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# **Foraging life on the borderlands: Geopolitics of nature conservation and local people's practical uses of international borders in central Africa**

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# Structure

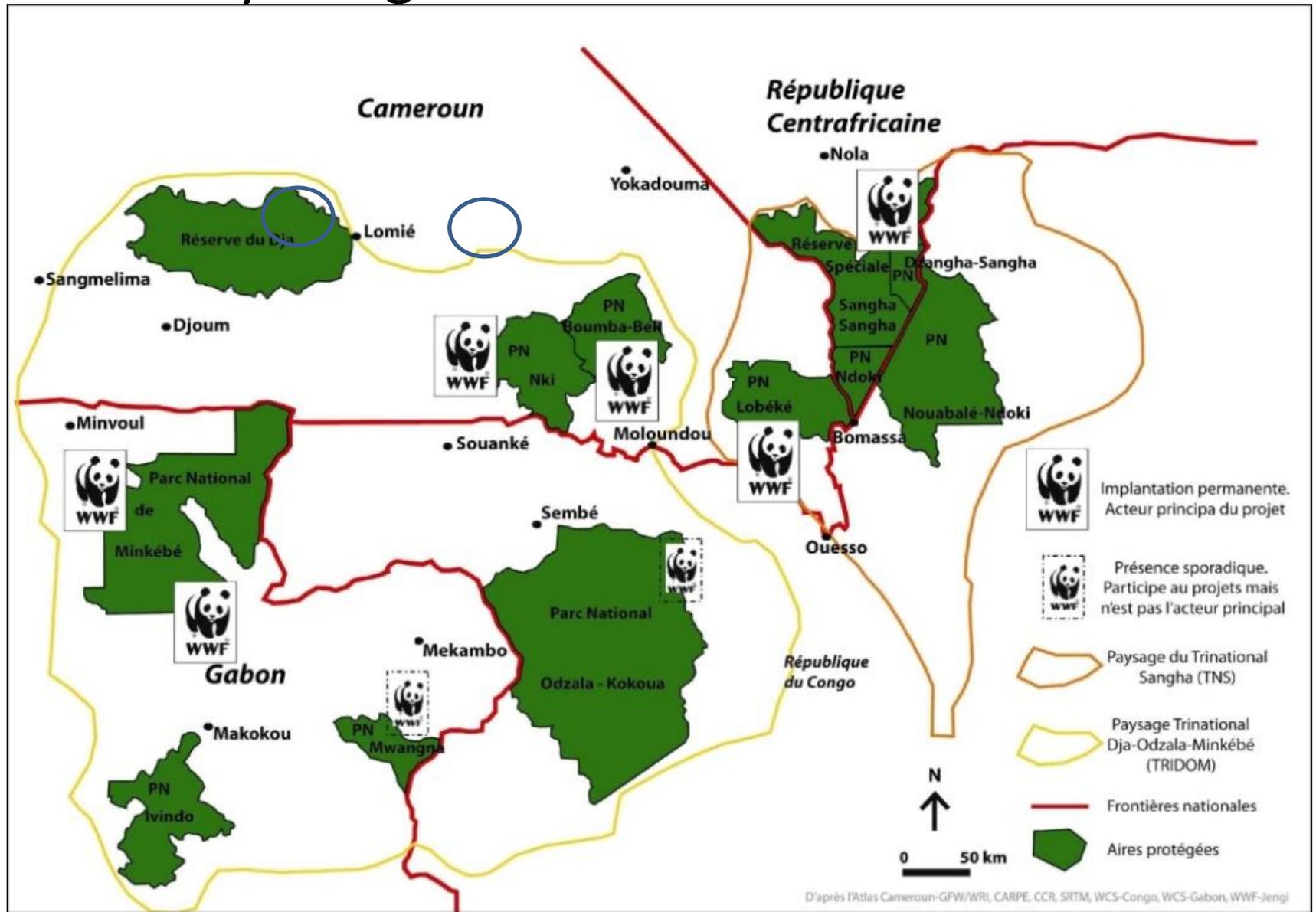
1. Introduction
2. Brief note on peoples and forest in CM-RC border zone
3. Development of Cameroon-Congo border since colonial era
4. Borderland forest and local people (2002-2008)
5. Congo Civil war from 1990s to early 2000s and borderland
6. Militarized Nature Conservation by Cameroonian Government and the response of local people (2009-2013)

# Introduction

- International border and local peoples living on the borderland
- Delimits people, between “indigenous” and “non-indigenous” (Mizutani 2013: US-Mexico case)
- Political Historical approach (Hardin et al. 2008 in de Jong ed.: Former French Equatorial Africa countries)
- Meaning of International borders for local peoples

Key Words: Cameroon and Congo (RC); Forest dwellers; Civil war; Conservation

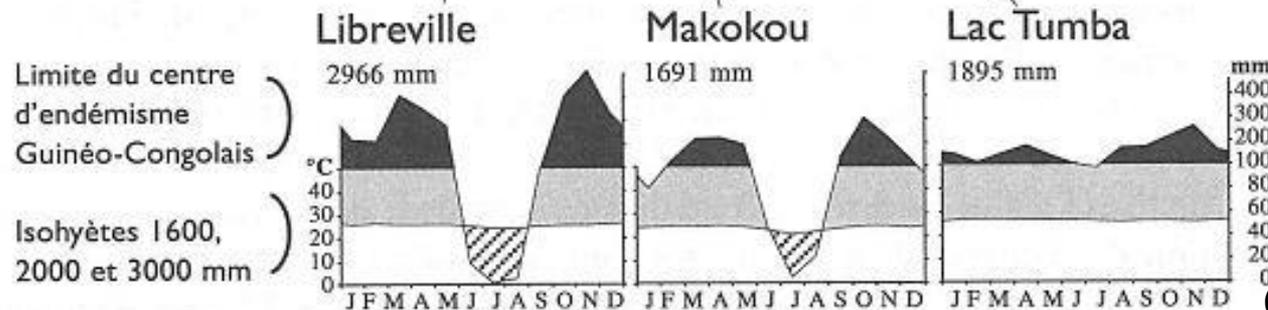
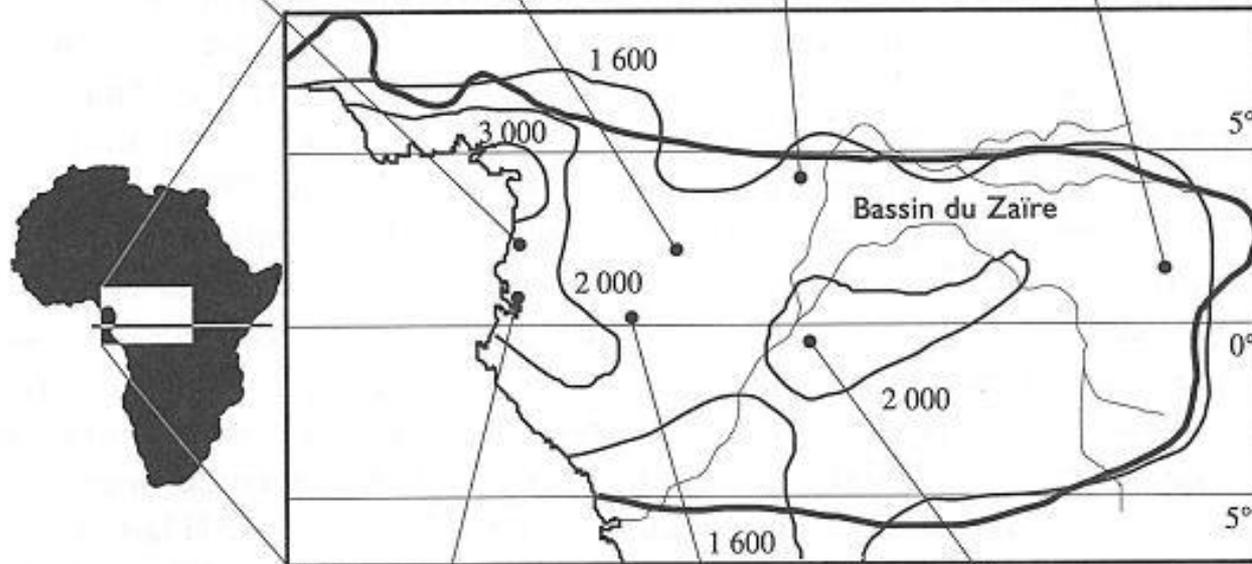
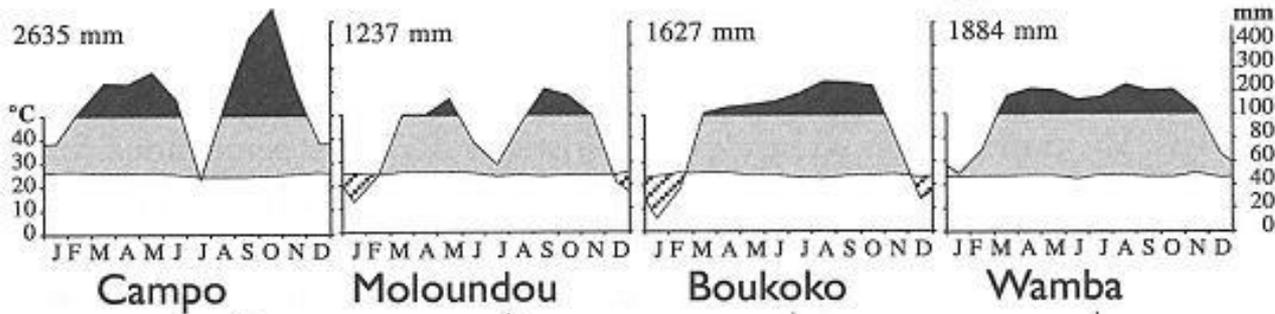
# “Transboundary conservation” Initiatives by the governments and Int’l NGOs



