

Power and Conservation in South West Cameroon

*Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree
of Master of Philosophy in Development Studies at the University of Oxford*

by

Emmanuel Freudenthal

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
QUEEN ELIZABETH HOUSE
OXFORD UNIVERSITY

Wolfson,
May 2009

I hereby certify that this thesis is the result of my own work

except where otherwise indicated and due acknowledgment is given

SIGNED DATE

Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank Dr. Patricia Daley for her supervision, advice and reading my drafts over and over. Our meetings were always refreshing and a source of energy for accomplishing more work.

Many thanks to Emmanuel Nuesiri for helping me to get a footing in Cameroon and answering many of my questions. Thanks also to his family, who made my stay in Buea so pleasant.

I am very grateful to Dr. Catharina Landström for exciting discussions on ANT that brought new ideas to the thesis.

My thanks also go to Dr. Schmidt-Soltau, who kindly provided me with the documents and information he had on Takamanda.

I really appreciated the support and advice of Tabi Moses, who greatly facilitated the logistics of travelling to and within Cameroon. My thanks also go to Stella Asaha's for her help in that regard. Thanks also for the relaxing and interesting time in Nathalie Van Vliet's and Stella's company – I needed it!

I am especially grateful to the staff of the various organizations (WCS, DED, MINFOF and GTZ) who agreed to reply to my questions. I hope my criticism will be taken as a way to start a discussion and do things better.

I would also like to thank the whole of Obonyi village for feeding me, replying to my questions and forgiving my cultural misunderstandings and lack of knowledge of Denya. Especially: Abang Elizabeth, Abang Sextus, Aka

jenny Ada, Akwo Emelia, Akwo Jerry Love, Akwo Regina, Akwo Sam, Anne Justine, Ashu Andrew, Ashu Elias, Ashu Elizabeth, Ashu Joseph, Ashu Martha, Ashu Vitalis, Atem Victorine, Besong Emelda, Edjua Kenneth, Edjua Mariana, Edjua Nelson, Enow Isabella, Enow Maria, Enow Maurice, Enu Elias, Mabele Maria, Mabele Violette, Menge Gwendoline, Menge Judge, Menge Kenneth, Menge Michael Ashu, Menge Veronica, Ncha Lucy, Obi Deborah, Obi Douglas Menge, Obi Joseph Enow, Obi Mariana, Obi Richard, Obi Rose, Simon Ashu Menge, Tabi Denis, Tabi Miranda and Tabi Victor. I am especially thankful to Atem Simon, who took a lot of time off from his farm to translate, and to his wife Victorine, who fed me.

Thanks also to Johanna Hoornweg for her professional proofreading work on the final manuscript.

Finally, I appreciated the financial support of a QEH Bursary and OPHI grant, which allowed me to spend more time on writing this thesis and less working on the side.

Table of contents

ACRONYMS.....	II
INDEX OF FIGURES AND TABLES.....	III
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
2 LITERATURE REVIEW / CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.....	11
PART 1 – SETTING THE SCENE	30
3 THE ACTORS ON THE TAKAMANDA SCENE.....	30
4 THE POWER OF INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS	36
5 COMPETING VIEWS OF TAKAMANDA	41
PART 2 - THE CREATION OF THE NATIONAL PARK.....	61
6 WHAT IS TAKAMANDA FOR? CHANGING NARRATIVES	62
7 EXPLAINING DECISION-MAKING AND PARTICIPATION	80
8 CONCLUSION	102
APPENDIX A RESEARCH METHODS	107
APPENDIX B NEW ECOLOGICAL PARADIGM SCALE	125
APPENDIX C NEW ECOLOGICAL PARADIGM RESULTS	128
APPENDIX D MAPS OF TAKAMANDA.....	130
REFERENCES.....	133

Acronyms

ANT:	Actor-Network Theory
BMZ:	German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
DED:	German Development Service (<i>Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst</i>)
GTZ:	German Cooperation enterprise for sustainable development
KfW:	German Development Bank
MINEF:	Cameroon Ministry of Environments and Forests (until 2004)
MINEP:	Cameroon Ministry of Environment and Nature Protection (from 2004)
MINFOF	Cameroon Ministry of Forestry and Wildlife (from 2004)
NEP:	New Ecological Paradigm
NTFP:	Non-Timber Forest Product
PROFA:	Project for the Protection of Forests around Akwaya
PSMNR:	Program for the Sustainable Management of the Natural Resources
VCC:	Village Contact Committee
VDP:	Village Development Plan
WCS:	Wildlife Conservation Society
XAF:	Central African CFA (Cameroonian currency, equivalent to £0.0013

Index of Figures and tables

FIGURE 1 - GROWTH IN NATIONALLY DESIGNATED PROTECTED AREAS 1872 - 2007	2
FIGURE 2 – TAKAMANDA NATIONAL PARK AND RELEVANT LOCATIONS	5
FIGURE 3 – TAKAMANDA CHRONOLOGY	10
FIGURE 4 - PARK BOUNDARIES.....	35
FIGURE 5 - AVERAGE CASH INCOME FOR MEN AND WOMEN.....	45
FIGURE 6 – AVERAGE NUMBER OF FARMS PER PERSON	47
FIGURE 7 - OBONYI 1 CENSUS	54
FIGURE 8 - 2003 MANAGEMENT PLAN – ZONING MAP	72
FIGURE 9 - 2005 DRAFT MANAGEMENT PLAN – ZONING MAP	73
FIGURE 10 - SIZE OF REGULATION ZONES IN THE 2003 AND 2005 MANAGEMENT PLANS.....	74
TABLE 1 – TYPOLOGY OF MORAL AND EMPIRICAL POSITIONS IN THE ACADEMIC LITERATURE	22
TABLE 2 - 2003 AND 2005 MANAGEMENT PLAN RESTRICTION COMPARISON	75
TABLE 4 - PHILIPS AND HARDY (2002) ‘APPROACHES TO DISCOURSE ANALYSIS’ (ADAPTED).....	113
TABLE 5 – PRIOR (2008) ‘APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF DOCUMENTS’	113

1 Introduction

The ship nosed its way through the morning mist across a sea as smooth as milk. A faint and exciting smell came to us from the invisible shore, the smell of flowers, damp vegetation, palm oil and a thousand other intoxicating scents drawn up from the earth by the rising sun, a pale, moist-looking nimbus of light seen dimly through the mists. As it rose higher and higher, the heat of its rays penetrated and loosened the hold the mist had on land and sea. Slowly it was drawn up towards the sky in long lethargically coiling columns, and gradually the bay and the coastline came into view and gave me my first glimpse of Africa.

Durrell (1953, 17) so recalls his expedition to Cameroon in the late 1940s. After disembarking, he sets his camp in the village of Eshobi, which

is situated north of the Cross River on the edge of a section of forest that stretches unbroken and almost uninhabited hundreds of miles northwards until it reaches the desolate mountains where the gorilla has its stronghold.

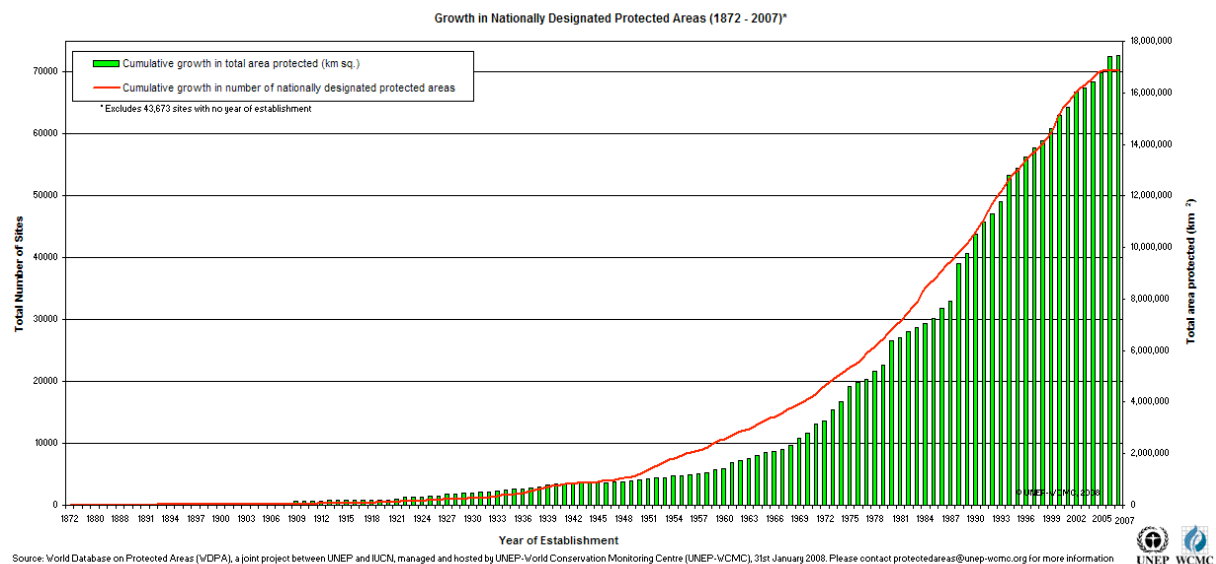
His aim is to collect animals for zoos. At the time, many children avidly read these sentences from Durrell's book. Fifty years later, one of them who has grown up follows in the footsteps of his hero, but to his disappointment,

many changes have come to the village in the fifty years since Durrell first went there, changes similar to those that have occurred over much of western and central Africa, and have brought us to the conservation crisis (...) Now, I was told, you have to walk considerably further to find much wildlife (...) I spent one morning with hunters in this forest, but the largest animal I saw was a squirrel. (...) I could drive to the centre of Eshobi, but Durrell had to walk there. (Oates 1999, 6)

I often feel more gloomy than enthusiastic about the prospects for many wild animals and their habitats. (...) Africa's population is estimated to have grown from 224 million in 1950 to 728 million in 1995, and in many areas this huge increase has outpaced the growth of agricultural and industrial production; as a result shrinking wilderness areas are being pressured by more and more poor people who depend on subsistence farming and hunting. (Oates 1999, 229)

Motivated by his readings of Durrell and his own observations, Oates became an advocate for the protection of wild animals. With him, an international network of States, NGOs, researchers and donors, are attempting to 'save wildlife'. Large sums of money are devoted to this goal¹ and the number of protected areas has greatly increased since the start of the 20th century.

Figure 1 - Growth in nationally designated protected areas 1872 - 2007



(WDPA 2008)

¹ E.g., GEF, the international funding source supporting the Convention on Biological Diversity, estimates that \$US 1.3 billion were spent on the projects they finance (GEF 2006, 4).

Cameroon is arguably at the forefront of this international conservation effort. In 1999, the country hosted the conference of Central African States on ‘Conservation and Sustainable Management of Forests’. In his opening speech, the president Paul Biya stressed the importance of conservation and called for international assistance:

L'Afrique Centrale - je le rappelle - est en grande partie occupée par la forêt et est à ce titre, un réservoir de biodiversité d'importance universelle. (...) Notre sous-région - vous ne l'ignorez pas - abrite le deuxième écosystème forestier tropical du monde qui, même s'il a été relativement épargné, reste menacé. (...) Il me paraît aller de soi que ces efforts d'aménagement, d'harmonisation et de recherche nécessiteront la mise en place d'un soutien financier des bailleurs de fonds. (Paul Biya 1999)

(Central Africa is, I remind you, largely occupied by the forest. As such, it is a reservoir of biodiversity, universally important. (...) Our sub-region – you know it – hosts the second tropical ecosystem in the world which, even if has been fairly untouched, remains threatened. (...) It seems to me to go without saying that these efforts of management, harmonization and research will necessitate putting in place a system of support from financial supporters.)

Indeed, the country hosts a large number of species and ecosystems and is often described as ‘Africa in miniature’. It signed over 39 treaties promoting conservation, including the ‘Convention on Biological Diversity’ (CBD) in 1994 (MINEP 2008). Its signatories have committed themselves to seeing that, by 2010, at least ten percent of each of the ‘world's ecological regions are effectively conserved’ (MINEP 2008). Cameroon has already achieved the CBD goals: in 2000, nine percent of the country was classified as permanent forest, a figure that rose to 27 percent in 2008 (German Cooperation). The country aims to achieve even more ambitious goals as its own laws

specify that 30 percent of its territory must be classified as ‘permanent forests’, which are protected areas (Biya 1994).

Amongst the Cameroonian fauna, the Cross River gorilla is certainly the most charismatic and is considered the ‘world’s most endangered great ape’ (WCS 2008). It lives in the tropical rainforest described by Durrell, on the border between Cameroon and Nigeria (Oates et al. 2007). To protect these gorillas, Oates and others secured the creation of a National Park in Nigeria in 1991 (Oates 1999, 160). This was complemented on the Cameroonian side by the creation of the Takamanda National Park in late 2008 (Figure 2). According to Dr. Sanderson, president and CEO of WCS, ‘The Government of Cameroon is to be commended for taking this step in saving the Cross River gorilla for future generations. (...) Cameroon sends a powerful message about the importance of conservation’ (WCS 2008).

Figure 2 – Takamanda National Park and relevant locations



(Modified from MINFOF and MINEP 2009)

- Permanent forests
- Non-permanent forests
- Boundaries between provinces

However, this story can be told in a different way. Schmidt-Soltau, who worked as a consultant in Takamanda in 2000, criticized that ‘all the national parks in Central Africa have displaced or are displacing people’ (2003a, 546). This has been witnessed elsewhere in Africa and on other continents (Chatty and Colchester 2002; Brockington

2002). Indeed, since their invention National Parks have been zones where humans are not welcome (Adams 2004). These displacements often take place in very poor areas where people struggle to make a living from the land and its resources.

In the recently created Takamanda National Park, at least one illegal settlement (present since at least 1970) is set to be forcibly removed, and those living in and around the park will no longer be allowed to hunt, farm or collect timber within its boundaries. There are three villages within enclaves inside the park. For those living there, the consequences of the park could be disastrous, as one of them puts it: *'It's to die now. If you don't have money, you don't have food to eat, how will you live?'* (Obonyi inhabitant 2008a)²

The history of Takamanda National Park started in 1934, when the British colonial government created a Forest Reserve in the area (cf. chronology in Figure 3). Its creation and boundaries were soon disputed by local people reclaiming land for farming. Seventy-four years later the reserve became the legal basis for the National Park.

In 2000, a partnership between the Cameroonian and German governments established the Project for the Protection of Forests Around Akwaya (PROFA). PROFA's stated goals were to maintain the forest biodiversity and improve the living conditions of the people within the reserve (Ayeni, Mgaihli, and Ebot 2001, 2). Three phases were planned until 2012, but PROFA ended in 2003. The project was integrated into the

² I have preferred to keep respondents anonymous.

Program for the Sustainable Management of the Natural Resources (PSMNR) with the forests of Korup and Mt. Cameroon. Takamanda was deemed ‘highest priority’ in this program (Pietrowicz 2004, 4).

PROFA ended after introducing a ‘participatory management plan’ for the reserve, including several zones allowing some uses of the forest (MINEF 2003). But just as PROFA folded, the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) organized a workshop on the Cross-River gorilla; the new goal for the Forest Reserve became to ‘upgrade’ it to a National Park (Sunderland-Groves and Jaff 2003). A draft management plan was put together in 2005 and, by 2007, posters were distributed, publicizing the Takamanda National Park. The park was officially created in November 2008.

The two narratives of conservation and its human cost oppose each other, their implied goals being very different. With the creation of the National Park in Takamanda, the government chose the conservation narrative. As I will argue, its creation represents a change in conservation methods, from one oriented towards ‘community participation’ to ‘back to barriers’ (as coined by Hutton, Adams, and Murombedzi 2005), meaning that the local population will suffer from tight restrictions on virtually all of their food- and income-generating activities. What led to this narrative taking over the other? In other words, what led to the establishment of the Takamanda National Park?

To answer such questions, this thesis uses the lens of power to view the dynamic interactions of the various actors present in Takamanda. The study uses the framework of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as presented by Bruno Latour, Michel Callon, John Law and others (Latour 1986; Latour 2004; Latour 2005; Law 1992; Latour 1999; Law 1987; Law and Hassard 1999; Callon 1987). This approach is helpful in analyzing a

situation on multiple scales simultaneously. Thus it allows me to deconstruct concepts such as power, knowledge and discourse. Supplementing this approach is Lukes' typology of power (2005), which divides power into three dimensions, from visible to less visible. I argue that they are complementary in gaining a holistic understanding, while being aware of the necessary assumptions made in the process. This analytical scalpel is then used to make visible the dynamic interactions of actors and the networks they belong to.

The thesis explains the functioning of a conservation program - to my knowledge through an approach which has not been used. I show the ways in which different actors, including written documents, individuals and institutions, exert power in diverse ways. The discussion allows for the role of individual attitudes in shaping actions. Furthermore, the study uses a novel way to conceptualize and study documents, arguing that documents exert power. This enables us (amongst other things) to better understand power and the role of participatory methods within the conservation project. Finally, the holistic perspective of the project helps us to understand the shift from community participation 'back' to 'fortress conservation' at a project level.

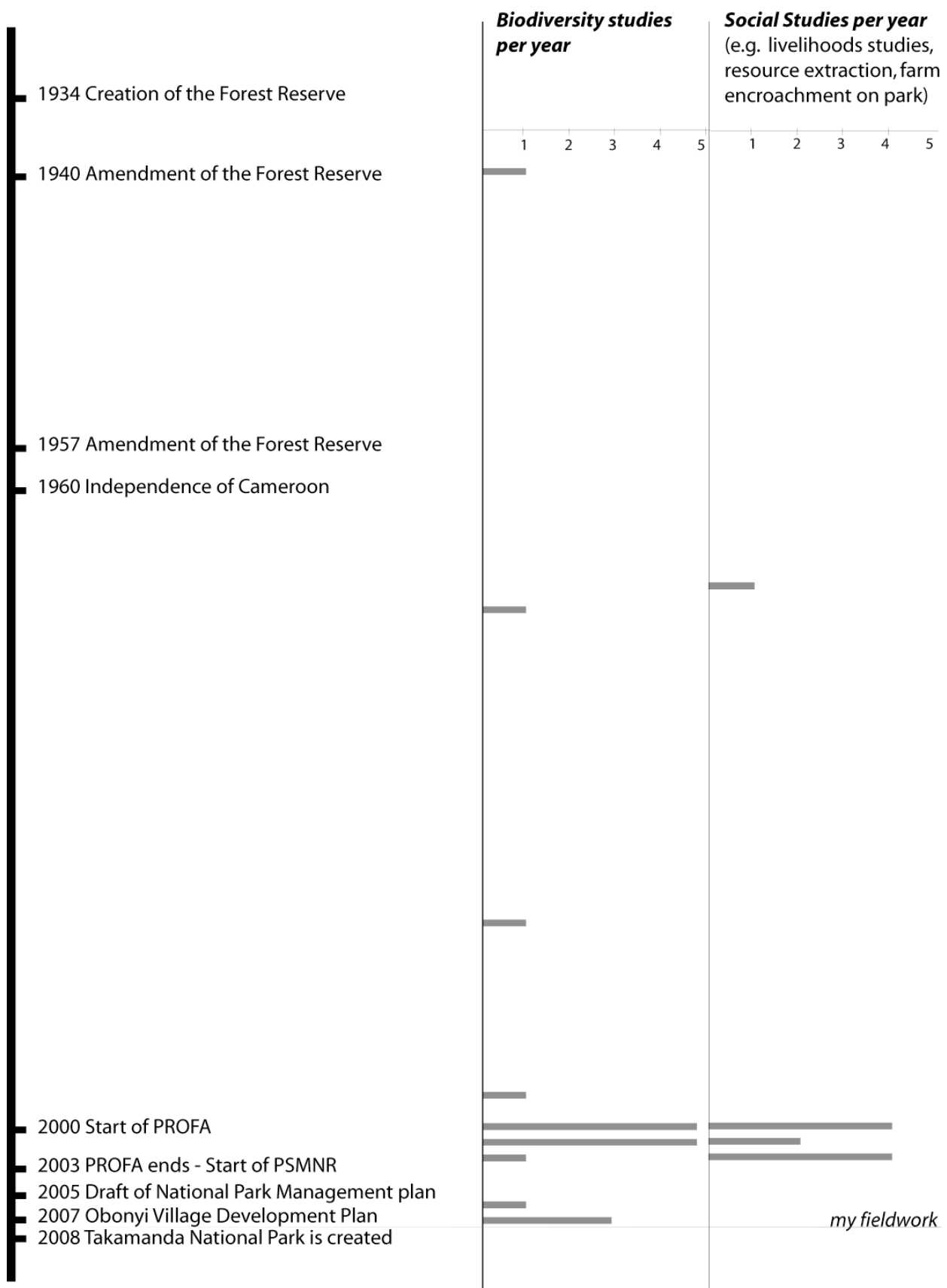
The following chapter provides an overview of the relevant literature to build the academic frame. The paper is then divided into two parts, explaining how the Takamanda National Park was created. Part One sets the scene and the characters. Chapter 3 presents the different actors involved. In Chapter 4, I study the different ways in which they view the forest. These competing perspectives shed light on the

actors' actions. Chapter 5 looks at the means that institutional actors have at their disposal to achieve their aims.

In Part Two, Chapters 6 and 7 use this foundation to understand the dynamics and interactions that led to the creation of the Takamanda National Park. The concluding chapter summarizes and highlights the findings of this analysis.

The discussion in this dissertation is based on the ten-week fieldwork conducted by myself in July-September 2008. For qualitative data, I collected documents from three archives and interviewed 48 people living in Obonyi 1 and 13 staff members from the PSMNR program. For quantitative data, I conducted a livelihoods survey in Obonyi 1 and did a full census of the village. More information is in the section on Research Methods in Appendix I.

Figure 3 – Takamanda Chronology



2 *Literature review / conceptual framework*

This chapter frames the study in the wider academic debates. The actions of people, documents, animals and institutions can be seen from a number of perspectives, validating or contradicting specific theories. I have chosen to view and analyze them through the conceptual lens of power. First, to understand power, I use two approaches: Lukes' conceptualization of power and Actor-Network Theory (ANT). Second, I will review the literature on participation as the junction of development and conservation in developing countries. Third, I will examine conservation and attitudes towards nature.

2.1 Power and networks

If we want to understand the mechanics of power and organization it is important not to start out assuming whatever we wish to explain.
(Law 1992, 380)

Here, I present the two strands of theory – Lukes' three dimensions of power and actor-network theory. I then introduce some criticisms of ANT and the boundaries it introduces between actors. This criticism will provide the ground for a new conception of networks where scale is paramount. Afterwards, this modification will allow us to look at power in a new way. Finally, I will weave these strands together at a conceptual level.

2.1.1 Lukes' conception of power

Lukes' short book, *Power: a Radical View*, first published in 1975, was greatly influential in political theory (Lukes 2005). His conception of power is outlined along three dimensions. Lukes takes the first dimension of power, behavioural power, from Dahl (1994). Power belongs to those who take the upper hand in an observable conflict and force others to do something.

The second dimension of power is put forward by Bachrach and Baratz (1962). They argue that power can be exerted by limiting the range of options available. In this dimension of power, there is no conflict because the opposition is muffled before even arriving at a debate.

Lukes criticizes these two approaches for offering only a partial view. He adds a third dimension, based on Foucault (1975; 1976), where individuals are purposefully misled to not support their own interests. They have internalized their position as compliant subjects at the point, as Foucault puts it, 'where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies, and inserts itself into their very actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes, and everyday lives' (1980, 39 in Lukes 2005).

2.1.2 Actor-Network Theory (ANT)

In ANT, actors do not exist independently of the networks to which they belong.³ These networks are composed of humans and non-human actors, which are both

³ I use here the word 'actors' to refer to both human and non-humans, it is the equivalent of the French '*actants*', which is sometimes also used.

studied on an equal level, with 'symmetry'. As Law puts it: 'There is no reason to assume, a priori, that either objects or people in general determine the character of social change or stability' (1992, 383). Nevertheless, this does not imply an absence of ethical differentiation.

Summing up a network by a single point is a simplification. For example, institutions are composed of a number of actors (employees, buildings, documents etc.), so that referring to a country or a bank as a unity conceals the network they stand for. Similarly, individuals cannot be studied independently; they are always part of a network. Thus, individuals cannot exert power, it is the network of human and non-humans surrounding them that makes it possible. For example, Law (1992) posits that what makes him important is the obedience of his students, his office, his dress etc.

Power, in this conception is thus created solely by the network, not the individual. Latour (1986, 265) posits that power 'may be used as a convenient way to summarize the consequences of a collective action', but 'it cannot also explain what holds the collective action in place'. It is thus only observable in its effects, but does not explain how the network that exerts it is held in place. One cannot 'hold' power. Lukes, even cites Latour stating that 'the notion of power should be abandoned'. He retorts that power is 'real and effective in a remarkable variety of ways' (2005, 64). However, I argue that, despite Lukes' statement, the two positions are not irreconcilable. To explain this, I must first expose a methodological issue with ANT, but this point, once resolved will allow for much greater freedom in the analysis.

2.1.3 The construction of actors: boundaries and scale

ANT is based on two main principles, symmetry between humans and non-humans and the actor's position in a network as the sole basis of its/his/her importance. The symmetry principle is associated with the idea that humans are intertwined with non-humans. Whatmore (2002, 160) contrasts the approaches to hybridity of Latour and Haraway, favouring the former. On the one side, she describes Haraway's cyborg, formed from both human and non-human materials 'stitched' together (Haraway 1991) and, on the other side, Latour's 'net-working,' where humans and non-humans interact.

I argue that the approaches of Latour and Haraway are in fact the same, but on a different scale.⁴ Indeed, when one 'zooms in' into the human body, organs can be considered 'non-human' whether they come from a pig or from human cell division. When one 'zooms out,' the integration of humans with non-humans is almost as complete as with their organs, e.g., with computers, transport modes etc. This link becomes even clearer in cases when people are assisted by machines (e.g., wheelchair, pacemaker etc.). Thus, the blurry border between human and non-human really depends on the *scale* at which one looks. What then makes an actor?

Law argues that 'if a network acts as a single block, then it disappears, to be replaced by the action itself and the seemingly simple author of that action.' (1992, 385; emphasis in original) He argues that actors attain such 'punctualization' (i.e., are considered as a single actor) through 'translation'. Callon (1987) and Law (1992) present translation as a way in which actors manage to come to represent, stand for, an entire network or

⁴ In another article, Whatmore posits that "the notion of the hybrid collectif implodes the inside/outside binary" (1998, 28), but does not take it further.

group of actors. However, they ignore the role of the viewer in this process. Thus punctualization is not only the way in which a network is ‘concealed from view’, as Law puts it. It is also how the researcher/viewer actively conceals some networks from view, rather than just looking at them passively. For example, like zooming into a human body to see its organs, one could zoom into an institution to see the actors that compose it. Zooming in from an international bank, to its local office, to the chairs and personnel, to the nuts and bolts holding a chair together and the liver and heart of an employee and, further, even to molecules, atoms etc. All these parts are part of multiple networks (or even a single network?). They can be named, employee, chair, local bank branch and international bank. They are integrated with other networks such as the production of the chair, its order, the place where the employee comes from, his family, his car etc. These networks can be extended even further through the idea of ‘corporeality,’ whereby bodies and their representations (e.g., photos, statistics etc.) are studied together (Whatmore 1998).

