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**ENCLOSURE-BY-CONSERVATION: FORESTLAND FOR WILDLIFE AND  
CARBON CREDITS AND THE DISPLACEMENT OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE  
IN THE CHYULU HILLS OF KENYA**

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Increasingly tied to the UN-REDD+ programme within the general umbrella of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, conservation projects have come to operate within a general policy framework for market-based climate-change mitigation (e.g., carbon credits) and wildlife protection (e.g., ecotourism) to be carried out by private-public partnerships. The question of how conservation is implemented and its potential consequences for Indigenous communities who live in the frontlines where forestlands, grazing lands, and farmlands merge is poorly documented and not well-understood. This paper addresses this challenge by exploring the “conservation of forestlands for wildlife and carbon credits” implemented by the Chyulu Hills Conservation Trust (CHCT) on the farming/grazing/herding-forest frontier of Chyulu Hills National Park (CHNP) in Kenya where Maasai and Kamba Indigenous communities live. Based on data collected from interviews with one lead individual from each of

the nine CHCT member organizations, publicly available documents and historical investigation, the paper unpacks the political ecology behind conservation that often relies on the use of military and paramilitary personnel, armed rangers, air/land surveillance technologies, and 'shoot-to-kill' anti-poaching activities. It pays attention to the existing literature which positions conservation within a "neoliberal developmentalism" (e.g., Büscher 2025; Fletcher 2023) that extends capitalist dynamics through nature commodification based on payment for ecosystem services, ecotourism conservancies, and REDD+ projects and carbon credits. My paper illustrates that conservation – implemented through (1) militarized conservation; (2) privatization of Indigenous land for ecotourism; and (3) REDD+ project and the commodification of carbon – connects the old colonial and new neoliberal practices within enclosure-by-conservation. This enclosure-by-conservation expands the frontiers of capital accumulation into Indigenous frontline land as an on-going process of dispossessive displacement and associated relations of material and epistemic inequality and violence.

Palavras-chave: enclosure-by-conservation; commodification of nature; militarization; carbon credits; ecotourism.