# Introduction

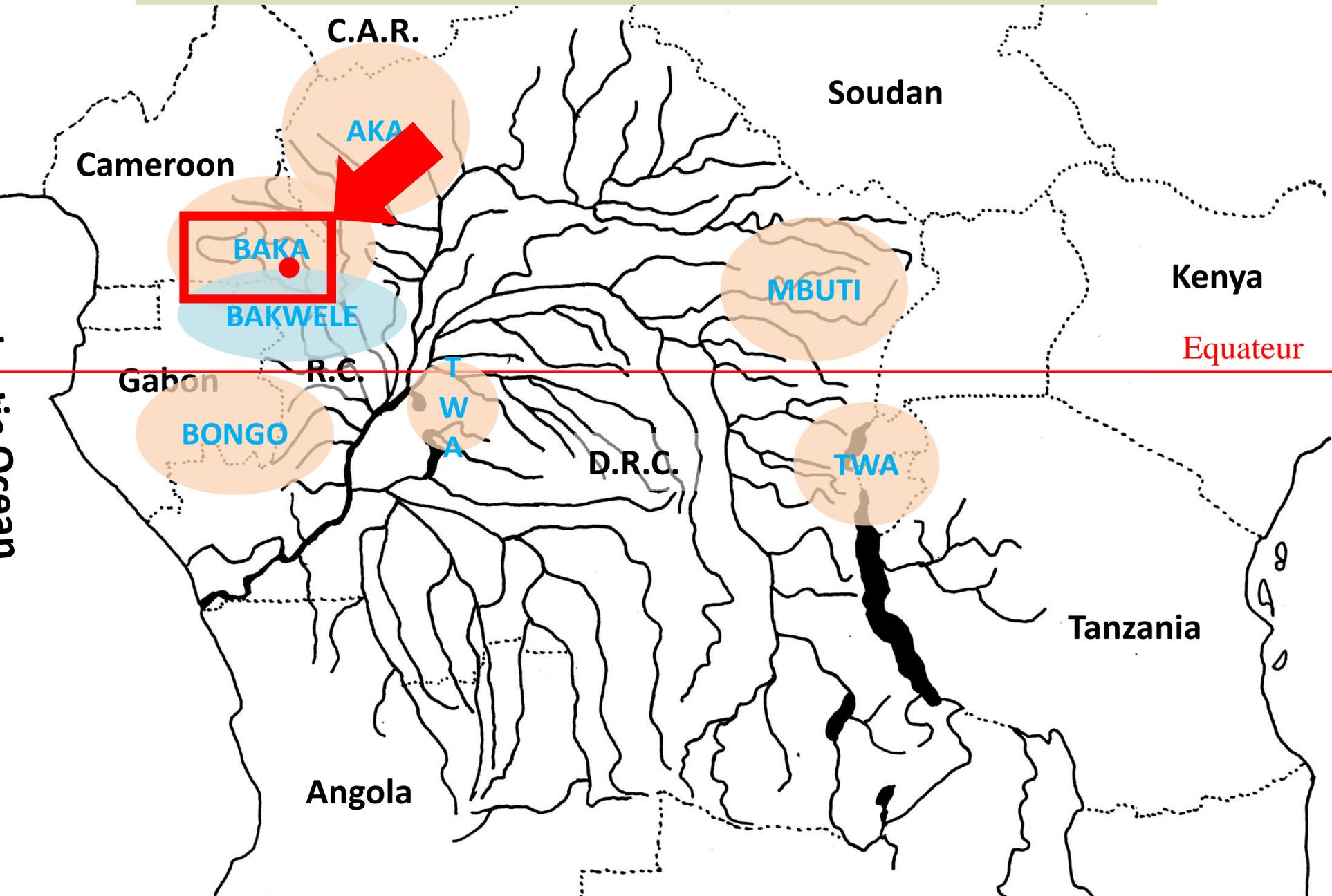
- Forest Law 1994
- Intensification and change in conservation operations from “participatory” oriented to “enforcement”
- Results in (1) militarization and (2) “promise breakings” by the Cameroonian government on local peoples
- → Lack of consistency in Regional/ National conservation policy
- → 2013 Jan.-Mar. Protestation by local peoples against WWF in local headquarters
- → Many local peoples (HGs) sought refuges over international border to Congo

