BOOK REVIEWS

Transgressing Boundaries: New Directions in the Study of Culture in Africa. Edited by Brenda Cooper and Andrew Steyn. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press. 1996. 226 pp.

This collection of essays is based on a September 1993 conference at the University of Cape Town that concerned the status of African Studies in South Africa. The collection consists of revised papers and discussions presented at the conference as well as papers commissioned afterwards. The editors' intention is to examine the state of African cultural studies in South Africa from a variety of viewpoints and to highlight some of the issues in contemporary theory and method that are debated among Africanist scholars. Additionally, the pros and cons of eradicating the boundaries between the traditional disciplines is discussed at length by several of the contributors. In the introduction, the editors' note that "African Studies" does not exist in South Africa as a discipline per se, but rather, these "studies" span widely divergent departments and disciplines. As a result, they are "situated within diverse politics, language, theories and methodologies (p. 1)."

This is a timely and interesting topic of discussion. South Africa's political and social structures have changed profoundly in the past few years, and the country's relationship with the rest of Africa has changed as well. Unfortunately, Cooper and Steyn's understandable desire to present a wide array of theoretical, methodological, and disciplinary viewpoints diminishes the overall coherence of the book. One problem is the definition of "African Studies." What is meant by this phrase changes throughout the book depending upon the author. For example, most of the contributors use the term to refer to South African cultural studies undertaken in South Africa, but when filmmaker Haile Gerima discusses "African cinema," he uses the term in the broadest sense. A related problem with the collection is the lack of coherence that results from presenting such a diverse array of subjects: the essays included range from lucid discussions of contemporary theory in the social sciences to movie reviews. The book's structure, however, is not entirely without merit. In certain instances, the editors have wisely chosen to maintain the conference-like format in which critics respond to specific articles. This a useful way to present the larger theoretical and methodological debates discussed, as both the major issues that are in dispute are elucidated. Additionally, this method reveals the difficulty of taking different theoretical viewpoints and disciplinary backgrounds and bringing them to bear on an inherently broad and diverse field such as area studies.

The book is divided into three main sections. The first, entitled "Mapping the Field," deals with the theoretical issues that are raised in contemporary African studies, especially in the South African context. The discussions primarily revolve around current debates about the applications of post-modernism and Marxism as theoretical models. Although there is considerable difference of opinion on specific issues, particularly regarding the utility of

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boundaries between the disciplines, the three authors featured in this section (Lovell, Bundy, and Comaroff) all agree that some rapprochement between Marxism and post-modernist approaches to cultural studies is necessary to further the field. Each author stresses the importance of recognizing both the "subject positions" (to use Comaroff's terminology) of the individuals studied and the effects of techno-economic and environmental factors on culture. Each author recognizes that neither cultural relativism nor "totalizing" reductionist paradigms are sufficiently able to explain human behavior, however, this can hardly be considered a "new direction" in the study of culture in Africa or anywhere else. American anthropology has been fraught with variations of the "idealist" v. "materialist" debate for decades.

The second and largest section is comprised of a diverse collection of what the editors call "case studies." The material presented here includes two examples of colonial discourse analysis on descriptions of indigenous South African poison, as well as an informative discussion and debate about the symbolic significance of the Lydenburg heads (South African terracotta sculptures from the sixth century AD, one of which is depicted on the University of Cape Town's Centre for African Studies letter-head). The latter involves an archaeologist (Martin Hall), a museum curator (Patricia Davison), and an artist (Malcolm Payne), all of whom have worked with the sculptures. This is "Transgressing Boundaries" at its best: the debate between these three contributors elucidates some of the conflicts and the benefits that result from cross-disciplinary studies. Furthermore, the authors explicitly place the subject in the context of contemporary South Africa.

Other case-studies have little to do with the status of African studies in South Africa, except insofar as they apply to African studies undertaken anywhere. These include a personal statement from Ethiopian filmmaker Haile Gerima, two reviews of his film about slavery, "Sankofa", and an essay about the depiction of Africa's slave past in contemporary West African literature. Among other things, these articles delve into essentialist approaches to African studies, approaches that the editors' clearly reject. Apparently, the focus on the subject of slavery and the subsequent discussion of African essentialism were unintended consequences of a screening of "Sankofa" at the 1993 conference (p. 164). Despite the interesting subject matter, this group of case studies seems inappropriate for the collection, as they contribute almost nothing to the reader's understanding of the state of African studies in South Africa.

