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Monument of nature? An ethnography of the world heritage of Mt. Kenya

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NOTES

¹ This service is offered since 2012 and, according to Meskell & Brumann, has had some notable effects. Live streaming of World Heritage meetings for instance led to home ministries following the proceedings closely while instructing their representatives on the spot. Also, aware of the increased visibility, some speakers now tailor their speeches to online audiences (2015: 35).

² The upcoming body of literature on organizations (see for instance Gellner & Hirsch 2001; Harper 1998; Hilhorst 2003) and the upcoming body of literature on elites (see for instance Lutz 2005; Salverda & Abbink 2013; Shore & Nugent 2002) suggest that anthropologists are increasingly making efforts in this direction.

³ Publications may destroy the relationship with one's informants and anthropological writing may alienate the researcher from the researched. Mosse (2006) maintains that, even though this can create very uncomfortable situations, it should not be taken as an indicator of the quality of one's work – he suggests that the social does not necessarily have to be analysed socially, and rejects the idea that evidence is always a matter of consensus (*Ibid.*: 947).

⁴ The situation in England was entirely different from the situation on the main land: here, law already allowed for the free alienation of all one's possessions as early as the second half of the twelfth century (MacFarlane 1998: 109-111).

⁵ Conversation on 31 October 2011, UNESCO Regional Office for Eastern Africa in Nairobi.

⁶ Mandler (1997) notes that the British country house only began to be respected as a source of national pride from roughly the 1930s onwards. In the 1850s and 1860s, and encouraged by the advocacy of John Ruskin and William Morris, the British country house briefly received the admiration of the larger public. But by the 1870s such popular interest dwindled: commoners increasingly took a hostile position against British aristocrats and country houses turned into symbols of upper-class seclusion and privilege.

⁷ This modern ideology of naturalism is contradicted by recent technological improvements that have enabled human manipulation of nature to unprecedented degrees (see for instance Haraway 1991; Rabinow 1996). Taking notice of this Escobar (1999) suggests that the modern ideology of naturalism is currently experiencing its decline.

⁸ UNESCO introduced the category 'cultural landscape' in 1992 (UNESCO 2008^B: 8).

⁹ Brumann (2014^A) further suggests that cultural heritage scholars are divided into two strands of thought: first there are heritage believers who aim to preserve heritage and accept that heritage has an intrinsic value, and second there are heritage atheists who take a critical position and seek to undermine contemporary conservation practices. Perhaps such a separation is discernable among scholars, yet it seems unsustainable in the heritage conservation scene. Chapter two shows that the initiator of Mt. Kenya's 1997 World Heritage designation was neither a heritage believer, nor a heritage critic – rather he responded to the call to nominate Mt. Kenya opportunistically, and simply let the process take its course.

¹⁰ In the mid-1970s, only some twenty countries endorsed the convention. In the early 1980s, this number increased to sixty, and by the late 1980s more than a hundred countries acknowledged the convention.

¹¹ Conversation on 4 July 2012, Nairobi.

¹² Conversation on 12 July 2012, Naro Moru.

¹³ In 2007, the *Arabian Oryx Sanctuary* in Oman lost World Heritage status, officially because the sanctuary hosted no more Oryx (UNESCO n.d.^B) and unofficially because the Oman government announced it would drill for oil (different people who had been present at the meeting conveyed this information to me in person). The *Dresden Elbe Valley* in Germany lost World heritage status in 2009, after the *Waldschlössen Bridge* was built. The World Heritage Committee considered this bridge to spoil the landscape so much that the valley no longer merited World Heritage recognition.