# Congo basin tropical forest: Variable rainfall

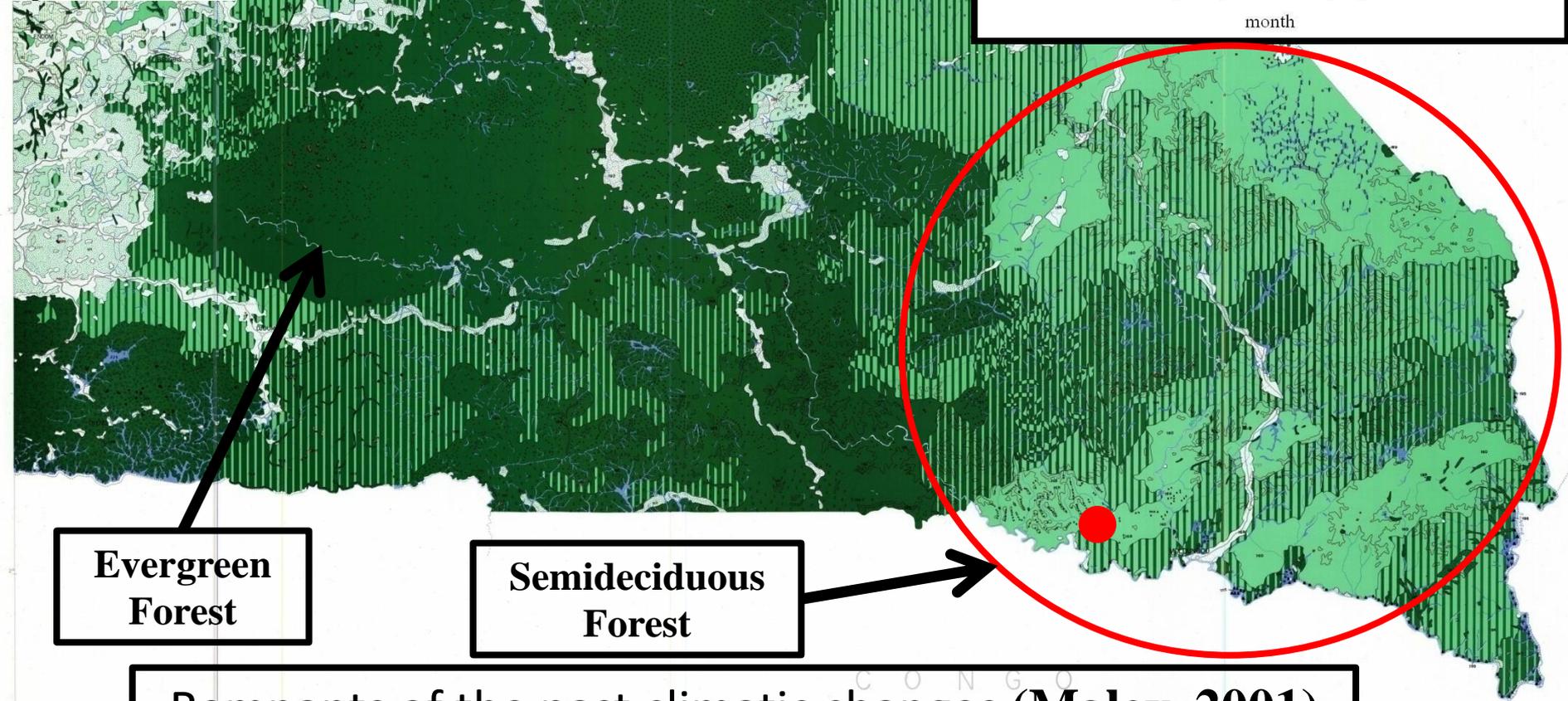
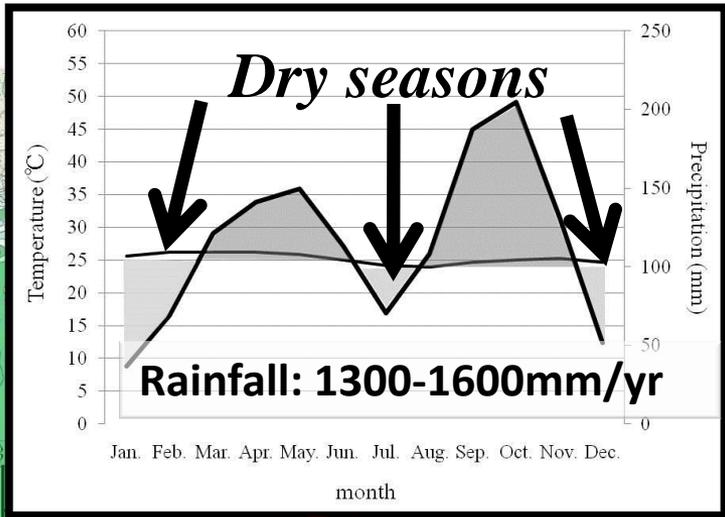
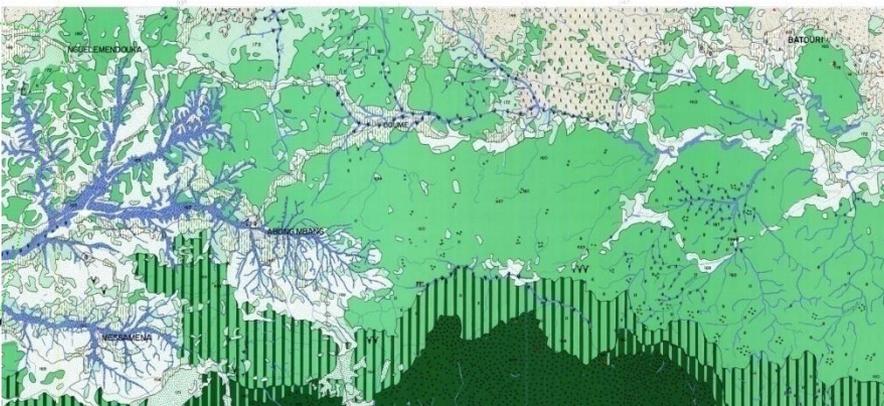


(A. Hladik et al., 1993)

# Distribution of Pygmy HGs in Congo Basin



# Phytogeographical map (Letouzey, 1985)

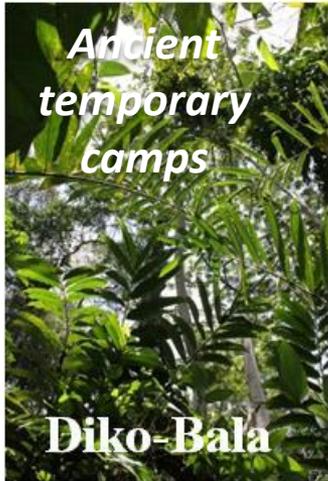


Remnants of the past climatic changes (Maley, 2001)

**In dry seasons, semi-deciduous species fall leaves.**



# The Baka forest landscapes



**Bélé na bunja(saka)**



**Liwala**



**Tobeles**



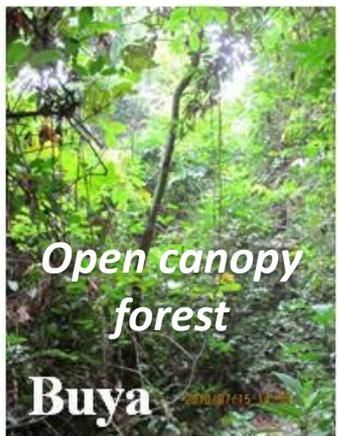
**Bikolo**



**Mandja**



**Bemba**



**Buya**



**Bi**

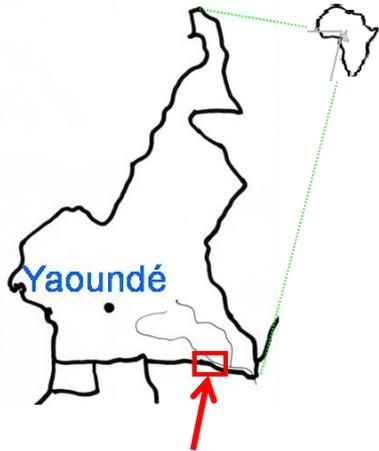
*Marantaceae* Forest



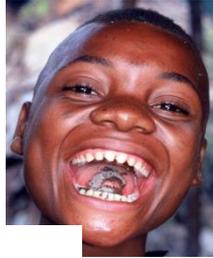
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Africa

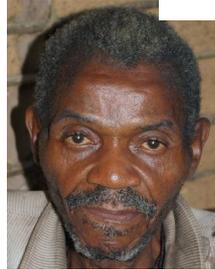
# Study Area and People



Ndongo village  
N2.05 E14.5



Baka



Bakwele



## □ The Baka Hunter-Gatherers

- **Sedentalized** since 1950s (Althabe, 1965; Hewlett, 1996)
- **Subsistence Economy Shifts** from Hunting/ Gathering to Agriculture (Cacao farming)/ Wage Labor, **but regionally variable** (Hayashi, 1998)

