at risk creates a sense of urgency for protection that feeds into the animal-rights discourse on individuality and vulnerability thereby justifying continued efforts at a national level. In this context, the given population is managed with consideration for each individual which maintains the notion of saving the animals and aligns with the species hierarchy and commodity chain.

For wildlife and the political ecology of Kenya, the pressure towards non-consumptive resource use and the international value of wild animals favors intrinsic values over market values. The human culture of assigning a value range to animals is not unique to the western,

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<sup>95</sup>Individuals ranged from 20 to 30 years of age; employment status included unemployed volunteers, low-paid interns, and paid professionals.

<sup>96</sup> See: Notes from November 2008, volunteers at the Giraffe center; notes from January 2009 with volunteers for Youth for Conservation; notes from March 2009 with volunteers on the Nairobi Game Count.



international community, but studies show that development and wealth enable people to give more weight to the aesthetic value of animals over the value of utility. The ability to maintain and care for animals is an indicator of resource investment; the ability to do so for non-consumptive purposes – aesthetic and/or emotional interests – indicates the ability to invest resources beyond consumptive value (Rowan 1988; Herzog 2010). A similar scenario exists with wild animals. Nature, as Cronon describes, is something created by those who are not a part of it (1995). A lion, for example, is not something to be admired if your livestock are at risk. It is wealth that allows one to enjoy a lion, from a safe view point and without worry of losing one's investment. When values for animals clash, the human groups are automatically poised for social conflict. The culture conflicts that follow enforce the social status of the area (on culture-nature debates, see: Elder, Wolch, and Emel 1998; Johnson 2008). The network alliances that accompany the wealthy international community show up as heavy weights in the contest for rights and management actions. Efforts to include the local community on conservation projects or to assist local people in meeting basic needs of employment, education and medical care can often be viewed as an organizational tactic to obligate the community to the respective organization and gain power through dependency.

### **COMMUNITY PROJECTS: GAINING THE INSIDE ADVANTAGE**

Community development projects are typically geared towards developing a stronger relationship between the community and NGO. At face value, these projects answer the critique that sustainable wildlife conservation cannot occur without the endorsement of the local community and that wildlife conservation organizations tend to overlook local people (Child 1996; Agrawal and Gibson 1999). While some projects transpired in response to these

critiques, others were simply part of an organizational agenda. Regardless of the origin, community-based projects proved lucrative in the donor circle and an effective means to gain community support and thus regional access to resources such as private or park land.

Collectively, projects fall in to seven categories: education, health care, animal husbandry, small-scale agriculture, development, community wildlife scouts, and wildlife-management (mitigation) programs. Not all projects are mutually exclusive; in fact, many – such as animal husbandry and integrated wildlife-management projects – are separate but rely on strong collaborations. Perhaps the most prevalent of all the projects are local education and health care. For many rural communities access to education and health care are hindered by infrequent and costly transportation. In addition, lack of access to reliable electricity seriously limits the quality of healthcare. By and large, access to medical care and education is particularly challenging in places like Amboseli, rural Tsavo, and regions in the Northern Province where reliable transportation is only seasonally available at best. For an NGO with private transportation and access to donor funds, financial and construction obstacles are easier to overcome than they are for the community, so joint projects can be mutually beneficial. Projects that promote or enable education and health care at local levels position the sponsoring wildlife organization as socially conscientious in the minds of the national and international audience, and foster positive relations between the community and the organization. In general, education projects such as construction of school buildings, funding operational costs of education, and sponsoring secondary education are championed by organizations such as the Amboseli Trust for Elephants, the Born Free Foundation, the David Sheldrick Wildlife Trust, and many of the business-based organizations that run their tourist operations in a given area.