The final section is intended to tie some of the book's loose ends together, and to present possible future directions for African Studies. In a concluding article, Brenda Cooper discusses the representation of slavery in the fiction of Sierra-Leonian author Syl Cheney-Coker in the context of "the theoretical paradigm of the reconstituted Marxism, as proposed by Bundy [in Part One] (p. 11)." She proposes an approach to African studies that she summarizes as follows: "...it investigates Africa's position globally; it is both interdisciplinary but also takes as its boundary of investigation a broadly defined cultural studies; it is standpoint knowledge, committed politically to the oppressed; in an African environment where cultural nationalism that relies on myths of origins and essences is very powerful, the history of iniquities of racism has to be formulated in terms of a reconstituted Marxism that can think structurally and globally. It must, however, in speaking holistically, deal with global realities and totalities, while not marginalising non-class realities and while recognizing and celebrating, humour, magic, the unpredictable and idiosyncratic, all of which holistic thinking demands (p.183)" What Cooper is describing here is a platonic concept that exists only in the realm of ideas. She

does not disclose the means by which one can expect to achieve this perfect result, nor do either of the other two concluding essays contain a proposed solution to the problem of African cultural studies as outlined in the introduction. As a result, Cooper and Steyn's main achievement in presenting these essays as a collection is that to expose the utter confusion and directionlessness that pervades contemporary cultural studies.

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Changing The Rules: The Politics of Liberalization and the Urban Informal Economy in Tanzania. Aili Mari Tripp. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. 1997. 260 pp.

Changing the Rules probes the informal economy of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania in search of the origins and causes of the shifting political and economic landscape as experienced by urban residents during the 1980's and 1990's. The informal economy, which Tripp casts as the focal point of changes, consists of more than a set of economic patterns (p.xiii); it also represents "a manifestation of societal noncompliance with the state, a tool for institutional change in challenging state norms of fairness and economic justice, a means of creating new institutional resources" (p.xv). This approach, blending the discrimination of an economic anthropologist with a systemic approach to political change, yields a scholarly work that is remarkable both for the depth of its research as well as the freshness of its approach.

Tripp's innovation in Changing the Rules is to link James Scott's explanations of resistance and moral economy to Goran Hyden's work on the implications for the state of having a peasantry that successfully evades state control (Scott, 1976, 1990 and Hyden, 1980). In so doing she broadens this literature to include a specific urban focus, while also expanding upon our understanding of the informal economy as a form of resistance. At the core, resistance springs from a breakdown in the tacit agreement between the government apparatus and the governed. In Tanzania's case, this rupture could be traced to the failures of Ujamaa which led to the impoverishment of millions of Tanzanians. Using extensive interviews, Tripp expands our understanding of resistance by first establishing parallels between the "safety first" orientation, sacrificing short-run maximization for long-run sustainability, and the tactical strategies of Scott's Malay villagers. She elaborates this argument by showing how the informal economy grew, and to become a weapon of resistance. Consequent to the inability of urban residents to sustain themselves, an explosion of informal economic activity ensued, directly contravening the extant juridical framework and its clear prohibitions on most private enterprise (p. 137). In resorting to extra-legal ventures, this resistance elicited changes in the both the legal framework of government and the mindset of many within the ruling party. Tripp's argument here is cogent and logical and the array of evidence she has marshaled to support the argument portrays serious scholarship. The defect in this research, and it is a slight one, is that her respondents who were engaging in projects of self-employment activities were essentially self-

selecting and thus there is a slight lingering question as to whether her data is broadly applicable to all workers in Dar es Salaam or just to those engaged in projects.