## □ The Bakwele Farmers

- One of Adjacent Bantu groups living in the almost same natural environments

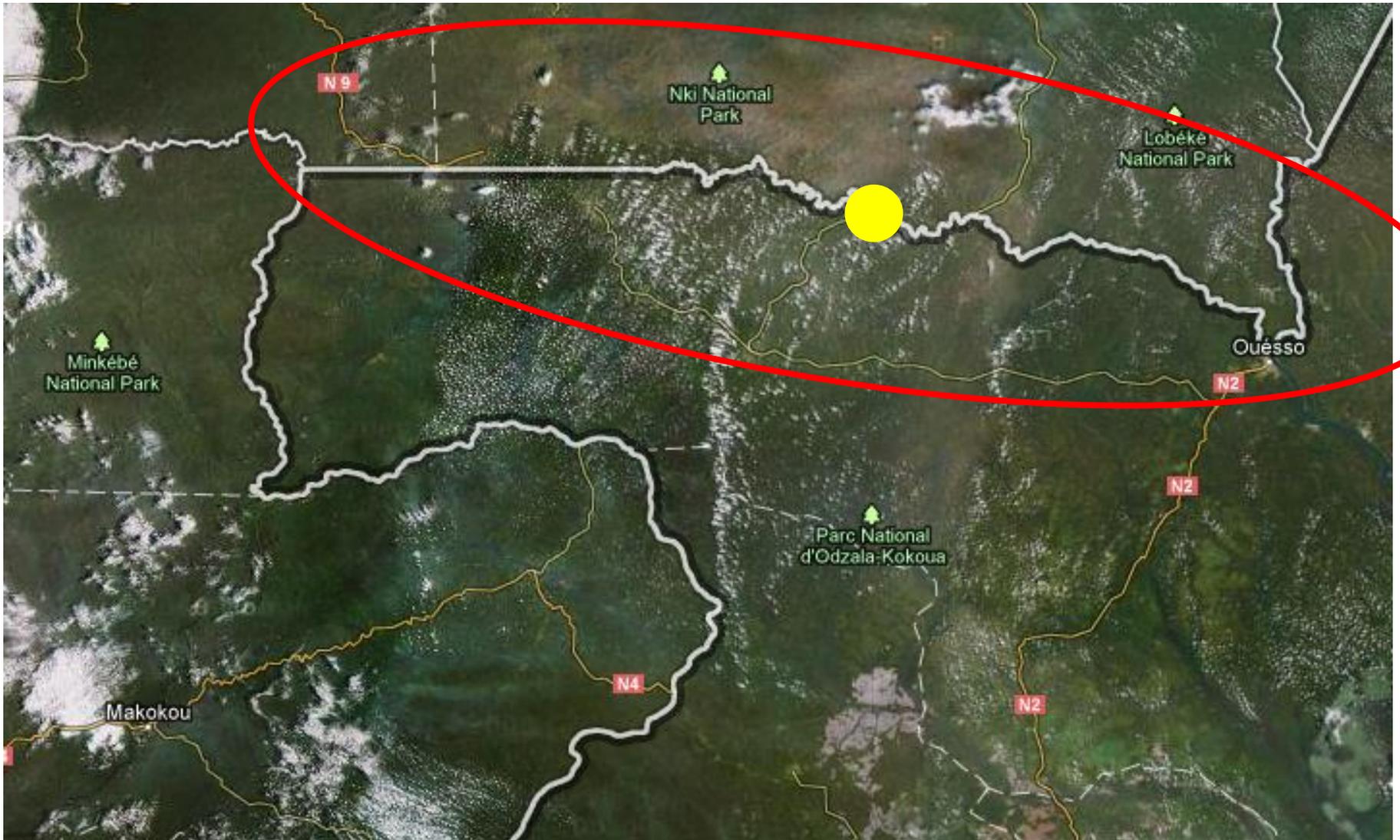


Hunting with Gun

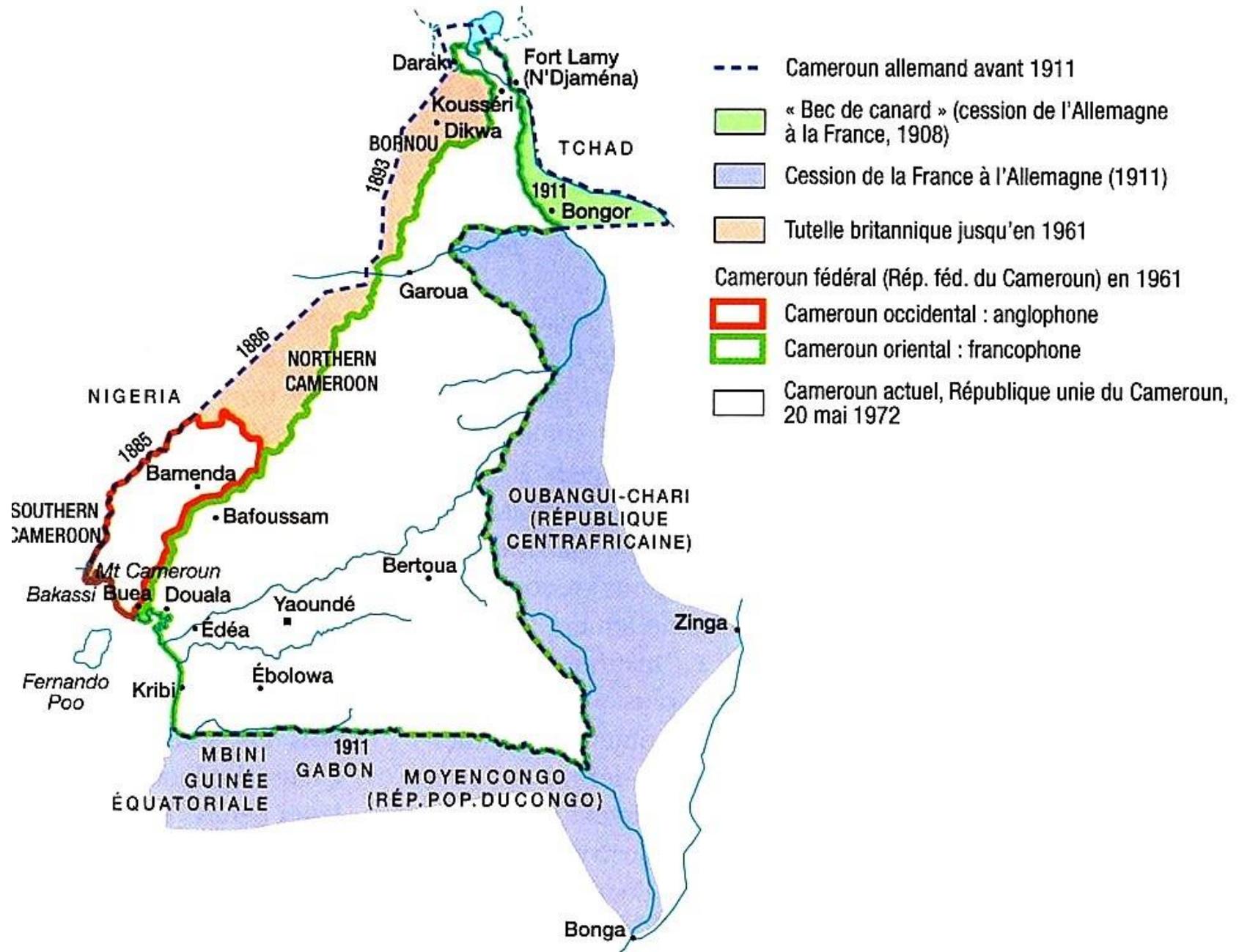


Cacao plantation

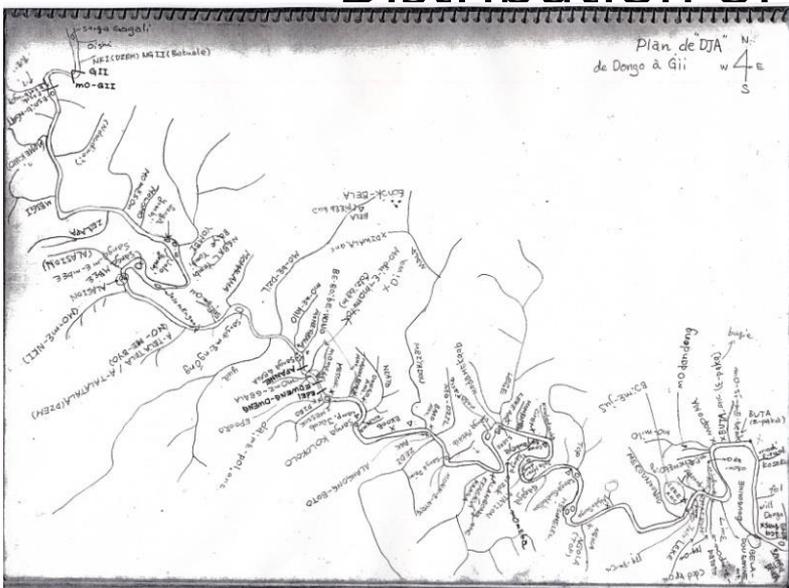
# 1. Cameroon Congo border



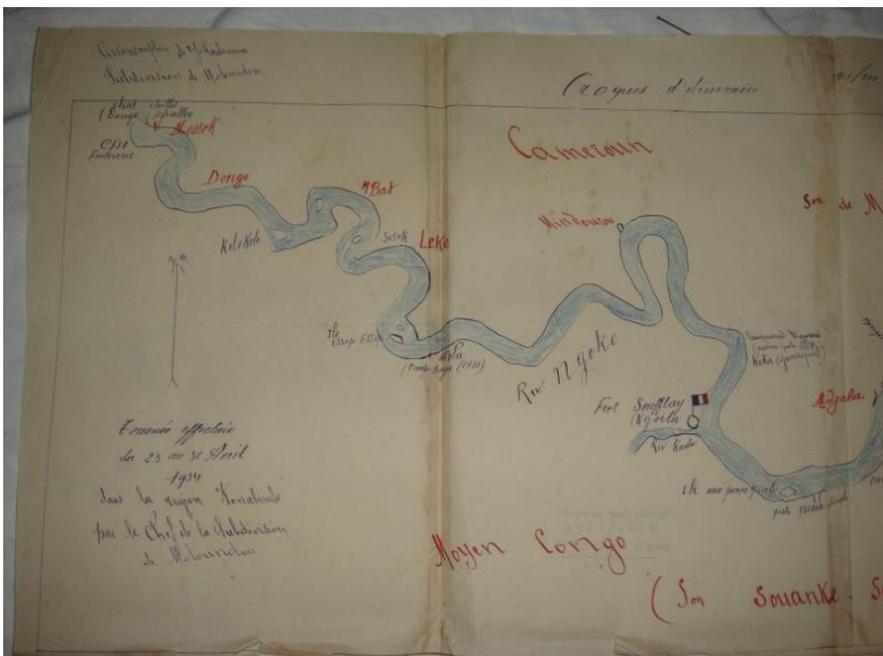
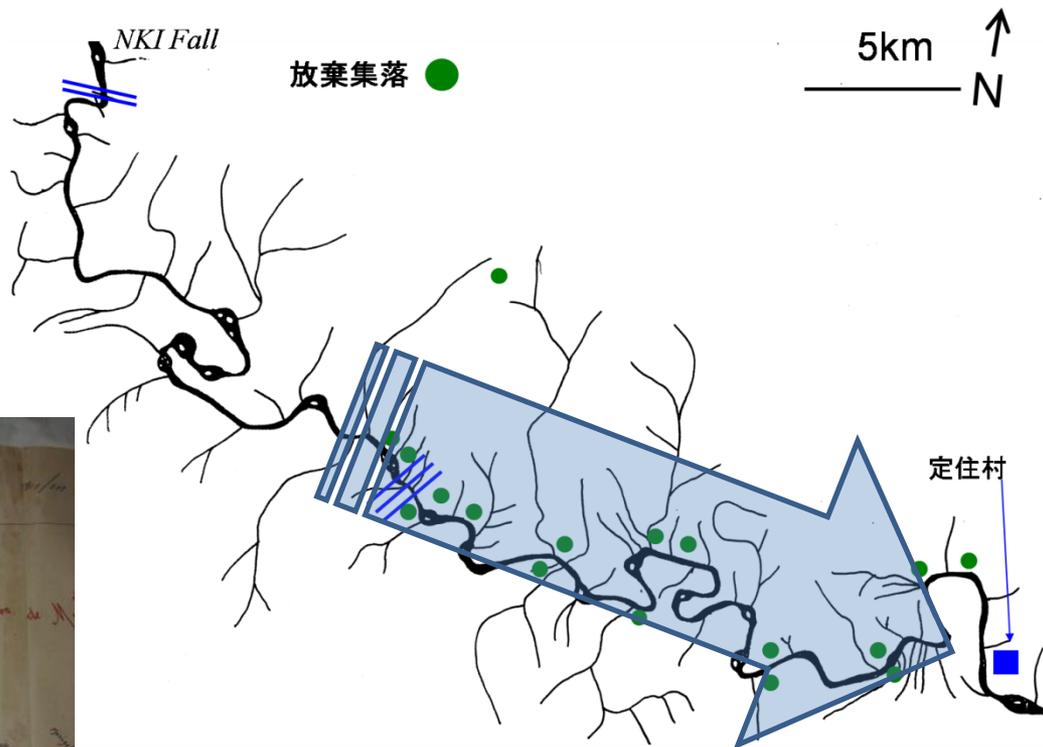
