

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF RESETTLEMENTS IN THE CONTEXT OF NATIONAL PARK MANAGEMENT

EKUNDU-KUNDU - A CASE STUDY

by

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1. Introduction

Resettlement is a common figure in the lives of the people in the Korup Region (Southwest Province, Cameroon). At the beginning of this century the villages of Manju, Ekumbako and Matuani moved freely from their earlier location deep in the forest to the roadside (Carr 1923,10) and during the First World War, three villages of the Korup Tribe (Okpabe, Okabe and Ekonenaku) used the chance to move to Nigeria, because the tax duties were lower than in German Cameroon (Carr 1923, B1,77).

In 1937, the British administration for Southern Cameroon established the "Korup Native Administration Forest Reserve", which was smaller than today's KORUP National Park (KORUP Report 1936; 44, 61-67). The forest reserve did not surround Ekundu-Kundu, but other villages, for whom a special enclave within the forest reserve was organised, to allow them to carry out their farming, hunting and fishing (KORUP Report 1936, 65-67 - Map 3). The villages at the boundaries of the reserve, such as Ekundu-Kundu, were exclusively allowed to fish, to collect "snails, tortoises, land crabs, honey, kola and any other food material" within the reserve. They obtained the right to collect "fuel, building poles, leaves for mats, leaves for sleeping mats, bush rope (...) bush rubber (...) bush fruits, nuts and cocoa" within the reserve for private use and even for trading to certain limits, which were to be controlled by the local authorities (KORUP Report 1936, 65). This contract was signed between Sake - Vice-President of Bima, Korup and Balundu Badiku Native Authority - and the British administration on September 22nd 1937 (KORUP Report 1936, 44).

The idea to resettle villages within the boundaries of the existing KORUP Forest Reserve and villages, which were to have been surrounded by the prospected KORUP National Park, was discussed for the first time in public in December 1981. The SDO of Ndian Division wrote a letter to the chiefs of Bera, Esuka, Ikenge and Bareka Batanga, situated inside the forest reserve, to inform them that "it is envisaged that you be moved for resettlement elsewhere so that you can enjoy better facilities in future" (in: Devitt 1988, 40). The people of Ekundu-Kundu were told that resettlement was inevitable and imminent, but that it would offer better amenities and opportunities than those currently available. It was said that the establishment of the Park would attract development to the area and many jobs would be created (Devitt 1988,40).

It is important to differentiate between different forms of and needs for resettlement. On the one hand there are self-reliant resettlements, like the traditional form of shifting settlements (Vansina 1990,35-69), or the resettlement of the villages in the Korup region at the beginning of the century, which are mentioned above. A village decides to move closer to a road, a plantation, a river or to an area with more animals or better soils based on their own decision. This is acceptable - nobody complains about it as long as the land does not lie inside a national park or is used by other people.

More complex issues are resettlements by force from outside. There it is useful to differentiate between a common need to resettle people (to build something, which is of common interest)

and situations where people are resettled for specific interests. It seems common with social scientist and consultants working for KORUP Project to mix these two needs, not reflecting on the perception of the inhabitants towards this. Devitt tries at the conclusion of his excellent study to relate the resettlement of villages within KORUP National Park to the resettlement of 14 villages, which had to move because of the Mape Dam, which was build to supply the Cameroon capital Yaoundé with additional water (Devitt 1988, 56). He used the calculation of Mape Dam as an example to estimate compensation for the people living inside KORUP National Park (Devitt 1988, 64-66). But if the needs for the resettlement are surveyed, one will discover the fact that the example of Mape Dam has no bearing on the resettlement of a village like Ekundu-Kundu, which is located by accident within a National Park. That a dam contributes to the development of an area and a society to a certain extent, is indisputable in development sciences (c.f. Cernea 1999 and Guggenheim 1994), but as Devitt states himself, "In several villages there is the belief that the KORUP National Park is a white peoples', and not a Cameroonian initiative. Some people think the whites have bought the land from the Government because it has some value, which the local people are unaware of" (Devitt 1988, 41; cf. Infield 1988, 35). It is useless to discuss here, whether KORUP National Park is a "white men business" or not, because it was established as a National Park by the Cameroonian Government, but it is obvious that the people in the villages do not understand the need to leave the area. They received the impression that they have to go, because of private interests of the whites and this is of course something different when people see that a dam is contributing to the development of the whole region.