- ¹⁴ These debates again fostered the production of authoritative texts, including the IUCN report *Outstanding Universal Value, Standards for Natural Heritage, a Compendium on Standards for Inscription on the World Heritage List* published in 2008; the ICOMOS report *What is OUV? Defining the Outstanding Value of Cultural World Heritage Properties* also published in 2008; and document WHC.06/30.COM/9 published by the World Heritage Centre in 2006 on the evaluation of Outstanding Universal Value.
- ¹⁵ At the time of writing the World Heritage List counted 1031 heritage sites.
- ¹⁶ Conversation on 17 July 2012, phone call.
- ¹⁷ Conversations on 2 June 2012, Nanyuki Airport; 13 June 2012, Nanyuki Airport.
- ¹⁸ Together with Lake Turkana that was also designated in 1997.
- ¹⁹ Nearly a century later, the American journalist and author Keith Caputo set out to retrace the myth created by Patterson's memoir in *Ghosts of Tsavo: Stalking the Mystery Lions of East Africa* (2002).
- ²⁰ In particular, chapter eight 'From Preservation to Conservation: Legislation and the International Dimension'.
- ²¹ In *Born in Africa: the Quest for the Origins of Human Life* (2011) Meredith discusses the professional rivalry and competition between father and son.
- ²² This idea is also challenged in the landmark study of Fairhead & Leach (1996).
- ²³ Conversation 31 May 2012, Nanyuki town.
- ²⁴ In 1965, the boundaries of Mt. Kenya National Park were slightly lowered to 10,500 feet, and in 1968, two tourist tracks leading to the Sirimon Gate and the Naro Moru Gate were added (VanLeeuwe 2004: 175).
- ²⁵ Bongo Woodley's brother Danny later became warden of Tsavo National Park.
- ²⁶ Conversations on 13 September 2011, Nanyuki Town; 7 November 2011, Nanyuki Town; 23 May 2012, Nanyuki Town; 20 August 2012, Nanyuki Town.
- ²⁷ Conversation on 4 July 2012, Nairobi.
- ²⁸ Conversation on 15 August 2012.
- ²⁹ Conversations on 26 May 2012, Nanyuki Town; 20 August 2012, Nanyuki Town.
- ³⁰ See WWF (n.d.).
- ³¹ See for instance Mogake et al. (2001).
- ³² See Convention on Biological Diversity (n.d.).
- ³³ Conversation on 6 August 2012, Forest Station Nyeri.
- ³⁴ Conversation on 6 August 2012, DC Compound Nyeri.
- ³⁵ In 2012 the trust's CEO expressed to me her dissatisfaction about the colonial and military associations that the name Bill Woodley invoked. By the end of 2014 Bill Woodley's name was removed from the trust's website and logo, and today the organization continues under the name Mt. Kenya Trust.
- ³⁶ The manuscript was published posthumously under the title *The Southern Kikuyu Before 1903* (1977).
- ³⁷ The Coryndon Museum was the forerunner of the National Museums of Kenya that, as the previous chapter pointed out, Louis Leakey's son Richard Leakey directed until 1989.
- ³⁸ But see Berman & Lonsdale (1991: 184) who suggest that Leakey walked out of the trial himself after the defendants' leading counsel, called Dennis Pritt, had complained about his impartiality.
- ³⁹ A nostalgia among colonial agents for colonized cultures as they 'traditionally' were, which is paradoxical for the colonial encounter itself affected these cultures (Rosaldo 1989: 107). Rosaldo deliberately uses the term nostalgia because it comes with strong emotions of longing and has an innocent touch to it, which effectively draws attention away from the fundamental inequality that set the conditions for the emergence of such emotions in the first place (*Ibid.*:120).
- ⁴⁰ The psychiatrist J.C. Carothers as well as the sensational writings of authors such as Robert Ruark further cemented this official narrative (Clough 2003: 254), as did political scientists who clung to the modernization theory of political evolution (Lonsdale 1992^C: 270-272).
- ⁴¹ Already in 1954 the anthropologist Max Gluckman rejected this official narrative. Newspapers habitually reported on the Mau Mau as back-to-the-bush, but Gluckman suggested that the Mau Mau rebellion was the product of a clash between cultures rather than a revitalization of pre-colonial religious and cultural practices (Gluckman 1963).
- ⁴² Soon after NaRC's election victory Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga fell out with one another. It has been suggested that this was largely caused by dissatisfaction on Odinga's side. In the run-up to the elections Odinga had stayed in the background and had publicly endorsed Kibaki's presidential candidacy, on the agreement that afterwards he would have his share in the division of ministerial posts and other influential positions. When Kibaki began to shape his government Odinga felt he was not rewarded sufficiently – tensions worsened further when Kibaki invited some former KANU politicians into cabinet (Lynch 2006^B: 242).
- ⁴³ Coombes & Hughes (2014) have also warned against understanding the alliances of Kenyan politicians only in terms of tribal background.

⁴⁴ Scholars working on the recent revival of occultism in various parts of Africa have offered valuable insights into notions of belonging in relation to culture and tradition, and they have drawn attention to how particular modern conditions provide for the blossoming of occult reasoning (see for instance Bähre 2002; Comaroff & Comaroff 1999; Geschiere 1997; Meyer 1999).

⁴⁵ Conversation on 5 July 2012.

⁴⁶ After Joseph Thomson spotted Mt. Kenya in December 1883 different adventurers followed in his footsteps and attempted to explore the mountain. Among them were Sámuel Teleki, who visited in 1887 (Mackinder 1900: 453); John Walter Gregory, who visited in 1893 (see *The Geographical Journal* of 1893 p. 326-327, author unknown); Captain F.G. Dundas, who visited in 1892 (Gedge 1892); Georg Kolb, who visited some time between 1894 and 1896 (see *The Geographical Journal* of 1899 p. 672, author unknown); Halford John Mackinder, who visited in 1899 (see Barbour 1991); and John W. Arthur, who visited no less than six times between 1909 and 1923 (see Arthur 1923). Of all these men only Mackinder managed to scale Mt. Kenya's highest peak. Yet for more than ninety years little was known about this particular expedition, and Mackinder's logbooks were only published posthumously in the early 1990s (Barbour 1991).