# Formation de la République unie du Cameroun au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle



# Distribution of ancient villages and camps



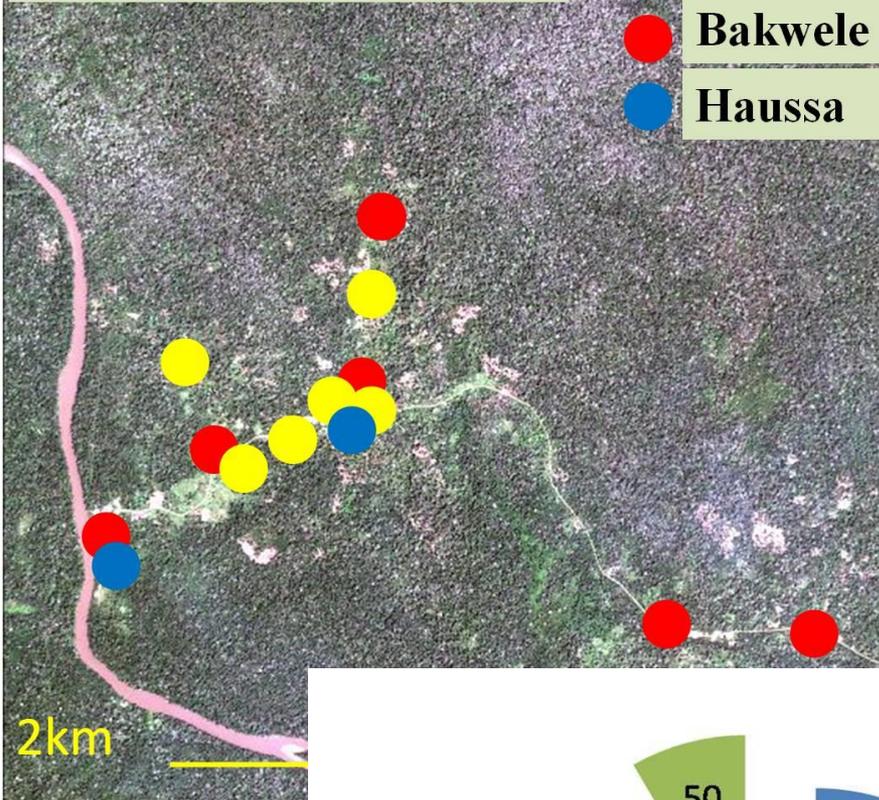
← Expeditions and collection of land names  
With Bakwele/ Baka semi-old informants



← Village distribution map on 1932.  
Sep.20. (Arcive National de Yaounde)