For the researcher, this (almost metaphysical) exploration could become a long list of things, connected one to the other and doing things with and to one another. However, nothing, or little could be learnt from that. It is thus necessary to assemble things together. There is, *a priori*, no more reason to reassemble these things as a ‘human’ than there is to reassemble them as an ‘institution’. In some cases it is worthwhile to simplify things as a unit, but in other cases, it is better to pull them apart. For example, a human, or animal, could be more interesting when taken as a whole, unless one is interested in cyborgs or the meat trade. It is the same with institutions and other constructs. Borrowing Latour’s (2005, 165) cartographic analogy of ANT: ‘flattening’ the social, in order to be useful a map has to simplify reality (i.e., make big things smaller). Similarly, the researcher has to sum up networks while expanding others. I

use the word ‘punctualization’ to denote this. It is different from the sense used by Callon and Law in that it covers *both* the action of the viewer-researcher and/or the actions of a network that result in the viewer treating that network as a single actor. A map is a conscious effort to depict the world in a certain way: the symbols chosen, the details included and the territory covered are arbitrarily chosen. In any study, what is simplified or left out is not solely dictated by the material, and the researcher, like the map-maker, has to justify and defend his punctualization from the criticism of others.

2.1.4 The implications for power

The discussion above has several implications for an analysis of power from the ANT perspective and its relation to Lukes’ view of power. Latour argues that power is a way to summarize a collective action, the act of a network. However, as argued above, all actors are a punctualization of a network. Thus power can be seen as exerted by either a network or an actor, depending on one’s chosen punctualization. As argued above, this approximation makes analysis feasible, for otherwise one would have to track down connections to infinity. Nevertheless, it is important to keep Latour’s insight in mind: the power of an actor is only a representation of the rest of the network, and one should not overlook the constant changes in the network or its complexity.

These punctualized actors can be seen as exerting power over other actors along Lukes’ three dimensions. For example Foucault’s prisoner is subjected to power in the first dimension by being imprisoned against his will, in the second dimension when he accepts his condition and in the third dimension when he internalizes it.

This conception goes along with Castree's argument 'that agents, while social, natural and relational, vary greatly in their powers to influence others'. In using 'agents' Castree refers to human actors, but his idea can be applied to all kinds of actors. His argument is that those advocating 'a strong ANT agenda risk ignoring the possibility that some actors "marshal" the power of many others and, in so doing, limit the latter's agency and circumscribe their existence.' (2002, 135) As explained above, we need not assume that actors are *intrinsically* different or see them as 'holding' power to explain how they seem to 'marshal the power of others'. This view of power as resulting from networks also enables us to attribute power to non-humans. The panopticon is a perfect example of a non-human exerting power – by its very structure - as it does not matter who or what sits at its centre. The concept will be shown to apply to the documents presented in this thesis.

To be clear, Lukes did not envisage power in this way. For him, power is held by individuals or groups. He argues that 'we will not attribute power to structures or relations or processes that cannot be characterized as agents' (2005, 72). He contradicts Latour on several aspects: power is not solely an outcome of a network, it can be held by an individual, and only humans can hold power. Furthermore, Lukes' notion of power assumes that each of the actors has interests that they might, or not, be able to advance, whereas, for Latour, one should study actions rather intents, so that both human and non-human actors' actions are not *a priori* distinguished on the basis that non-humans might not have intents.

2.1.5 Power and agency

Lukes' third dimension of power can also be understood as a network. Foucault's (1975) 'discourse' can be seen as the power of a punctualized but ever-changing network. There might not be a single actor representing the network implied by a given discourse or a single individual controlling it. Nevertheless, this discourse exerts power in the third dimension when it constrains people in a way unbeknownst to them.⁵ For example, at the start of Foucault's *Surveiller et Punir (Discipline and Punish)*, not only is the discourse of sovereignty composed by the king, but also its subjects, the torturers, the torture instruments, the edicts etc.

Furthermore, once this control or that of the prison/panopticon is internalized, the mind effectively makes the body a prisoner without the need for outside intervention (cf. also Foucault 1975). This has implications for the way agency is understood. Indeed with the third dimension of power, individuals can be the instrument of their own domination. Thus power is not only exerted *on* individuals but *through* them and, like the deconstruction of a human body in organs, this raises the question of the boundary between the network and the individual.

This type of power can be exerted by different networks such as a discourse, cultural norms, family norms, a panopticon etc. They can be seen as acting for or against one's 'interests' (however defined). Power is here defined as *all* the influences that make actors do something, whether or not it is in their interest. This relativist view of power goes beyond Lukes' definition, where someone is led to act against his or her own

⁵ As Scott (1985) highlights, seemingly unchallenged discourses might be resisted covertly, which would be the second dimension of power.

interest.

The deconstruction of the actor raises the question of agency and self. Indeed, if an actor can be subject to his own will, how can one distinguish whether he is dominated by something else or by himself?

This metaphysical question may never be answered. Maybe, as ANT suggests, it would be more useful to try and identify how diverse networks interact with (and within) an actor and shape its behaviour.

2.2 Participation, development and conservation

Conservation and development narratives have similarities. Both are ways in which western countries, NGOs and States intervene upon/with the developing world. They have a long history in Africa, starting in the colonial period and arguably justifying repressive policies (e.g., Arturo Escobar 1994; Beinart 1984). Nevertheless, they are often presented as opposing each other. Indeed, their stated goals are very different. Conservation aims at preserving ‘nature’, while development strives to implement a ‘positive’ change in people’s lives.

This section will study the links between conservation and development, with an emphasis on ‘participation’. I first outline a short history of conservation and development narratives and how participation became common to both when they ‘merged’ in the late 1980s. Second, I present a typology of the conservation-development debate. Third, I present the ways in which participation is analysed. Finally, I outline gaps in this analysis and how this thesis will contribute to a better understanding of participation.

The precise aims of conservation and development policies have changed with time. I present here the variations in the dominant narratives, which does not imply that they were left unchallenged. The changes will be treated as external in this study. Modern conservation began with the creation of US national parks in the late 19th century (Anderson and Grove 1987). This model of ‘fortress conservation’ that excludes humans from the landscape was then exported to Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1900s with the establishment of a number of parks (Brockington 2002). Cooper and Packard (1997) posit that the concept of development was also born in the colonial period (1940s) and went through a number of phases. It was implemented mostly through ‘top down’ measures, with economic growth as the ultimate aim until the 1980s (Leys 1996).

Roe (2008) traces the evolution of both narratives until 2008 and argues that they ‘merged’ in the 1980s with ‘sustainable development’ and ‘community conservation’. The reasons for the merge are manifold. Roe (2008) and Adams and Hulme (2001) give several causes: the intersection of their goals, the emphasis on neoliberal market solutions, enthusiasm for local participation (and the aid budget associated with it) and the debate on indigenous rights. Hutton et al. (2005, 343) explain, on the basis of their personal experience, that the narrative changed because of the ‘self-interest of the conservation constituency’, which realized that strict conservation ‘would be difficult to maintain politically in the face of objections by local people and their political leaders.’

During the late 1980s and 1990s, both narratives emphasized ‘participation’, an approach aimed at involving local people in decision-making, designating a number of

nomenclatures and techniques.⁶ In ‘community conservation’ projects it often runs parallel to development measures in order to gather local support for conservation (e.g. Vermeulen and Sheil 2007). But since the late 1990s, participation has been criticized both in conservation and development circles. Hutton et al. (2005) argue that this criticism led to a revival of fortress conservation and participatory projects were replaced by authoritarian exclusion.

Many authors have debated whether community conservation ‘works’ and under what conditions.⁷ Adams and Hulme (2001) highlight the very different meanings that this question can have. For example, from the conservation angle, Oates (1999) criticizes community conservation projects for their failure in terms of wildlife protection, whereas, from the development side, Alexander and McGregor (2000) criticize such a project for its failure to accommodate local people.

At their core, conservation and development goals are justified by moral reasons. Oates (1999), Wilson (1995) and Jepson and Canney (2003) emphasize such arguments for conservation while Sen (1984) argues for development. Virtually all of the authors in

⁶ E.g., ‘community-based conservation, community wildlife management, collaborative or co-management, community-based natural resource management, state/community co-management and integrated conservation and development programmes.’ (Hutton, Adams, and Murombedzi 2005, 342)

⁷ (e.g. Abbot et al. 2001; Adams et al. 2004; Alexander and McGregor 2000; Brockington and Schmidt-Soltau 2004; Chapin 2004; Gibson and Marks 1995; David Hulme and Murphree 2001; Hutton, Adams, and Murombedzi 2005; Kramer, Schaik, and Julie Johnson 1997; Oates 1999; Sanderson and Redford 2003; Vermeulen and Sheil 2007; Neumann 1997; Brockington 2002).

the conservation-development debate *implicitly* take a stand. Thus, it is more useful to divide them between those who view development as a priority and those who put conservation first. In this thesis, I refer to those who put a priority on conservation as ‘conservationists’. A further, empirical, distinction can be made between those who argue that conservation and development are mutually beneficial and those who speak of a trade-off between the two. This is summarized in the table below.

Table 1 – Typology of moral and empirical positions in the academic literature

		<i>Empirical position</i>		
		Conservation and poverty are not linked	Conservation enhances poverty reduction and/or vice-versa	There is a trade-off between conservation and poverty reduction
<i>Implied attitudes</i>	<i>Development is more important than conservation</i>	<i>e.g., Sen (1999) and many development NGOs</i>	Sustainable development <i>e.g., Fairhead and Leach (1996) Millennium Development Goals; Brundtland Commission; World Conference on Environment and Development</i>	Conservation is displacement <i>e.g., Alexander and McGregor (2000); Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau (2006); Chatty and Colchester (2002)</i>
	Development is less important than conservation		Community conservation <i>e.g., Abbot et al (2001); Sanderson and Redford (2003); Vermeulen and Sheil (2007) and many large conservation NGOs communications.</i>	‘Fortress conservation’ <i>e.g., Wilson (1984); Oates (1999)</i>
	They are of equal importance			

Of course these categories are not so clearly distinct. Furthermore, the empirical positions are often conflated with ethical ones.

This study will not enter the debate, but rather focus on *how* conservation and participation function. To understand participation, I will use the literature on development rather than that on community conservation because the latter tends to confuse different meanings of whether participation ‘works’.

Cooke and Kothari (2001) probably provide the harshest critique of participation (Mohan 2007). They separate criticisms of participation into two categories: those that evaluate the tools of participatory methods and those that question whether participation itself can be effective. Situating theirs in the latter, they argue that participation is ‘the new tyranny’, ‘the illegitimate and/or unjust exercise of power’ and that this ‘potential is systemic, and not merely a matter of how the practitioner operates or the specificities of the techniques and tools employed’ (2001, 4). Along with Mohan (2007) and Agarwal (2001), they argue that mainstream participation is an imposed form of decision-making where the facilitator and the more forceful members of a group (e.g., males) will have the upper hand.

Cooke and Kothari’s attack is levelled at participatory development rather than development projects themselves (cf. the three sets of tyrannies, p. 7). In fact, beyond participation, it may be the inherently unequal structure of ‘foreign aid’ projects that causes the problems they decry. Indeed, participation can be criticized as just another discourse amongst a long succession of harmful development discourses as presented by Ferguson (1994) or Escobar (1994) followed by Rossi (2004) – which we will turn to next.

However, Mohan (2007) and Kesby (2005) argue that ‘it would be misleading to see all provided participatory spaces as disempowering simply, because they are touched by the “development machine”’ (Mohan 2007, 789). As such, participation can be an opportunity to contest unequal power relations and escape from the ‘invited space’ of development projects. Neither author indicates clearly who would implement this change. They appear to have an unduly optimistic view of the ‘radical’ aspirations of the development practitioners who, they seem to hope, would implement this change.

Indeed, Rossi (2004) indicates that participation is no better than other discourses. Its implementation in a project (ironically) goes against the will of local people rather than offer them an opportunity to contest challenge unequal power relations. Nevertheless, she distances herself from Ferguson and Escobar’s monolithic views of the dominant discourse. Rossi’s (2006) analysis sees *both* the development workers and the ‘recipients’ of aid as subjected to power. They fill the roles ascribed to them within the discourse (consciously or not), but also manipulate them for their own gain. This further separates her analysis from those of Kesby, Mohan and Cooke and Kothari, who tend to depict the ‘facilitators’ (who run participatory exercises) as the centres of power.

Rossi and Ferguson tend to see participation as yet another development discourse, a tool of power, whereas Cooke and Kothari, Agarwal, Kesby, and Mohan highlight the (positive and negative) specificities of its methods. I argue that these two approaches need to be combined to study, at the level of a project, how participation allows power to be both exercised and exposed.

On a practical level, participatory methods offer the opportunity to study decision-making as they make it highly visible because (some) meetings are conspicuously public and are recorded in documents. These reports have enabled me to analyze participation from a new angle; see Chapter 7.

First, this study will look at the role taken by the documents created from the participatory exercise and how they are ‘translated’, in Callon’s (1987) sense, within the program.

Second, I will address the question of *what decisions* are being ‘participated’ in, reflecting Lukes’ second dimension of power. This is often overlooked such as in Agarwal’s (2001) typology, which fails to notice that not all decisions are open to debate.

Finally, this thesis will look at the outcomes of participation along the third dimension of power.

The thesis will attempt to answer these inquiries with respect to a conservation project. The analysis will thereby contribute to an understanding of the creation of the Takamanda National Park.

2.3 Measuring and reforming attitudes towards nature

An argument often used for community conservation is that it attracts local support for conservation through (material) incentives. However, the protection of wild animals is a matter of personal morals at heart, as illustrated in the opening quote by Durrell and in the typology of Table 1 above. Accordingly, conservationists have wanted to rally

local people to their crusade by changing their attitudes towards wildlife (i.e., exert power in the third dimension). Oates argues that 'cultivating an appreciation of wild nature is surely the second major role, after protecting nature, to which international conservation organizations can sensibly apply themselves' (1999, 246). Indeed, WCS (2009) aims to 'change individual attitudes toward nature'. I have argued above (2.1.5) that a range of networks exert power in the third dimension. Attitudes can be seen as the products of such influences, shaped by 'culture' or 'education' by conservation NGOs.

I present here the academic literature on conservation and attitudes. I will argue that attitude surveys have been seeking to reform local people and to 'modernize' their views and I then review the handful of relativist studies on attitudes.

Browne-Nuñez and Jonker (2008) review studies that measure attitudes towards wildlife and conservation in Africa. They argue that such surveys have become common in 'the last few decades'. They define attitudes as 'evaluations or feeling states' towards a specified object (2008, 57), which is the broad definition I will adopt here. Much of them measure attitudes towards specific conservation projects rather than towards a more general concept of nature.

As Foucault (1976) would argue, these measurements are not innocuous and portray the people studied as in need of normalisation. Indeed, these studies do not take the perceptions of local people seriously. The underlying idea is that these people need to be enlightened to understand the importance of conservation. Attwell and Cotterill are probably most forceful (or least subtle) in making such an argument:

In reality, all cultures have taboos and myths: some of these are culturally rich and may serve to protect human life, other species, and biodiversity. Others are actively destructive, which we should strive to demythologise. (Attwell and Cotterill 2000, 564)

To that end, Saunders even argues for the creation of a ‘conservation *psychology*’ field that should be ‘committed to encouraging conservation of the natural world’ (2003, 146).

This necessary evolution is reflected in Wilson’s (1984; 1995) concept of ‘biophilia’, whereby all humans have an emotional connection with nature. Thus, he and Oates (1999, 247) argue for authoritarian conservation on the basis that future generations will be able to appreciate its benefits.

If a tyrant were to carefully preserve his nation’s land and natural resources for his personal needs while keeping his people in poverty, he might unintentionally bequeath a rich, healthful environment to a reduced population for enjoyment in later, democratic generations. (...) in ecological and evolutionary time, good does not automatically flow from good or evil from evil. (Wilson 1984, 123)

Adams (2004) warns against the dangers of using ‘biophilia’ as a justification for conservation, because, even if it were innate in people, ‘its expression through arguments about the need to protect “the wild”, or even “biodiversity” are [sic] quite obviously culturally created.’ (2004, 107)

A more relativist (and tolerant) approach to studying attitudes is to compare them across groups, which is what I will do in this study. Several studies attempt to compare general attitudes towards the environment across different groups (e.g., Cassandra Y.

Johnson, Bowker, and Cordell 2004). Dunlap and Van Liere's (1978; 2000) New Ecological Paradigm scale (NEP) is arguably the most established of these scales. It consists of 15 statements, which can be read in Appendix B; my use of it is detailed in Appendix A.

There are few studies comparing attitudes in conservation settings. Sælemyr (2004) examines different ideas of 'nature' around a National Park in Ecuador. She finds that the local conservation NGO's view is based on the 'Western tradition of nature conservation', where the nature of the park is 'numbers' 'genetic resources, habitats, eco-regions, and endemic and endangered species, etc.' (2004, 199). However, the local population has a 'more spiritual way of regarding nature.' (2004, 200) She argues that these differences have led to conflicts between the two groups.

I found only one other study about the attitudes conservation organizations employees. Kneegting et al. (2002) draw from a sample of 39 'policy makers' from different NGOs (nature and conservation, mobility and recreation, and agriculture). Their respondents were asked to choose the characteristics they use to decide which species should be given conservation priority. They then had to rank the conservation importance of different species. The authors find disparities between the stated selection criteria and the species that were actually chosen. Respondents preferred to conserve larger species, although they did not include size as a prime criterion. Conversely, while they emphasized the importance of a species' rarity as a relevant criterion, this attribute was not evident in their choice.

I introduced this chapter with a conceptualization of power, then presented the conservation-development debate and the role of participation before concluding with the role of attitudes in conservation. Now that the academic frame around Takamanda is set, I can turn to Part One: a presentation of the Takamanda scene and its actors.

Part 1 – Setting the scene

The description of Takamanda will begin with the actors involved (Chapter 3), then the power they can exert (Chapter 4) and finally how they view the forest (Chapter 5). Part 1 sets the scene in a fairly static manner in preparation for Part 2 where the action will unfold.

3 The actors on the Takamanda scene

I use documents to navigate my way to the various actors in the Takamanda network, as explained in Appendix A. I have argued in Section 2.1 that networks can be punctualized into actors on various scales. I use two such scales, starting with the scale of humans, single documents, animals etc. Second, I group the actors according to self-declared ‘institutions’, including also non-humans. They are spread across several continents in the case of development institutions or concentrated in a small area in the case of the village institutions. In Chapter 5, I group actors according to their common shared perspectives of Takamanda.

Chapter 3 presents an overview of the institutions involved in Takamanda: First, the organizations officially involved with PROFA and the PSMNR; second, the external NGOs and consultants involved in the program and, finally, the people living in Obonyi 1.⁸

⁸ The documents refer to ‘the PSMNR’ and ‘PROFA’ I have kept that formulation.

3.1 Documents

The importance of documents in the program will be explored in Part Two below. Produced by the PSMNR institutions mentioned below, most of the papers can be roughly sorted into management documents (including Village Development Plans), biodiversity surveys and social studies. Many combine several of these aspects.

Other documents come from governmental archives, but virtually all of these are unmentioned in the program documents, except the few biodiversity surveys and the ordinance stating the creation of the Forest Reserve in 1934.

3.2 Institutions officially part of the Germano-Cameroonian projects

I present here the institutions that are officially part of the German-Cameroonian cooperation projects; I refer to them below as ‘the program’. The German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) is responsible for devising the development policy of the German government. It carries out that policy through German implementing organizations (hereby ‘German Cooperation’), international institutions (e.g., World Bank and IMF) and NGOs (BMZ 2008).

During PROFA’s existence (until 2003), implementing and financing the BMZ’s policies in Takamanda lay only in the hands of the German Enterprise for Sustainable Development (GTZ). Since then, during the PSMNR, two other German Cooperation institutions have been involved: the German Development Bank (KfW) and the German Development Service (DED). In addition, the GFA consulting group was commissioned to coordinate the program and the Wildlife Conservation Society

(WCS) has been responsible for biodiversity surveys and ‘education’ in Takamanda. KfW, GTZ and the Cameroonian government fund the PSMNR.

The offices of MINFOF, DED, GFA and GTZ coordinating the program are in the same location in Buea (cf. Figure 2). The WCS office in charge of Takamanda is in Limbe. MINFOF, DED and WCS also have offices in Mamfe. The head offices of GTZ, DED, MINFOF and WCS are in Yaoundé.

KfW is a German government-owned bank that provides funding for development projects abroad and in Germany. Its developing-country branches, KfW Entwicklungsbank (KfW hereafter) and the Deutsche Investitions- und Entwicklungsgesellschaft have a budget of respectively €3bn (£2.7bn) and €1.2bn (£1bn) in 2007 (KfW 2008a). Their aims are to carry out work on behalf of the BMZ to ‘sustainably improve the economic and social conditions of the people in developing countries’ (KfW 2008b). KfW pays two consultants to coordinate the PSMNR (MINFOF Employee 2008a; GFA 2008).

DED is the German government’s Development Service. Its stated aims are to place development workers in partner countries and provide ‘specialist advice’ (DED 2008a). It currently employs almost 1000 workers in 45 countries with a budget of €50m in 2007 (£45). ‘Their aims are to fight poverty, promote a self-determined, sustainable development and to preserve natural resources’ (DED 2008a). DED is in charge of village development in Takamanda.

GTZ is a German governmental enterprise whose goal is to ‘improve people’s living conditions on a sustainable basis.’ (GTZ 2008) It employs 12,000 staff in 120 countries with a turnover of €1bn (£897m). In the PSMNR, GTZ is responsible for establishing the Technical Operations Units, which are inter-ministerial committees set up manage a certain area.

MINEF (Ministry of Environments and Forests) and later **MINFOF** (The Ministry of Forests and Wildlife) represent the Cameroon government in the program. In 2004, MINEF was divided into two ministries: MINFOF and MINEP (the Ministry of Environment and Nature Protection) (Global Witness 2005). MINFOF is the main partner in the program (DED Employee 2008a).

WCS is an NGO whose aim is to ‘save wildlife and wild lands’ (WCS 2009). Its budget was \$186m (£126m) in 2007 (WCS 2007a). Its funding comes from private donations and government grants.

3.3 External NGOs and consultants

Numerous smaller Cameroonian and foreign NGOs and independent consultants gravitate around the program to offer consultant advice and carry out specific tasks. Some of them also or carry out their own activities. For PROFA, many of the reports were done by consultants, whether from Cameroon or outside. Most of the local consultants are hired on a regular basis.

3.4 Local people and Inhabitants of Obonyi 1

I use ‘local people’ or ‘villagers’ as shorthand to refer to those who live in and around the Takamanda National Park. The thesis focuses on Obonyi 1 (hereafter Obonyi), one of the four villages located within enclaves in the National Park. About 346 people live in Obonyi (Freudenthal 2008). Their various occupations include farming, gathering forest products, hunting and fishing. These livelihoods will be detailed in Section 5.1. The closest settlement to Obonyi 1 is Obonyi 3, which is less than an hour away. To get to a larger town, with some medical care and a government school, either in Cameroon or Nigeria, one has to walk about 19 miles (at least six hours), cross a few rivers and take a car for more than two hours.

The local language is Denya. The younger generation and those who have gone to school speak Pidgin English and/or English, which are spoken by most people in the English speaking part of Cameroon and in Nigeria. Most people living in Obonyi 1 were born there (80 percent in 2008).

3.5 Forest, Fauna and Flora

The boundaries of the Takamanda forest were not visible when I looked at a satellite picture (Figure 2) or journeyed through the area. They have been constructed through the government and program documents. These limits are then enacted and identified on the ground by white markers (Figure 4).

Figure 4 - Park boundary markers (2008)



The animals and plants living within the Takamanda forest have a role in the creation of the Park in several ways: First, through their representation in documents, often by statistics in biodiversity surveys, as will be further detailed in Section 5.2.2.

Second, they are present in the daily lives of people using them, in Obonyi and other places in Takamanda as well as those buying these resources. This presence is evidenced in manifold ways, physically, as in the provision of food, shelter etc; in discussions of people's livelihoods, as will be presented in Section 5.1; and through the regulation of what can and cannot be done with them.

The actors briefly presented in this chapter are those mentioned in documents (as explained in Appendix A). As I have argued above, connections can be traced to infinity and I have decided to limit myself. Nevertheless, I now examine the networks with which these actors have links and that allow them to exert power in different ways.

4 *The power of institutional actors*

The groups of actors listed above have positions in networks that allow them to exert power over others. In this chapter, I look at such connections for the PSMNR organizations and Obonyi. The power of documents will be examined in Part 2. Flora and Fauna can only exert power through tenuous and complex links with other actors speaking for them. Those links will be examined in Section 5.2.

4.1 Financial

Money is a case in point, with respect to the concept that an actor has no power without a network. The forms that ‘money’ takes, such as paper or data in bank computers, has no power in itself. It is the network of individuals, institutions, technologies (e.g., fraud prevention) that creates it. Because this network is stable, it is punctualized as ‘money’. Those who hold money can provide incentives to others to do their bidding and as such, money allows its owner to exert power.

Before the involvement of the German Cooperation in 2000, it is likely that the budgets devoted to Takamanda were low. PROFA’s budget does not appear in the documents I have accessed. During the PSMNR, the financial power has been mostly in the hands of the German Cooperation. They bring €9m (£8m) to the €12m (£11m) program in addition to their staff (DED 2008b). The rest, €3m (2.6m), comes from the Cameroonian Government through MINFOF.

The international revenue of WCS more than doubled between 2002 and 2007 (WCS 2002). It spent over \$62m on global conservation programs in 2007, but no details regarding individual project funding are publicly available (WCS 2007b). In 2002-2005, the WCS office working on Takamanda obtained \$300,000 (£202,800) from the MacArthur Foundation (WCS 2005) and \$70,010 (£47,300) from the US Fish and Wildlife Service (Oates et al. 2005). These followed grants from USAID and other sources, such as the Margot Marsh Biodiversity Foundation and the WWF-African Great Apes Program (Oates et al. 2005).

The group with the least financial power is most likely the population dwelling in Takamanda and using its resources. Their combined yearly cash income is £1.7m or £571 per person per annum, most of which is spent on health (Schmidt-Soltau 2001, 51).