In select cases, education translates into preferential political treatment for some organizations. Both the International Fund for Animal Welfare and Daphne Sheldrick follow a key strategy for gaining control of resources: lobbying for the hiring of officials who align with their philosophy. In terms of an approach, this strategic measure replaces existing decision makers at the end of their term limit, with personnel who share a similar ideological value for protecting and managing the resources at hand. In these cases, the individuals selected are usually educated at the expense of the supporting organization. In the case of IFAW, not only does this organization fund and later embed their chosen individuals into KWS official positions, they actually share directors. In other words, both KWS and IFAW have, at different points in time, hired a director who has held the position of director for the other (see: ENS 2005). This strategy ensures that the non-profit's ideals are maintained across organizational-agency boundaries and perpetuated within the government agenda. By hiring former KWS officers, IFAW also gains access to insider information. Another effective strategy is to win the allegiance of the wardens and rangers by supporting them individually. In some cases this support comes in the form of education, while in others it is in housing and other benefits. In Amboseli, the Maasai Mara region, the Tsavo regions, and Mount Kenya National Forest, community members are paid to work as wildlife scouts and root out poachers, effectively pitting these individuals against their own communities.<sup>97</sup>

For the business-based organizations, the aid comes in the form of purported collaboration by framing their safari operation as community-based conservation. Businesses lease community land and build the resources needed to accommodate tourists. In exchange, the organization and tour operations receive nearly exclusive rights to the business territory. In

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<sup>97</sup> See: Notes from February from A. K. Taylor; notes from March 2009 with the Bill Woodley Trust; notes from June 2009 with ATE and DSWT

exchange for accessing wildlife on these lands, each tourist pays an average of thirty-five U.S. dollars to the community. Once the relationship is established, the business-based organizations form partnerships with the wildlife-protection NGOs to facilitate the construction of schools, roads, and health-care centers. The anti-hunting message is strong in these areas; tourism maximizes the productivity of resources on site, as animals in the live state can be repeatedly marketed.<sup>98</sup> Here, too, community members are paid to work as scouts and are expected to provide the business-based groups with insider information on illegal hunting and other wildlife issues. Often framed as partnerships, such joint ventures lead to economic and social dependency (Akama 1999).

For wildlife-protection groups, community projects, in most cases, place wildlife concerns second to the benefits of developing a positive relationship between the community and NGO. The impact plays out in regional settings, with different NGOs engaging different communities. Projects which do address wildlife do so as a means to minimize wildlife loss. Efforts are almost exclusively in areas adjacent to wildlife regions with high national visibility, and nearly all involve communities with some degree of human-wildlife conflict. The Born Free Foundation built several schools in the Tsavo region that is most frequently used for desnaring patrols. They speak to the head masters and teachers to gain insight into possible illegal hunting. BFF also collaborates with several business-based operations in the Maasai Mara, partnering on school construction projects and community nutrition projects. Other community-needs projects range from healthcare and family planning to livestock and crop development; each tailored to the community concerns.

The projects show a progressive agenda and community engagement that is endorsed

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<sup>98</sup> Exceptions to Kenya's wildlife export laws include presidential overrides and research collections.

by the donor community and welcome by the local community, but projects such as these do not come without challenges. Communities struggle to meet the long-term recurrent costs not covered by NGOs, such as teachers' salaries. More generally, these projects play a minimal role in easing the tensions around human-wildlife conflict. The wildlife advocate groups' efforts are meant to instill a sense of obligation in communities but come at the expense of community and private property, as the local people are expected to develop a higher tolerance for livestock and agriculture depredation. Interviews with three organizations suggest that any effort to protect livestock or crops from wildlife damage is looked down upon and there is a general expectation that community members will stop hunting illegally.<sup>99</sup> An extension of this logic is that money saved on health care and education is an indirect form of compensation for crops and livestock lost due to wildlife damage. The Born Free Foundation also suggested that the money saved should be spent to buy food rather than to rely on livestock, a sentiment that is assumed by several organizations.<sup>100</sup> When confronted about the low community satisfaction with the new set of schools, BFF acknowledged that a school cannot replace food on the table, but the hope is that the educated children will learn conservation and be able to get jobs that are not based on subsistence agriculture and they will be the ones to protect wildlife.<sup>101</sup> While this holds some truth, the sentiment supplants subsistence living with wage labor rather than endorsing a true integrated system of community-wildlife co-existence.

Regardless of the immediate benefit of community development projects, none are truly grassroots and few hold a long-term promise of mitigating human-wildlife conflict. For example, the suggestion that community members seek wage-labor employment as a means to

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<sup>99</sup> See: notes from January 2009 with BFF; notes from February 2009 with A. K. Taylor; notes from May 2009 with DSWT.