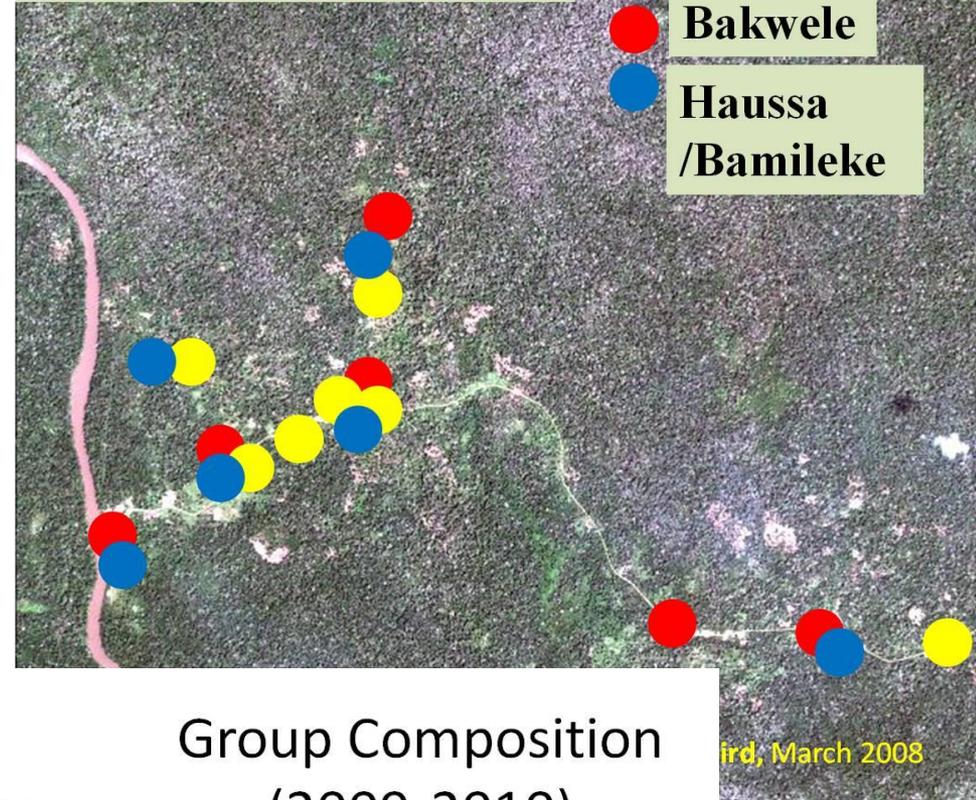
**Direction of settlements  
moves**

Distribution of settlements  
In 2002-2003



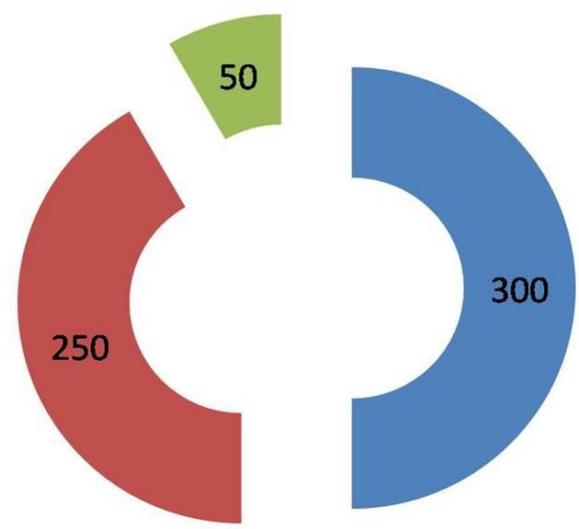
- Baka
- Bakwele
- Haussa

Distribution of settlements  
In 2008-2009



- Baka
- Bakwele
- Haussa /Bamileke

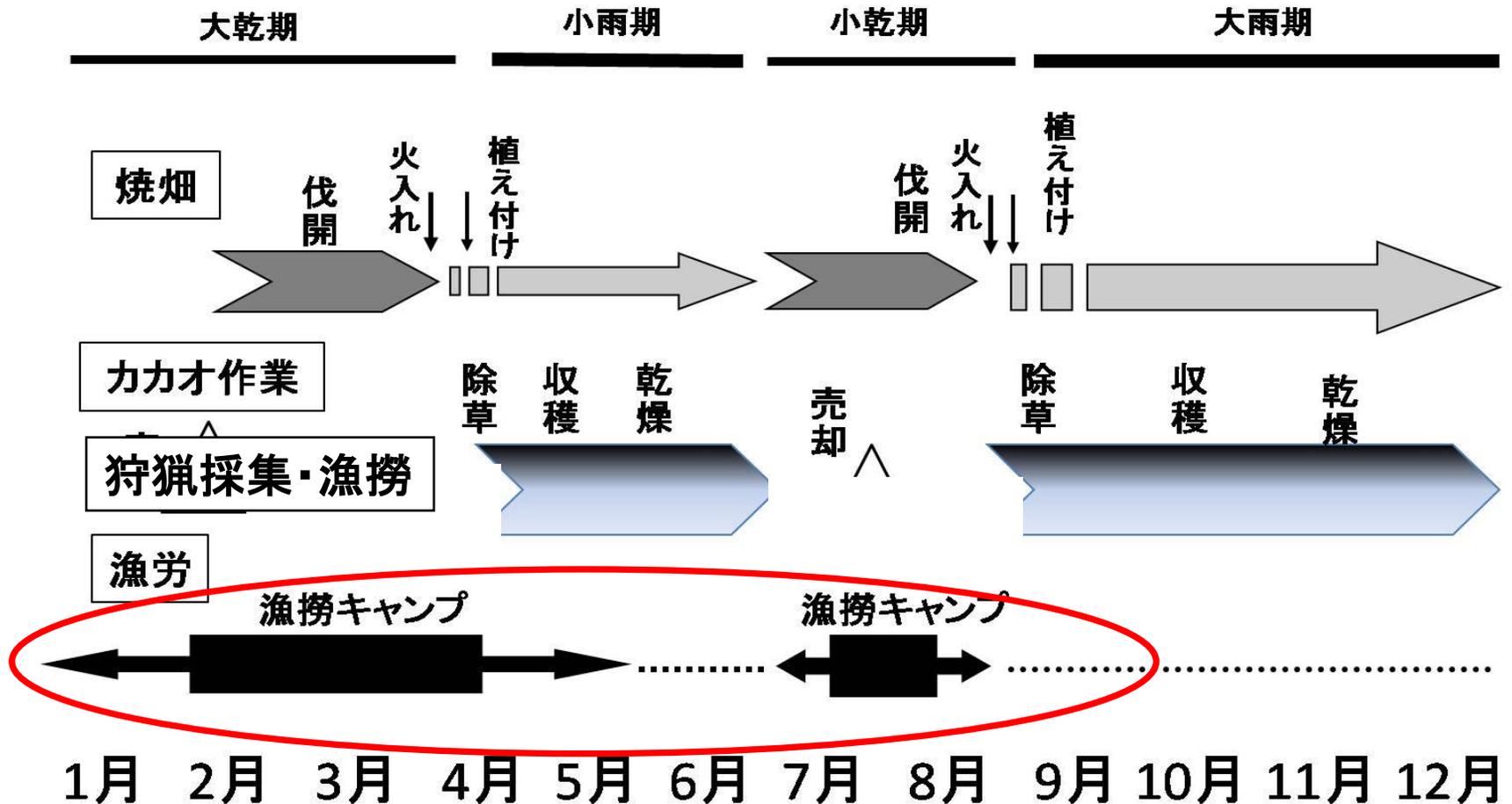
Group Composition  
(2009-2010)



- Baka
- Bakwele
- Haussa

# 2. Activity Calendar (2002-2008)

## 農耕暦とその他の生業活動



## 2. Foraging lives in borderland forest: the Baka hunter-gatherers (-2008)



## 2. Fishing lives in borderland forest: the Bakwele farmers (-2008)



# 3. Congo Civil war and Borderland



- Abandonment of cacao (cash crop) plantations
- Pull out of european mining companies
- Low economic activities

# 3. Bushmeat trade and commercial hunting



# 4. Militarized Nature Conservation by Cameroonian Government (2009-2013)

## Cameroon: Anti-poaching Operations Intensified

Posted on [Thursday 2 May 2013 - 16:30](#)

Walter Wilson Nana , AfricaNews Reporter in Buea, Cameroon

**Wildlife authorities in Cameroon arrested 20 suspects and confiscated 45 guns during a 10-day anti-poaching operation that targeted elephant poachers in, Yokadouma the southeast of the country.**



Thirty-nine forest rangers, backed by 25 soldiers of the country's rapid intervention battalion, commonly known by its French acronym as BIR, carried out the operation that lasted from April 15 to 26, 2013.

WWF's Communications Officer at the Nji Yokadouma told this reporter authorities took 20 suspects caught with an AK47 war gun to town of the east region of Cameroon, to stand trial in military tribunal. The local justice department charged 18 other suspects, seven of whom were remanded to prison custody while 11 were on bail. Rangers also seized two ivory tusks, and elephant meat, including a wide variety of wildlife species during the operation.

## 20 Poachers Armed With Machine Guns in Drag Net



  | [Add new comment](#)  | Tuesday, 30 April 2013 20:28

(Business in Cameroon) - Cameroon forces announced last Friday April 26, 2013 that 20 poachers armed with 45 firearms had been apprehended in the East region of the country. Hunting in the Lobeke, Boumba-Bek and Nki parks, located in the Boumba and Ngoko, and Haut Nyong divisions, two suspects were caught with AK47s (Kalachnikov). They will be tried in the Bertoua military court, but 18 will stand trial in the Yokadouma civil court. Eco-guards also seized two tusks, Gorilla Chimpanzee, elephant meats and other protected wildlife, according to State owned bilingual daily, *Cameroon Tribune*.

Part of a crackdown, 39 forest guards and 26 elements of the elite force, BIR, took part in the operation that lasted 12 days.