Overall, the foreign organizations have access to greater financial power. This allows them to use media effectively.

4.2 Media/communication power

Shaping the opinion of a large number of people to gather their support is in itself exerting power in the third dimension. Furthermore, it can bring financial support (e.g., donations to NGOs) or other forms of support (e.g., votes). Media arguably influences the opinions of many people and can be directed (e.g., Herman 1988).

Program organizations have access to national and international media. The Cameroonian government owns several newspapers, a radio and a TV station (BBC 2008). It probably also has some control over national media. WCS and the German

Cooperation institutions publish their own magazines, websites, create advertising and have regular contacts with the press (e.g., BMZ 2009).

In recent years most of the press coverage of Takamanda was initiated by WCS and the Cameroonian government, which have different publics and sources of support. Thus, while WCS was emphasizing the outcomes for gorillas in the international media, the government stressed the benefits for development in the national media (e.g., Fru 2007; WCS 2008).

The local people's chances of attracting any positive media attention are virtually non-existent.

4.3 Legal

Just like money, laws are the punctualization of a network (including courts, prisons etc.). The government, taken as a single actor, has the most legal power as it can create legislation, enforce it and is likely to be heard in court.

Furthermore, the enforcement of laws legitimates the 'localized physical power' of the State (explained in the next section). In interviews, the employees of foreign organizations often distanced themselves from the repressive aspects of the law on forest use. They argued that it was a national matter and that it did not belong to their resort (WCS Employee 2008a; GTZ Employee 2008).

Local people do not have knowledge of the possibilities that the law offers to them or the resources necessary to make use of them. For example, those I have asked did not

know the difference between a National Park and a Forest Reserve (Obonyi inhabitant 2008b; Obonyi inhabitant 2008c).

So far in Takamanda, legal power has only been exerted at the level of documents (i.e., the creation of the National Park), as virtually no enforcement of regulations takes place. But this is likely to change in the future.

4.4 Localized physical power

The three above-mentioned types of power are not exerted directly in the Takamanda area. ‘Localized physical power’ refers to the capacity to exert localized physical power over another actor (e.g., cutting timber, detaining someone etc.).

Until PROFA, there was virtually no enforcement of the Forest Reserve laws and local people were able to do what they wanted. Nevertheless, as the Cameroonian government obtained access to more financial resources through PROFA, its vision of Takamanda improved in Scott’s sense of ‘*Seeing Like a State*’ (1998) in several ways. First direct enforcement was made possible through employing physical resources (e.g., transport). Second, local residents themselves were integrated into a reporting system, the Village Contact Committees (VCCs), which I will briefly discuss in Section 7.1.

The National Park management plan includes 20 guards to patrol the area (MINFOF and PSMNR 2005, 59). They will increase the range of both the vision and the activities of the State so that the balance of physical power in Takamanda is likely to shift in its favour. Nevertheless, the guards cannot be everywhere at once and Obonyi’s hunters can just go hunting at night. Furthermore, during the rainy season, many areas

of the forest are cut off from the towns with the program's decision-making centres. Therefore, such power will shift according to both place (i.e., where the ecoguards are, or not) and time (i.e., day vs. night; dry vs. rainy season).

As such, local people can do the activities that fit within these time/space slots whenever and wherever the program 'isn't seeing'. For example, night hunting will most likely continue whereas farming within the Park will cease, as it occupies a too long time slot and is thus unable to elude the State's gaze.

4.5 Interactions of power

Although I have divided networks according to the type of power they exert, they cannot be strictly separated. For example, I have argued that the government can exert legal power and that the German Cooperation exerts financial power. These two types of power need to complement each other in order to function. The State needs legal power to enact legislation, win cases and legitimize its physical power, but it also needs financial power to arrest 'poachers' and gain 'localized' power as described above. Similarly, financial power allows the ownership of private media and pay for advertising.

In contrast, the people living in Obonyi can exert very little power. Using localized physical power and '*weapons of the weak*' (James C Scott 1985), however, they are able to resist the other 'larger scale' powers to some extent, as outlined above. Furthermore, this power may be leveraged to take the forest wildlife as hostage for further demands, a bargain expressed by one respondent thus: '*If there is no road, no wildlife*' (Obonyi inhabitant 2008b).

5 Competing views of Takamanda

The Takamanda forest can be seen in a plurality of interwoven ways. Literally, it is *seen* in different ways as illustrated by maps in Appendix D. For example: a MINFOF staff might see it on a map showing the forest coverage; a hunter might see the different places where animals hide; a conservationist might look at species statistics and animal traces; how gorillas see it is a mystery, but certainly differently.

As I cannot ‘see’ through the eyes of other actors, I report here the way these views are presented to me, at the level of both individuals and institutions. Chapter 5 focuses on human actors because animals and plants do not speak for themselves.⁹ In Section 5.2 I will examine the ways in which human actors speak (or ‘translate’) for animals. The different ways in which actors see the forest is shaped by the things to which they attach importance, but how they see the forest also shapes their action.

I have identified perspectives of Takamanda into three groups: a source of livelihoods, a biodiversity hotspot and a Germano-Cameroonian project.

5.1 Takamanda as a source of livelihoods

‘Livelihoods’ are the activities that people do to make a living. I focus here on those coming directly from the Takamanda forest. Conservation projects are also a way to extract a livelihood from the forest as staff is paid to conserve its biodiversity. However, this connection is more tenuous and not presented by any of the actors. Thus

⁹ To be precise, animals and plants do not “speak” to me, but their views are ‘translated’ by conservationists.

I focus on the livelihoods of local people, specifically those living in Obonyi 1. This perspective of Takamanda is presented directly by the people of Obonyi and indirectly through livelihoods surveys, by Schmidt-Soltau in 2001 (n=41) and myself in 2008 (n=48).

I start with a brief overview of the ways in which people from Obonyi see the forest and how resources are extracted along gender and age lines. Then I indicate how these uses are likely to change when the National Park is enforced.

In order to understand how the people of Obonyi see the forest, I asked, *'What is the forest for?'* Their answers: timber to build houses, space to create new farms, meat, fish and money from selling those things.

'Forest, we deh clear farm there. Animals dey deh there. We deh shoot, we deh chop. We deh get money for forest' (Obonyi inhabitant 2008d)
(we are clearing our farms in the forest. Animals are there. We are shooting and we are eating. We get money from the forest)

In 'the forest, you fit go fayn money, fayn food, fayn meat, fayn fish'
(Obonyi inhabitant 2008e)
(in the forest, you can find money, you can find food, you can find meat and you can find fish.)

'The forest is used for consuming, no? (...) the forest is for us to farm and then do hunting, fishing...' (Obonyi inhabitant 2008b)

Furthermore, the distinction between the forest and the village is important:

Bush it be deh husay we deh clear farm, we deh plant chop. Nah deh be bush, here nah village. This side for village, we deh build house, we deh

stay inside, we deh sleep there. Nah village he be dat. Where (?) we deh carry chop for our house, nah deh be forest (Obonyi inhabitant 2008f).

(The bush is where we are clearing farms, where we are planting food. That's the bush. Here, this is the village. In the village, we build our house, we stay here and we sleep here. That's the village. Where we collect our food, that's the forest.)

Indeed, several people wanted the village to become like Mamfe, the nearby town. Almost everyone stressed the importance of a road and one respondent even said, '*without a road we are like animals*'. An important communal activity was clearing grass so that, according to my interpreter, the village would be less 'bushy', reinforcing the distinction forest-village.

The bulk of the diet is produced through farming (banana, cassava, yams, corn, palm oil etc.). Dishes also typically contain a very small portion of forest animal meat, without it people refer to the meal as 'empty'.¹⁰ Several 'Non-Timber Forest Products' (NTFPs) are also added to meals, such as bush mango and egusi.¹¹

Moreover, forest products are an important source of income, enabling people to buy medicines, pay for education and acquire small household products such as kitchen and farming utensils. Nevertheless, there is little trade in and out of the area because this

¹⁰ Having eaten an 'empty' meal, I feel the image is an accurate depiction.

¹¹ Bush mangoes are collected from the tree, fermented, then cracked open to collect the nuts; they are then dried and ground into soups, which thickens them. Egusi are seeds from a type of watermelon that are also ground into soups.

entails a six-to-eight-hour walk to the nearest road. Thus, forest and farm products are central to the survival of the village.

Labour is divided amongst different groups, although there is no sharp divide, and resources are distributed within the village by a complex network of gifts (Mauss 1954; Appadurai 1988) as well as cash transactions.¹² Within that system, most respondents stressed that it was important to grow your own food in order to be independent and feed other villagers and visitors.

I'm in the village and I have my farm. If you kommot outside, you fit buy chop. But here in my village, I have my farm, I cannot buy. (Obonyi inhabitant 2008g)

Furthermore, some of the ceremonies necessitate specific foodstuffs. For example, one needs red deer in order to get married. Virtually all of the respondents claimed there was no substitute for it.

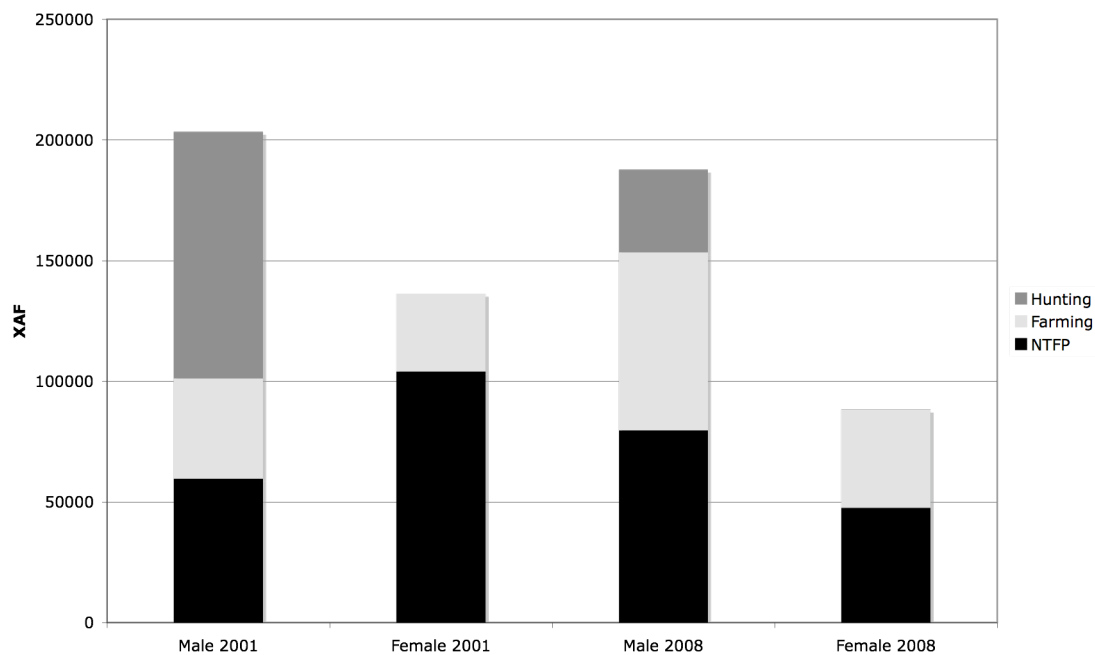
Men and women have different responsibilities within the household. This is mirrored by the crops they grow (Obonyi inhabitant 2008h). Men take care of health and education expenses and more men grow cocoa, the only purely cash crop. Women are responsible for feeding their family so more of them grow food crops such as cassava, yams and corn,¹³ which they also sell.

¹² E.g., for stock cubes and meat

¹³ 76 percent of those who grow these crops are women (n=51)

The two genders collect different things from the forest. Only men go fishing and hunting. Women used to fish using poison (chemical or from plants) but the council has banned this practice, as it was judged destructive, so that only men fish now (they were 17 on 22 in 2001 and only 1 on 21 in 2008). Mostly women and youth collect NTFPs such as bush mangoes or eru.

Figure 5 - Average cash income for men and women



Activities also change with age. The villagers I interviewed see farming as a long-term activity. When they grow old, they can get one of their younger siblings to work the land that they themselves had cleared and planted when they had enough strength. The younger people who are studying and living outside of the village are often partly supported by their elders.¹⁴ They cannot maintain a farm and so they resort to

¹⁴ I have not included people under 18 in my livelihoods survey and this is known through conversations and interviews

gathering NTFPs, such as mangoes, trading commodities from town and to some extent trapping.

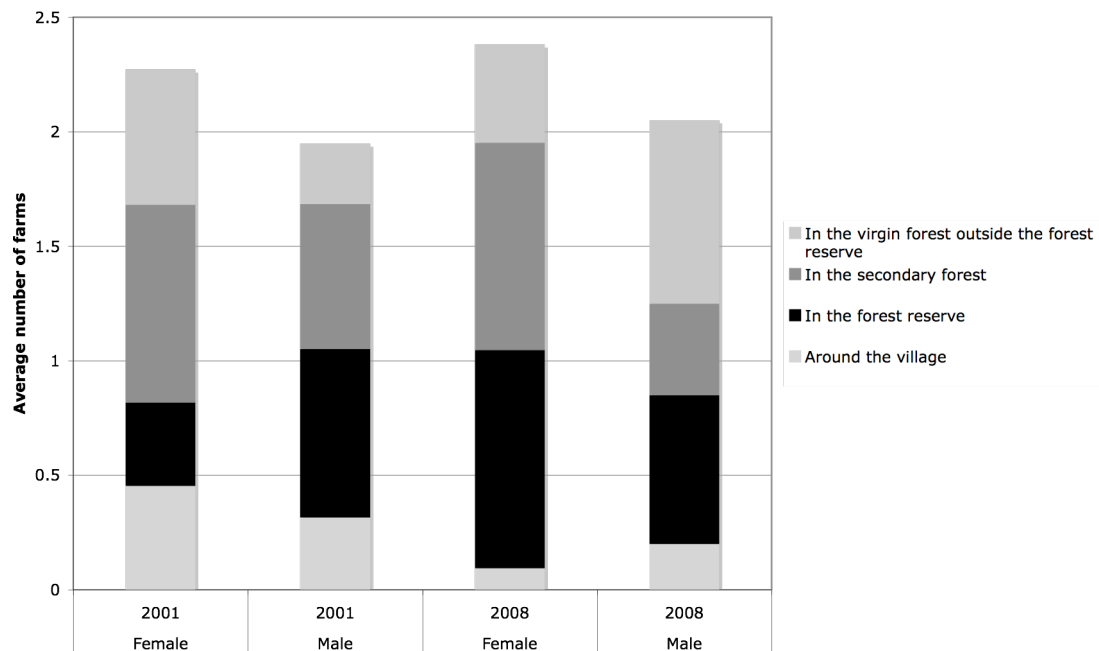
Most of the rules for the National Park are set in its management plan.¹⁵ Hunting, farming and cutting timber are now totally forbidden in the park. Gathering NTFPs and fishing are restricted.

People in Obonyi are not enthusiastic about the park but some reject it more openly than others. One of the most common questions I was asked at the end of the interviews was, ‘What will we do when we cannot get food from the forest?’ I did not know the answer.

Given the lack of alternative sources of meat and given the discussion above on localized physical power, it is probable that people will continue to hunt and gather NTFPs. Farming is likely to be the activity most affected by the park. Virtually all of the people I interviewed stated that there was not enough land in the enclave for farming. According to the livelihoods surveys, there are quite a large number of farms (36 percent in 2008) within what is now a National Park (cf. Figure 6).

¹⁵ I will base my commentary on the 2005 draft plan (discussed in Section 6.3 and summarized in Table 2, p.75) and the resolution of a 2007 workshop (discussed in Section 7.1.2)

Figure 6 – Average number of farms per person



The park restrictions (if enforced), will not affect the whole village in the same way. The National Park will affect women the most as they are more likely to have farms with it. The younger generation will find it even harder to pay their school fees because of the ban on trapping and the restriction on NTFP gathering. Those who are too old to work but own farms within the park will be worse hit, as these farms constitute a sort of savings (cf. above). Moreover, the (possible) benefits from the park will not necessarily be distributed equally, or (re)balance the inequalities the park will create.

5.2 Takamanda as a haven for animals

In this section, I explore the ways in which the animals of the forest ('wildlife') are valued for their presence rather than for their meat. I analyze this view in two ways.

First, through interviews I study attitudes towards animals and the forest in general. Second, through examining the documents, I look at the ways in which biodiversity is measured and animals are ‘translated’.

5.2.1 Attitudes towards ‘nature’ and the Takamanda forest

I will argue here that people have different attitudes towards the importance of the forest plants and animals existing without being physically used or eaten. My interviews were based on written statements about nature, which are detailed in Appendix A. The results for people living outside of Obonyi are in Appendix C. Furthermore, I asked all respondents: ‘In what order would you put the importance of forest activities?’. As a caveat, I do not claim to uncover deep ‘values’, only stated attitudes.

Attitudes towards the forest can be divided according national or institutional affiliations. The Cameroonians interviewed always selected either income or food as the most important forest uses. Those working for the program would argue that conservation will preserve food and income. Foreigners working for the program, mostly from Germany, tended to see the forest as something with intrinsic value, to be protected for its own sake.

Institutional affiliation also affected people’s attitudes towards the forest. The program staff all replied that conservation was the first priority for the forest. Nevertheless, Cameroonians working for MINFOF tended to emphasize that the conservation of the forest aims to benefit humans. Those working for WCS had views closer to those of foreign staff and promoted conservation also for the sake of the animals.

In Obonyi, virtually all of the respondents agreed that humans are ‘meant to rule over the forest’ and that the forest is there for their use. However they were divided over whether the National Park was a good thing. It is difficult to decide whether replies were influenced by a perception of me as a conservationist. For example, one of the respondents was adamant about the importance of preserving the forest for future generations, but when I explained to him I could not give him a job as a park ranger, he stopped advocating conservation. Another respondent, however, agreed with that animals are as important as humans (cf. Statement 7); however, probing further, I found that he was vegetarian for precisely that reason. This was a unique occurrence.

5.2.2 Biodiversity and science

Biodiversity surveys are central to justifying the creation of the National Park. They are also the main way through which fauna and flora enter the program documents. Animals influence the surveys through the location of their nests, their droppings, their absence etc. This thesis does not put emphasis on the animals as active actors in the process of creating the park. Their role is mediated through conservation science that ‘speaks’ for them.

Escobar argues that biodiversity is a ‘construction constituting a powerful interface between nature and culture and originating a vast network of sites and actors’ (A Escobar 1998, 75). This is a contested word and he offers several conflicting ‘discursive formations’ stemming from different actors (where he fails to consider non-humans). However, at the level of Takamanda, ‘biodiversity’ is not contested, it is only constructed by conservation NGOs and reflects one of the discourses presented by Escobar (globalocentric). Fairhead and Leach (2003) posit that in Guinea biodiversity

is ‘practiced’ in several ways including the production of species lists. I study here this practice in Takamanda. I outline below the similarities and evolution of biodiversity studies over time. Finally, I compare their conclusions to those given by the inhabitants of Obonyi 1.

As will be outlined in Chapter 6, government documents scarcely mention wildlife before the 1950s-60s. Timber as the focus of ‘preservation’ was accordingly at the centre of studies. The first animal surveys in the area were conducted in 1904 on the Nigerian side and in 1940 on the Cameroonian side (Groves 2002). Initially such studies did not give any policy advice, but, with time, they promoted more and more restrictive laws on forest uses with the goal to preserve wildlife. Since the 1960s, biodiversity surveys have had a similar structure. At first, they present Takamanda as unique in some way. Then, they generate long lists of species amongst which endangered species are identified. Their focus is often on large mammals, especially gorillas. Finally, their recommendations are similar and serve to legitimize conservation policies.

The operational goals of the studies have been relatively unchanged since the colonial period. With time, the methods of collection become more elaborate (e.g., GPS- and DNA-analysis) but their output still consists of long lists of species:

The animal community (...) is made up of 60 mammalian species, 310 avian species, 79 reptilian species, 78 species of fishes and 79 species of dragonflies. (Anon. 2003, 42)

Nevertheless, the inventories put the emphasis on specific species. The collection is restricted geographically and neither PROFA nor the PSMNR have commissioned a study on the species that may, or may not, be present on farmland. As Fairhead and Leach argue, this reinforces the idea of ‘biodiversity wealth and conservation in reserves, and biodiversity destruction in inhabited areas’ (2003, 6).

Studies especially focus on large mammals and gorillas in particular. The hierarchy of species coincides loosely with the findings of two surveys, one amongst Dutch NGOs (Knegtering et al. 2002), and the other with users of a Spanish national park (Martín-López, Montes, and Benayas 2007). Indeed, many of the program staff stated that their favourite animal is the gorilla and is also the most endangered (WCS Employee 2008b; MINFOF Employee 2008b; WCS Employee 2008a). As Lorimer (2008) points out, biologists need to have a close connection with their object of study, but one finds no explicit discussion or justification of which species should be given importance within Takamanda.

From this list, studies find many threatened species: first, according to the list of threatened species compiled by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN). Since 2000, gorillas living in Takamanda have been considered a ‘distinct subspecies’: the ‘Cross River Gorilla’ (Sarmiento and Oates 2000). The classification as a subspecies is not straightforward because of variations amongst individuals of a group, but Sarmiento and Oates found that the gorillas from the Takamanda area are geographically isolated and their skeletons have ‘smaller dentitions, smaller palates, smaller cranial vaults, and shorter skulls’ than ‘other western gorilla populations’ (2000, 2). Because of the low numbers of this subspecies, it was then considered

‘critically endangered’ in 2000, whereas the gorillas species at large was only designated as such in 2007 (Walsh et al. 2007).

Second, when the surveys find too few specimens, they consider species to be endangered in the area. Similarly, they deemed a species to have disappeared when it *should* be found but is missing.

The fact that some species were not recorded during this survey may be an indication that they no longer exist in the area, or due to the timing of the survey. (Warren and Mboh 2007, 53)

In several interviews, program staff also compared Takamanda to other forests and it was described as ‘empty’ (DED Employee 2008b; DED Employee 2008a). They did not pursue the alternative hypothesis that the species never existed in Takamanda. Furthermore, reflecting Oates’ disappointment quoted at the beginning of the thesis, today’s Takamanda is often compared to an imaginary distant past when wildlife is assumed to have been abundant, as, e.g., in the latest WCS brochure:

rather little is known about the past distribution and abundance of Cross River gorillas, but a few older reports suggest that their numbers were higher in the past’ (Oates et al. 2007, 10).

While many species are ‘threatened’, conservation brochures and press releases feature virtually only gorillas (e.g. Oates et al. 2007). Program employees stress that gorillas and elephants or other large mammals are the most endangered, whereas few mention the smaller animals or the plants and none, the insects. The following interviewee is one of the few to mention other species, but asserts:

You cannot even say what are the most endangered species right now because as far... What we are working for is for the elephants and for the

*gorillas... these are the animals that are in the media to be presented that they are a concern, but I think the small deers and the small rats are the same way because the poachers, they take everything. **We work for the gorillas and for the elephants.*** (DED Employee 2008a; emphasis added)

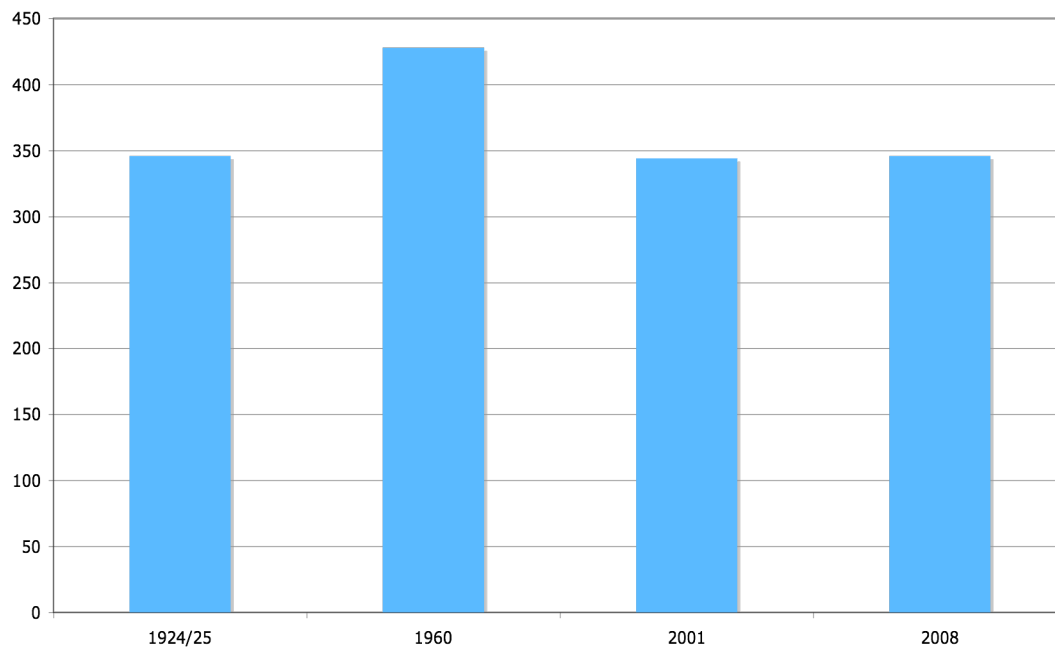
Indeed, the word ‘endangered’ is useful for stressing the importance of conserving specific species to a global as well as a local audience. As one staff member puts it: ‘*We call them endangered so that people would know that this is endangered so that they should not kill.*’ (WCS Employee 2008a)

Once it is established that the forest is degraded, studies always find, or assume, that local people are responsible for it. The most cited threats are linked to increasing population and mismanagement: ‘hunting pressure’, ‘over-exploitation’ and habitat fragmentation by farming.

it is still shocking to see an interpolation map that shows that human activity can be recorded through every part of the area. This human presence equates to high hunting pressure for all species recorded in this survey.’ (Warren and Mboh 2007, 62)

They do not mention international factors, such as demand for timber (except for Nigeria). As a side note, in Obonyi 1, the population has been stable since 1925 (cf. Figure 7), but this may not be the case for the rest of the region.

Figure 7 - Obonyi I census



(Schmidt-Soltau 2001; Sharwood 1924a; Freudenthal 2008)

Finally, as the most recent survey puts it: recommendations ‘have not changed since Critchley’s times’, i.e., 1968 (Ekinde and Warren 2007). The findings described above – a unique area that contains a large number of endangered species (which have a high emotional appeal) under threat by humans – always lead to the same advice. First, studies recommend the realization of further biodiversity studies. Second, they call for regulations on local activities and the expansion of the government’s capacity to enforce them. As such, biodiversity studies are central to justifying conservation policies in Takamanda.

All the PROFA documents, until 2003, list the same ‘core problems’ (MINEF 2003, 17; Ayeni and Mgaihli 2001, 8). These problems come from the mismanagement of the forest by the local people and the increasing ‘pressure’ on resources, which leads to

overexploitation, biodiversity loss etc. The origin of these findings is not referenced but they justify PROFA's goals throughout its duration.