⁴⁷ Indians, who had been brought to the protectorate as railroad workers, also tried to obtain land but the colonial administration prohibited this until it opened up the highlands for African and Indian settlement in 1960 (Morgan 1963; Carey Jones 1965).

⁴⁸ The Happy Valley lifestyle inspired a number of publications including *White Mischief* (1982) by James Fox, *The Life and Death of Lord Erroll: The Truth Behind the Happy Valley Murder* (2000) by Errol Trzebinski and Emma Pery, and recently *The Temptress: The Scandalous Life and Death of Alice de Janzé and the Mysterious Death of Lord Erroll* (2010) by Paul Spicer.

⁴⁹ Conversations on 28 October 2011, Kisima Farm; 22 November 2011, Kisima Farm; 18 April 2012, Kisima Farm.

⁵⁰ Conversations on 16 August 2011, LWF office Nanyuki; 16 September 2011, Nanyuki Town; 23 November 2011, Nanyuki Town; 23 August 2012, TNC & KWS Stakeholder Meeting Nairobi. Anthony King tragically died after a plane crash on Mt. Kenya in February 2013.

⁵¹ This changed in 2013 when a new Wildlife Act was adopted. In the next chapter, I devote more attention to this.

⁵² Cambridge Dictionary defines an easement as 'the use of someone else's property or land for a stated reason'.

⁵³ Conversation on 16 July 2012, Ngare Ndare Forest Platform.

⁵⁴ Conversation on 23 July 2012, AWF office Nanyuki.

⁵⁵ Such as *I dreamed of Africa* (1991), *African Nights* (1994) and *Night of the Lions* (1999).

⁵⁶ Conversations on 25 May 2012, LWF office Nanyuki; 9 July 2012, LWF office Nanyuki.

⁵⁷ Conversations on 7 June 2012, Space for Giants office Nanyuki; 26 July 2012, Space for Giants office Nanyuki.

⁵⁸ I briefly met Johnson ole Kaunga on 5 October 2011, Nanyuki Town.

⁵⁹ The name of Raila Odinga's party was inspired by the constitutional referendum, during which bananas symbolized a yes-vote and oranges a no-vote.

⁶⁰ Conversation on 5 June 2012.

⁶¹ This is reminiscent of Wiener's (1992) category of inalienable artefacts, where possession assigns social identity as well as political rank and authority.

⁶² These studies were carried out by Rural Focus Ltd., a Nanyuki-based consultancy firm founded by two American engineers. I talked to founder Tom Traexler on 5 October 2011, Rural Focus Ltd. office Nanyuki; 9 November 2011, Rural Focus Ltd. office Nanyuki.

⁶³ Conversations on 8 October 2011, Solio Ranch; 19 July 2012, Solio Ranch.

⁶⁴ White rhinos used to exist in Uganda, Chad, Sudan, Congo and South Africa. Today they are only found in the latter two countries (see The IUCN Red List of Threatened Species).

⁶⁵ Conversations on 30 May 2012, LWF office Nanyuki; 6 June 2012, Community Meeting Naro Moru; 10 July 2012, Solio Settlement visit.

⁶⁶ Hardin (1968) argued that all public natural resources will deplete sooner or later for individuals will pursue maximum gain, which will result in deterioration. Ecologists and environmentalists continue to use Hardin's work, but his strong focus on the need to limit population growth in order to prevent tragedies of the commons make the article controversial – in fact, one could read it as a manifesto for state control over family planning.

⁶⁷ Conversation on 17 July 2012, Borana Ranch.

⁶⁸ Short for the Matthews Range, a strip of mountains north of Lewa that covers about 150 kilometres.

⁶⁹ Conversation on 27 April 2012, Lewa Wildlife Conservancy.

⁷⁰ Afterwards different people told me that these kinds of comments were typical for Ian Craig, and they called him 'arrogant', 'bold' and 'full of himself'.