To appreciate the events occurring during this period, one must also have a sense of the concurrent struggle between party and government in the mid 1980's. This latter contention was centered on the basic question of the proper boundaries of party power over government. Post-independence cohesion was already unraveling by the mid 80's when Julius Nyerere stepped down as President, retaining his chairmanship of the party and in so doing exacerbating the fray, which by then, had increasingly become centered on the question of liberalization (p.83). The jockeying was further complicated by Nyerere's sudden U-turn from opponent to proponent of the economic changes, in contradiction to past statements. As it played itself out, the struggle was fought between party members, who owed their political careers to the party and the party's control over economic decision-making, and the cabinet, supported by importers and exporters (p.89). Left unclear in this discussion is why bureaucrats, many of whom also owed their success to using the system, abandoned a system which had served them personally well in favor of liberalization and greater transparency. Paradoxically, the people, including the urban poor, who might have sided with the party in an attempt to forestall the austerity measures (such as eliminating price subsidies) accompanying liberalization, instead quietly acquiesced to reforms. This complicity reflected both a desire for the sanctioning of private activities that remained illicit in the face of massive disobedience as well as a weary recognition, borne of the pressing struggle for daily survival, that regardless of the victor, neither contestant could do much to improve the plight of the poor and the middle classes (pp.100-1).

Arguably two developments have been the most prominent features of the changing Tanzania circa 1985-1995. The first of these has been the increasing reliance placed by families upon the incomes earned, particularly by women, from "projects" or microenterprises. In many families, dependence has shifted from family members to the wage earner (p. 105). Thus, the roles and the importance of women were reexamined. For women with successful projects, the physical and financial independence earned by this hard work was an important byproduct of the struggle for survival. The second noteworthy development has been the increase in the strength of associational life as manifested in an enervated civil society flourishing with small associational groups such as Upato savings societies or Sungu Sungu self defense groups (pp.199-200). If civil society is understood as a critical component of the governance realm, the achievements of these small groups in extracting demands from the government must be construed as a valuable boost to governance. By concentrating her attention on these two areas, Tripp makes a significant contribution toward raising our awareness of two factors which have not always received the attention that they merit.

Changing the Rules tackles a crucial question in many countries: 'how did individuals, in the face of diminishing or absent salaries, manage to survive?' Tripp's answer begins with the organic causes of crisis and the external factors that precipitated the widespread resort to entrepreneurship and petty trading in an effort to survive. In so doing, these individuals also became the catalysts of change as the political structure was forced to adjust to new realities in an attempt to retain legitimacy. This explanation of change is a compelling argument for how, and why, changes occurred, and on the whole is an important contribution toward increasing our understanding of informal economies in urban areas.

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Africans: The History of a Continent. John Iliffe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 323. 1995.

During the 1960s and 1970s, historians writing general histories of Africa highlighted state formation, African agency, or economic underdevelopment as issues central to understanding Africa's past. In the 1980s new topical foci emerged in African history revolving around culture and the environment. John Iliffe's Africans: The History of a Continent is the result of attentions to each of the aforementioned but is ordered by a skeleton of demographic issues; it is the first general attempt to trace and understand African history through the larger theme of population and demographic change. Central issues include environmental impacts on the growth and character of African populations and African responses to the challenges of their physical and historical contexts. Iliffe hopes to produce a coherent history of ordinary African peoples guided by internal processes and the rationale that, "Every rural history must have at its core a population history" (p.3). In the author's eyes, population change is the "thread that ties African history together"(p.5).

With the above over-arching organizational theme in mind, Iliffe identifies four central topical themes in African history, each of which pervades his text. The first of these is the peopling of the African continent. Iliffe portrays Africans as "colonizers" of vast frontiers who struggled against harsh environments, scarce and dispersed resources, and deadly diseases. According to the author, the stressful settlement of frontiers produced societies specialized in maximizing their numbers, extending their territories, and coping with suffering. All of this prepared Africans for future demographic challenges, such as the slave trade and the European "invasion."

The second theme is human coexistence with nature. Africans fully utilized their available resources in an effort to increase their numbers and thereby strengthen their communities. They usually achieved success by adapting to and controlling their environments rather than severely altering them. Iliffe provides the following example: Africans sought to protect themselves against famine through various strategies, "exploitation of multiple environments, diversified and drought-resistant crops, interplanting, granaries, livestock as a famine reserve, [and] the

cultivation of social relations" (p.113). A creative use of nature and adaptation to nature allowed Africans to survive, although in underpopulated numbers.

The establishment of enduring societies is the third theme. These societies, Iliffe contends, took their form -- states or loosely-organized communities -- based on population densities, interaction with neighboring societies, and socio-political and socio-economic contextual factors. Iliffe illustrates these points with numerous examples ranging from the early states of West Africa to the pastoral communities of eastern and southern Africa. The author describes specific African cultures and their associated political structures. Further, he argues that the cultures of these variously-structured societies took distinctively African forms due to their partial isolation from and their partial integration with their larger Old World context (p.4).