The development promised by the SDO in 1981 did not take place. A road was constructed but the 300 tourists, who find their way to KORUP each year, create only few jobs for the people of the villages, who are still located inside KORUP National Park. Devitt states that in 1982 the people of Ekundu-Kundu were willing 'to move eastwards, towards the proposed Mundemba - Fabe - Toko road, as long as a place could be found where the fishing is good. They did not seem particularly concerned about moving out of their own tribal territory into Bima land" (Devitt 1988,58). In April 1999 the first people have moved to the resettlement site near the village of Ituka, at the Mundemba-Fabe road. The findings of this study will allow to judge the socio-economic dimension of the resettlement. The future will show if KORUP Project is able to satisfy the hopes and wishes related to the new location. Infield collected some statements, which summarise the high expectations of the villagers more than ten years ago:

"I am old now and cannot hunt but I will be able to grow many things in the new place and sell them on the road.

Yes! I support the idea of relocation because this will change our lives. I will become a business man because of this" (Infield 1988, 59).

A different dimension is the ecological impact of the resettlement. Nobody is able to say today, whether the assumed positive effects for the wildlife and for the forest, which were the original motivation to promote the resettlement of the villages, are coming to fruition or not.

While in the seventies and eighties most scientists agreed that it is necessary and useful for the wildlife to transfer people out of National Parks, in the late nineties most scientists changed their minds, because the wildlife population was not rising inside those National Parks without villages, but it was even reduced by multiple effects. In Kenya, which was known for its strict policies of resettlement, "most wildlife exists outside of national parks. We have to make sure that wildlife has value to the people who must live with it" (David Western - Head of the Kenya Wildlife Service; in: Butler 1998, 14). The latest idea to secure wildlife and forest in national parks seems to be "community-based conservation, in which local people participate in decision making and benefit directly from protecting wildlife on their land" (Butler 1998, 14; cf. Alverson 1996, Adams/McShane 1996, Furze 1996, Stevens 1997). Such a change in approach could be a challenging strategy also for KORUP Project.

2. Review and Findings

The first European visitors to the Korup region were the 'Kamerun Hinterland Handelsexpedition' in 1894, organised by 'Jantzen und Thormahlen', a Douala based German company. They passed through Mundame (Mundemba) on their way to Bali, because Ndian (Bulu-Beach) was at that time the most inland situated harbour, which was under the control of German troops. The German army officer 'Hauptmann von Besser', travelled up the Ndian river in June 1895 and visited Mundemba (Mundame) Ituka and Fabe, but did not reach Ekundu-Kundu. During German times the area of Korup was known as Ododop (Carr 1923,1; Map 1) and was part of the administrative district of Rio del Rey (Carr 1923,2). In 1896 an army troop under 'Hauptmann Hermann' went up the Akpu-Korum and reached the level of Ekong, while 'Hauptmann von Arnim' (June 1898) and 'Hauptmann Ramsay' (January 1901) also visited Ekundu-Kundu during their survey of the German hinterland (Map 1). In 1902/1903 a German patrol visited the Ngolo region (Carr 1923,12) to 'pacify' an intertribal war (Cadman 1922, 7-10).

In 1923 F.B. Carr surveyed the Korup Region as the first British administrator with the intention to analyse the socio-economic and cultural impacts of this region for British Nigeria. His report is of high interest for this study, because it seems as if he was the first social scientist in the region, who analysed not only the area in view of military or economic interest, but described the traditional belief systems and costumes of the Korup and Bima people.

In 1988 Infield analysed the socio-economic and biological impact of hunting, trapping and fishing in the Korup Region and Devitt surveyed the village infrastructure and attitudes and customs of the people in that region. In July 1999 we found another report from 1988: "KORUP national park household survey". It is an appendix to a different report, which no longer exists in the KORUP library. Infield and Devitt visited Ekundu-Kundu, while the Ruitenbeek Report on the resettlement does not even name the villages he wanted to discuss. The Infield report is useful, but his idea of armed game guards does not fit into a participatory natural resource management concept of the late nineties, while the superficial Ruitenbeek Reports are of little or no use. The Devitt report and the KORUP household survey are the

most important ones. They will be used as additional ground data to the 1923 Report of Carr.

The Butcher Report (1997) was prospected as a village information database, but the data presented are of dubious quality and often incomplete. What information offers us an abstract figure about the population, if we do not have the information how many people were permanently living there, or even a description about how many houses were found in the village (cf. Butcher 1997 Annex 1). The B.Sc. essay of Bessem offers totally different figures for the same year compared to the Butcher Report. According to Bessem, the population living in Ituka was five times the population found in the Butcher Report. In the case of Ekundu-Kundu it was nearly the other way around. Because the Butcher-Report is an official document produced by the KORUP-Project and used as baseline data for the whole project region, it seems fair to trust this report at present rather than the Bessem essay. This has of course its negative effects, because based on that critique it is problematic to use Bessem's interesting report on the social structure of the village and the attitudes of the villagers towards the resettlement.