Furthermore, international published research is critical to the legitimation of the institutions working in Takamanda. This creates a loop as much of the research that is created in Takamanda finds its way into reviewed journals. In turn, the global policy of institutions is influenced and legitimized by research. A further discussion on the control of research in Takamanda is in Appendix A.

I now compare the discourse of conservation science and that of the people from Obonyi. Most of those I interviewed agree that there are fewer animals in the forest now. Many blame hunting for this reduction, especially trapping by students who use this revenue to support them during their studies. Furthermore, the vast majority of those who hunt stated that they would prefer not to because hunting is hard and not very rewarding. Farming is easier and allows for a steady stream of income. However, they have no alternative means to get meat.

Thus, while there might indeed be fewer animals in the forest, the reasons given by the conservation studies are different from those given by the villagers. The policies they would justify are radically different.

5.3 Takamanda as a German-Cameroonian Cooperation project

Takamanda is also the object of a German-Cameroonian partnership. This perspective is presented by the German and Cameroonian governmental institutions as well as by the people working for them. I look at each in turn.

5.3.1 German Development Cooperation

At an institutional level, two goals can be traced for the German Cooperation in Takamanda. First, the institution hosts certain ideas about the way a program should be organized and what is defined as success. The image of the program has to correspond to those ideas. Second, the program's budget has to be spent within a specific period.

1. The German Development Cooperation has experienced two parallel shifts, which can be observed at the level of the BMZ. One is operational, from a project focus to a sector-wide program focus. After 2002, the German Cooperation moved to a program focus rather than a project focus¹⁶ (Hill 2002). The other shift has been a gradual change towards an emphasis on the environment. In 2001, 'Ensuring Access to Vital Resources – Fostering an Intact Environment' was only one out of ten 'priority areas for action' (BMZ 2001, III). Today, 'protecting the natural environment' is one of the four 'guiding principles' of the ministry. These shifts are visible at the Takamanda level, as is shown in Part Two.

2. The output of the German Cooperation institutions is often measured in terms of the money spent or the number of workers working in an area (e.g., DED 2007; Spilger 2008). At project level, budgets have to be spent within an allocated time. The

¹⁶ In this paper I do not distinguish systematically between 'program' and 'project'.

interviewed staff complained about how hard they have to work to meet the strict deadlines. As one of them explained:

Because [of] this international agreement to spend 0.3% of the gross national income for development, this money has to be spent. The message overall is sometimes, just spend the money, whatever you do, get the fucking money, get the money out. (DED Employee 2008a)

And further:

The whole thing, we have 7 million for the whole program, 7 million euros, and this has to be spent. That's the target, spend the money until 2011. (DED Employee 2008a)

This pressure would be worsened by the competition amongst the different institutions for recognition by the BMZ (DED Employee 2008a; Bunzenthall 2007).

The personal perspective on Takamanda, expressed by individuals, cannot be separated from that of the institutions they are working for. After all, if they have chosen to work for a non-profit institution, which usually does not offer high paying jobs, they probably find its work worthwhile but might also have their own separate interest. As I have outlined in Section 5.2, the staff of the program find it important to protect the animals of the Takamanda forest. Some may also be keen to do good for the people of the area. For example, a DED staff member implied that he had to conform to the project's objective:

I must also clearly say, we are a natural resource management program. Health centers, schools is rather an exception. (...) we work rather in the field of agriculture, forestry, natural resource management. (DED Employee 2008b)

Nevertheless, he pointed out his own initiatives and switched from ‘we’ (i.e., the program) to ‘I’ to explain:

I for example, I'm now working on an idea for one village where we link, conservation and development in a way that for example. It's just an idea that we may propose, or recommend, the construction of two classrooms which are specifically designed, and have a specific layout that they have a multipurpose function for environmental education, for specific purposes. (DED Employee 2008b)

While conforming to the aims of the program, this person was exploring his own interest to build a school for a village.

Furthermore, staff might enjoy the daily life that is associated with their work. For example, many of the program workers are involved in outdoor sports, such as hiking, fishing, kayaking etc. Thus, taking 4WD vehicles into the forest, hiking for wildlife surveys etc. can be enjoyable activities regardless of their instrumental benefits.

5.3.2 MINFOF

The administration of the Cameroonian government clearly benefits from the amount invested in the program. It does so in two main ways, first, through capacity building and, second, through corruption.

The German Cooperation projects have financed a lot of ‘capacity building’ for MINFOF. This has included the provision of infrastructure (e.g., the recent renovation of their Buea office) and training for staff. For example,

the chief of administration and finance went for special training in administration. The chief of service of forestry went to Bamayo to get

training on identifying plants etc. The divisional delegate had to go himself to Britain for a masters in forest management. (MINFOF Employee 2008a)

A few ecoguards have also been recruited and are being managed by MINFOF (MINFOF Employee 2008a). Because Takamanda is on the border with Nigeria, forestry posts and ecoguards patrolling the National Park will be especially useful.

The government is able to create its own opportunities for funding. For example, its laws require the program to pay for an environmental inspection report, which MINEP provides (DED Employee 2008a). Indeed, many letters from MINEF to the program demand resources (MINEF 1997). One such request, coming from a ‘classic’ provincial delegation of MINEF requests funds from the delegations linked to biodiversity programs:

les projets relevant du MINEF et ayant pour objectif la conservation de la Biodiversité de la Province du Sud-Ouest pourraient apporter un concours appréciable aux différents services de la Délégation du Sud-Ouest. (Nkwanyuo 1999)

(the projects under MINEF that have as an objective the conservation of the Biodiversity of the South West Province could bring a significant support to the various services of the South West Delegation.)

Furthermore, many of the activities carried out by the program involve MINFOF staff people who get paid more for them:

We are not paying the salaries for those people, we are just paying the outstanding allowances, but in Cameroon, that's more than the salaries. We would prefer to pay the salaries (laugh). (DED Employee 2008a)

Cameroon is one of those countries in the world where Transparency International (2007) estimates corruption to be amongst the highest. Thus, a greater flow of money through the ministry's budget is very likely to also increase the flow of money into private pockets.

Part 2 - The creation of the national park

The previous sections have described the range of actors involved with the Takamanda forest. This was a static representation. Part Two will show their interactions, focusing on 2000 to 2008. I follow documents to look at the role of the various actors in order to explain the creation of the Takamanda National Park in 2008.

In Chapter 6, I trace the changes in the documents of the discourse regarding the uses of the forest. I divide the history of Takamanda into three periods. I identify a shift in the goals for the forest in 2003, between PROFA and the PSMNR, from a focus on benefits for humans to benefits for biodiversity. This shift leads to the creation of the park.

In Chapter 7, I attempt to explain this shift by looking at the way decisions were made in the most recent period (2000-2008). I show how documents exert, and reveal, power and the effects this has.

6 *What is Takamanda for? Changing narratives*

This chapter describes the changing aims for the use of the Takamanda forest from the creation of the Forest Reserve in 1934 to the National Park in 2008. I divided the history of Takamanda into three periods:

- 1900-2000 Colonial period and creation of the Forest Reserve
- 2000-2003 Project for the Protection of Forest Around Akwaya (PROFA)
- 2004-2008 Program for the Sustainable Management of Natural Resources (PSNMR).

During the first period, I argue, the focus of the government shifted from timber to wildlife. Between the second and third periods, I argue, there was a sudden shift towards biodiversity conservation for its own sake.

I had access to written records from the government (from the Buea archives) and Germano-Cameroonian project documents from the 1990s to 2008.

6.1 From the colonial period until the 1990s

The likely first encounter between Europeans and the people living in the region took place in the 1880s when the German government attempted to take control of the area. This was not without trouble and, in 1904, an uprising against the government occurred, followed by a 3-year war. The British government took over the region in 1916 (DeLancey 1990).

In 1929, the British government started planning a Forest Reserve in what it considered to be 'large tracts of uninhabited or but sparsely populated country' so that 'little of no opposition will be met to the proposal to form forest reserves' (Stewart-Peter 1929, 1). In fact the reserve later met with much opposition from local farmers who requested more land for agriculture.

In June of that year, the Acting Lieutenant-Governor for the Southern provinces wrote to his superiors demanding 'that the various Native Administrations should be brought to realize the necessity for creating Forest Reserves without delay. This will no doubt require tact and stimulating advice' (Lawrence 1929, 1). Right after this letter, the Assistant Conservator of Forests was dispatched to survey the area. Local people were assumed to be unaware of the importance of their forest. The government had to regulate its use to avoid the 'unfortunate results which had been observed all over the World in countries in which no laws for the preservation of forests had ever been in force, or in which they had been enforced too late.' (Stewart-Peter 1929, 1) Thus L. Nicholls, Conservator of Forest, Cameroons Circle,

explained to the chiefs the immense importance of their forests to them, the irreparable evils resulting from Forest destruction, the consequent necessity for their preservation and the reasons why the only efficient means of preserving them lay in the creation of Forest Reserves. (1930, 2)

The Divisional Officer opposed the creation of the forest reserve in such a rush, but his concerns were pushed aside. In September 1930, a two-and-a-half-hour meeting was organized with the Takamanda Native Authority which most chiefs attended, except for the enclaves (e.g., Obonyi) (Various 1929, 30). There is a wealth of records on that particular meeting. The divisional officer explains how the chiefs were convinced.

Owing to the oratorical powers of Mr. Nicholls and Mr. Stewart-Peter the chiefs are now ready and willing to assist in the work, but it must not be lost sight of that public opinion will never be very enthusiastic in the constitution of Forest Reserves, and should any considerable delay now take place, all this ground work would inevitably have to be repeated, and under less auspicious circumstances. (1930, 1)

Stewart Peter's account also follows these descriptions, relating that the talks allowed the chiefs to understand that

the Forest Reserve scheme was not an attempt to hedge them so about with laws that they would find it impossible to farm, hunt or fish as heretofore, (...) and that in fact the Forest Reserve would be *no hardship to the present generation and an incalculable benefit to posterity*. (1930, 1; emphasis added)

A few years later, in 1934, the Forest Reserve was officially created. It is difficult to know how much input the local people may have had between that first meeting and the creation. According to the Resident of the Cameroon province the order and schedule were 'read to the representatives of the Village Councils concerned during August 1933 (...). All the Village Councils agreed except those of Kekpani and Basho II who 'refused to agree at all' (Shute 1933, 14).

The stated aims of the Forest Reserve were

to preserve the forest and timber and safeguard the supply for the benefit of the native population both now and in the future, and ensure that there shall be a continuous supply of forest produce; to preserve the forest so that the water supply and the flow of the rivers may be maintained and floods and droughts may be avoided as much as possible in the future; to

preserve the forest so that the rainfall may not be adversely affected.

(Anon. 1929, 3)

The Forest Reserve regulations restricted mostly the felling of timber and, to a lesser extent, the hunting of wildlife. The local people could collect 'snails, tortoises, crabs, honey and other food materials' and NTFPs. (Anon. 1934)

A few years after the reserve's creation, several villages demanded more land and started farming within the reserve boundaries; for this, some people were even sent to prison (Ayewoh 1953). To accommodate them, new enclaves were established and existing ones enlarged (Anon. 1940; Moods 1939). In 1950-51 a survey of the reserve boundaries found that farms were encroaching on the reserve. Owing to the extension of 'illegal' farms, the administration decided that the reserve should 'undergo consolidation at a very early stage,' and the Assistant Conservator of Forests was sent to investigate the villagers' demands for land (Ayewoh 1953; Anon. 1954, 10). The new boundaries were gazetted in 1957 (Anon. 1957). In 1970, a survey found five 'squatter villages' within the Forest Reserve (Mbuen 1970).

From 1946 to the 1970s, the local authority complained to the national administration about the lack of commercial exploitation of the forest. These demands were often linked with requests for roads, as the exploitation of timber was limited by the poor transport infrastructure. For example, in 1964, the Mamfe division annual report comments: 'The Takamanda forest reserve is full of many economic trees which have not been exploited - again because of lack of roads' (Anon. 1964, 3).

At the same time interest increased in the construction of roads in the name of development and to enable government staff to visit more remote areas. After independence in 1960, few changes are recorded in the Division, except for the construction of some roads. No marked changes in the government's rhetoric are noted in the documents about Takamanda and only rarely are animals mentioned in the archives. In 1963, the annual report of the Game Branch advised the creation of a 'gorilla sanctuary' in Takamanda and a survey of 'game' (Mason 1963, 5). In 1968, a survey of gorillas by another British biologist is the first of a series of studies advocating a protected area (Critchley 1968).

Slowly, however, the focus of the government moved from timber to wildlife. In the documents of the 1970s, wildlife references are related to crop destruction and the granting of hunting permits to cull elephants posing problems (Anon. 1971, 3). In 1975, the Provincial Chief of Service, Water, Forests and Wildlife mentioned his desire to create a 'gorilla sanctuary' in the Takamanda 'game reserve' and renewed the boundary markers of the reserve (Yinda 1975).

In the 1980s, people from Takamanda demanded more land from the Forest Reserve but their requests were not met (Takamanda Traditional Council 1984). The Tourism Service is noted as having carried out work in the 'game reserve' to 'ensure the protection of the rich wildlife species that abound therein.' (Anon. 1987) In 1988 a third study of the Takamanda gorillas was conducted by an American scientist for WWF and advocates for their conservation (Duncan 1988). The aftermath of this survey saw an increased interest amongst conservationists in the creation of a protected area for the gorillas on the Nigerian side of the forest (Oates et al. 1990).

6.2 1990s to the end of PROFA in 2003

From the 1980s onward, the focus of government documents is mostly on the conservation of the ‘wildlife’ of Takamanda, justified, at least partly, by its human benefits. The frequency of wildlife studies increases in the 1990s, culminating in 2000-2003 with the PROFA project. PROFA’s goal was:

to maintain the bio-diversity of the TFR as well as improve the living condition of people within the reserve and its border zone (i.e., 20 –25 local communities of about 20 - 30,000 individuals). (Ayeni, Mgaihli, and Ebot 2001)

The researches all have the same structure (see Section 5.2 on conservation science) and make similar recommendations. PROFA generated many wildlife studies and one large socio-economic study.¹⁷ According to a consultant report on the setting-up of village liaison committees, the local perception was

that PROFA is engaged in enforcing laws that will ban all hunting and other forest activities, including the collection of NTFPs like bush mangos. It had been suggested that statements like this are just a ploy on the part of the village people, but the findings of the field team do not entirely support this idea. (Mobbs 2001)

¹⁷ (Ayeni, Tah, and Mdaihli 2002; S Besong and Ayeni 2002; Bucknell and Groves 2002; Comiskey and Dallmeier 2003; Comiskey et al. 2003; Du Feu 2001; Groves and Maisels 1999; LeBreton, Chirio, and Foguekem 2001; LeBreton, Chirio, and Foguekem 2003; Njie Motomby 2001; Obot et al. 2001; Sunderland et al. 2002; Sunderland, S Besong, and Ayeni 2002; Sunderland, Eno Nku Mannaseb, and WCS 2003; Sunderland et al. 2006; Zapfack et al. 2001).

Indeed, the inhabitants of Takamanda had long been faced with repeated attempts by the State to control the uses of the land on which they live. According to one project consultant, 'their fear is that PROFA cares more about animals than people.' (Mobbs 2001) This well reflects what happened afterwards, as I describe below.

6.3 2003 - Sudden shift towards conservation and exclusion

I will argue that in 2003 a sudden shift of emphasis can be seen in the documents: from justifying conservation as benefiting humans to the protection of biodiversity for its own sake, hereby excluding the local forest users. After a brief chronological overview, supplementing that of the Introduction, I compare the differences of the 2003 and 2005 management plans and argue that the more recent one is much more restrictive. I complete the analysis by presenting the outcomes of the National Park for local populations.

In 2003, PROFA concluded its work by issuing a 'participatory management plan'. It allows local people to generate livelihoods from the forest around them, albeit with restrictions, which are detailed below. However, this management plan was never to be implemented. According to Sunderland et al. (Sunderland, Eno Nku Mannaseb, and WCS 2003), reporting to WCS, the plan was 'contrary to the protection of the area'. During the month following the plan's publication, WCS organized the second workshop for the conservation of the Cross-River gorilla (Sunderland-Groves and Jaff 2003). MINEF officials, conservation NGOs, as well as a few of the PROFA staff attended, but no representatives of the local forest users were present. The main

decision resulting from the workshop was the ‘upgrading’ of the Takamanda Forest Reserve, which meant the creation of a strictly protected area.

As outlined in the Introduction, PROFA was replaced by the PSNMR in 2003. The latter’s goal was a new one: ‘the local populations are engaged in sustainable forest and wildlife management (in and around selected protected areas of SW Province) for their benefit.’ (Pietrowicz 2004, 9) One of the main aims and achievement of this new program was the creation of the Takamanda National Park in 2008.

The national 1994 regimen on forest, wildlife and fishing classifies Forest Reserves and the National Parks under the same umbrella (Biya 1994). Hunting, even with traditional methods, is forbidden without a permit. This carries a XAF 5,000-50,000 fine (£6.70-£67) and/or ten days in jail. It is completely forbidden to clear land within the protected area, which carries a XAF 200,000 to XAF 1m fine (£267- £1337) and/or 1 to 6 months of prison.¹⁸ These fines are high, given the average yearly cash income of XAF 200,500 (£268) for men and XAF 105,900 (£142) for women in Takamanda (Schmidt-Soltau 2001, 51). The posters hanging on the walls of the chief’s house in Obonyi 1 (before the Park’s creation) state: ‘Cameroon National Park Law says: No hunting, No logging, No burning and No grazing, No water poisoning, No farming within the national park.’ It states further that villages located outside of enclaves will be evicted within five years (MINFOF and German Cooperation 2008).

¹⁸ Less relevant to Obonyi 1, cutting timber without a permit carries a fine of XAF 1m to 3m (£1337-£4012) and/or 6 to 12 months jail.

However, the law allows for some leeway inasmuch as restrictions can be set by the management plan of the specific forest concerned. Moreover, it specifies that indigenous populations have to be compensated if their ‘normal usage rights are limited’ (Biya 1994, Art. 26). The management plan for the National Park is not yet officially available,¹⁹ but I will discuss a 2005 draft of it, hereby ‘2005 plan’ (summarized in Table 2, p.75). I argue that the 2005 plan for the National Park is much more restrictive than the 2003 management plan for the Forest Reserve (summarized in Table 2). First, the goal of the 2005 plan is to conserve biodiversity rather than (also) to benefit local people. Second, the restrictions of the 2005 plan are much tighter and cover a larger area.

The proposal to ‘upgrade’ the Takamanda Forest Reserve to a National Park makes no mention of benefits to the local population (WCS and GTZ 2005).

The primary goal of the TNP is conservation of its rich biodiversity for enjoyment and benefit of present population without compromising the chance of future generations to enjoy same benefits. (MINFOF and PSMNR 2005, 14; emphasis added)

Development aims to give incentives to encourage the cooperation of the local people. The ‘livelihood improvement’ in the 2005 plan’s management objectives is presented as a tool for conservation, so that ‘accompanying measures will “buy back nature” through village development’ (MINFOF and PSMNR 2005, 9). The ‘community rural development programme’ is supported by the ‘realization’

¹⁹ A draft does exist, but everyone I asked refused to give it to me.

that a major incentive for participatory forest management and biodiversity conservation in the TNP is the improvement of the livelihood of people of the area. (MINFOF and PSMNR 2005, 54)

Further, the aim is to ‘enhance the capacity of the target populations to cooperate in the execution of the management plan.’ (MINFOF and PSMNR 2005, 57)

The 2005 plan greatly increases the restrictions on forest uses by comparison with the 2003 plan (cf. summary in Table 2). Both management plans classify uses of the forest in the same way: timber, NTFP collection, hunting, farming, fishing, research etc. They imply a gradation of uses along a spectrum of perceived trade-offs between local people and biodiversity. These uses are geographically divided by zones (cf. maps in Figure 8 and Figure 9). It is worth noting that the uses of the forest by (very hypothetical) tourists or researchers are fairly unrestrained.

Figure 8 - 2003 Management Plan – Zoning Map

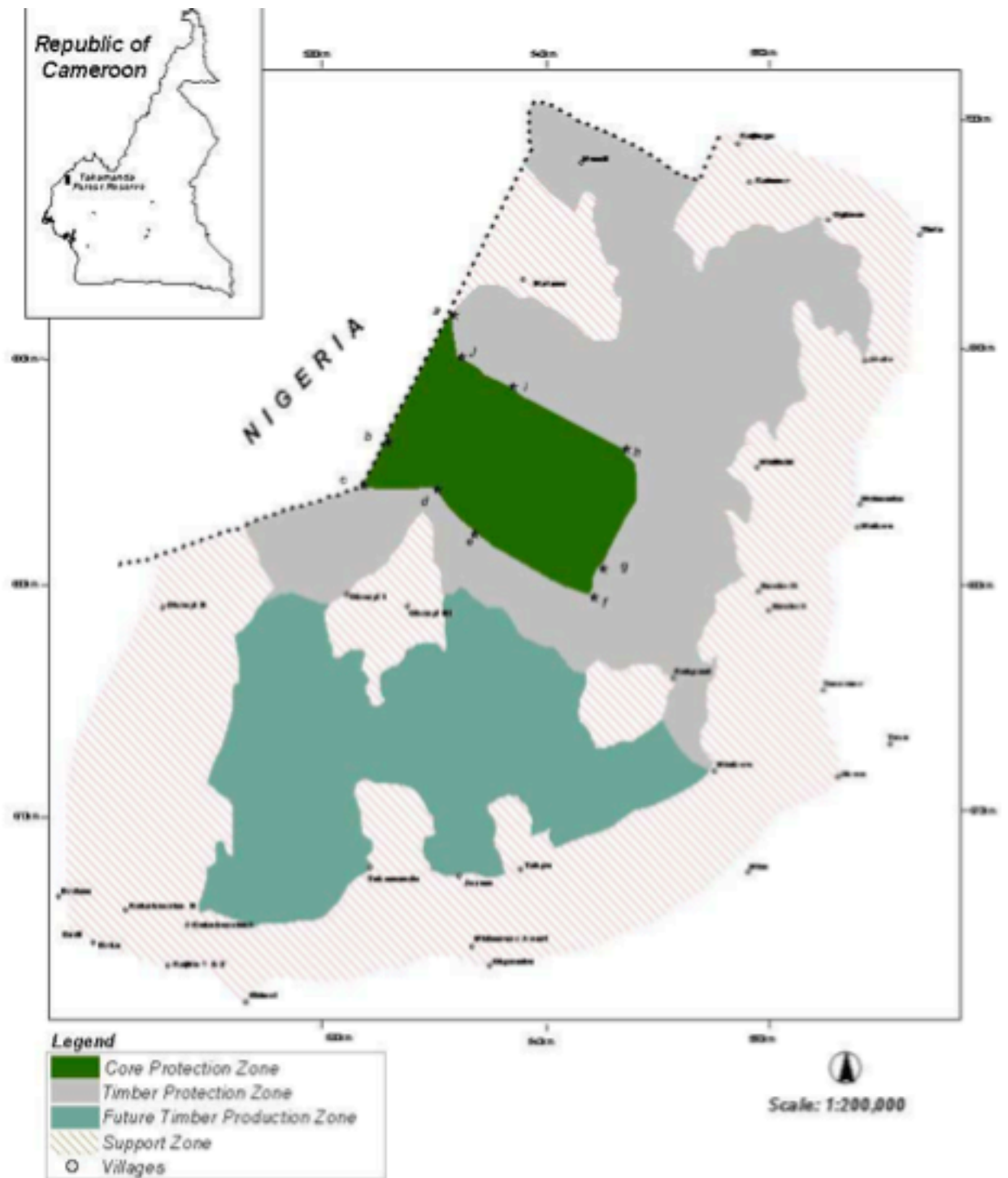
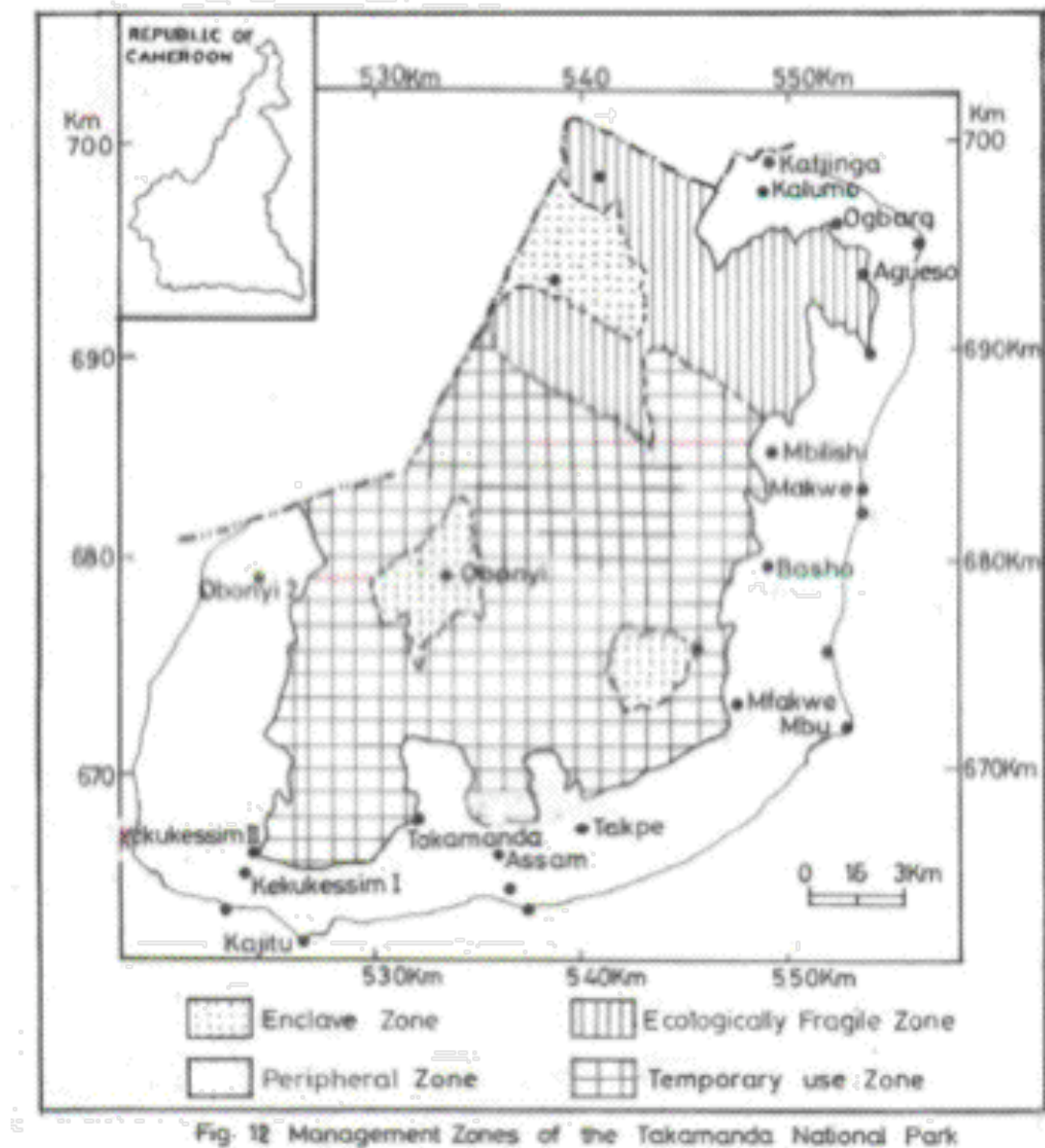