# 4. Militarized Nature Conservation by Cameroonian Government (2009-2013)



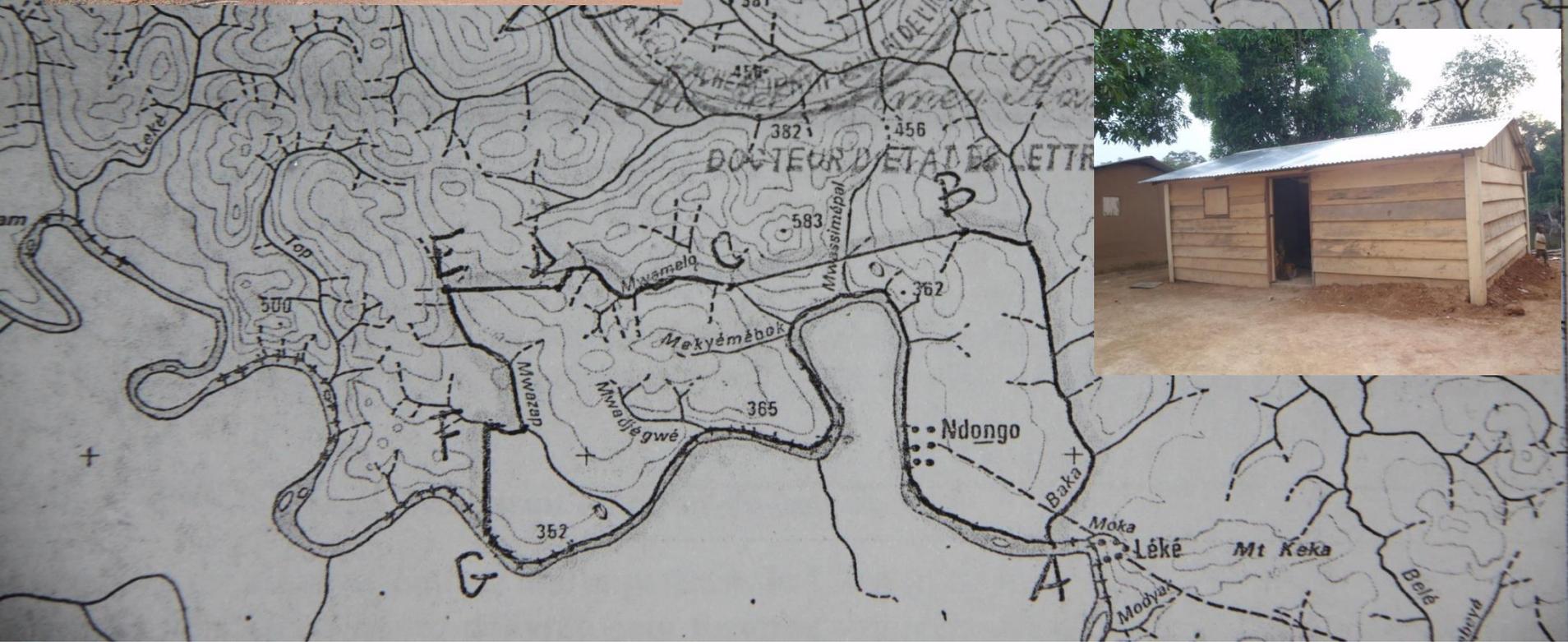
カメルーン特別介入部隊  
<http://www.africapresse.com>



巻き込まれて、山刀で背中を  
殴打された男性の傷跡

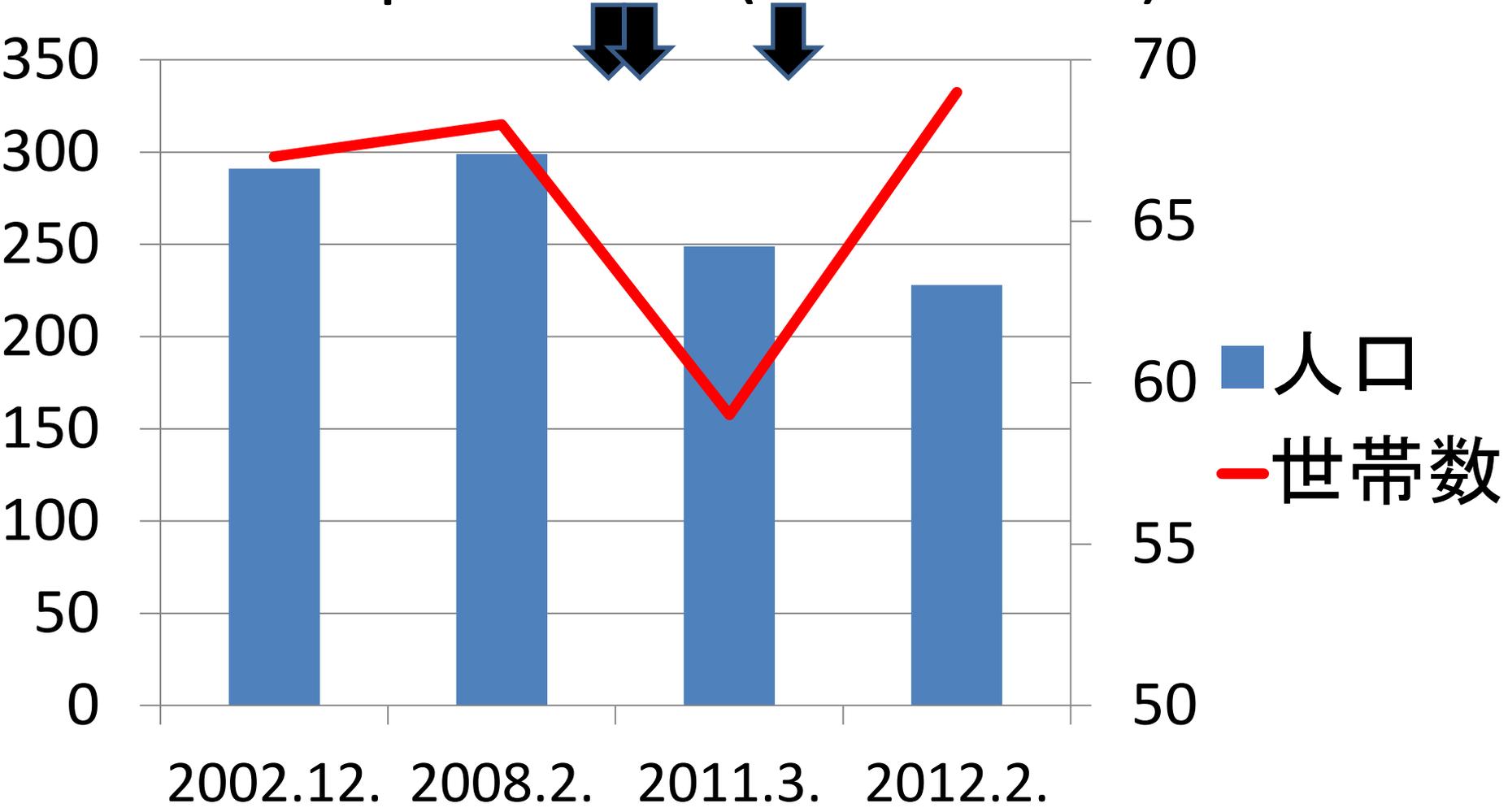
A shift in conservation policy: military operations

- 2009. 3.; 2009. 11. に特殊部隊による大掛かりな手入れ、以後散発的に続く
- 2011年3月16日、N村のバカ人男性Dが、カラシニコフ銃を使った密猟補助容疑で逮捕