<sup>100</sup> See: Notes from May 2009 with DSWT

<sup>101</sup> See: Notes from January 2009 with BFF

purchase food instead of relying on the land through a subsistence life-style merely shifts human-wildlife conflict from small-scale farms to habitat loss through development of large-scale agriculture production. While many projects do provide benefit in exchange for the burden of wildlife, they do not come without their own set of social politics. One community member pointed out that projects are often located closest to the (already wealthy) chief or district government officer, which for many, can still be miles away from problem wildlife zones. A small, local NGO director echoed this frustration claiming that the community leaders in the area east of Tsavo first expected a cattle dip before they would collaborate on a local conservation initiative.<sup>102</sup> Overall, these projects answer the need for an organization's investment in community development, but fall short of the need to mitigate human-wildlife conflict.

## **CONCLUSION**

The strategies and tactics employed by protection-driven NGOs have a multiplicity of impacts that can be mapped out in the national parks and surrounding regions (see: Figure 13). All regions studied have the presence of at least one, if not multiple wildlife protection organizations that work in an integrated management capacity. With the exception of Nairobi National Park, this research identified at least one warden, and sometimes several, in each area who was a beneficiary of organization funding. Similarly all regions except Nairobi National Park had a least one community project funded by a wildlife protection organization.

This research identified private scouts, anti-hunting campaigns, anti-snaring projects, animal rescue, and international funding in all national parks; and community projects and privately funded wardens in all but one. The Nairobi National Park region, was an outlier for

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<sup>102</sup> See: Notes from November 2008 with A. Owen from BFF; notes from December 2008 with P. Ole Ntutu of the Maasai Mara; notes from June 2009 with Jackson

wardens and community projects, but this does not indicate that these variables do not exist, rather that the research was simply unable to identify them. The overview demonstrates that, of the five select geographic regions, almost all are shaped by the animal rights organizational culture with regard to the personnel and community projects, while all regions support animal rights campaigns, animal rescue, and depend on funding from the animal rights movement.

| Overview of Findings   |  |                               |  |                            |                       |                       |               |   |
|--|--|-------------------------------|--|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------|---|
| Animal rights activity in national parks in Kenya, 2009-2010 |  |                               |  |                            |                       |                       |               |   |
|  | Presence of international wildlife organization(s) | Warden funded by organization | Community project funded by organization | Presence of private scouts | Anti-hunting campaign | Anti-snaring campaign | Animal rescue | External funding that enabled day-to-day function |
| Amboseli National Park                                       | 1  | 1                             | 1  | 1                          | 1                     | 1                     | 1             | 1   |
| Maasai Mara National Park                                    | 1  | 1                             | 1  | 1                          | 1                     | 1                     | 1             | 1   |
| Meru National Park   | 1  | 1                             | 1  | 1                          | 1                     | 1                     | 1             | 1   |
| Nairobi National Park  | 1  |                               |  | 1                          | 1                     | 1                     | 1             | 1   |
| Tsavo National Parks   | 1  | 1                             | 1  | 1                          | 1                     | 1                     | 1             | 1   |

Figure 13: An overview of findings shows the ways in which each region of the study sustains impacts from the animal rights movement as a result of wildlife protection organizations and their related projects (chart by: S. Capoccia 2012).

The classification of wild animals by NGOs rests more on animals that appealed to humans rather than conservation status. From an ecological standpoint, this shifts the focus of natural resource management to that of socially preferred species; in this case the social group in question is the international community rather than local people. From a wildlife management standpoint, this shifts the idea of conservation from one that involves sustainable consumptive use to one that issues protection at all cost. In many cases, the protection afforded to the preferred species places an unusually large burden of care on the local society. With this

in mind, many organizations work to mitigate the burden of wildlife by initiating community projects, an effort that ultimately creates a cycle of dependency but does little to alleviate wildlife problems. So powerful are these NGOs that the financial stream also creates a dependency between the NGOs and the Kenyan government. National and regional wildlife management policies often reflect the views of the dominant wildlife-protection organization invested in their specific area. But these organizations are not stand alone; a greater level of international power is wielded through network affiliations of wildlife-protection organizations as well as the business-based organizations. The unified front that these organizations present has, thus far, dominated the national agenda for consumptive use of wildlife and exerted a strong influence on other policies such as wildlife relocation, rehabilitation, and mitigation of human wildlife conflict.