- ⁷¹ See Tigress Productions (n.d.).
- ⁷² See The Watering Hole Foundation (n.d.).
- ⁷³ See The Nature Conservancy (n.d.^B).
- ⁷⁴ IUCN introduced the *Red List of Threatened Species* in the mid-1990s, which became the main global guideline on endangered species.
- ⁷⁵ Conversation on 17 July 2012, Borana Ranch.
- ⁷⁶ Flora and Fauna International was the successor of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (SPWFE), which was established in 1903. Edward North Buxton, whom I briefly introduced in chapter two, cofounded the SPWFE.
- ⁷⁷ Like Lewa Wildlife Conservancy, Ol Pejeta Conservancy came to feature in different documentaries and television shows. It even got its own three-season series, called *Ol Pejeta Diaries* (see Smithsonian Channel n.d.).
- ⁷⁸ Conversations on 19 October 2011, Naro Moru Gate Mt. Kenya National Park; 21 November 2011, Naro Moru Gate Mt. Kenya National Park; 25 April 2012, Naro Moru Gate Mt. Kenya National Park.
- ⁷⁹ Conversations on 28 November 2011, Lewa Wildlife Conservancy office; 22 May 2012, Nanyuki Airport.
- ⁸⁰ There appeared a critical essay on TNC in the Washington Post in May 2003 that sums up these concerns (The Washington Post, 4 May 2003).
- ⁸¹ Conversation on 6 August 2012, Ol Pejeta Conservancy office.
- ⁸² For a clip from the documentary see Vimeo (n.d.).
- ⁸³ Conversations on 13 August 2012, TNC office Nairobi; 23 August 2012, TNC & KWS Stakeholder Meeting Nairobi.
- ⁸⁴ The meeting took place in the Sarova Panafric Hotel in Nairobi on 23 August 2012, and was attended by approximately one hundred people. Fifteen of these were white representatives of private conservancies or conservation organizations, the remainder largely consisted of representatives of African community ranches and KWS staff.
- ⁸⁵ Conversations on 28 October 2011, Kisima Farm; 22 November 2011, Kisima Farm; 18 April 2012, Kisima Farm.
- ⁸⁶ A biennial event that means to call attention to cultural heritage sites under threat (see World Monuments Fund n.d.).
- ⁸⁷ An organization for museum professionals that is committed to the preservation of cultural goods (see ICON n.d.).
- ⁸⁸ An organization that means to protect cultural heritage in the developing world (see Global Heritage Fund n.d.).
- ⁸⁹ Conversations on 12 November 2011, Lewa Wildlife Conservancy; 19 April 2012, Lewa Wildlife Conservancy; 21 August 2012, Lewa Wildlife Conservancy.
- ⁹⁰ Conversation on 3 July 2012, National Museums of Kenya Nairobi.
- ⁹¹ Conversation on 18 August 2012, Nanyuki town.
- ⁹² Anthony King might have borrowed that term from Norton-Griffiths, who already used it in 2009 (see Martin 2012: 65).
- ⁹³ The UNESCO online archive does not show the applications of World Heritage Sites still in preparation, and as such I had not known about Lewa Wildlife Conservancy's ambitions until Jonathan Moss informed me.
- ⁹⁴ Conversation 29 May 2013, World Heritage Centre Paris.
- ⁹⁵ Which concerns 'the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation' (UNESCO 2015, article 77).
- ⁹⁶ We discussed the subject on 21 November 2011, when Lewa Wildlife Conservancy had just found out that the World Heritage Centre had turned down the first application for extension.
- ⁹⁷ Conversation on 20 June 2012, KWS Headquarters Nairobi.
- ⁹⁸ Conversation on 28 May 2012, NNFT office in Ngare Ndare Forest.
- ⁹⁹ Conversations on 18 October 2011, Kisima Farm; 24 April 2012, Kisima Farm; 5 June 2012, Marania Farm.
- ¹⁰⁰ Conversation on 10 May 2012, IUCN office Nairobi.
- ¹⁰¹ Conversation on 29 May 2013, World Heritage Centre Paris.
- ¹⁰² The problem of the complex ownership arrangements was solved through the identification of no less than seventeen 'exclusion zones' that were exempted from the designation (see The Government of the Republic of Kenya 2012^A: 7).
- ¹⁰³ Conversation on 12 July 2012, Naro Moru (Deirdre Prins-Solani, independent heritage consultant and former executive director of the Center for Heritage Development in Africa, was also present).
- ¹⁰⁴ Conversation on 1 August 2012, Nanyuki Airport.

¹⁰⁵ UNESCO finds its origins in the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (ICIC) that was founded in 1922 and roughly operated between 1936 and 1946 (Meskell & Brumann 2015: 24). In 1945 the ICIC became part of the United Nations institutional structure and changed into UNESCO. Originally UNESCO aimed to promote literacy and disseminate Western agricultural models (Stoczkowski 2009) – only later did it begin to concern itself with the preservation of heritage sites.

¹⁰⁶ See Visweswaran (1998) for inconsistencies in the anti-racist rhetoric of Franz Boas himself.

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