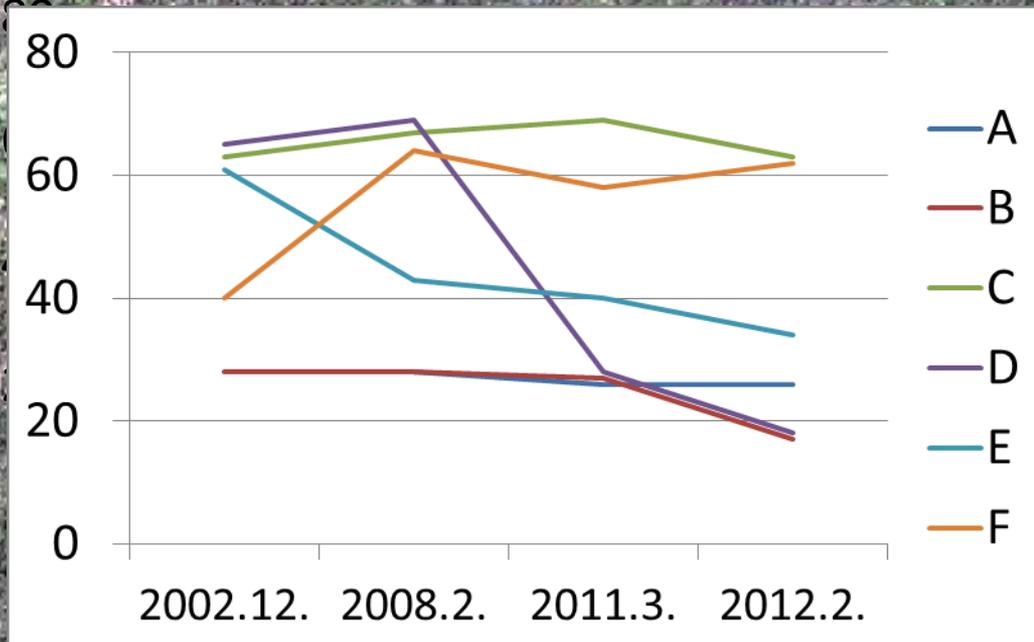
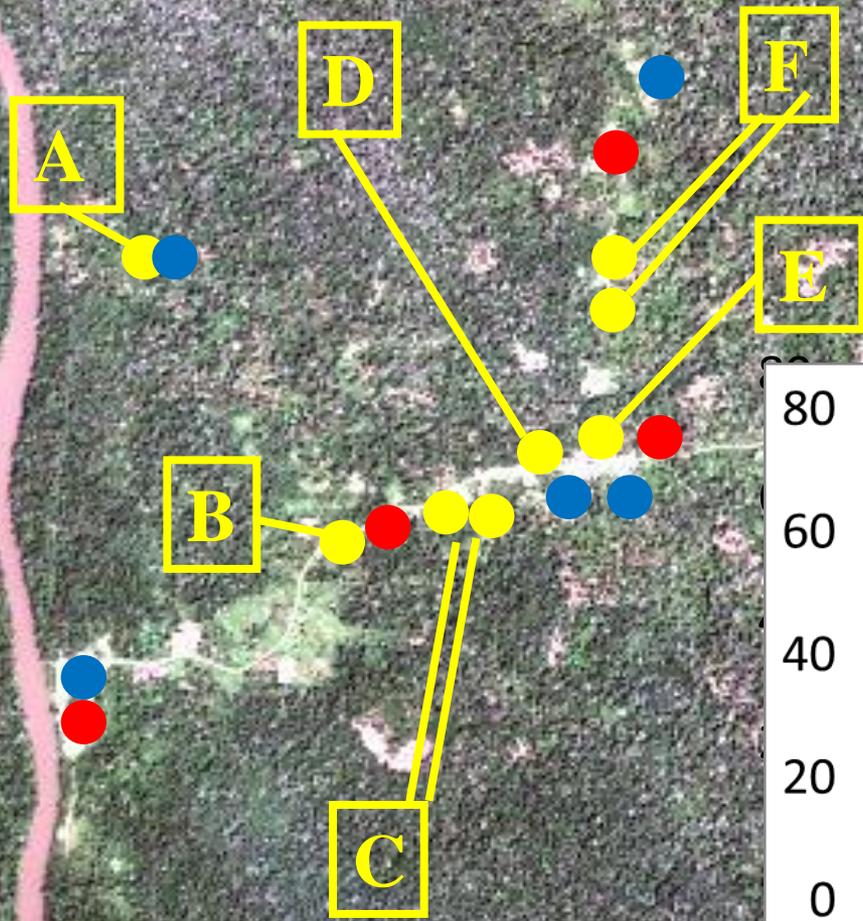


**「Community forest」仮実施(2010-): 絶えない対立**

# 4. Baka people's population size and no. of households before and after the BIR operations (2009-2013)



- **Baka**
- **Bakwele**
- **Others**



**Aerial Image of Ndongo Village**  
(N: 2° 05.003, E: 14° 52.698)

Quick Bird, March 2008

2km

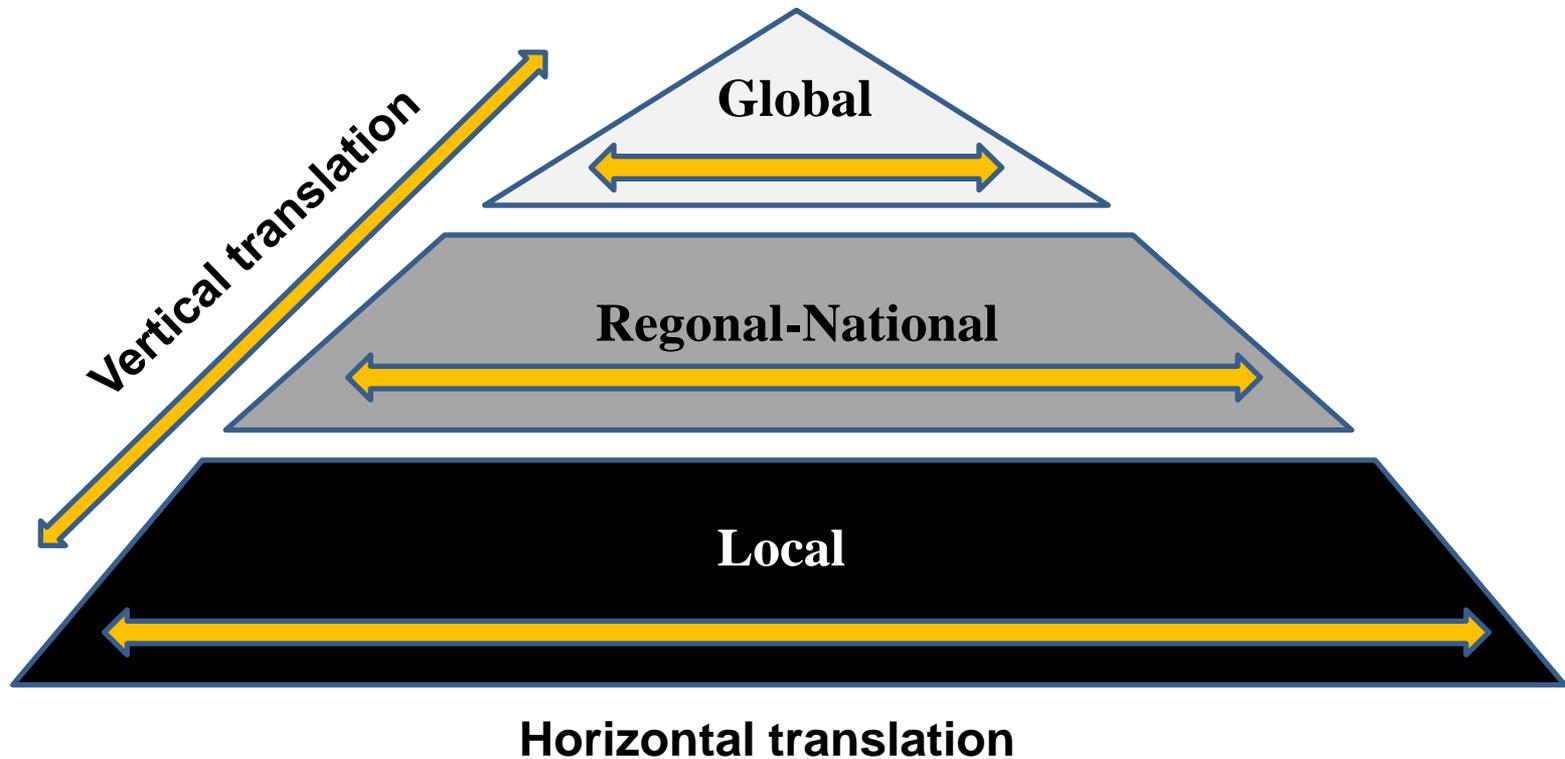
# 4. Where the Baka habitants of settlement D refuged (2012.2.)



# Discussion

- Failure (Finish ?) in construction of Win-Win relationship between conservationists and local peoples
- Local people's "survival" using international border
- Discrepancy between transboundary poaching and "transboundary conservation"
- ==> Similar articles related to conservation, but different application from country to country according to the status of state governance
- International Border emerges as an asylum
- Integration of study of local livelihoods and Political Economy

# 保全知識の形成・流通の階層構造



このモデルだと、末端の知識ユーザーは既存の「秩序」と「利権」のしがらみから逃れることはできない。

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- 本研究は、科学研究費補助金基盤研究(A)「アフリカ熱帯森林帯における先住民社会の周縁化に関する比較研究」(研究代表者:竹内潔)、および若手研究(B)「アフリカ熱帯林への貨幣経済浸透に伴う経済的不平等の拡大と住民の平等主義規範の相克」(研究代表:大石高典)の成果の一部である。
- 調査の遂行に当たっては、カメルーン科学研究開発省、コンゴ共和国科学研究技術デレゲーションから調査許可を得た。