This research cites the animal rights movement as one of major influences pushing the change in the definition of conservation; this influence is twofold. First, the strong social aversion to the idea of animal rights as extreme and emotional causes organizations with an animal-rights agenda to veil themselves as conservation organization. Second, the power and strength that animal rights ideals have in the funding community cause conservation organizations to adopt animal principles as well as strategies and tactics, such as animal adoption and a focus on the large charismatic species. This shift reflects deep cultural values on both sides of the argument and can be seen through changes in policies. In time, these policies (and ethics) transitioned fed back into the idea of conservation, later wildlife management, and ultimately the protection of wildlife.



## **Chapter 6 – The Passage of Rights in Africa**

This research supports the hypothesis that the animal rights movement plays a major role in Kenya's wildlife conservation and management policies and practice, particularly as result of involvement by wildlife non-government organizations. This study spanned roughly ten months in Kenya, during which time I interviewed the most active NGOs in the region, analyzed their dominant philosophies and observed NGO involvement in wildlife conservation, management and policy. The research focused primarily on organizations with a Nairobi-based office, and project sites in Amboseli, the Maasai Mara, Meru, Nairobi, and Tsavo National Parks regions. The study concludes that the network of wildlife-protection organizations and, by association, the animal rights movement, squarely place the movement in the center of wildlife conservation and management in Kenya, from the priorities around orphaned and injured animals to a conservation message against killing. Furthermore, the impressive funding stream of such organizations creates interdependence between them the Kenya Wildlife Service.

Initially the port of Mombasa, on Kenya's coast, served as an entry point for early explorers and traders into the continent of Africa. As travelers penetrated the continent, they brought with them their own set of cultural values. Of course, not all were animal-rights based, but the dominant European values and policies, specifically those of England, carried with them a good-use versus bad-use mantra that placed colonial powers in an ethically just position while framing local users as unreliable and irresponsible (see: Duffy 2000; Pickover 2005). This could not be more true for wildlife. Ethically-just trophy hunting and the international trade in wildlife parts trumped that of local users and gave power and control to the colonial governing bodies.

For Africa, Kenya has always been in the limelight of resource use. Without a doubt, the movement's strength and influence dominate the ways in which wildlife policy and protocol are formed and keep Kenya as a forerunner in African conservation. From Kenya's early recorded wildlife management history, English law laid the foundation of ethics for access to wild animals. Elite power and control dictated who, where, and how Kenya's wild animals were used, claiming the game animals for royalty and deeming traditional hunting methods illegal on the basis of animal suffering. The ideal that hunting was a refined sport prevented local communities, then largely hunter-gathers, from accessing wild animals as natural resources. The policies put in place were geared towards the protection of wild animals specifically from local hunters, policies that have stood the test of time.

Kenya's history of colonial rule, claiming wild animals for royalty and eliminating vermin, set the stage for elite access to and control of animals and related resources. With Kenya's independence in 1973 came Great Britain's loss of formal governmental control at the national level, including wildlife management. Formal control was exchanged for wide-spread and large-scale international involvement in the form of non-government organizations, which placed game animals – such as elephants and rhinoceros – at the top of the conservation priority list. The international involvement in Kenya reflects the wide-spread change in western thinking against hunting and animal use (see: Smith and Smith 2012). From this point, wildlife in Kenya was portrayed as “at risk” of going extinct and the east African wildlife management matched up with a preservationist-style approach: protect all at all cost.

A series of internationally controlled policies followed suit. Throughout the 1960s into the 1970s, Kenya's hunting safaris had taken a measurable toll on wildlife numbers and environmental integrity (see: Western 1997). Hunting regulations were largely ignored and

safari guides and politicians accepted and exchanged huge sums of money that drove the hunting industry under the table (see: Bonner 1993; Gibson 1999), the result of which was an amendment to Kenya's wildlife conservation and management act that issued a temporary ban on hunting in 1977. Superficially, the amendment offered recovery but did little to slow the ivory trade. By the mid-1980s efforts were underway to regulate the ivory trade, but the initiative turned into a much larger policy with Kenya leading the way. Relying on animal rights, powerful wildlife organizations launched an international campaign that outlawed the import and sale of ivory at an almost global scale by listing the elephant as an Appendix I species through CITES. The effort to protect wildlife over rode the conservation agenda to strengthen regulations and use the resource sustainably. This manner of thinking merged seamlessly into the animal rights movement, a powerful social movement with a wealth of donors. The financial windfall immediately took hold of the political agenda (see: Bonner 1993; Duffy 2000).