The final theme -- the defense of African societies against foreign aggression -- centers on two historical phenomena, the slave trade and colonialism. Resistance, negotiation, and adaptation were the means by which Africans sought to defend their societies. Due to population growth checks or depletions in some areas resulting from the slave trade or colonial impingement, biological reproduction was paramount to community survival. Up to the remnants of colonialism in South Africa, populations continued to grow and adjust to various impediments to their livelihoods, largely through cultural mechanisms developed from earlier struggles for survival. Demographic growth finally becomes a pronounced engine for historical change, undergirding the fall of colonial regimes and the instability of independent African states. Iliffe concludes that Africans' chief contribution to world history is that they "colonised an especially hostile region of the world"(p.1). Their success is realized in substantial modern population growth.

Iliffe's integrative and dynamic approach incorporates the concerns of preceding scholars while achieving a textual balance. The historical perspective of the author is noticeably even-handed, particularly concerning colonialism. Iliffe writes, "To see colonialism as destroying tradition is to underestimate African resilience. To see it as merely an episode is to underestimate how much industrial civilization offered twentieth-century Africans" (p.212). Nearly equal treatment of geographical regions is provided, including a considerable discussion of North Africa during the pre-modern era. Time periods also receive relatively equal attention. Of note, the early history of Africa from the first evidence of food-producing to late iron-using communities is discussed in two brief chapters. This is made possible by Iliffe's continued reference to archaeology and, to a lesser extent, linguistics in these chapters. Finally, Africa's internal workings are tempered with references to its global context. In constructing Africans, Iliffe makes use of a range of recent literature on everything from art history to current affairs to create a complex text rich in historical and cultural examples.

There are few shortfalls in Iliffe's general history. For this reader, most are issues of emphasis or terminology. First, Iliffe generally characterizes African agency as reactionary rather than proactive. Much of what is meant to represent human volition in the work is simply adaptation to contexts or circumstances. Consequently, at some points (but by no means all) Africans appear to be in more of a biological than social struggle. Second, Iliffe occasionally reduces cultural and historical phenomena to products of environmental or demographic influence, rather than opting for alternative explanations. This is likely the product of both the author's organizing theme and the difficulty of capturing social explanations with scant historical evidence, especially beyond the more recent past. Third, Iliffe leaves causation open to

question in certain instances. For example, in Chapter Five he writes, "Concern to build up populations and colonise land gave western Africa enduring family structures" (p.93). Were population growth and "colonization" the products or the causes of developing social structures? Finally, Iliffe's use of the term "colonisation" to describe the movement of African populations into uninhabited regions is suspect because, to the uninformed reader, it may be confused with European "colonization." Although the author does take some pains to differentiate between the two, the politically-charged nature of this term may be inescapable. He also uses "race" (pp.10-11), implying a linkage between "races" and linguistic groups, and "pagan" (pp.39, 90-91) in unwarranted manners. "Pagan" is especially odd since Iliffe elaborates on the complex beliefs inherent to animistic societies. When viewed in total these shortfalls are far from fatal.

Africans: The History of a Continent is a lucid work and is accessible to a wide range of readers. It is ordered chronologically in twelve chapters, each containing a historical topic, for example "Independent Africa." Maps aid the reader in locating pertinent sites and regions and a fourteen page appended bibliography of readings allows for the further investigation of select topics. This work represents a substantial achievement in the realm of general African histories.

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Governing Conservation Change from Below

A reaction to "Africa's Environment: The Final Frontier, Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on International Relations House of Representatives, One Hundred Fourth Congress, Second Session, July 17, 1996."

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Note: Statements at the Hearing were made by the following:

- Hon. Gary Bombardier, Deputy Assistant Administrator for Africa, Agency for International Development
- Mr. Michael Wright, President and Chief Executive Officer, African Wildlife Foundation
- Mr. Stephen Mills, Human Rights and Environmental Campaign Director, Sierra Club
- Elizabeth Rihoy, Director, Washington Affairs, Africa Resources Trust

The Meeting was Conducted by:

- Hon. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, The Subcommittee Chairperson, Subcommittee on Africa, Committee on International Relations, U.S. House of Representatives.