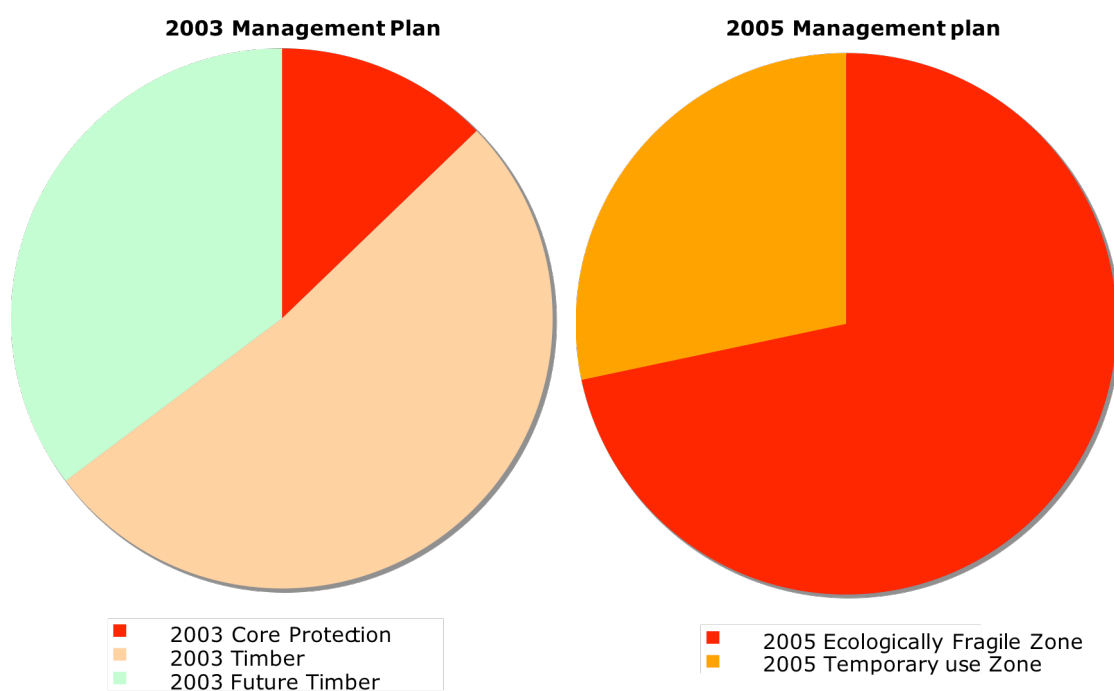
Figure 9 - 2005 Draft Management Plan – Zoning map



In the 2005 plan, the size of the most restrictive zones is much larger (cf. Figure 10). The zones enact the concept of a pristine nature, devoid of humans. In the 2003 plan the ‘core protection zone’ is where ‘the plants and animals can freely express their intra and inter species genetic potentials by breeding in an environment protected from all anthropogenic disturbances’ (MINEF 2003, 40). It covers 13 percent of the Forest Reserve, whereas its equivalent in the 2005 plan covers the whole of the Forest

Reserve.²⁰ The plan, unchanged until now, is to ‘evict (or otherwise)’ human settlements inside this area (WCS 2007c, 5; MINFOF and PSMNR 2005, 55). Mendi, one of these ‘illegal’ villages, has been there since at least 1970 (Mbuen 1970).²¹

Figure 10 - Size of regulation zones in the 2003 and 2005 management plans



²⁰ This refers to the ‘ecologically fragile zone’ and ‘temporary use zone’.

²¹ By comparison: in the UK, people living in a house for about a decade can legally claim it as their own.

Table 2 - 2003 and 2005 Management plan restriction comparison

	Zone around the park and in the enclaves (separated in 2005)			Mild use restriction area			Most heavily restricted use area (centre in 2003 and North in 2005)	
	2003 Support Zone (peripheral and enclaves)	2005 Peripheral zone	2005 Enclave Zone	2003 Future Timber Production Zone	2003 Timber Protection Zone	2005 Temporary use Zone	2003 Core Protection Zone	2005 Ecologically Fragile Zone
Area in ha			7,558	23,800	35,000	42,941	8,700	17100
Percentage of park			11%	35%	52%	64%	13%	25%
Access between villages	?	Authorized	Authorized	Authorized	Authorized	Authorized	Authorized	Authorized
Fishing	?	Authorized	Authorized	Controlled	?	Controlled	Forbidden	Controlled
Farming	?	Authorized	Authorized*	?	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden
Collect NTFP	?	Controlled	Controlled	Authorized	Authorized	Controlled	Forbidden	Forbidden
Temporary sheds	?	Authorized*	Authorized	Controlled	?	Controlled	Forbidden	?
Collect firewood	?	Authorized	Authorized	Authorized*	Controlled	Controlled*	Forbidden	Controlled*
Hunting unprotected species	?	Controlled	Controlled	Controlled	Controlled	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden
Timber logging;	?	Forbidden	Forbidden	Authorized	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden
Bush burning	?	Forbidden	Forbidden		Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden
Water poisoning (for fishing)	?	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden
Setting wire traps	?	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden
Eco-tourism	?	Authorized *	Authorized*	?	Authorized	Authorized	?	Authorized
Research	?	Controlled	Controlled	Authorized*	Authorized	Controlled*	Controlled	Controlled

*=Assumed

Despite the exclusion of human users in the 2005 plan, the current program staff workers argue that conservation is for the benefit of the local people.

*...the villagers don't believe that we are only coming to protect the forest. That this is the aim of the project. They don't believe it, they were asking us "ok if you are coming to take our forest" that's the first question "do you think that this is sufficient what you are bringing us?" or "ok now the road will be built but the Awuri river is too large to build a bridge, but this is just a few millions, this is nothing in comparison with the forest that you are taking out". **We are not taking your bloody forest, we came to protect your forest!*** (DED Employee 2008a; emphasis added)

The rhetoric of compensation for conservation that was invoked in the 2005 plan was not brought up in interviews or mentioned in more recent documents. Development is now a way to reduce the 'pressure' on the National Park by the livelihood activities mentioned above. The enclaves are imagined/dreamt of as islands of self-sufficient villages in a sea of 'pristine nature'.

Obonyi, and other villages, have had a few 'alternative livelihoods' programs implemented such as the construction of beehives and planting of 'improved cassava'. These do not compensate for losses resulting from the park's restrictions. The overall yearly cash earning livelihoods from hunting and NTFP-gathering is £977,578 (Mdaihl, Schmidt-Soltan, and Ayeni 2002). This amount would be substantially higher if one included the consumption value, the production of farms within the park and the effects that this is likely to have on people's well-being. I have explored the consequences of these restrictions in Section 5.1.

Even for this very moderate figure, the present value²² over five years is £846,961, whereas the overall budget of the project for development over the same period is £385,390 in the 2005 draft plan (including items such as conservation ‘education’) or £534,233 for ‘development’ in another document (Anon. 2008, 6). These sums would not allow for adequate compensation (as specified in Cameroonian law) unless the development investment generates miraculous returns.

6.4 Overview: from timber to wildlife; from people to animals

One of the German Cooperation staff members summarizes the changes in conservation approaches:

*in the 40s, rather 50s, 60s, 70s even, there was a policy that was called "fines and fences", something like that. National Park, protected areas, put a fence around it and when people enter in, you fine them. Something like that. Then there was a shift, everything was about co-management and participatory approach and this and that. And there are many cases, well, where now people are also somehow wondering, is now this, this shift, has it now really also brought the success we wanted? My opinion is there quite clear: you need both, you have to combine both approaches. If you want to protect an area, you need a very clear say from the government, simply when it's about State-owned protected areas. You need law enforcement. **You have to draw a line and you have to say 'up to here, you go' and this is not negotiable. This is not participatory, up to here you can go and when you go further, you will be sanctioned. And you'll either be fined, or you will be behind bars or something like***

²² Using a conservative 2.91% interest rate, the 2006-2008 average for the Bank of Central African States.

that. That line must be very clear. (DED Employee 2008b; emphasis added)

Takamanda²³ broadly follow changes in the conservation/poverty narrative presented by Roe (2008) – from the conservation of economic resources in the colonial period, to an emphasis on wildlife conservation in the 1960s. However, there is no trace of ‘Phase 2’ with a concern for the ‘local rights and aspirations’. The emphasis on participation and community conservation is present at the start of PROFA in 2000, whereas for Roe (2008), this year marks the start of ‘disenchantment with community conservation’. This phase begins in Takamanda in 2003, as explained above, with the emphasis on conservation, away from development and with the role of participation.

The previous sections show that since the very creation of the Forest Reserve until that of the National Park there have been similarities in the government’s discourse. The first common feature is that whatever the government does, it is justified by the benefits it supposedly brings to the local people. The second feature is that the local people do not know what is good for them and must thus be educated and even coerced to some extent, for their own good. This is in great part justified by conservation science, which 1) measures/assesses the forest, 2) finds it degraded/wanting, 3) criticizes the local people and 4) advises regulations and control (cf. Section 5.2.2).

However, alongside this continuity, the discourse on Takamanda has changed. During

²³ The link between the international discourse and the local events in Takamanda cannot be fully traced. One would need to look at the workings of the institutions to see how the discourse visible at the international level translates into practices at the local level.

the postcolonial period, starting around the 1960s, there was a slow shift from a focus on timber to an emphasis on wildlife preservation. In the history of Takamanda the emphasis on wildlife is now at its highest.

Another change in the discourse is the movement from policies aiming at benefiting local people to a conservation discourse that seeks primarily to benefit 'biodiversity' and certain species. This shift may have started earlier, but occurred abruptly in 2003 (on paper at least). As outlined above, within a very short time, the goals of the program were radically changed, which led to the creation of the National Park. The reasons for this change will be explored in Chapter 7.

7 Explaining decision-making and participation

The aim of this chapter is to explain the 2003 shift outlined in Chapter 6, which led to the creation of the National Park in 2008. In Section 7.1, I study the interaction between the program and the local people by focusing on participation. In Section 7.2, I attempt to map decision-making within the State-foreign organizations network.

7.1 From ‘participatory management plan’ to ‘participatory village development plans’ and the role of documents

‘Participation’ is first mentioned in Takamanda during PROFA in 2000. One of the first PROFA documents outlines three arguments for participation: ‘Strict protection of natural resources without involving the local population is no longer politically accepted, it can hardly be financed anymore and is seldom really successful’ (Ayeni et al. 2003).

As I have argued in Section 2.2, participation makes decision-making visible. This section will follow changes in the program’s documents regarding participation to highlight two related aspects. On the one hand, I study the power of management documents written by project employees and external consultants. In the first period (2000-2003), I show how documents are reproduced with minute changes that modify the goals they specify. In the second period (2003-2008), these same documents lose all their potency, while other documents maintain their role. I argue that the power of documents depends on the changing network of which they are a part.

On the other hand, and in parallel with the above, I look at the overall results of these changes. I focus here on ‘participation’ defined as the inclusion of people into a decision-making process. I argue that the participation of local people, on paper, has been reduced from the ‘participatory management’ of the forest to the creation of ‘participatory development plans’. In the new configuration, local people are given power over a smaller subset of decisions.

7.1.1 First period 2000-2003 – Minute changes in documents

PROFA created a wealth of documents and most, if not all, contain information from earlier ones. Some of them only summarize information from other documents, while others add original material. The replication of chunks of previous documents (copy/paste) is not always a perfect reproduction of the original. Many contain small changes made by the new author(s). Amongst other repetitions, such as the geographical location of Takamanda or its weather, many documents reiterate PROFA’s objectives. I follow the minute changes that are made to the goals regarding ‘participation’ with two case studies.

I will first follow the changes that were made to the overall goals of the PROFA project, from the broader goals called ‘outputs’, down to the narrower ‘sub-activities’ between 2000 and 2003. Second, I will show how the recommendations of an external consultant were modified and emptied of their original meaning. Finally, I will draw the implications from these observations.

Goals and meetings

The overall goal of PROFA remained unchanged throughout its three years: ‘The biodiversity of the Takamanda and Mone Forest Reserves is maintained and the living conditions of the target population are improved.’ However, the ‘project outputs’, the practical outcomes to achieve the overarching goal, did change. Numerous small modifications to these ‘outputs’ are noticeable. I give examples first with some of the ‘outputs’ of the project, then with some of the ‘sub-activities’ within those outputs. I show that these small changes always move towards decreasing the input, or participation, of local people in the decision-making process.

The outputs of what was planned to be PROFA’s orientation phase (2000-2003) were initially:

1. Information on the ecological, socio-economic and institutional situation and the use of the natural resources of the area are documented and made readily available to users.
2. Proposals for strengthening the **participatory** capacity of the local population and the Forestry Department are prepared, submitted and found acceptable to MINEF.
3. A management plan for the TFR is prepared in a **participatory** way and partly implemented.
4. Traditional income generating activities and self-help initiatives of the local population are identified and supported in accordance with gender-specific resource management principles. (Ayeni and Mgaihli 2001; emphasis added)

Two of these goals contain a participatory aspect. The ‘users’ of the reserve are central to all of them. Soon after this initial phase, however, a planning workshop was

organized, where it was decided to change the outputs. The 4-day workshop is reported to have attracted 8 village representatives amongst the 28 attendees (Anon. 2001). The others were either program staff or representatives from MINEF and a few small NGOs. A later report by a GFA consultant for GTZ glosses over the low attendance of local people to conclude that ‘the relatively large representation of the target population during the workshop should be mentioned’ (Anspach 2001, 11). He also labels this meeting ‘participatory’.

It was decided that outputs 1 and 3 should be merged so that the four goals above became:

1. A draft Forest Management Plan for the Takamanda Forest Reserve is prepared and partly tested.
2. **Participatory** Forest Management capacity of local population and MINEF Divisional Delegation is strengthened in cooperation with all parties involved.
3. Traditional income generating activities and self-help initiatives are identified and a gender sensitive strategy contributing to resource management is developed and tested. (Anon. 2001, 6; emphasis added)

After the changes, the management plan no longer needed to be explicitly participatory. The reason, according to the workshop report, is the following:

The rationale for the combination of original outputs 1 & 3 into 1 output was that the original output 1 which deals with the collection of information was considered as one of the activities of output 3: the drafting of the management plan. In formulating the current output 1, taking into account the time frame it was decided that a draft management plan should be prepared and partly tested and not a final

plan to be prepared and partly implemented as in the original plan.
(Anon. 2001, 6)

Thus, the disappearance of ‘participatory’ was not the explicit goal of the modification.

There are also changes in the second and third outputs (which were initially respectively outputs 2 and 4). Ironically, output 2 shifted from planning to the implementation of capacity-building (mainly for the benefit of MINEF) because the ‘project already has ideas on how to strengthen the capacity and within the next two years implementation should be possible’ (Anon. 2001). However, for output 3 (for the benefit of locals) the shift went in the opposite direction, from implementation to testing because ‘the project due to time constraint will not be able to identify, test and support’ the ‘income generating activities and self-help initiatives’ (Anon. 2001).

Furthermore, participation was shifted further within these new outputs, into ‘sub-activities’. For example, output 1 (mentioned above) contains a sub-activity to ‘Form a participatory management plan coordination committee’ (Anon. 2001, 14). A little later, although this is not noted in the workshop report, an external consultant related that it was agreed that the committee is a

technical committee with the responsibility to inform the local communities on the progress during preparation and partial testing of the draft management plan (...) After the review/approval by the Management Plan Development Committee, the draft management plan is to be agreed upon by all stakeholders. (Anspach 2001)

In 2003, that committee was referred to as ‘The TFR Management Committee’ (i.e., no ‘participatory’) and out of 11 permanent members, two were unspecified ‘representatives of TFR’ (MINEF 2003, 8).

Consultant report

A further case study of minute changes modifying specified goals is a report from an external consultant, which is itself a product of the above-mentioned output 2 that offered hopes for meaningful participation. Most of the sub-activities identified during the planning workshop apply to capacity-building for MINEF, not local people.²⁴ One part applies to local people and is also of interest for the rest of the project: the establishment of ‘village liaison committees’, which will later on be referred to as Village Contact Committees (VCC).

After the decision to create the VCCs, PROFA commissioned a consultant report in late 2001. This consultant was external to the project, most likely from abroad and wrote only one report. She argued that local people should be given more of a say in the project and suggested that the VCC be accorded the following functions:

1. Participate in the Forest Management Plan
2. Act as the first point of contact for PROFA staff in the village

²⁴ For example: in the sub-activity ‘Provide participatory forest management related infrastructure,’ one finds: ‘Identify already existing infrastructure; Establish additional Forest Posts; Establish permanent research camp in TFR/MFR; Provide radio communications within TFR(MINEF/Research post); Establish and equip additional offices; Facilitate building of cane bridges across rivers.’ The participatory aspect of these infrastructures boggles me.

3. Assist PROFA staff with village level project activities
4. Assist with the design and testing of extension messages
5. Attend training programmes
6. Report back PROFA information and activities to the Chief, the Village Council and the community

(Mobbs 2001) (unordered in the original):

Only the first role truly gives some power to the VCC. In the 2003 management proposal, all the points except the first were left essentially unchanged. The first one became:

Participate in forest management plan preparation and implementation
e.g.: Report all forest activities not in line with conservation through the appropriate channel; Regulate entry into the NTFP trade through registration; Monitor the harvesting methods of NTFPs; Check the quantity of each NTFP collected. (Ayeni et al. 2003; emphasis added)

These examples totally changed the signification of that point, from a participation in management to a participation in surveillance. Later on, in the final management plan (MINFOF and PSMNR 2005), the ‘e.g.’ was dropped so that in effect these changes came to be validated and entrenched.

Because of a succession of small changes, the originally stated aim of the VCC slowly changed to mean something very different, from participation in decisions to participation in carrying out tasks. The report leading to their creation was co-opted without direct confrontation. As a result, the VCCs became planned as a tool for the

program to transmit messages to the local people and to get information useful for forest enforcement.

The changes in the documents were implemented as such. As a result, a 2003 external consultant report indicates that the VCCs did not participate in the management plan preparation and implementation in the villages studied (Nkwatoh, Manghe, and Mesumbe 2003). This also matches the reports from people in Obonyi 1 (Obonyi inhabitant 2008i).

Overview: The role of minute changes

It is possible to draw two conclusions from the analysis above. First, at a conceptual level, the documents were shown to exert power on later documents. Second, they allow us to ground our understanding of changes in the program that can be observed on a larger scale, namely the change in the discourse of participation and the goals for the forest.

At a conceptual level, these minute changes in the documents suggest several things. The documents were conserved and reproduced instead of being ignored or discarded. They were able to influence to a large extent what was said in successive reproductions. One could argue that it is their author(s) who maintained this continuity, but this cannot be the case for the report by the external consultant cited above, because she subsequently left the program. In other words, the documents maintained and stabilized the discourse presented in them. They were able to influence what human actors wrote and exerted power on successive authors. This type of power was

not conflictual and thus belongs to Lukes' second or third dimension, depending on whether the authors were aware of the influence or not.

While the documents exerted power, they were not reproduced perfectly. Instead, many of the reproductions altered the previous text in some way. This suggests that the successive authors also exerted power. The documents here can be seen as an embodiment of Latour's metaphor of power as a token.

... as in the case of rugby players. The initial force of the first in the chain is no more important than that of the second or the fortieth or of the four hundredth person. (...) In other words, the chain is made of *actors* – not of patients – and since the token is in everyone's hands in turn, everyone shapes it according to their different projects... the faithful transmission of a statement becomes a single and unusual case among many, more likely, others. (Latour 1986, 267)

Documents are similar to Latour's token: each of the actors takes up the statements within them and shapes them in their own way. Documents, once created, are static so they allow one to trace the successive changes operated in them, whereas humans, being resilient, adapt and so these traces do not always remain.

These micro-changes help us understand larger-scale ones. A common trend is noticeable in all the minute changes that I have outlined above: the reduction of the participatory space allotted to the local people in decision-making with each modification. It is striking how one-directional the trend has been, away from participation in decisions, so that one suspects that the changes are not only accidental. In order to understand how this occurred, one needs to look at how the documents are constructed. This is not possible in the 2001-2003 period because the process of

writing documents was not recorded then and most of the PROFA people left. Nevertheless, this will be examined in the next section by using interviews.

It is the minute changes, rather than any radical modifications of the documents, that points up their importance. They are consolidated together in a management plan that marks the end of PROFA in 2003. Thus one could assume that this plan would have a lot of weight in the further decisions of the project. However, the opposite happened: the management plan was scraped in favour of a new orientation in 2003. Why did this document not occupy the position that would have been expected of it? In the overview of the next section I offer a possible explanation of how this occurred.

7.1.2 Second period 2003-now – the shift of participation and practice

This part will look at the place of participation in the more recent period, both through documents and interviews. I will first argue that participation has been reduced from the ‘participatory management plan’ to ‘participatory village development plans’. Second, the process of creating the Village Development Plans (VDP) will be studied. Finally, I will analyse how this process demonstrates one way in which power is exercised.

From participation at a forest level to the village level

I have shown that the rhetoric of local participation in documents moved from a participation in decision-making to carrying out tasks. Nonetheless, one of PROFA’s

goals remained the creation of a ‘participatory management plan’. Thus, participating in decisions was still discussed at the forest management level. However, in 2003, it was displaced parallel to the change in the program’s goals examined in Chapter 6. Participation was then included only within the VDP. This very significant change is revealed in the 2005 management plan. It reads as follows:

At every stage, the communities were consulted and involved. They participated in the process of conceptualising, envisioning, negotiating, articulating and pilot testing of the MP. **Through their Village Contact Committees, Village Development Committees and their representatives on the TNP Management Committee, the policy body responsible for steering, elaborating and implementing the MP, the ministry and communities accepted the co-management measures enunciated in the plan.** (MINFOF and PSMNR 2005, 14; emphasis added)

The extent to which the participation of local people through the VCC and Management Committee can be considered meaningful was briefly criticized above. In the rest of the draft plan, there is no mention of the future input from local people except through the VDP, whose reach is limited, however, to the areas outside the Forest Reserve.

People living in Obonyi generally report that they have seen many more program workers since 2003. However, they indicate that these only informed them of restrictions and came to do research rather than consult their opinions. In 2007, the archives contain only one workshop report (WCS 2007c). Many village representatives attended. The report speaks of ‘local communities who were very vocal in expressing their concerns related to dwindling natural resources as well as their fears related to livelihood support if access is completely prohibited’ (WCS 2007c, 3). However, these

concerns are not reflected in the resolutions. The workshop decisions, are instead voluntary restrictions of forest uses by the local people. The report phrases the restrictions on forest uses as ‘the workshop participants ... accept...’ (a binding agreement) and the local people’s requests as ‘the workshop participants ... appeal...’ to the government (a non-binding intention). This clearly suggests that the negotiation between the program and the local representatives, if it occurred at all, had not been on an equal footing.

One reason for not including local people in decision-making is given by a German Cooperation employee:

*I was complaining about the whole process by putting much responsibility on the villagers, but if you discuss this one here, in the program, they will tell you we are not protecting the villagers, we are working with the villagers to protect the forest. So this should be done, we should not wait that the villagers are going to do this, which would be a much better process to create capacity and to support the local structure, but **we are protecting the forest, so things should be done to be carried out right now, as participatory as possible but, do it.** Because otherwise, wait for ten or more years, the forest [will be] empty. (DED Employee 2008a; emphasis added)*

Another staff member also explains this approach.

*There is one guy from GFA in Central African Republic, who put it in a nice saying. And he says, "**be as directive as necessary and as participatory as possible**" and this I fully support. (DED Employee 2008b; emphasis added)*

In other words, the participation of local people *in decision-making* occurs only if their decisions are acceptable to the program. After 2003, the discourse of participation applied no longer to the management of the reserve, but instead to the creation of ‘participatory village development plans’ (VDP) – shifting the space for discussion from the whole area to the village. This is Lukes’ second dimension of power.

‘Participatory’ has also been used to denote participation in various activities. One DED staff member praised an exemplary ‘participatory’ project where the local population does wildlife monitoring and gets paid for it. Similarly, a MINFOF staff worker cites the ‘participation’ of locals in the demarcation of the Forest Reserve border:

avec la méthode participative, tout ceci a été fait avec le concours des populations locales; ce sont eux qui ont ouvert les limites, nous avons payé.

(with the participatory method, all this has been done with the assistance of local populations; they have traced the limits, we have paid) (MINFOF Employee 2008b)

The import of participating in decisions differs from that of participating in tasks. Yet the same word is used for both activities and it is easy to shift from one meaning to the other in documents (e.g., the consultant report above) and in discussions (e.g., see above). Nevertheless, through the participatory VDP a channel was seemingly left open for local people to participate *in making decisions*.

Participation in the Village Development Plans (VDP)

The VDP is supposed to collect the requests of each village and report them to the program management in Mamfe, before they are transmitted upward in the program's hierarchy. The opportunity for local people to shape the program's decisions through the development plans is limited. In fact, the VDP can be seen as a convenient way to maintain a grip on the local people's demands. I will follow the creation of the Obonyi VDP to exemplify this.

The creation of the VDP is a task that one might think is essential for the success of the 'development' part of the program. However, it is subcontracted to consultants. They are versed in the language that global NGOs look for (i.e., participation, gender equality etc.); moreover, they are keen to promote projects where they can provide their services. (Lewis and Mosse 2006) In Obonyi, the inhabitants unanimously want a road, a school and a hospital, these were included in the VDP. In addition, the consultant suggested things such as beekeeping, gender equality and training in group dynamics. These are – at best - side considerations to Obonyi's residents, but were added nonetheless.

The VDP reproduces and represents the village: providing statistics and information on demography; income; culture; education; natural resources etc. as well as the villagers' demands, extracted through participatory methods. This process 'translates' the village to a document which makes its way in the program's decision-making process.