The long history, in and wide reach of, the animal-rights movement throughout Kenya feeds back into international agendas. As the gateway to Africa, Kenya sets the stage for many international expectations, not the least of which is wildlife conservation and management. From the perspective of animal geography, Kenya's wild animals have had, and continue to have, a major influence on the partial landscape layout of the country. Wild animals, free-roaming and captive, sit as a keystone between Kenya's biogeography, political ecology, natural resource management, and cultural and economic geography. As the third largest economic sector in the country, wildlife-related tourism shows up as a heavy-weight in the political arena and receives the lion's share, so to speak, of political attention for economic and cultural issues pertaining to natural resource management. With so much reliance on the

international community for economic support, the wildlife sector is easily influenced by international opinions towards conservation and management protocol. The organizations bridge the gap between east African wildlife conservation and the Euroamerican interests. In doing so, many of the organizations lean heavily on colonial ideals from the last century and animal rights philosophies, both of which draw on protectionist principles that denounce local use of wild animals, endorse their captive care, and limit killing them to extreme human-wildlife situations. In Kenya, the dominant human perception of wild animals aligns with the dominant economic group, the wildlife-protection and business-based organizations.

Today, while fulfilling a slightly different agenda, these policies continue to restrict local access to wildlife, and shape national parks and national management policies. They retain a large focus on the favored game species, and give priority to financial stakeholders. So strong has the international community become that their interests are openly reflected in the goals of the Kenya Wildlife Service. KWS highlights external stakeholders in its mission statement and objectives: “To sustainably conserve and manage Kenya’s wildlife and its habitats in collaboration with other stakeholders” (KWS 2011). The focus on stakeholders underscores the role of outside organizations in the management of Kenya’s wildlife. As Peluso points out, tensions between society and state are often influenced by external factors (1993). Recent data shows that private sector parties, specifically NGOs, often hold a higher level of trust on behalf of the public than government or corporate entities (Sasser et al. 2006). In addition, Kenya is known for pandering to the international audience far more than most African nations to solicit funding and tourism based on its wildlife vulnerability (see: Bonner 1993). Such efforts have been hugely successful. Kenya maintains its international spotlight as one of the most critical sites for wildlife conservation on the continent and allows international

interests and investments to guide its conservation management and policy.

When the KWS mission, “To sustainably conserve, manage, and enhance Kenya's wildlife, its habitats, and provide a wide range of public uses in collaboration with stakeholders for posterity,” (KWS 2013), is paired with the recent priorities and history of affiliation with outside organizations, one aspect becomes abundantly clear: KWS as an agency and related wildlife conservation and management are heavily influenced by outside opinions and interest groups. It is within these interest groups that policies form for the management of individual animals. This focus brings about a shift in management priorities from applied ecology to the moral motivation behind conservation. National parks and wildlife conservation management in Kenya accordingly do more to reflect a social need than an ecological one. The species hierarchy that appears in management decisions reflects human perception of nature and elite priorities. As a result, the biogeography of Kenya's wildlife and the control thereof is a manifestation of neocolonial control through the animal rights movement.

### **IS ANIMAL RIGHTS RIGHT FOR KENYA?**

The animal-rights movement is heavily criticized for being emotional, irrational, and inflexible, and for its efforts to forestall productive science. Historically, Kenya's animal rights movement – whether in the form of colonial rule or later, as a movement within wildlife organizations – unjustly vilified local hunters for their hunting practices and overall animal use. Initial measures to outlaw local hunting (over legitimate safari hunting) were successful in setting up infrastructure that restricted local access to wild animals and even legally prevented the protection of personal property against damage by wild animals. Though it does occur,

anti-hunting policies have made access to wild meat a clandestine activity. Thus far, the political ecology literature on social control of access to big-game widely accepts that control over wildlife equates to control over people and big-game dominance is the poster child for control of resources in Kenya (see: Anderson 1987; MacKenzie 1988; Akama 1999).