A different form of survey was carried out by Ekpe Inyang (1988), who analysed and collected the myths and tales of the Korup people. The report and the statements given, have to be seen as an inside view on history. It is useless to compare this internal report with the scientific documents on the Korup tribe, because the obvious differences and "mistakes" (cf. Inyang 1988, 2, 4, 7) do not effect the important input to the internal view of that culture reflected in the Inyang-Report.

2.1. Reference Data

2.1.3. Statistics on Ekundu-Kundu

In 1923, Ekundu-Kundu was next to Ekong the main village of the Korup Tribal Area, which was at that time totally undeveloped. 390 inhabitants and 66 farmers were living in this region, which was different from the boundaries of KORUP National Park (Carr 1923; Tribal Area Assessment Record Korup).

Devitt complained in his report about unclear results in the findings of earlier surveys. "Two separate compensation assessments were carried out, one in 1981/2 and the other in 1983. There were substantial, and unaccountable, differences in the results of these two surveys. Many farmers complained that neither survey was accurate. In Erat alone, where 109 farmers had been identified by the first mission, 202 people subsequently claimed that their crops had not been assessed" (Devitt 1988,38). Even if the 1983 mission did not analyse the situation in Ekundu-Kundu it is necessary to remember the remote site of these villages. Most of the time not all villagers are living permanently in the village. A common method to link the information of the chiefs and other village officials with some form of reality, is to count the huts and estimate an average family seize and judge from there the information, but - as one sees from the table - only Carr, Devitt and the KORUP national park household survey 1988 used this

method to relate the collected information to reality. If sociologists try to verify information given by people, it does not mean that we expect these people to lie, but it is very easy and highly understandable that figures change according to the question. If one asks "How many are living in your village? I am here to estimate your tax duties," you will get a different answer than from asking "How many people are living in your village? I am here to estimate the compensation you will receive if all of you are resettled elsewhere".

Bessem states that in 1997 "the total population of Ekundu-Kundu was about 90. Over 50 persons were interviewed within the village and the rest interviewed out of the village" (Bessem 1997, 20). In the same year Butcher found 253 persons in the same village (Butcher 1997, Annex 1,3). It is obvious that not both reports can be correct.

In May 1999 the resettlement-process has started, but the majority of the people of Ekundu-Kundu are still living in the old village inside the KORUP-National Park. The total population of Ekundu-Kundu is according to our record 189 inhabitants. There are 6 men and 5 women above 50 and 31 men and 40 female in an average age, who are able to work. From the 107 children (53 boys and 54 girls) 25 are enrolled in the Primary School in Ekundu-Kundu, while the school in the Resettlement site has not started yet.

Due to the fact that some families, mostly of younger people who are involved in house construction, are using two houses (one in Ekundu-Kundu and one in the Resettlement site) or young people in Ekundu-Kundu moving into the houses of families, which transferred their belongings already to the Resettlement site, the 30 households found in the table have to be reduced to 23 households, which is in perfect harmony with the living houses found in Ekundu-Kundu. The average size of an Ekundu-Kundu household is according to our records 7, which is at the upper end of the overall household-size of Ndian-Division.

Ekundu-Kundu (1st village of the resettlement-programme)

	1923	1972	1982	1988a	1988b	(1997a)	1997b	SI	SII	1999
Population	104	64	173	121	120	(90)	253	110	79	189
Always in village	104			92	92	(50)				
Living outside				28	28	(40)				
Men (18-50)						(29)		9	22	31
Men (above 50)						(5)		3	3	6
Men Total	24					(34)	47	12	25	37
Women (18-50)						(29)		24	16	40
Women (above 50)						(2)		2	3	5
Women Total	33					(31)	106	26	19	45
Boys	25					(9)	50	35	18	53
Girls	22					(16)	50	37	17	54
Huts	31			18	22		28	23	51	74
Huts used								14	16	23
Distance to water							500 m	300 m	50 m	
Distance to road							240 min	240 min	0 min	