Without a doubt, the very fact that such a hearing as "Africa's Environment: The Final Frontier" took place is a victory for all those concerned with the relationship between people and the environment in which they live. This is a public recognition that, as the Honorable Ros-Lehtinen stated, "the need to protect the environment knows no municipal, state or national border. The environmental damage to one region of the world necessarily affects the global environment." In Africa, the pressures on the environment are especially acute as conservation is so tightly linked to land use, land use change, sustainable development, and the quality of governance at the local and national levels. The critical nature of the problem has produced a sizable number of environmental heroes. Certainly there is no challenging the personal strength and community accomplishments of Wangari Mathai or Ken Saro-Wiwa. Donor and international NGO efforts to work with such local leaders, to bridge disciplinary cleavages, to reform devastating agricultural practices, and to empower people in their local communities can only be commended. In this, the international community, and many host countries, have reached a consensus. Indeed, we can even speak of a growing global norm positing that environmental challenges are no longer domestic or functional concerns. They are, in fact, critical challenges to national security, global security and human well-being.

With this seeking of the common good comes a great danger. This danger becomes clear by looking at the title of the Hearing itself. "Africa's Environment: The Final Frontier" implies that putting the environment first, or deeming it part of national and global security, gives license to environmentally-concerned global powers to assert their will, for the good of humanity, over those who have not adopted the new global norm. Africa's environment is not space, or the final frontier. Conservationists are not boldly going where no one has gone before. People live there. Most often, it is the people of these local communities that suffer most from the conservation initiatives, and thus it is the people of these communities who are least likely to subscribe to western conservation norms. Indeed, assuming there is a global norm claiming that conservation is a global security issue, it suffers from many of the same top-down tendencies which guided the development efforts of the 1960s and 1970s, despite project attempts to solicit participation at the local level. This is evidenced by the tragic results of some of the most "locally-sensitive" conservation projects in Africa such as Amboseli National Park in Kenya, Korup National Park in Cameroon, and Mantadia National Park in Madagascar.

In Amboseli, with the establishment of the park in 1977, the local Maasai communities were promised several benefits. First, to make up for restricting access to spring water within the park boundaries, a pipeline was constructed to provide adequate water supply to the Maasai. In addition, they were promised annual compensation for loss of grazing land and direct economic benefits from development and tourism. However, by 1980, the new water system did not supply enough water; after 1981, the compensation payments were irregular or lacking; and, direct income from tourism was very limited as the tourism industry became tightly controlled by Nairobi-based concerns (Lindsay 1987). The net effect of the park on the Maasai was overwhelmingly negative.

Korup National Park in Cameroon presents another example. Villagers in the park and its buffer zone rely on the park's wild game. While some of the meat is consumed locally as a source of protein, most of it is sold for cash. In fact, hunting is the most important economic activity in the area, generating about half of a village's total cash income. The next most important economic activity in the area is collection of fruit and nuts both for consumption and

for selling. Following the 1986 establishment of the Park, hunting in it was declared illegal. Yet, the local residents were offered no adequate alternative means for income generation. Moreover, although there are six villages within the park boundaries, development activities did not take place within the park. Villagers in and around the park were left with no other option, other than breaking the law and hunting illegally (Infield 1989). In this case, conservation efforts were being undermined because local needs were not being addressed adequately by project designers. That is, local villagers, making a rational choice, risked substantial penalties or even imprisonment for poaching if it meant meeting their basic needs.

Finally, Mantadia National park of Madagascar has seen similar disastrous results. The park has a severe impact on the local people, living in the villages surrounding the park, who depend on the forest within the park for their livelihood. Kramer et al. (1994) calculated the average annual income loss for local residents due to the establishment of the park to be between $US90 and $US110 per household (1994). This is a significant reduction in income considering the average regional income before the establishment of the park was lower than the national 1992 per capita GNP of $US210 (World Bank 1995). While this study summarized the effect of the newly created park in terms of economic loss, there are additional ways in which local communities depend on forests including hunting and fishing, farming, and collecting diverse forest products (Lewis 1990).

Even in cases where conservation programs have been more "successful" than the aforementioned cases, the integration of local and international environmental interests have met a lukewarm reception at best by local communities. This is evidenced by community analyses of such "innovative" projects as Ankarana Protected Area (Gauthier 1996, Gezon 1995), and Ranomafana National Park (Swanson 1996) in Madagascar which are at the forefront of integrating local communities into international conservation project decision-making, and Kibale National Park in Uganda (Treves-Naughton 1996) where local community benefit has reached levels significantly higher than most projects.