The policies and practices extend throughout Kenya's wildlife conservation and management to govern which species are given political priority: which animals can be killed and which must be saved, how parks are managed, and what happens to young animals assumed abandoned or orphaned. The larger scope of the animal rights movement creates the assumption that Kenya's wildlife is perpetually endangered and must be saved at all cost. The movement piggy-backed on colonial policies that chastise local use of wild animals, even if that use is sustainable and supports a subsistence lifestyle, by using strategies and tactics that rely on gory or emotional images. Not surprisingly, humans are often posed as oppressors of animals (see: Scully 2001; Wise 2001; Fracione 2004; Saustine and Naussbam 2004), and the animal-rights movement works to alleviate the oppressed condition. Efforts to endear local communities to wildlife-protection organizations result in the construction of schools, healthcare centers, cattle dips, improved live-stock fencing, payment for livestock lost to wild animals, and even university-based educations. With the myriad of impacts, the question remains, is animal rights right for Kenya?

Like many postcolonial countries, Kenya's wildlife management estate displays tension between expatriate investments and national interests, a division that exists with porous boundaries. The complex nature of the animal-rights movement rests heavily on a web of morals and ethics, which can vary from one individual to the next. The affiliated wildlife organizations are charged with the task of operationalizing these ideals as a means to engage

as many donors as possible. In doing so, funding strategies must bridge between animal rights philosophies and wildlife issues by commodifying the wildlife issues as seen with the orphaned commodity chain and the anti-hunting campaign, programs that play out in the day-to-day lives of people who live near and with wild animals.

At an extreme, the conflict between people and wild animals over space and resource use, including habitat destruction in the name of development, is cited as one of the largest threats to wildlife (Peluso 1993; Muruthi 2005, 2). Principles of animal rights are employed by wildlife protection groups by setting the rights of people with subsistence lifestyle against the rights of wild fauna, and the interests of people “for” nature against people living “with” nature (see: Peluso 1993, 58). But Kenya has changed dramatically in the last century and efforts to conserve the wildlife take on new challenges.

It is an indisputable fact that the expansion of the human population and related development in Kenya threaten the existing natural areas in their current state (Cincotta, Wisnewski, and Engelman 2000; Woodroffe, R. 2000). Human population growth combined with Kenya’s inability to enforce many laws, not least of which are the anti-hunting laws, leaves the future of the country’s wildlife in question. The concern extends past Kenya’s national parks to include national reserves, national forests, non-demarcated areas used for wildlife dispersal zones and migration corridors, and private land, as less than thirty percent of wildlife is assumed to live in national parks. Like most other anthropogenic change in the world, Kenya’s human expansion into and development of areas less frequented by charismatic megafauna – zebra, lion, leopard – translates into pressure on local flora and fauna, and contributes to overall environmental decline. As a result, a tension exists between the beneficiaries of development, altered land and resources, and in some case, a community

that remain reliant on the land and resources, such as agro-pastoralists. In this situation, communities that have withstood change are most directly affected by the animal rights movement as they are the people whose lives are most intertwined with the wild animals, but who cannot use animal resources or defend themselves without sanction, if caught. The ways in which local people interact with and react to wild animals, using traditional methods of hunting with spears and snares, risks labeling them in contrast with modernity (see: Elder, Wolch, and Emel 1998), which supports Neumann's 'good native' versus 'bad native' scenario (1997).

Kenya exemplifies the distinction between ethnic values with regard to animal treatment and social class. Overall, the animal rights movement in Kenya is an overlap of enduring colonial notions of user rights to game (wildlife) and a decline in environmental quality from expanding human population, development, and resource use (see: Bronner 2008). But these circumstances are combined with two other key conditions. First, Kenya's northern region presents two challenges. Kenya's northern boundaries meet Sudan and Somalia, both wrought with lawless unrest and desperation. The extreme political turmoil reduces the amount of boundary enforcement the KWS is capable of. As a result the illegal export of wild animals from this area goes unchecked. In addition, Kenya's arid north and undeveloped landscape makes wildlife patrols a challenge. The limited infrastructure leaves rangers largely detached from reliable communication, and the war-torn territory that bridges between Kenya's north and the Sudanese and Somali southern ranges puts KWS personnel at risk and paves a path for wildlife trafficking.

Second, Kenya's own well-known and long-standing political corruption prevents regulation and law enforcement at the local and even regional levels. So thick is the corruption



that billboards stand at the entrance to most government buildings: “Corruption-free Zone.” This is combined with the country’s inability to regulate and enforce most laws, from use of illegal forest products to collection of taxes.<sup>103</sup> According to Fisher, NGOs tend to capitalize on government inefficiency by unilaterally assuming “stewardship” of civil society and/ or environmental conditions. It is within this context the NGOs gain management status and legitimacy with regard to the funding community (1997). The relationship between the wildlife organizations and Kenya’s wildlife agency developed in exactly this manner: NGOs stepping up to the task of wildlife management in the absence of strong government protocol as explained in chapter three. Fisher goes on to explain that this type of NGO strategy – the quasi-government role – results in various levels of dependence on NGOs by the government, a relationship that shapes the political arena and related policies (1997:440).