When the report gets to the program's decision centre, only those development projects that adhere to conservation objectives are chosen: the ones suggested by the consultants. One program staff member posits that

The plan is general, it is not aiming specifically at natural resource management, so the villages can also go with this elsewhere for, I don't know, for a health centre or something like that which we (...) catch only in exceptional cases. We are a natural resource management program.
(DED Employee 2008b).

As a result, the 'modules' that the program will finance are virtually predetermined:

*So you have certain modules, and in fact **we increasingly implement micro-projects on the basis of pre-defined modules. Because we cannot always just individually tailor projects.** One village wants it like that, this and that. For sure there is room for discussion, but we need, we have to, how to say, optimise our resources also. We can, well as I say, we have modules for the implementation of specific approaches. And then maybe the quantities may vary. But **the approach is already somehow defined.***
(DED Employee 2008b; emphasis added).

Moreover, the consultant who prepared that VDP said that

If I were to ask for one thing, it's a road. With the road, they will do many things for themselves. That's what the villagers said. And that is what the villagers themselves say, and said. I prepared the village development plan for Obonyi 1 and 3. When I wrote that as the first recommendation, DED cancelled it. (...) He say, no that's not there. It's too big, that government, it's not part of them (i.e., the government is responsible for roads, not the program). (Consultant 2008a)

It is possible that the consultant had not understood the project-selection process well enough. Indeed, the consultants as well as the Mamfe program staff make a pre-selection of the projects that are compatible with conservation, which will then be

forwarded to the office in Buea (DED Employee 2008b). Each development plan is thus fine-combed for its usefulness to conservation and the final outcome is that the first choices of the local people in Obonyi 1 will not be implemented.

This simulacrum of participation, however, ensures that the ‘best practices’ of the development discourse are superficially adhered to and that the local people stay quiet, hoping for useful help from the program.

Overview: participation and power

Like the previous section, this one has also demonstrated the importance of documents in exercising power. For the first period, I followed goals within documents, but had no evidence of the ways in which the documents were created. In the second period, interviews allowed me to follow the process of creation of the VDP documents themselves.

The creation of the VDP sheds light on how power is exercised by people acting on behalf of organizations. Each of them takes the document/’Latour’s token’ and passes it on with the modifications that suit him/her. These might reflect the policy promoted by their institution (e.g., conservation) and/or their own interests. Nevertheless, the documents themselves also exerted power. I have shown how modifications were influenced by other documents. Thus, what was visible in the first period - documents influencing other documents – is the result of the interaction of human actors and documents, so that one could say: documents influence each other with human actors as intermediaries.

The discussion has shown how power was exerted in different dimensions in different locations. While documents provide stability, their authors provide the direction of changes. In the case of the VDP, those who set the parameters within which a document is modified have the most influence over its content. Here it is those who commission the documents, working for the program. The *outcome* of being able to set these boundaries is power along Lukes' second dimension. Indeed, there is no open conflict, but the space for debate open to the local people has become (increasingly) limited.

This is not because the program displayed a greater force. Instead, through the VDP itself, it offers incentives to the local people not to interfere with the process, thus exercising power in the third dimension. This is obvious in the discussion of the workshop above where village delegates signed for more restrictive rules, hoping for roads and employment. In my discussions and interviews with people in Obonyi 1, many people thought that they would eventually get a road leading to their village, which is highly unlikely, however, according to program staff (DED Employee 2008a).

Representatives of Obonyi 1 indicated that they had articulated their concerns during 'workshops' with the program (Obonyi inhabitant 2008b). In this case, the program and the government were exercising only the first dimension of power during the debates.

The authors of the documents were the people working for PROFA. However, there was no one person or document who held this power within the PROFA-State network. It was the whole set of connections between different actors that created it, rendering some documents important and others less so or not at all. The shape and behaviour of

this network cannot be explained by looking at each connection individually; it is necessary to look at it on a bigger scale. This will be done in Section 7.2 below.

7.2 Within the program: Partners meeting and TOU

I have shown that despite the rhetoric, local people have not had input in decisions about Takamanda. Moreover, participation was relegated to the development plans. I now look at power within the network composed of the State, German Cooperation and WCS. In this section, I study decisions at the institutional level, changing the scale from that of the earlier sections.

The decision-making within the program is less transparent than that studied above. In several places within the program schedule decisions are formally taken. One centre of decision is the monthly ‘partners meeting’ where all the program institutions meet and take decisions: KfW, WCS, DED, MINFOF and GTZ. In theory Technical Operation Units (TOU), a meeting of different ministries involved, should also do some of the decision-making. However they are not functional and few meetings take place (DED Employee 2008b).

Program documents present MINFOF as directing the program and the German Cooperation as merely providing technical assistance. This is also argued by most of the German staff and MINFOF. For example:

Since the Paris declaration it is no longer anyway wanted that any parallel structure are created and when the donors and agencies leave everything collapses. We are in a Cameroonian program, MINFOF is our partner. Or let's say we are the partners of MINFOF rather. (DED Employee 2008b)

However, this is mostly a normative claim rather than a description. From an outside vantage point, it is difficult to establish who really has the lead within the program management. Nevertheless, several things make it questionable whether the program is directed by MINFOF, as it is claimed.

Many of the German Cooperation staff I interviewed was complaining about how little support they received from MINFOF at different levels. It seems that cooperation with MINFOF depends much more on the individual involved than on the institution itself. For example, at the Mamfe level, a new MINFOF executive was said to be uncooperative whereas the previous one had been more attuned to the program's requests (DED Employee 2008b). Similar comments were made about the MINFOF staff at the Buea level (DED Employee 2008a). One staff member argues that

We came as technical advisers, this is what we are here for, normally we should come in, look on what the people are doing here, give technical advice and support the activities. This was not done, if we had worked, or if my colleagues had worked in this way, nothing would have been done till today. So what they did [is that] they took the whole thing over and started working alone, more or less. (DED Employee 2008a)

Moreover, the program follows the current 'best practices' of the German Cooperation, presented in Section 5.3. I asked a senior official of MINFOF, *'And you said that*

PROFA was, got phased out, what was the reason to move from PROFA to the PSFE program?’ He replied:

Because we're now ... the the German ((??)) have taken up now the program approach, no more projects. They want a program that covers the whole of the South West. (MINFOF Employee 2008c)

The shift to the PSMNR indeed coincides with a switch of the German Cooperation towards a ‘program approach’, putting an emphasis on consolidating all projects under one umbrella.²⁵ Furthermore, when I asked him why PROFA stopped, he answered that:

It stopped earlier because of this new conception of the program approach. We could not have a program sponsored by the Germans and then have another project sponsored by the Germans, so everything was ((met?)). In effect, what PROFA was doing, the program has taken it on board and is doing more. (MINFOF Employee 2008c)

This is also relayed by a senior DED official, presenting the reasons for the change as ‘*Une simple restructuration de la coopération allemande*’ (a simple restructuring of the German Cooperation). (DED Employee 2008c)

Furthermore, as I have argued above, the National Park serves the conservation of biodiversity rather than the livelihoods of local populations. This outcome fits in better

²⁵ In documents, the reason for the change is presented as the need for financial investment in development (Pietrowicz 2004, 11 (17)). The MINFOF staff interviewed, especially at the Buea level, conveyed this argument (MINFOF Employee 2008b; MINFOF Employee 2008a). This is ironic, given the scant emphasis on development in the program.

with the German Cooperation's and WCS' perspective than MINFOF's. Indeed, the press releases of WCS and the Cameroonian government present very different achievements for the National Park as mentioned above.

Moreover, the creation of a National Park better suits the attitudes towards 'nature' expressed by the German Cooperation and WCS staffs than those of the people working for MINFOF, as argued in Section 5.2. The staff of the German Cooperation and WCS highlights the priority of the program for the conservation of biodiversity, whereas the MINFOF staff in Buea argue that the program's aim is to provide human livelihoods. For example:

Actuellement, les idées ont évolué, on ne conserve plus pour conserver, on conserve maintenant pour le bien de l'être humain qui vit avec cette forêt.
(MINFOF Employee 2008b)

(Nowadays, the ideas have evolved, we do not conserve in order to conserve, now we conserve for the good of the human beings who live with this forest.)

This shift towards strict protection coincides with a greater official involvement of WCS. The NGO was in the region from the start of PROFA but not officially included in the project. In the PSMNR it now plays one of the key roles. One WCS staff member even clarified things so: *'When I say "we", I mean WCS and MINFOF'* (WCS Employee 2008c).

The creation of the National Park does not respond to the objectives stated by MINFOF employees. However, I have argued in Section 5.3.2 that the ministry has

much to gain from being involved in a German Cooperation project. Without these incentives, there would be limited Cameroonian government support for conservation. Thus conservation does not work *despite* corruption but, to some extent, *because* of corruption.

8 Conclusion

Takamanda has allowed us to understand multiple aspects of a conservation project and the role of power within it. In this chapter, I assemble the multiple and partial answers to my question: What led to the creation of the Takamanda National Park? I conclude with thoughts on the implications of my findings and ‘what is to be done’.

I began the thesis by setting the academic frame around Takamanda and introducing its various interacting actors. In Part Two, I argued that the government’s goals for the Takamanda forest have increasingly focused on benefiting animals over people, with a sudden shift in 2003. I have shown how documents underwent only minute changes because they exerted power over the human actors who reproduced them. The documents of the first period (2000-2003) formed the 2003 PROFA participatory management plan. Yet this final document exerted no power at all and was sidetracked almost immediately after its issue. With it, documents that emphasized the human uses of the forest were downplayed, while biodiversity surveys and the Forest Reserve ordinance were repeatedly cited. This shift reveals other changes and explaining it is understanding the creation of the National Park. I argue here that the changes in the importance of the documents can be explained by a reorganization of the network to which they belonged.

I have argued that the German Cooperation set the direction of the conservation program (Section 7.2). At the international level, the focus of the German Cooperation moved slowly towards a greater emphasis on biodiversity conservation (Section 5.3.1). This movement followed the global discourse described in Section 2.2. While at the international level the change was gradual, in Takamanda it was abrupt. In 2003, as

PROFA folded, the configuration of the network of actors changed drastically both at the individual and the institutional level.

When PROFA ended, most of its staff left Cameroon; only about three remained involved with Takamanda. One can reasonably suppose that new the people working for the PSMNR since 2003 have a different view of how the forest should be used. When institutions recruit for a biodiversity conservation program, those who apply are likely to be interested in conservation. Indeed, virtually all of German Cooperation staff now have a background in forestry and conservation rather than in the social sciences, even those doing ‘development’ work. As I explained (Section 5.2.1), they want to ‘*work for the gorillas and for the elephants*’. This was arguably not the case of most of those working for PROFA (Consultant 2008b). Thus, the shift in the discourse at the institutional level is reflected in the motivations of individual staff members. After 2003, the German Cooperation, as an institution, and its individual workers emphasized using the forest to conserve animal species.

Furthermore, I have argued that at a local level the German Cooperation, MINFOF and WCS, as well as their staff, benefited from working together towards the creation of the National Park (Chapters 5). They could use the complementarities offered by their different powers to achieve that aim (Chapter 4). The change of staff and the end of PROFA allowed a *tabula rasa* whereby the positions of actors within the network were reorganized.

Some actors were sidetracked while others managed to gain importance. The German Cooperation and, increasingly, WCS set the goals for PROFA and the PSMNR, while local people were less and less involved in decision-making (Section 7). Documents also took new positions within this network configuration and those serving the goals

of powerful actors gained importance within the program. Amongst those documents, I have argued that biodiversity studies were used to legitimize ‘scientifically’ the creation of the park (Section 5.2.2). I have also explained how the VDP conformed to the discourse of participation while exercising power over local people in the second and third dimension: respectively by reducing decision-making from the level of forest to village and by promising development in exchange for cooperation (Section 7.1).

This thesis has argued that documents exert power but when writing his book Durrell could not have envisioned that Oates would follow in his footsteps and contribute to the creation of National Parks in Cameroon and Nigeria. His books took on a life of their own. While I do not really expect it, this present document might also influence the course of events in some unpredictable way. I would like it, of course, to influence things in a way that I think is positive. Thus, I posit that ‘what is to be done’ is not conservation or development but a balance between the two. I agree with Jepson and Canney (2003), Wilson (1995) and Oates (1999) when they argue that conservation should not be based on material arguments, or at least not these alone. While in the discussion above, I have been very critical of conservation activities, I do share their concerns towards the extinction of species and I agree that space should be left for wild animals to live.

However, these moral values are not universal. They should not be imposed on others by dint of the financial power of a conservationist lobby. Instead, such decisions about land use should be made in a democratic manner. Needed is a clear understanding of who gains and who loses, because I find it unacceptable that the poorest people have to bear so much of the weight, thus allowing the practice of conservation ‘on the cheap’.

This might be a growing concern as conservation organizations currently appear to (re)construct the forest, justifying its protection as a carbon sink. If such a concept is realized without changing the way conservation projects are run, rich first-world citizens will purchase guilt-free holidays abroad while expropriating marginalized people, depriving them of their lands and livelihoods.

This moral issue is illustrated by Durrell, after his collecting mission is over, he leaves Cameroon with cages full of wild animals.

As we skirted the lower slopes of the Cameroon Mountain and the road dipped towards the sea, a thin cold drizzle started to fall, obscuring still further the landscape that was veiled in the dawn mist. We came to the first of the palm plantations as the rising sun was struggling to shine through the grey clouds that hung low over the mountains. (...) This was a bit of civilized Africa, and I shivered as I looked at it: mile upon mile of nothing but banana trees in a great characterless sheet, arranged in neat rows like a green chess-board. Hideous regimentation, a thousand million banana trees standing in serried ranks, obediently bearing fruit that was plucked from them, still green, and carried aboard the waiting ships. Nothing to see but flapping wet banana leaves, like great green shields, sodden and dangling, in endless lines. Occasionally the monotony of this would be broken by a clearing containing a white bungalow, in which lived a European overseer; or a row of horrible corrugated iron sheds, in which lived the banana pickers (Durrell 1953, 229).

In this quote, the moral dilemma of conservation is ringing, Durrell's sees an 'hideous' banana plantation, it might be someone else's dream of prosperity and another's breakfast fruit. But things have changed, today 'Europeans' with Durrell's views are able to impose their own ideas of the way the African landscape should look. What has

remained is that they live in ‘white bungalows’ while others are forced to live in ‘horrible corrugated iron sheds’.

Ferguson’s epilogue of *The Anti-politics Machine*, avoids the question, ‘What is to be done?’ He argues that different people with their different aims will work towards them regardless of external advice. While I am hoping that my arguments will convince some to act in a more responsible way, I echo Ferguson’s pessimism: conservation will not change its character so easily.

Appendix A - Research Methods

... research is not an innocent or distant academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions. (Smith 1999, 5)

What makes you think that 'having a viewpoint' means 'being limited' or especially 'subjective'? (...) The best proof is that, [when you are looking at a vista] two meters lower, you see nothing because of the trees and two meters higher, you see nothing because of a parking lot. And yet you have the same limited 'subjectivity' and you transport with you exactly the very same 'standpoint'. (Latour 2005, 147)

Researchers are grouped and group themselves in a profusion of disciplines and schools of thought. Each of these disciplines comes with its own journals, vocabulary, culture, authors, methods, assumptions, epistemology etc. These elements cannot be neatly separated. Indeed, one's methods are derived from one's theoretical stance and vice-versa. For example, anthropology as a discipline is mostly united by its methods, an 'experience-near' approach of participant observation (Geertz 1984), but it also offers its own view of the world, distinct from that, say, of economics. Nevertheless, the aim of this appendix is to examine the methods that I have used to write the thesis.

I have already explained the ways in which I used ANT at a theoretical level. The punctualization of actors allowed to change scale easily from looking at individuals or documents to looking at how the network as a whole behaves. However, one must remain aware that this grouping is only an analytical device, not necessarily a

representation of reality. In this section, I will focus on the more practical aspects of gathering data.

First, I will explain how the thesis that you are now reading came to be written on this topic. I will describe how my data collection could not be separated from the theoretical analysis and argue that this would have been neither possible nor desirable. Second, I will present the novel way in which I have analyzed the documents, arguing how it has allowed me to gain insights that would not have been possible with other methods. Third, I will explain why I used interviews and will explore the issue of positionality in more depth. As a caveat, this section cannot cover all the issues that I have been faced with while collecting data or all its limitations. I only emphasize the main points. I will conclude with aspects of the study that I would now do differently upon reflection.

A.1 Writing a thesis from research question to data gathering, back to research question

This section will present the process that led me to write this thesis for two reasons. First, it will allow the reader to situate my perspective on Takamanda. Second, it will allow me to make a case to view the research process as necessarily iterative.

The discussion in the thesis offered a final product, without showing the work leading to its creation. However, the process of data collection itself presupposes a location and I cannot claim that my informants have different perspectives on the forest, while I am only an external observer merely extracting their views. As illustrated by Latour's quote above, anywhere one stands will offer a different perspective. To someone

looking from another standpoint, any other perspective will seem ‘biased’, even assuming everyone looks at the same thing. Thus, while I have attempted to present the most faithful reproduction of the data I have collected, bias is not something that one can, or should, ‘surmount’ or remove. I will not pretend to perform the fabled ‘God eye trick’ of seeing everything from nowhere (Haraway 1988 in ; Benedetta Rossi 2004). Instead, I will explain what led me to study this topic so that the reader can locate where I was standing while writing this thesis. This account is necessarily partial.

The topic of my research came from a variety of interests, I was curious to understand better how nature and humans interact and ways in which people see nature. I have been struggling myself with ethical dilemma in choices between ‘nature’, animals and people. I decided to pursue this question with regard to conservation as it is an expression of these different views. A researcher on a conservation-related topic in Cameroon told me about Takamanda and gave me contacts on the ground. Schmidt-Soltau, one of the external consultants for PROFA, provided me with grey literature, which convinced me that Takamanda would be an interesting place to study. I formulated two research questions: what are the effects of conservation on hunters’ satisfaction with their activities? And to what extent does this affect livelihoods?

I decided to compare the attitudes towards wildlife of individuals from foreign organizations and local hunters. My hypothesis was that different attitudes towards nature shaped the actions of people and were at the origin of the conflicts between conservationists and local hunters. Later, while keeping the focus on attitudes and livelihoods, I decided to use it to explain the termination of PROFA and its

consequences, following Ferguson's idea of the 'anti-politics machine' (Ferguson 1994). This was the question I aimed to answer when I boarded the plane for Douala.

After a few interviews, I realized that most of the staff was relatively new and did not know much about PROFA or why it finished. Moreover, I decided that I could answer the wider question (i.e., why did PROFA end?) with a more general view of the program. Furthermore, I changed my interviews to include wider questions about the ways in which the program currently worked.

As I collected data, I came to understand better the history of the 'soon to be created' National Park. I slowly shifted my focus toward explaining the creation of the Takamanda National Park from the Forest Reserve. I also became more interested in trying to understand the program from the perspective of the villagers of Obonyi rather than to study them and the reasons for their opposition. As Foucault, Ferguson, Scott and others have shown, knowledge is power (and vice versa). I did not want to make the situation more unequal than it already was by studying local people. The argument of the thesis slowly took shape in the field and was modified by further work on the material I had collected.

This short description shows that my research question has changed continuously since the start of the study. I do not think it is because I came unprepared, but rather because I thought that Takamanda could provide an interesting case to address the questions I have explored in my thesis.

This raises an issue: how can one choose the best methods to answer a research question when choosing that question is a process linked to the information collected

with these methods? The choice of a research question as well as methods is an iterative process: attempting to fit the methods to the (changing) question and the question to the material collected with the methods. Because the research question changes, even after data collection, it would be misleading to say that the methods chosen are solely based on this question. This would imply either that one keeps research questions rigidly fixed, or that the methods are wholly altered and modified after each change. The former would lead to forcing the data into set theories (Glaser and Strauss 1967). The latter would be time-consuming, and impossible when the question changes after data collection. Instead, the question and the methods develop in parallel, feeding into one another. I will argue here that the methods that I have used are well adapted and valid to answer the research question I have presented.

A.2 Text analysis/documents

As I have explained, my first connection with Takamanda was through local contacts and then documents, initially with journal articles, then PROFA's grey literature. Furthermore, I have argued in Section 2.1 that, with ANT, one could trace actors to infinity, to avoid that, I have 'followed' documents to the actors I studied. These actors would often lead me to others and so on. I accessed human actors through interviews, which will be examined in the next section. The actors presented in this study are those whom I have been able to contact, directly or not. While I have striven to gain a holistic perspective, this view of Takamanda is necessarily partial.

This section presents the way in which I have analyzed documents. I start by comparing my methodology with other such studies. Then I critically look at the ways

in which the interviews were conducted and analyzed. I also outline some ethical issues with positioning.

I have collected documents from several places: government archive in Buea; WCS archives in Limbe; GTZ archives in Yaoundé; PROFA grey literature from various sources and a few policy documents from the program in Mamfe and in Obonyi 1.

In order to manage documents, I have used a reference management software (Zotero) to classify documents according to their general topic (biodiversity survey, management etc). Within those documents, I have followed the chronological changes in goals and the place of ‘participation’. I have followed these items in their journey along time. I did this by reading systematically, in all the documents, the specific parts that I was following. In order to explain the changes, I have also focused on the human actors interacting with these documents. This holistic approach is, to my knowledge, new to the analysis of documents in particular and organizations in general.

In order to establish this, I now look at two typologies of document and discourse analysis. Philips and Hardy (2002), and Prior (2008) divide studies of documents along two lines, leading to four-cell typologies;²⁶ they are summarized in Table 3 and Table 4 respectively. I argue that my study shows that restricting analysis to one of these four typologies provides only a partial view on the role of documents.

²⁶ They admit in passing that the distinctions are not always clear-cut.

Table 3 - Philips and Hardy (2002) 'Approaches to Discourse Analysis' (adapted)

	Constructivist	Critical
Context	Interpretive Structuralism	Critical Discourse analysis
Text	Social linguistic analysis	Critical Linguistic analysis

Table 4 – Prior (2008) 'Approaches to the study of documents'

<i>Focus of research approach</i>	<i>Document as resource</i>	<i>Document as topic</i>
Content	(1) Approaches that focus almost entirely on what is 'in' the document.	(2) 'Archaeological' approaches that focus on how document content comes into being.
Use and function	(3) Approaches that focus on how documents are used as a resource by human actors for purposeful ends.	(4) Approaches that focus on how documents function in, and impact on, schemes of social interaction and social organization.

The first division pertains to the way the document is set within other interactions. It separates between the content of the document at a face value and its role in power relations. Philips and Hardy's division is between studies that are constructivist (focusing on how the text was created) versus critical/Foucauldian (looking at the dynamics of power surrounding the text). Prior's division is between 'resource' and 'topic' (2008; 2004). Documents as 'resources' are receptacles of content and sources of information for the researcher. Documents as 'topics' enter social interactions as agents. In this view, 'documents serve not merely as containers of content, but as active agents in episodes of interaction and schemes of social organization' (2008, 824).

The categories used by the two typologies are similar, but Prior introduces an important insight from ANT. He argues that documents can also shape other actors' actions. However Prior follows the principle of symmetry only in one direction: documents influencing humans.

My thesis illustrate that it is necessary to study how humans influence documents and vice-versa. Furthermore, I have shown that the creation of documents both reflects and plays a part in the dynamics of power. Documents are at the same time created by other actors and actors in their own right. Therefore, the two categories (resource and topic) cannot, and should not, be dissociated.

The second division in the typologies differentiates between studies focusing on the documents themselves and those putting emphasis on the context. Prior argues that so far, studies have focused on typologies 1 to 3 so that the role of a document as an actor in its own right has been overlooked. Furthermore, Prior argues that one should focus 'on the functioning of documents instead of content' (2008, 821), and that 'a focus on the functioning rather than the content of documents leads us to ask questions about what documents do rather than with what they say' (2008, 832). However, there is no reason to separate the content of the document from its functioning. In my thesis, I have focused on what documents 'say' as well as their functioning. Indeed, I have shown that the content of a document cannot be separated from the interaction it has with other actors. I have highlighted the importance of minute changes to the content in exercising power.

I am not arguing here that one should study ‘everything’ regarding a document, but that looking only at the context but not the content; or the creation of the document but not the power relations surrounding it, occludes important insights. Instead of fitting my study into one of those categories, I have narrowed down my analysis by looking only at specific parts of documents and following their changes and the role that they played.

Nevertheless, there are several unknowns in this analysis. First, I only had access to a subset of existing documents. Others such as drafts, scribbles, notes etc. could not be studied. Second, the process that led to the creation of the documents could not be observed directly, within the program. Third, the authors of the documents are not always mentioned and it is difficult to know exactly who made which changes. Thus I have refrained from making an analysis based on individual authors. Finally, the analysis focused on documents rather than the application of their recommendations, so that the power of documents is examined in their capacity to shape other documents rather than any of their ‘real’ effects.

A.3 Interviews

My intuition, to say it quickly, is that the world is largely messy. It is also that contemporary social science methods are hopelessly bad at knowing that mess. (...) I am at odds with method as this is usually understood. This, it seems to me, is mostly about guarantees. Sometimes I think of it as a form of hygiene. Do your methods properly. Eat your epistemological greens. Wash your hands after mixing with the real world. Then you will lead the good research life. Your data will be clean. Your findings

warrantable. The product you will produce will be pure. Guaranteed to have a long shelf-life. (Law 2003, 3)

As explained above, with interviews I attempted to better understand the changes in the goals for the Takamanda forest, which led to the creation of the National Park. I have interviewed actors who were linked to those changes. In this section, I will begin with a brief description of the people I interviewed and the content of our conversations. Second, I will look at my interviews through the lens of ANT and feminist literature and contrast these with the ‘textbook’ view.

Amongst the actors present in documents, I elected to focus on Obonyi 1. This village is located in the middle of the Forest Reserve and is one of the most affected by restrictions on forest uses. The people I interviewed there were those households recorded in a previous survey by Schmidt-Soltau (2001). I extended the pool of respondents using stratified sampling. Since the livelihoods survey occupies only a small space in the thesis, I will not dwell on its methodology here. The selection of respondents from the Germano-Cameroonian program was based on those people who were involved in the management of the Takamanda forest, especially those with an involvement in Obonyi. I attempted to interview staff of PROFA who had since left Cameroon, but they have been difficult to track down. In total, I conducted 60 interviews totalling over 60 hours of recording.

Interviews were the most appropriate method to collect the required information. The interview questions were based on two topics: first, on the documents in a general sense, trying to clarify how things had changed over time, how the program functioned; second, the questions focused on understanding people's motivations through their attitudes towards the forest and how they felt and thought about the changes surrounding the forest. When interviewing program staff, limited access to respondents prevented me from using either focus groups or participant observation.

When interviewing people in Obonyi 1, I preferred to get individual answers as everyone had different information and ideas on the program. Another reason is that group meetings would have associated me with the 'participatory' techniques used by conservationists and the program, whereas I was trying hard to distance myself from them.