It is tempting to argue that these problems are part of a learning process and that local discomfort or even hardship is worthwhile if the goal is to conserve the environment for the good of the human race. Conservation initiatives in Africa, however, have little chance of being sustainable if they do not meet with broad local support. Democracy mandates that the local population has a say in their community's well-being. As local democracy in Africa grows, people have a greater potential to influence policy. They may opt not to support conservation initiatives if they are too painful in the short-run. That is, the inherent "good" in conservationism as a global norm, so apparent in western conservation circles, is not always so apparent at the local level.

While increased participation may lead to a decline in local support for conservation initiatives, it is exactly this participation at this local level that makes conservation program success possible. To borrow from Robert Dahl (1971), democracy can only be regarded as "full" when it reflects the will of the majority. Since the current wave of democracy sweeping through Africa seeks, above all else, to reflect that public will at the grassroots level, conservation programs need to be supported by the populous in the affected regions. That is, when a national park, the cornerstone of conservation policy in much of Africa (a point made by Michael Wright) is created, it must reflect the will of the people of that area. If it does not, then conservation programs will likely proceed without local ratification, thereby detracting from

improved local governance, rather than lending to it. The participants at the Hearing did not go far enough in recognizing the role of the individual at the local level in the conservation process. In effect, the Hearing seemed to echo a statement by Gary Bombardier that

> "40 African countries have adopted, or are in the process of adopting National Environmental Action Plans (NEAP). In the best of cases, such as Madagascar, these are developed in highly participatory ways: set specific goals and objectives; establish priorities for the limited use of funds; and become a mechanism through which donors, host governments and people of Africa jointly collaborate in attacking environmental problems."

This argument is rhetorically persuasive in that it recognizes the primacy of local voice in the conservation process, a point further elaborated upon at the Hearing by Michael Wright. In seeking local support for global conservation norms, what this position fails to note is that fundamental to an individual's rights to participate is an individual's right *not* to participate, and fundamental to a community's right to collaborate is a community's right *not* to collaborate. In effect, Stephen Mills' point that human rights must include the right to protect the environment works equally in reverse; human rights must include the right to reject environmental initiatives. Just as Freedom of Religion is only guaranteed if individuals are allowed not to pray, and Freedom of Expression is only guaranteed if individuals are allowed to remain silent, so must individuals be allowed the right to "choose" conservation initiatives, rather than have them thrust upon them. Otherwise, the possibility that the local population will choose not to collaborate and to reject both conservation initiatives and democratization programs as part and parcel of the same international attempt to undermine local standards of living will increase. None of the statements at the Hearing recognize this primacy of individual choice at the local level as an indicator of program success, let alone recognizing that individual choice may determine program success. At the project level, USAID (via Pact, IFES, ARD, WWF, diverse universities, and others) supports valuable education programs that can enhance the likelihood that local populations will accept conservation initiatives, while seeking to nurture civil society, and enhance a democratic political culture. However, these projects are small efforts when compared to the short-run negative economic effects of many of Africa's conservation programs (Kramer et al. 1994, for example).

Perhaps more important than the normative adoption of democracy concurrent to conservation are the implications for governance. Most African states lack the capacity to enforce conservation policies at the local level. If, therefore, the local population rejects a conservation program as too costly, the program will likely fail and the money invested will be wasted. Indeed, this is an echo of Bombardier's point that democracy, human well-being, and conservation are in fact interrelated. The application of this needs, however, not to be concentrated mostly on helping soft governments to get the conditions right for conservation on the one hand, while trying to promote local democratic initiatives on the other. Such a process will likely act to pit one program against the other, eroding the personal freedoms necessary for democracy while eroding the economic preconditions necessary for environmental consciousness. Rather, application needs to focus on providing the social safety-nets, economic alternatives, and educational programs necessary to facilitate local adoption of both democratic

and conservation initiatives. In so doing, conservation supporters must take a risk: they must allow personal freedoms to grow first, in the hope that democracy and conservation will compliment each other, but with the risk that local populations may choose a path that contradicts both global norms of Jeffersonian democracy and the conservation imperative itself.

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