The two conditions mentioned – volatile border countries and Kenya’s already weak ability to enforce regulation on consumptive use – perpetuate the unlawful off-take of animals from the country. The conditions give credibility to claims that Kenya cannot regulate local or sustainable wildlife use inside the country. Repeatedly, Tanzania, to Kenya’s south, is used as the example of why and how hunting could and would work in Kenya. Advocates of science-driven conservation draw parallels between Kenya’s and Tanzania’s culture, language, ecosystems, and infrastructure to support a more integrated wildlife management system in Kenya (see: Lindsey, Roulet, and Romanach 2007). That said, unlike Tanzania, which has experienced a greater level of political stability, Kenya has experienced a succession of dishonest political leaders and a rash of corruption which facilitated over use and failed to instill adequate regulatory protocols for commercial hunting of any kind. With volatile

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<sup>103</sup> See: Notes from January 2009.

international relations to the north, a boundary that is permeable to export, internal corruption, and lack of enforcement, arguments in favor of legitimate hunting and lethal wildlife management are weak at best and leave management and regulation of these activities to private stakeholders, deepening the relationship of dependence.

The petition to lift the thirty-five-year-old ban against hunting has generated a flood of anti-hunting campaigns and discussions around the best-practice conservation for the country. In this context, there is a well-recognized hunting issue throughout Africa, particularly in areas that are hard to reach for wildlife rangers and have an overlap in wildlife and human populations (See: Benett et. al. 2006). The concern for unsustainable resource use is not unique to Kenya and some scientists cite the lack of regulation as a cause to prevent the reestablishment of hunting in Kenya as a conservation tool and as a means to increase the value of wildlife (Lindsey et. al 2006).

MacKenzie posits that conservation policies have not been developed in response to “sensitivities, but as ideas that were only possible once the economic need for the exploitation of animals had begun to pass away” (1998; 224). On the outside, the retention of colonial policies may not clearly indicate the presence of animal rights movement, but the analysis of the political language, (e.g. suffering, brutal, cruel) and the assignment of moral blame (good users versus bad users), does, in fact, reflect animal rights philosophies. Throughout the transition from colonial policies to animal rights philosophies the ethics of the user has stayed central to the argument, and now has wide-spread acceptance among the Euroamerican international community (see: Benette et. al. 2006).<sup>104</sup>

The dominant party controlling wildlife gained more economically from protecting the

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<sup>104</sup> See: Notes from January 2009, L. Frank; notes from March 2009, an anonymous elephant specialist

resource intact, on the hoof, than from the value the resource on the hook (MacKenzie 1998). This is supported by quotes that each live elephant in Kenya is worth sixteen thousand dollars per year for Kenya, whereas each lion is estimated at thirty seven thousand dollars.<sup>105</sup> These figures are stated in contrast to a one-time fee from a hunting safari, which is often larger, but does not hold the accumulated value. In contrast, for countries that allow hunting the argument is often reversed in support of it. It's unclear how the informants arrived at these estimates, but the figures are consistent and often repeated in conversations regarding Kenya's wildlife. Reexamining the wildlife protection groups, the motive of financial gain holds true. The business-based groups, or tour agencies, protect individual animals from illegal hunting to safeguard their investment and personal business interests. In doing so, it appears a second set of interests is protected.