The interviews were semi-structured: my goal was to make them as much as a conversation as possible while 'ticking off' the list of question I had come with and probing deeper into some responses (Sidney Webb and Beatrice Potter Webb 1968). The list of questions was modified as I changed and refined my research focus. In addition to those questions, I asked respondents to tell me if they agreed with a number of statements adapted from the New Ecological Paradigm Scale. The original and the modified scales are in Appendix B. I then transcribed some of the recordings.

To gauge attitudes towards the forest, I used two tools to start the discussion: First, a ranking of the different uses of the forest provided me with comparable results across the interviews. Second, I used the New Ecological Paradigm scale. According to my literature review, it is the most widely used scale devoted to measuring attitudes

towards nature. In order to make it relevant to the conservation project, I modified the statements in two ways. First, I simplified them as much as possible to ensure that they could be easily understood. For example, Statement 11 mentions a 'spaceship' which I changed into a 'canoe'. Similarly, some words like 'ingenuity' needed to be exchanged for more common ones. Second, the scale of the questions was changed: from the scale of the earth, it was reduced to the scale of the forest. For example, in 'Humans were meant to rule over the rest of nature', 'forest' was substituted for 'nature'. In Obonyi, the scale was translated into Denya (the local language).

Initially, I wanted to use it to gather quantitative data, as in previous articles using the same scale (Riley E Dunlap et al. 2000). However, I soon realized that people would grasp the statements in very different ways. This happened most frequently with: 'Plants and animals have as much right as humans to exist'. Some would understand the statement to mean that one should not kill animals, whereas others would think it meant that animals also have the right to live, but can be killed for consumption. In order to clarify this, I would ask whether killing a gorilla is as bad as killing a human. Because the statements can be ambiguous, I have used the scale as a starting point for discussion rather than an end in itself.

Within an ANT framework, interviews can be seen as separate actors. The interview comes to represent the 'respondent' in the study. Interviews differ from documents because the researcher affects the statements made by individuals before they are

transferred onto paper.²⁷ There are several issues in the process of representation of the respondent by an interview transcript: the simple fact of asking a question, the influence that the position of the researcher has and the way the transcript is analyzed.

First, interviewing is not ‘The Art of Hearing Data’ as the name of Rubin and Rubin’s (2004) textbook suggests. They posit that interviewing is like collecting data on ‘how frequently people wash their hair’, but ‘if what you need to find out cannot be answered simply or briefly (...) then you rely on in-depth interviews’ (2004, 2). In fact, complex questions will not merely extract someone’s opinion. Indeed, even for very simple questions in controlled situations, the replies that people give will be shaped by the question (See the seminal article McNeil et al. 1982). The question often *creates* or generates the answer/idea. In my interviews regarding attitudes, I would pose moral questions that were (I think) difficult to answer. It is likely that in many instances, the respondents had not thought about that question before. Instead of merely relying on scale ratings like in previous studies conducted with the NEP scale, I have put an emphasis on asking people to explain their choices. In many cases, this probing revealed that they had understood the question in a way that I hadn’t envisaged.

Second, whether or not the respondent already has an answer ready, the answers will be shaped to suit the interview situation. Rubin and Rubin posit that ‘your own emotions and biases can influence what you ask and how your interviewee responds’ (2004, 31). They suggest that you should ‘sensitize yourself to these biases and learn to

²⁷ One could argue that the reader is integral to generating understanding from the document; this is also the case in interviews, as the third issue below will indicate.

compensate for your own slant' (2004, 32). Others, like Oakley, coming from a feminist ethic, argue instead that interviewers *have* to create emotional links with the interviewees emphasizing their common position as women. She argues that this is necessary to obtain quality information as well as to avoid an exploitative relationship. Edwards also seeks to create such a relationship in her interviews, but could not relate to her respondents as a woman. As a white researcher interviewing black women, she found that she had to acknowledge her difference and position herself in the way that her respondents primarily categorized her – as a white rather than as a woman.

Rubin and Rubin, Edwards and Oakley posit that, to a large extent, researchers can change the way they present themselves. Indeed, Mullings discusses how she consciously created 'a persona' to gain access to a greater range of people. She managed to interview business elites and workers by portraying herself as non-threatening, in turn as an insider or outsider.

In Takamanda, the program seemed to be weary of researchers. When I told one of the staff members, *'I'm going to focus on hunting, people who are hunting. I don't know if they still do it, just because I had to focus on something'*, he replied:

Well, you probably have to be a bit careful, or let's say, I mean it's a delicate... topic. When people hear about hunting, for sure there is always.. It is linked directly, let's say, to national park issues to WCS, to MINFOF, so when.. People will be ((??)) on alert when questions go about hunting. (DED Employee 2008b)

Indeed, I was repeatedly told that my research was not useful and had already been done. For example, by e-mail from WCS:

Sorry if this seems harsh, but as I say, our staff invest considerable time and effort acquiring field information and we would want to be convinced that any data released would support answering clear questions related to improving the conservation of important wildlife and wildlands. The communities of the Takamanda area have been endlessly questioned by various researchers (ourselves included!) and we would also want to be sure that you are not duplicating what others have already done. (WCS 2008)

Moreover, when coming back from Obonyi, I was told that a request had been sent to the senior MINFOF official in Mamfe to forbid any access to the Forest Reserve. I was lucky enough to have left before this order arrived. A senior executive on the program even warned me that a student did an internship on one NTFP, but her findings had not pleased MINFOF, so she had been blocked from publicizing them (DED Employee 2008c). This wariness towards external research may be due to the fact that a consultant, Schmidt Soltau, subsequently published very critical material on the conservation projects in Cameroon (Schmidt-Soltau 2003b). This triggered off a controversy with the WCS (Maisels et al. 2007).

Accordingly, like Mullings, I attempted to present myself as non-threatening with the people whom I interviewed. I have strived to understand people's points of view and withhold judgment while interviewing them. When interviewing project staff, I emphasized my deep interest in nature and the benefits that the study of people in Obonyi 1 would bring. I also avoided displaying too much knowledge of the controversies surrounding conservation or the program.

In Obonyi 1, my research was also viewed suspiciously, because virtually all the whites who come to the village work for the program, itself associated with repression. I attempted to distinguish myself from other whites. To do so, I clearly explained my

goals at the beginning of each interview. I participated in as many of the village activities as I could, including eating and buying (probably illegal) bush meat. People's reactions towards me were diverse. While some actively avoided talking to me, one person spontaneously told me that I was not like the other whites as I shared food and water with them (from a common dish) (Obonyi inhabitant 2008j).

As Mullings points out, such conscious positioning carries ethical issues. For Oakley and Edwards feminist 'research should not just be *on* women but *for* women' (Edwards 1990, 479), so that their positioning is for the benefit of respondents, whereas Mullings aims to 'uncover the complex struggles' (1999, 348) in the industry she studied. She justifies herself by stating 'that there is no guarantee that such selected disclosures are the main determinants behind that type of information that an informant decides to share' (1999, 344). This is contradictory, as in the rest of the article she argues that this positioning helped get respondents to speak to her.

While I cannot be certain, I believe that the way I presented myself changed the way in which the respondents acted towards me. I was careful to explain the topic that I was researching at the beginning of each interview and give people the opportunity to ask me further questions. I clearly explained the ways in which this information would be used. Furthermore, I have refrained from naming individuals or specifying their job titles in this thesis. I would be truly horrified if my writing caused trouble to anyone because he or she replied honestly to my questions. However, I think that researchers should not shy away from topics that might offend or affect institutions or people. As Smith (1999) posits, research is intrinsically political and there is no way to avoid it.

Finally, different researchers might understand and analyze the same reply in different ways. Rubin and Rubin posit that, 'In preparing a cultural report, the researcher is like a photographer, making choices about what to frame within the picture, but reproducing exactly what was there' (2004, 10). However, as Law argues in the quote above, reality is messy and it is not possible to reproduce it like a photograph. I have collected a vast amount of information. Although I have tried to reproduce it faithfully, there are different ways to order and interpret this data. I have outlined in the literature review at the start of the thesis how the process of punctualization depends on the researcher. As the writer of the document, like those I have presented in the thesis, I exert a lot of power over what is written. Nevertheless, I am bearing in mind that the readers of this work will criticize it if it appears that I have portrayed Takamanda in an unbalanced way.

A.4 Conclusion

I am convinced that the methods I have used were appropriate. Nevertheless, with hindsight, there are several things that I would have done differently. First, should have more quickly forgone parts of my data collection that were no longer relevant to my new research questions. For example, it was very time-consuming to collect data on livelihoods and it was not central to my argument. Second, using that time, I would have liked to interview a greater number of program staff and possibly repeat interviews. This would have allowed a more fine-grained analysis of attitudes and perspectives. In particular, I have attempted to interview staff from WCS but they were very hard to get hold of. Third, I should have packed a suit in my luggage. While my clothing was fine for most interviews, the looks I got when I presented myself at the

MINFOF direction suggested that it was inadequate. A likely result was that the interview was rescheduled twice and kept short. Finally, I have learnt a lot of small things during fieldwork. For example, to order interviews more systematically. I hope will be useful to me in the future.

Appendix B - New Ecological Paradigm scale (NEP)

B.1 Original Scale

“Listed below are statements about the relationship between humans and the environment. For each one, please indicate whether you STRONGLY AGREE, MILDLY AGREE, are UNSURE, MILDLY DISAGREE or STRONGLY DISAGREE with it.”

1. We are approaching the limit of the number of people the earth can support
2. Humans have the right to modify the natural environment to suit their needs
3. When humans interfere with nature it often produces disastrous consequences
4. Human ingenuity will insure that we do NOT make the earth unlivable
5. Humans are severely abusing the environment
6. The earth has plenty of natural resources if we just learn how to develop them
7. Plants and animals have as much right as humans to exist
8. The balance of nature is strong enough to cope with the impacts of modern industrial nations
9. Despite our special abilities humans are still subject to the laws of nature
10. The so-called “ecological crisis” facing humankind has been greatly exaggerated
11. The earth is like a spaceship with very limited room and resources

12. Humans were meant to rule over the rest of nature
13. The balance of nature is delicate and easily upset
14. Humans will eventually learn enough about how nature works to be able to control it
15. If things continue on their present course, we will soon experience a major ecological catastrophe

B.2 Modified scale (NEP)

Please let me know if you agree or not with each of these statements

1. We are approaching the limit of the number of people the forest can support
2. Humans have the right to modify the forest to suit their needs
3. When humans interfere with the forest it often produces disastrous consequences
4. Human resourcefulness will insure that we do NOT make the forest unlivable
5. Humans are severely abusing the forest
6. The forest has plenty of resources if we just learn how to develop them
7. Plants and animals have as much right as humans to exist
8. The balance of nature is strong enough to cope with the impacts of modernity
9. Despite our special abilities humans are still subject to the laws of nature

10. The so-called “biodiversity crisis” facing the forest has been greatly exaggerated
11. The forest is like a boat with very limited room and resources
12. Humans were meant to rule over the forest
13. The balance of the forest is delicate and easily upset
14. Humans will eventually learn enough about how the forest works to be able to control it
15. If things continue on their present course, we will soon experience a major natural catastrophe

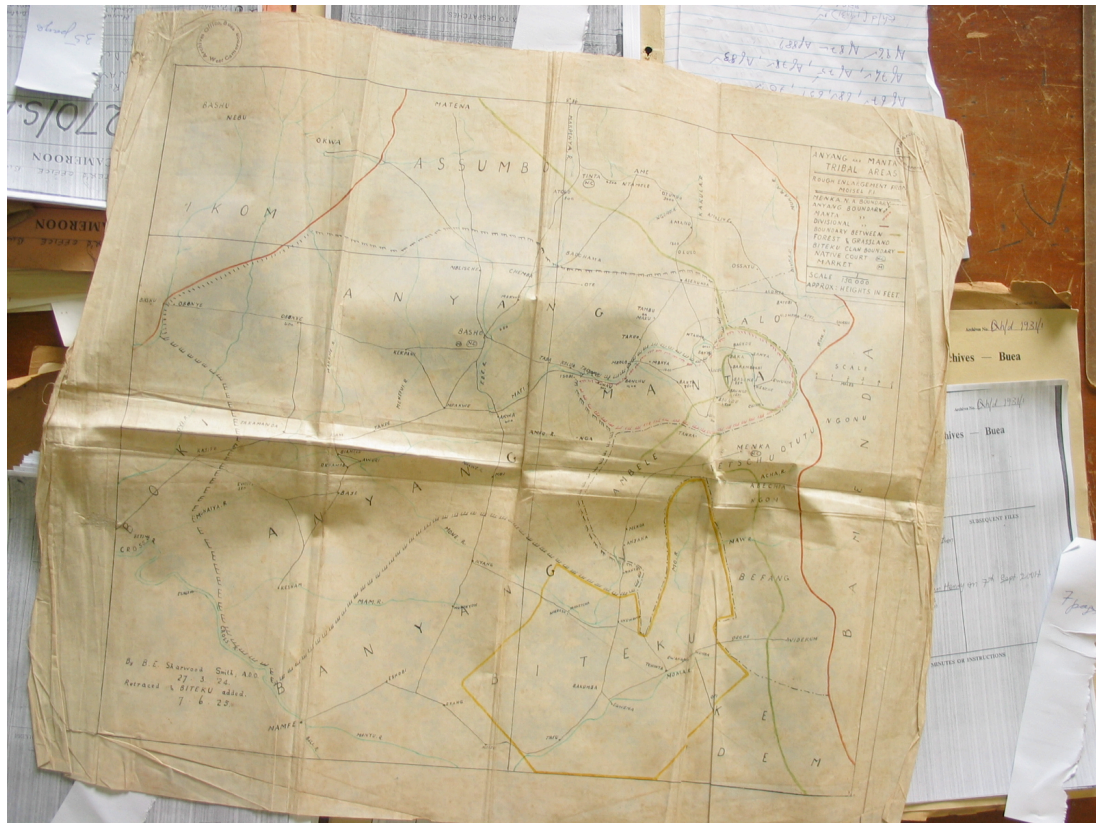
Appendix C - New Ecological Paradigm results

	Organization	Nationality	1) We are approaching the limit of the number of people the forest can support	2) Humans have the right to modify the forest to suit their needs	3) When humans interfere with the forest it often produces disastrous consequences	4) Human resourcefulness will insure that we do NOT make the forest unlivable	5) Humans are severely abusing the forest	6) The forest has plenty of resources if we just learn how to develop them	7) Plants and animals have as much right as humans to exist
1	independent NGO	?	yes, strongly agree	no, strongly disagree	unsure	no	yes, mildly agree	no, mildly disagree	no, strongly disagree
2	independent NGO	Cameroonian	no	no	yes	yes	no	yes	no
3	WCS	Cameroonian	no, disagree	yes, strongly agree	yes, mildly agree				
4	MINFOF	Cameroonian	no, Strongly disagree	yes, Strongly agree	no, mildly disagree	yes, mildly agree ?	yes, strongly agree	yes, strongly agree	yes, strongly agree ?
5	WCS	Cameroonian	yes, strongly agree	no, strongly disagree	yes, strongly agree	yes, strongly agree	yes, strongly agree	yes, strongly agree	yes, strongly agree
6	MINFOF	Cameroonian	no	use but not modify	not always	yes	yes in Takamanda	yes	
7	DED	German	yes, strongly agree	unsure	yes, strongly agree	no, strongly disagree	yes	yes, strongly agree	yes, strongly agree
8	DED	German	yes, mildly agree	no, mildly disagree	no, strongly disagree	no, strongly disagree	no, strongly disagree	yes, strongly agree	yes strongly agree
	8) The balance of nature is strong enough to cope with the impacts		9) Despite our special abilities	10) The so-called "biodiversity	11) The forest is like a boat with	12) Humans were meant to rule over the	13) The balance of the forest is	14) Humans will	15) If things continue on their present course, we will soon experience

	of modernity	humans are still subject to the laws of nature	crisis” facing the forest has been greatly exaggerated	very limited room and resources	forest	delicate and easily upset	eventually learn enough about how the forest works to be able to control it	a major natural catastrophe
1	yes, strongly agree	no, strongly disagree	no, strongly disagree	no, strongly disagree	no, strongly disagree	yes, strongly agree	no, strongly disagree	yes, strongly agree
2	depends	yes	depends	yes	yes	yes	depends	?
3								
4	yes, strongly agree	yes, agree	yes, strongly agree	yes, strongly agree	yes, strongly agree	yes, strongly agree	yes, strongly agree	yes, strongly agree
5	yes?	yes, strongly agree	no, strongly disagree	no	yes	yes, strongly agree	strongly agree	yes
6		yes	no	yes	yes (god)	yes	yes	yes
7	no, strongly disagree	yes, strongly agree		no, strongly disagree	no, strongly disagree	yes	mildly agree	yes
8	no, strongly disagree	yes, strongly agree	no, strongly disagree	unsure	no, strongly disagree	yes, strongly agree	unsure	yes, strongly agree

Appendix D - Maps of Takamanda

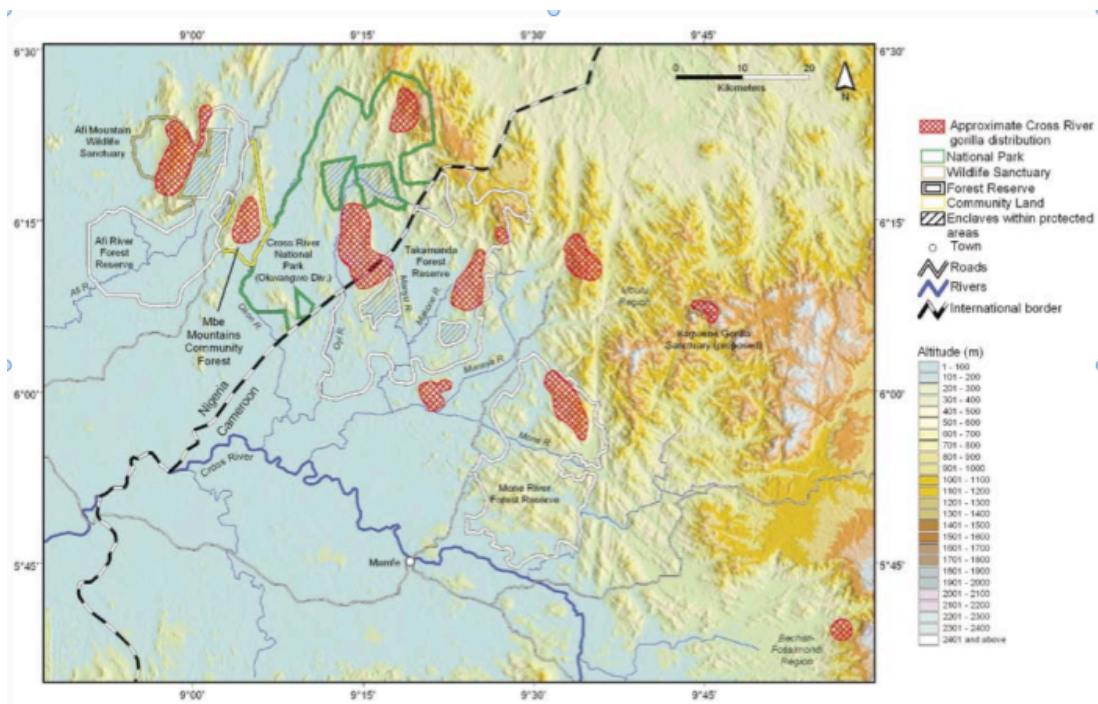
Colonial map (Sharwood 1924b)



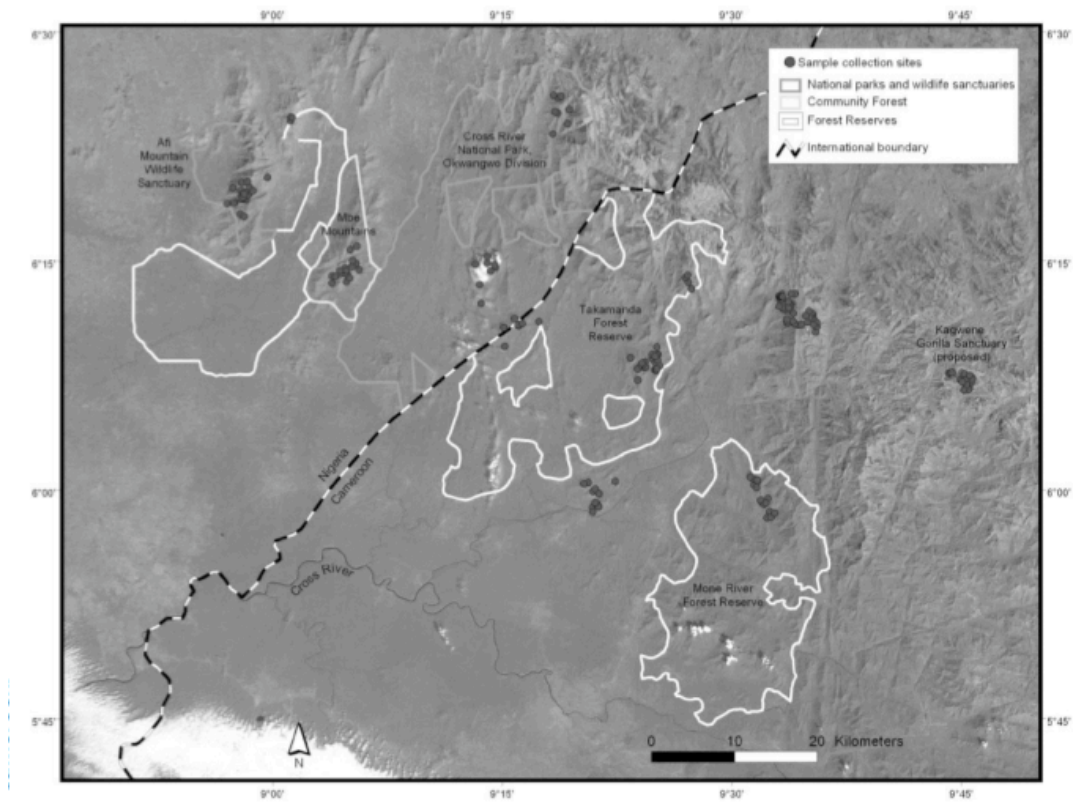
Participatory mapping of Obonyi 1 (Moses Tabe 2007)



Distribution of the Cross River Gorilla (Oates et al. 2007, 11)



Cross River Gorilla Location of fecal sample collection sites in Nigeria and Cameroon
(Bergl 2006)



References

- Abbot, Joanne I. O., David H. L. Thomas, Anne A. Gardner, Sama E. Neba, and Mbony W. Khen. 2001. Understanding the Links Between Conservation and Development in the Bamenda Highlands, Cameroon. *World Development* 29, no. 7 (July): 1115-1136.
- Adams, William M. 2004. *Against extinction*. London: Earthscan Ltd.
- Adams, William M, Ros Aveling, Dan Brockington, Barney Dickson, Jo Elliott, Jon Hutton, Dilys Roe, Bhaskar Vira, and William Wolmer. 2004. Biodiversity Conservation and the Eradication of Poverty. *Science* 306, no. 5699 (November 12): 1146-1149.
- Adams, William M, and D Hulme. 2001. If community conservation is the answer in Africa, what is the question? *Oryx* 35, no. 3: 193-200.
- Adams, William M, and D. Hulme. 2001. Changing narratives, Policies & Practices in African Conservation. In *African Wildlife and Livelihoods: The Promise and Performance of Community Conservation*, ed. David Hulme and Marshall W Murphree. James Currey Ltd, May 17.
- Agarwal, Bina. 2001. Participatory Exclusions, Community Forestry, and Gender: An Analysis for South Asia and a Conceptual Framework. *World Development* 29, no. 10 (October): 1623-1648.
- Alexander, Jocelyn, and JoAnn McGregor. 2000. Wildlife and Politics: CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe. *Development and Change* 31, no. 3: 605-627.
- Anderson, David, and Richard Grove. 1987. *Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Anon. 1934. Takamanda Forest Reserve Ordinance #53 of 1934. WCS archives, Limbe.
- Anon. 1940. Takamanda Native Authority Forest Reserve Amendement Order 23 of 1940. WCS archives, Limbe.
- Anon. 1954. Mamfe Division annual report. Ce/1948/2. Government archive, Buea.
- Anon. 1957. Takamanda Native Authority Forest Reserve - Amendment Order. WCS archives, Limbe.
- Anon. 1964. Mamfe Division annual report. Government archive, Buea.
- Anon. 1971. Social and Political Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1972, confidential part. Ce 1968/1. Government archive, Buea.
- Anon. 2001. PROFA planning workshop for 2001-2003. PROFA, August 5. Schimdt-Soltau personal archives.

- Anon. 2003. Facilitation of the KFW Stock Taking Mission concerning the request to German Financial Cooperation . December. <http://www.cameroun-foret.com>.
- Anon. 2008. First Meeting Of The Parties To The Agreement On The Conservation Of Gorillas And Their Habitats. November 25.
- Anon. (Assistant Conservator of Forests). 1929. Reserves in Mamfe Division. February 10. Qb 1930 (2). Government archive, Buea.
- Anon. (Provincial Chief of Service for Tourism), Buea. 1987. Protection of the Takamanda Reserve. Buea. March 18. WCS archives, Limbe.
- Anspach, Paul. 2001. PROFA Final Mission Report . GFA Terra Systems GmbH, July. Schmidt-Soltau personal archives.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1988. *The Social Life of Things*.
- Attwell, C.A.M., and F.P.D. Cotterill. 2000. Postmodernism and African conservation science. *Biodiversity and Conservation* 9, no. 5 (May 1): 559-577.
- Ayeni, J.S.O, M Mdaihli, S Besong, and E Tah. 2003. Proposal for Collaborative Management of the TFR, South West Province, Cameroon. PROFA. Schmidt-Soltau personal archives.
- Ayeni, J.S.O, and M Mgaihli. 2001. The Cameroonian-German (MINEF-GTZ) Project for Protection of Forests around Akwaya, South West Province, Cameroon. PROFA, January. Schmidt-Soltau personal archives.
- Ayeni, J.S.O, M Mgaihli, and R. A. Ebot. 2001. Community-Based Approach To Biodiversity Conservation Of The Takamanda Forest Reserve, Southwest Province, Cameroon . PROFA, August. Schmidt-Soltau personal archives.
- Ayeni, J.S.O, E Tah, and M Mdaihli. 2002. Abundance Pattern for Mammals in the Takamanda Forest Reserve. PROFA, September. Schmidt-Soltau personal archives.
- Ayewoh, John. 1953. History of Takamanda Forest Reserve. WCS archives, Limbe.
- Bachrach, Peter, and Morton S. Baratz. 1962. Two Faces of Power. *The American Political Science Review* 56, no. 4 (December): 947-952.
- BBC. 2008. Country profile: Cameroon. *BBC*, November 7, sec. Country profiles. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/country_profiles/1042937.stm.
- Beinart, William. 1984. Soil Erosion, Conservationism and Ideas about Development: A Southern African Exploration, 1900-1960. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 11, no. 1 (October): 52-83.
- Benedetta Rossi. 2004. Revisiting Foucauldian Approaches: Power Dynamics in Development Projects. *The Journal of Development Studies* 40, no. 6. The Journal of Development Studies: 1-29.