An interview with one of the Born Free Foundation's volunteers holds special merit. He used the word "Ukoloni," Kiswahili for colonialism in reference to the expatriate control of wildlife. Initially, this could indicate his resistance to more European or American power, an idea that is not out of the realm of possibility. Data from the independent informants, including Jack Barrah, one of Kenya's original four wardens, show that hunting was successful to generate income and could be managed sustainably until Kenya gained independence. The policy against hunting is partially to blame for lost revenue which has changed the dynamics of land use practices and subsequent loss of wildlife. These discussions have supporting evidence that hunting would increase Kenya's wildlife revenue; including hunting on private and group ranches and in areas that otherwise do not support high tourist traffic. Despite the merit that these arguments have, the use of the word Ukoloni brings up another point. In the

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<sup>105</sup> See: Notes from June 2009 DSWT

face of stark inequity, the anti-hunting law is one of the few that levels the playing field. No one, regardless of wealth, class, origin, political affiliation, or resource access is allowed to hunt. In fact, the anti-hunting law supersedes traces of colonialism at its core. Though there exists strong evidence to support the idea that hunting could, in many ways, benefit Kenya's larger wildlife conservation agenda, there is nothing to support the idea that hunting would not further the social inequities that exist around the wildlife industry.

The ethics exposed through the animal rights approach to wild animal management brings about a host of ideas and ideals. The question of whether or not animal rights are right for Kenya can only be answered in its absence. The idea that Kenya's wildlife is in peril is, in many ways, separate from the idea that protecting animals from death is right and just. The proximity of Kenya to politically unstable borders, increasing demand for wildlife parts, with ivory leading the trade, and the lack of enforcement at a local level leave open the question as to whether legal hunting could, in fact, be reinstated and managed sustainably. If so, the second important question is how, if at all, would hunting be received by local communities? The idea that wild animals can and should be raised by humans, kept in captivity and outside of natural ecosystems challenge the notion of rights employed by proponents of the movement.

In Kenya, the animal rights movement has come full circle. Initially established to allow the British exclusive access to game animals, the animal rights movement now prevents any hunting of animals. Though the animal rights movement encompasses a wide range of issues, for Kenya, the issue of hunting is unique insofar as it is one of the only countries in the world that does not allow hunting of some sort; that difference is distinguished by the power of the movement. The examination of animal rights in a larger scope reveals impacts on wildlife

policy for management protocol and national park priorities. For the idea of conservation at large, the animal rights movement works to change the way society interprets the practice of conservation. The field of geography integrates the animal rights movement into the practice of wildlife conservation and management and demonstrates the effects that emotion, ethics, and social power have on the way different regions take shape.

Vast stretches of land are dedicated to the protection of wild animals. In some cases, like the orphanages in Nairobi, the allocation of the area goes towards recovering and raising wild animals in captivity, most of which are never released. In other areas, such as the Rhino Sanctuary in Meru National Park, the protection afforded prioritizes the life over that of natural rights to roam, migrate, and reproduce. Outside the sanctuary, Kenya's national parks stand as an anthology of animal rights. From the inception of the Meru park, Joy and George Adamson glorified the human-animal relationship by humanizing animals and drawing international attention; the park later stood as a large-scale rescue and rehabilitation operation. For Tsavo, the genesis of the park represents the historical development of the animal rights movement and the creation of a wildlife management operation followed by the promotion of elephants as the preferred species. The orphan project further distorts the priorities by giving some elephants, those raised in Nairobi, favor over the wild-raised individuals. In Tsavo, the Maasai Mara, and Amboseli, the tendency or willingness of the animal rights movement to intervene when human-wildlife issues arise undermines existing government action and gives the political control to the organizations. And finally, as a means to incorporate local communities into the animal rights agenda, wildlife-protection organizations work on development projects that in some instances work towards separating people from a subsistence lifestyle, as well as creating allegiances and mutual dependence between the

organizations and local people.

The future of the animal rights movement and wildlife management comes with promising research prospects. For Kenya, as development increases and wild lands decrease, the tension between wild animals and subsistence communities will increase. Development projects such as schools and hospitals may not be able to sustain a community's tolerance for wildlife. The future of the elephant population management, in the face of illegal offtake, poor regulation and enforcement, and dense populations, will undoubtedly invite a stronger intervention by animal rights campaigns. With Kenya in the lead, other countries may follow suit and prohibit hunting. The United States has already seen a reduction in hunting; in many areas the prohibition of hunting sustainable, even overpopulated species, has led to heated political debates (see: Dizzard 1999; Hanley 2004; Gorman 2012). For Kenya, international influence is not unique to wildlife. Much of Kenya's political arena, from humanitarian aid to the development of Nairobi's business district, is replete with representation and control from international stakeholders. Kenya's wild animals, however, support some of the longest history of international interest and some of the deepest emotions (see: Manfredo 2008; Herzog 2010) making Kenya home to the animal rights movement and continuing outsider control.

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