- Bergl, Richard. 2006. Conservation Biology of the Cross River Gorilla.
- Besong, S, and J.S.O Ayeni. 2002. Timber Inventory Of The Takamanda Forest Reserve. PROFA, September. Schimdt-Soltau personal archives.
- Biya, Paul. 1994. *LOI N° 94/01 du 20 janvier 1994: portant régime des forêts, de la faune et de la pêche* . January 20. <http://www.minfof.gov.cm/lafaune.htm>.
- BMZ. 2001. Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development - Aims. <http://www.bmz.de/en/principles/aims/index.html>.
- . 2008. Mandate. *Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development*. <http://www.bmz.de/en/ministry/mandate/index.html>.
- . 2009. Press room. *Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development*. <http://www.bmz.de/en/press/index.html>.
- Brockington, Dan. 2002. *Fortress Conservation: The Preservation of the Mkomazi Game Reserve, Tanzania*. Mkuki Na Nyota.
- Brockington, Dan, and Kai Schmidt-Soltau. 2004. The social and environmental impacts of wilderness and development. *Oryx* 38, no. 02: 140-142.
- Browne-Núñez, Christine, and Sandra A. Jonker. 2008. Attitudes Toward Wildlife and Conservation Across Africa: A Review of Survey Research. *Human Dimensions of Wildlife* 13, no. 1: 47.
- Bucknell, D., and Jacqueline Groves. 2002. Local perception on the population size, distribution and ranging behaviour of the Cross River gorilla within the Takamanda and Mone Forest Reserves and the Mbulu Forest, Cameroon. July. WCS Dissemination Outputs 2000-2007 CD.
- Bunzenthall, Roland. 2007. Ministry opposes GTZ and KfW proposal. *Development and Cooperation*, March 3. <http://www.inwent.org/ez/articles/056651/index.en.shtml>.
- Callon, Michel. 1987. Some elements of a sociology of translation; domestication of the scallops and the fishermen of St Brieuc Bay. In *Power, Action, and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge?* Routledge & Kegan Paul Books Ltd, September.
- Castree, Noel. 2002. False Antitheses? Marxism, Nature and Actor-Networks. *Antipode* 34, no. 1: 111-146.
- Chapin, Mark. 2004. A Challenge to Conservationists | Worldwatch Institute. *World Watch Magazine* 17, no. 6. <http://www.worldwatch.org/node/565>.
- Chatty, Dawn, and Marcus Colchester. 2002. *Conservation and mobile indigenous peoples*.

- Comiskey, James A., and Francisco Dallmeier. 2003. Adaptive Management: A Framework for Biodiversity Conservation in Takamanda Forest Reserve, Cameroon. In *Takamanda: The Biodiversity of an African Rainforest*, ed. Terry C. H. Sunderland, Jacqueline L. Sunderland-Groves, and National Museum of Natural History (U.S.). Monitoring & Assessment of Biodiversity Program, 182. Smithsonian Institution, National Zoological Park, Conservation and Research Center, SI/MAB Biodiversity Program.
- Comiskey, James A., Terry C. H. Sunderland, Jacqueline L. Sunderland-Groves, and National Museum of Natural History (U.S.). Monitoring & Assessment of Biodiversity Program. 2003. *Takamanda: The Biodiversity of an African Rainforest*. Smithsonian Institution, National Zoological Park, Conservation and Research Center, SI/MAB Biodiversity Program.
- Consultant. 2008a. Consultant #4 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- . 2008b. Consultant #1 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- Cooke, Bill, and Uma Kothari. 2001. *Participation: The New Tyranny?* Zed Books Ltd, February 1.
- Cooper, Frederick, and Randall M. Packard. 1997. *International Development and the Social Sciences*.
- Critchley, William. 1968. Final report on Takamanda Gorilla survey. WCS archives, Limbe.
- Dahl, R. A. 1994. The concept of power. *Power: Critical Concepts*: 288.
- DED. 2007. *Annual Report 2007*.
- . 2008a. DED in brief. *DED*. http://www.ded.de/cipp/ded/custom/pub/content,lang,2/oid,65/ticket,g_u_e_s_t/~DED_in_brief.html.
- . 2008b. Programme for the Sustainable Management of Natural Resources in the South West Province (PSMNR - SWP). *Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst - DED*. http://www.ded.de/cipp/ded/custom/pub/content,lang,1/oid,12706/ticket,g_u_e_s_t/~/_Programme_for_the_Sustainable_Managment_of_Natural_Resources_in_the_South_West_Province_PSMNR_-_SWP.html.
- DED Employee. 2008a. DED Employee #3 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- . 2008b. DED Employee #1 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- . 2008c. DED Employee #2 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- DeLancey, Mark W. 1990. *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Cameroon*. 2nd ed. African historical dictionaries no.48. Metuchen, N.J: Scarecrow Press.

- Divisional Officer, Mamfe (Conservator of Forests, Cameroon Circles). 1930. Forest Reserve - Mamfe Division. (Conservator of Forests, Cameroon Circles). April 12. Qb 1930 (2). Government archive, Buea.
- Du Feu, Tim A. 2001. Assessment and Results of the Fisheries Monitoring System of the Cross River Area, South of the Takamanda Forest Reserve . PROFA, January. Schimdt-Soltau personal archives.
- Duncan, Thomas. 1988. Status and Conservation of Takamanda Gorillas (Cameroon) - Final report. WWF, 4. WCS archives, Limbe.
- Dunlap, R. E., and Kent D. Van Liere. 1978. The New Environmental Paradigm: A Proposed Measuring Instrument and Preliminary Results. *Journal of Environmental Education* 9, no. 4: 10-19.
- Dunlap, Riley E, Kent D Van Liere, Angela G Mertig, and Robert Emmet Jones. 2000. New Trends in Measuring Environmental Attitudes: Measuring Endorsement of the New Ecological Paradigm: a Revised NEP Scale. *Journal of Social Issues* 56, no. 3: 425-442.
- Durrell, Gerald M. 1953. *The Overloaded Ark*. 2nd ed. Faber and Faber.
- Edwards, Rosalind. 1990. Connecting method and epistemology : A white women interviewing black women. *Women's Studies International Forum* 13, no. 5: 477-490.
- Ekinde, A., and Ymke Warren. 2007. Cross River gorilla surveys for Takamanda National Park. WCS, July. WCS archives, Limbe.
- Escobar, A. 1998. Whose Knowledge, Whose Nature? Biodiversity Conservation and Social Movements Political Ecology. In *Preparado para IVAjusco Forum Whose Nature*, 19-21.
- Escobar, Arturo. 1994. *Encountering Development*. Princeton University Press, November 14.
- Fairhead, James, and Melissa Leach. 1996. *Misreading the African landscape*.
- . 2003. Practising "biodiversity" in Guinea: nature, nation and an international convention. *Oxford Development Studies* 31, no. 4: 427.
- Ferguson, James. 1994. *The Anti-politics Machine: "development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic*. U of Minnesota Press.
- Foucault, Michel. 1975. *Surveiller et punir*. Paris: Gallimard.
- . 1976. *Histoire De La Sexualité*. Bibliothèque des histoires. Paris: Gallimard.
- Foucault, Michel, and Colin Gordon. 1980. *Power/knowledge*.
- Freudenthal, Emmanuel. 2008. Obonyi 1 census.

- Fru, Mirabel Azangeh Tandafor. 2007. L'Effort Camerounais (English Version): Forestry Minister says creation of national parks generates huge benefits. October 12. <http://www.leffortcamerounais.com/2007/12/forestry-minist.html>.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1984. "From the native's point of view" on the nature of anthropological understanding. In *Culture theory*, ed. Richard A. Shweder and Robert Alan LeVine, 359.
- GEF. 2006. *GEF report to the eighth meeting of the conference of the parties to the convention on biological diversity*. GEF, February 10. <http://www.cbd.int/doc/meetings/cop/cop-08/official/cop-08-10-en.pdf>.
- German Cooperation. GeoBIEB - Indicateur 1. *ProPSFE*. <http://www.cameroun-foret.com/geobiep/ind01.php>.
- GFA. 2008. Projects. *GFA Consulting Group* -. http://www.gfa-group.de/gfa-consulting-group-projects/gfa_consulting_projects_eng_3275910.html.
- Gibson, Clark C., and Stuart A. Marks. 1995. Transforming rural hunters into conservationists: An assessment of community-based wildlife management programs in Africa. *World Development* 23, no. 6 (June): 941-957.
- Glaser, Barney G., and Anselm L. Strauss. 1967. *The discovery of grounded theory*.
- Global Witness. 2005. *Cameroon Third Summary Report*. Global Witness, April 28. http://www.globalwitness.org/media_library_detail.php/134/en/cameroon_ifm_third_summary_report.
- Groves, Jacqueline. 2002. Final report on the Cross River Gorilla. February. WCS archives, Limbe.
- Groves, Jacqueline, and F. Maisels. 1999. large mammals of takamanda, special emphasis on the gorillas. GTZ archives, Yaoundé.
- GTZ. 2008. Corporate profile. *GTZ*. <http://www.gtz.de/en/unternehmen/1698.htm>.
- GTZ Employee. 2008. GTZ Employee #1 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- Haraway, Donna. 1988. Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (Autumn): 575-599.
- . 1991. A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century. In *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. New York: Routledge.
- Herman, Edward S. 1988. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass*. New York: Pantheon.

- Hill, Peter S. 2002. Organizational responses to a changing aid environment: the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ). *The International Journal of Health Planning and Management* 17, no. 3: 213-227.
- Hulme, David, and Marshall W Murphree. 2001. *African Wildlife and Livelihoods: The Promise and Performance of Community Conservation*. James Currey Ltd, May 17.
- Hutton, Jon, William M Adams, and James Murombedzi. 2005. Back to the Barriers? Changing Narratives in Biodiversity Conservation.
- Jepson, Paul, and Susan Canney. 2003. Values-Led Conservation. *Global Ecology and Biogeography* 12, no. 4 (July): 271-274.
- Johnson, Cassandra Y., J. M. Bowker, and H. Ken Cordell. 2004. Ethnic Variation in Environmental Belief and Behavior: An Examination of the New Ecological Paradigm in a Social Psychological Context. *Environment and Behavior* 36, no. 2 (March 1): 157-186.
- Kesby, Mike. 2005. Retheorizing Empowerment through Participation as a Performance in Space: Beyond Tyranny to Transformation. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 30, no. 4 (June 1): 2037-2065.
- KfW. 2008a. Key Business Figures. *KfW Bankengruppe* | . http://www.kfw.de/EN_Home/KfW_Bankengruppe/Our_Group/Key_Business_Figures/index.jsp.
- . 2008b. About KfW Entwicklungsbank. *KfW Entwicklungsbank*. http://www.kfw-entwicklungsbank.de/EN_Home/KfW_Entwicklungsbank/index.jsp.
- Knegtering, E., L. Hendrickx, H.J. Van Der Windt, and A.J.M. Schoot Uiterkamp. 2002. Effects of species' characteristics on nongovernmental organizations' attitudes toward species conservation policy. *Environment and Behavior* 34, no. 3: 378-400.
- Kramer, Randall, Carel van Schaik, and Julie Johnson. 1997. *Last Stand: Protected Areas and the Defense of Tropical Biodiversity*. OUP USA, March 27.
- Latour, Bruno. 1986. The powers of association. *Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge* 32: 264-80.
- . 1999. *Pandora's Hope: An Essay on the Reality of Science Studies*. Harvard University Press, May 28.
- . 2004. *Politiques De La Nature*. Paris: La Découverte, February 1.
- . 2005. *Reassembling the Social*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Law, John. 1987. *Power, Action, and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge?* Routledge & Kegan Paul Books Ltd, September.

- . 1992. Notes on the theory of the actor-network: Ordering, strategy, and heterogeneity. *Systemic Practice and Action Research* 5, no. 4: 379-393.
- . 2003. Making a Mess with Method. Centre for Science Studies, Lancaster University. <http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/Law-Making-a-Mess-with-Method.pdf>.
- Law, John, and John Hassard. 1999. *Actor Network Theory and After*. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Lawrence, C.T. (Secretary Southern Provinces, Enugu). 1929. Native administration Forest Reserves. (Secretary Southern Provinces, Enugu). January 6. Qb 1930 (2). Government archive, Buea.
- LeBreton, Matthew, Laurent Chirio, and Désiré Foguekem. 2001. The Reptiles of the Takamanda Forest. PROFA, August. Schimdt-Soltau personal archives.
- . 2003. The Reptiles of the Takamanda Forest. PROFA, October. Schimdt-Soltau personal archives.
- Lewis, David, and David Mosse. 2006. *Development Brokers and Translators*. Kumarian Press.
- Leys, Colin. 1996. *The Rise and Fall of Development Theory*. Indiana University Press.
- Lorimer, Jamie. 2008. Counting Corncrakes: The Affective Science of the UK Corncrake Census. *Social Studies of Science* 38, no. 3 (June 1): 377-405.
- Lukes, Steven. 2005. *Power*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Maisels, F., Terry C. H. Sunderland, Bryan Curran, Karin von Loebenstein, John F. Oates, Leonard Usongo, Andrew Dunn, et al. 2007. Central Africa's Protected Areas and the Purported Displacement of People: A First Critical Review of Existing Data. In *Protected areas and human displacement: a conservation perspective*, ed. Kent H. Redford and Eva Fearn. WCS Working Paper Series 29. WCS Institute, April.
- Martín-López, Berta, Carlos Montes, and Javier Benayas. 2007. The non-economic motives behind the willingness to pay for biodiversity conservation. *Biological Conservation* 139, no. 1-2 (September): 67-82.
- Mason, F.R. (Game Warden). 1963. Game Branch general report 1963. (Game Warden). Government archive, Buea.
- Mauss, Marcel. 1954. *The Gift*. Cohen & West.
- Mbuen. 1970. *Report on squatter villages in the North of the Takamanda Forest Reserve*. Forest assistant. WCS archives, Limbe.

- McNeil, BJ, SG Pauker, HC Sox, and A Tversky. 1982. On the elicitation of preferences for alternative therapies. *N Engl J Med* 306, no. 21 (May 27): 1259-1262.
- Mdaihli, M, Kai Schmidt-Soltan, and J.S.O Ayeni. 2002. Socioeconomic Baseline Survey of the Villages in and around the Takamanda Forest Reserve. PROFA. WCS archives, Limbe.
- MINEF. 2003. Participatory Management Plan Of The Takamanda Forest Reserve, South West Province, Cameroon . PROFA, June. Schmidt-Soltan personal archives.
- Letter. 1997. Letters from MINEF to WCS. WCS archives, Limbe.
- MINEP. 2008. *Cameroon Fourth National Report on the Convention on Biological Diversity*. <https://forums.cbd.int/countries/?country=cm>.
- MINFOF, and German Cooperation. 2008. Conservation information posters.
- MINFOF, and MINEP. 2009. Webatlas - ProPFSE. <http://www.cameroun-foret.com/geobiep/atlas.html>.
- MINFOF, and PSMNR. 2005. Participatory Management Plan for the Takamanda National Park. November 30.
- MINFOF Employee. 2008a. MINFOF Employee #1 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- . 2008b. MINFOF Employee #2 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- . 2008c. MINFOF Employee #3 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- Mobbs, Susan. 2001. PROFA Village Liaison Strategy Report of Pilot Exercise. PROFA, October. Schmidt-Soltan personal archives.
- Mohan, Giles. 2007. Participatory Development: From Epistemological Reversals to Active Citizenship. *Geography Compass* 1, no. 4: 779-796.
- Moods, T.G. (Acting Conservator of Forests, Southern Provinces). 1939. Takamanda Native Administration Forest Reserve. (Acting Conservator of Forests, Southern Provinces). September 3. Buea archives.
- Moses Tabe. 2007. Village Development Plans of Obonyi 1 and 3. September.
- Mullings, Beverley. 1999. Insider or outsider, both or neither: some dilemmas of interviewing in a cross-cultural setting. *Geoforum* 30, no. 4 (November): 337-350.
- Neumann, R.P. 1997. Primitive ideas: Protected area buffer zones and the politics of land in Africa. *Development and Change* 28, no. 3: 559-582.

- Nicholls, L. (Conservator of Forests, Cameroon Circles). 1930. Proposed native administration reserves in the Mamfe division. (Conservator of Forests, Cameroon Circles). February 10. Qb 1930 (2). Government archive, Buea.
- Njie Motomby, Francis. 2001. report on bird of Akwaya forest area. PROFA, February. WCS archives, Limbe.
- Nkwanyuo, Victor MbaiLetter. 1999. Projet d'assistance des services classiques du MINEF par les projets sous tutelle du MINEF exerçant dans la province du Sud-Ouest. February 3.
- Nkwatoh, A, D.A. Manghe, and E. Mesumbe. 2003. Strengthening VCCs In The Takamanda Forest Reserve Area. PROFA, August. Schimdt-Soltan personal archives.
- Oates, John F. 1999. *Myth and Reality in the Rain Forest: How Conservation Strategies are Failing*. University of California Press.
- Oates, John F., Sunderland-Groves jacqueline, Andrew Dunn, and WCS. 2005. Report for WCS Award for the Conservation of Cross River Gorilla. December. WCS archives, Limbe.
- Oates, John F., Jacqueline Sunderland-Groves, Richard bergl, Andrew Dunn, Aaron Nicholas, Ebai Takang, Fidel Omeni, et al. 2007. Regional Action Plan for the Conservation of the Cross River Gorilla (*Gorilla gorilla diehli*). Conservation International, May.
- Oates, John F., Dominic White, Elizabeth Gadsby, and Paul O. Bisong. 1990. Cross River National Park feasibility study. WCS archives, Limbe.
- Obonyi inhabitant. 2008a. Obonyi #1 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- . 2008b. Obonyi #5 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- . 2008c. Obonyi #7 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- . 2008d. Obonyi #3 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- . 2008e. Obonyi #4 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- . 2008f. Obonyi #6 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- . 2008g. Obonyi #2 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- . 2008h. Obonyi #12 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- . 2008i. Obonyi #8 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- . 2008j. Obonyi #9 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.

- Obot, Emmanuel, J.S.O Ayeni, Gabriel Ogar, and S Besong. 2001. Vegetation patterns in the savanna areas of Takamanda Forest Reserve. PROFA, September. Schimdt-Soltau personal archives.
- Paul Biya. 1999. Speech at the Conférence des Chefs d'Etat d'Afrique Centrale sur la Conservation et la Gestion Durable des Forêts. 3. www.riddac.org/document/pdf/discourssommyde.pdf.
- Phillips, Nelson, and Dr. Cynthia Hardy. 2002. *Discourse Analysis: Investing Processes of Social Construction*. 1st ed. Sage Publications, Inc, June 15.
- Pietrowicz, Pieter. 2004. *Outline of the Programme for the sustainable management of natural resources in the South West Province of Cameroon*. MINEF, August. WCS archives, Limbe.
- Prior, Lindsay. 2004. Documents. In *Qualitative Research Practice*, ed. Clive Seale, Giampietro Gobo, Jaber F. Gubrium, and David Silverman, 375 - 390.
- . 2008. Repositioning Documents in Social Research. *Sociology* 42, no. 5 (October 1): 821-836.
- Roe, Dilys. 2008. The Origins and Evolution of the Conservation-Poverty Debate: A Review of Key Literature, Events and Policy Processes. *Oryx* 42, no. 04: 491-503.
- Rossi, Benedetta. 2006. Aid Policies and Recipient Strategies in Niger. In *Development Brokers and Translators*, ed. David Lewis and David Mosse, 251.
- Rubin, Dr. Herbert J., and Dr. Irene S. Rubin. 2004. *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*. Second Edition. Sage Publications, Inc, October 12.
- Sanderson, Steven E., and Kent H. Redford. 2003. Contested relationships between biodiversity conservation and poverty alleviation. *Oryx* 37, no. 04: 389-390.
- Sarmiento, Esteban E., and John F. Oates. 2000. The Cross River Gorillas: A Distinct Subspecies, Gorilla gorilla diehli Matschie 1904. *American Museum Novitates* 3304, no. 1 (October 1): 1-55 .
- Saunders, C.D. 2003. The Emerging Field of Conservation Psychology. *Human Ecology Review* 10, no. 2: 137-149.
- Sælemyr, Siren. 2004. People, park and plant use: Perception and use of Andean 'nature' in the southern Ecuadorian Andes. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography* 58, no. 4: 194.
- Schmidt-Soltau, Kai. 2001. Human Activities in and around the Takamanda Forest Reserve Socio-economic Baseline Survey. PROFA, March. Schimdt-Soltau personal archives.
- . 2003a. Conservation-Related Resettlement in Central Africa: Environmental and Social Risks. *Development and Change* 34, no. 3 (June): 525-551.

- . 2003b. Conservation-related Resettlement in Central Africa: Environmental and Social Risks. *Development and Change* 34, no. 3 (June): 525-551.
- Scott, J. C. 1998. *Seeing like a state*. Yale University Press New Haven.
- Scott, James C. 1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Sen, A. 1999. *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sen, Amartya Kumar. 1984. *Resources, Values, and Development*. 2nd ed. Harvard University Press.
- Sharwood. 1924a. Anyang Report. Af 3. Government archive, Buea.
- . 1924b. Sharwood Boki and Anyang Assessment.
- Shute, G.G. (Secretary Southern Provinces). 1933. Takamanda Forest Reserve Native Administration correspondence. (Secretary Southern Provinces). October 31. Qh/d/1940. Government archive, Buea.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Zed Books Ltd, February 1.
- Spilger, Lars. 2008. *Abridged version of the GTZ annual report 2007: Adding value to the future - applying sustainable economic principles*. . GTZ. <http://www2.gtz.de/publikationen/isissearch/publikationen/details.aspx?RecID=BIB-GTZ072930&OrderMode=order>.
- Stewart-Peter, R.H. 1930. *Forest Reserve - Mamfe Division*. (Conservator of Forests, Cameroon Circles). April 12. Qb 1930 (2). Government archive, Buea.
- Letter. 1929. Native administration Forest Reserves. July 29. Qb 1930 (2). Government archive, Buea.
- Sunderland, Terry C. H., James A Comiskey, Hyacinth Mboh, Simon Besong, J Fonwebon, and M.A Dione. 2002. Vegetation Patterns In The Savanna Areas Of Takamanda Forest Reserve. PROFA. Schimdt-Soltau personal archives.
- Sunderland, Terry C. H., Michael Balinga, Stella Asaha, and Jeannie Raharimampionona. 2006. Applied research for landscape management: an adaptive approach . May 26.
- Sunderland, Terry C. H., S Besong, and J.S.O Ayeni. 2002. NFTP distribution and utilisation in Takamanda. PROFA, March. Schimdt-Soltau personal archives.
- Sunderland, Terry C. H., Eno Nku Mannaseb, and WCS. 2003. Review of WCS transboundary surveys project. December. WCS archives, Limbe.

- Sunderland-Groves, Jacqueline, and Brendan Jaff, eds. 2003. Proceedings of the 2nd International Workshop and Conference on the Conservation of the Cross River Gorilla. August 23. WCS archives, Limbe.
- Takamanda Traditional Council. 1984. Application for land from a forest reserve. WCS archives, Limbe.
- Transparency International. 2007. *Report on the Transparency International Global Corruption Barometer 2007*. Transparency International.
- Various. 1929. Correspondence on Takamanda before the forest reserve creation. Government archive, Buea.
- Vermeulen, Sonja, and Douglas Sheil. 2007. Partnerships for tropical conservation. *Oryx* 41, no. 04: 434-440.
- Walsh, P.D., C.E.G. Tutin, John F. Oates, J.E.M. Baillie, F. Maisels, E.J. Stokes, S. Gatti, Richard Bergl, Jacqueline Sunderland-Groves, and Andrew Dunn. 2007. Gorilla gorilla. In *IUCN 2008 Red List*. <http://www.iucnredlist.org/details/9404>.
- Warren, Ymke, and Hyacinth Mboh. 2007. Mammal survey for Takamanda National Park. WCS, June.
- WCS. 2002. *Form 990*. Return of Organization Exempt From Income Tax. Foundation Center - 990 Finder. <http://dynamodata.fdncenter.org/990s/990search/eseach.php>.
- . 2005. MacArthur Annual Report. April. WCS Dissemination Outputs 2000-2007 CD.
- . 2007a. *WCS Annual Report 2007*. Wildlife Conservation Society. http://www.wcs.org/media/file/annual_07.pdf.
- . 2007b. *WCS Audited Financial Statements 2007*. http://www.wcs.org/sw-our_mission.
- . 2007c. Summary of workshop 'Conservation and community access to the proposed Takamanda National Park'. December 5.
- . 2008. Haven for Rarest Gorilla. http://www.wcs.org/353624/wcs_gorilla_haven.
- . 2009. Our Mission. *Wildlife Conservation Society*. http://www.wcs.org/sw-our_mission.
- Letter. 2008. Information for thesis on the Takamanda Forest Reserve. April 16.
- WCS, and GTZ. 2005. Proposal to upgrade Takamanda to a National Park. November.
- WCS Employee. 2008a. WCS Employee #1 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- . 2008b. WCS Employee #3 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.

- . 2008c. WCS Employee #2 Interview by Emmanuel Freudenthal.
- WDPA. 2008. World Database on Protected Areas (WDPA). <http://www.wdpa.org/Default.aspx>.
- Webb, Sidney, and Beatrice Potter Webb. 1968. *Methods of social study*.
- Whatmore, S. 1998. Hybrid Geographies: Rethinking the “human”. In *Human Geography Today*, ed. Massey, D., Allen, J., and Sarre, P. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- . 2002. *Hybrid Geographies: Natures, Cultures, Spaces*. SAGE.
- Wilson, Edward O. 1984. *Biophilia*. Harvard University Press.
- . 1995. Biophilia and the Conservation Ethic. In *The Biophilia Hypothesis*, ed. Stephen R. Kellert and Edward O. Wilson, 496.
- Yinda, D. Divisional Chief Sector (Forestry), Manyu Division. 1975. Settlement of Bill and ensuing correspondence. Divisional Chief Sector (Forestry), Manyu Division. September 4. Qh/d/1973/1. Government archive, Buea.
- Zapfack, L, J.S.O Ayeni, S Besong, and M Mdaihl. 2001. Ethnobotanical Survey Of The Takamanda Forest Reserve. PROFA, August 8. Schmidt-Soltau personal archives.