Distance to market			25 km	25 km	9 km
Distance to hospital			20 km	25 km	9 km
Town hall			No	No	Yes
Traditional Hall				Yes	Yes
School	No	No	Primary	Primary (same)	
Shop	No		No	No	No
Bar			No	2	1
Guesthouse	No		No	No	No
Livestock					
Goats	26		for cash	Yes	
Sheep			subsistence		
Cattle					
Swine			subsistence	Yes	
Poultry					
Occupation	Farmers 23	Farmer (cc)39%	Carpenter 2	Hunters	
		Farmer (fc)94%	Wood carver 2	Farmers	
		Trader 33%	Basket 50	Fishermen	
		Hunter 72%	Furniture 2	Fisher-women	
		Fishermen 50%	Nets and mats		
		others 67%			

Cc: cash crops

Fc: Food crops

SI: Original Site

SII: Resettlement Site

Sources:

1923: Carr 1923; Assessment Report on the Korup Tribal Area; Kumba Division; Statistics for Korup.

1972: Administration Census of Ndian Division; in: Devitt 1988,16.

1982: Survey of villages by John Parrott; in: Devitt 1988,16.

1988a: Infield 1988, 14. Household survey 1988, p.273.

1988b: Devitt 1988, 10.

1997a: Bessem 1997, 20, 37-38.

1997b: Butcher 1997, Annex 1,3; Annex 2,6; Annex 4,4; Annex 6,6; Annex 7,5; Annex 8,5; Annex 9,5; Annex 11,5; Annex 13,4; Annex 20,4; Map 7.

2.1.3.1. Sampling size and representation (Ekundu-Kundu)

In the Resettlement site we interviewed 31 villagers. While men were very interested to answer our question, most younger women were not willing to talk to the researcher alone due to traditional customs and the fact that none of the researchers was a female. We organised a meeting of three younger women from Ekundu-Kundu and interviewed them as a group, while the seven other female answers are based on individual interviews. We were unable to fulfil our 50 % representation among average aged men, due to the working load of them. Most were involved during the day in the ongoing house-construction and carried out their farming and hunting activities in the early morning and afternoon hours. In the evenings they were, according to their own words, too tired to receive the researchers. The children we found in the Resettlement site were mostly too young to answer our question, because the majority of the school children (primary-school) were still in Ekudu-Kundu, because the teacher is there, and pupils, who join the secondary-school, are either lodging in Ekon or in Mundemba. We

interviewed eight children in two group interviews, because they were too afraid to talk to us one by one. In general our findings are highly representative for the Ekundu-Kundu people, who are living and working at the resettlement site, even if we were unable to reach our 50 % goal.

In Ekundu-Kundu we interviewed 35 people. In contrast to the Resettlement site women were very open and interested to answer our questions, while most men asked for afu-fu or any other alcoholic drink as "compensation" for their effort. The traditional chief was very helpful and introduced the idea of co-operation with the research-team during a village-meeting after our arrival in the village. All interviews with adults were individual interviews, while the interviews with the children were carried out in three group discussions with them. We only questioned them about their reception of the old and the new village but not on the other topics. In general our findings are of perfect representation and able to give a clear view on their perception of the resettlement-process and its socio-economic impacts.

From the overall adult population of Ekundu-Kudu (82) we interviewed 42 which is 54%.

2.2. Village infrastructure

After the take-over by the British, the area was part of their Victoria division, but in 1921 it was transferred into the Kumba Division, even though there was no existing administrative organisation in that region (Carr 1923,2). The "inter-tribal boundaries are not clearly defined, though each village is aware of its limits" (Carr 1923,4 cf. Inyang 1988, 3). There were no roads, but "bush tracks, which are extremely rough and hilly" (Carr 1923,33). Bridges were rarely found but used at rivers, which were too deep to cross by foot. They were either hammock bridges or "by single tree trunks stretching from bank to bank" (Carr 1923,33). An exception was the bush-track from Nganye to Ekundu-Kundu and from there to Ekong. Carr found the track well cleared and the hammock bridges in good repair (Carr 1923, B6).

In 1923, the nearest school was found in Ngumu and Mosoniseli. The school of the Catholic Mission in Ikassa, which had also a branch in Fabe, was closed when the Germans had to leave Cameroon (Carr 1923,35). In 1923, houses were oblong in shape with mud walls, and were roofed with mats made from leaves of the raffia palm. All had doors and windows, which were carefully made of timber (Carr 1923,51). Between 1988 and 1997 Ekundu-Kundu got a 4 class primary school, so that the children did not have to track any longer to Ekon, while the Ituka children still have to walk to Fabe.

Ituka never received any assistance from the KORUP Project (Butcher 1997, Annex 15,3; Annex 16,3; Annex 17, 3), but still today they wait for: "a road, 1 palm plantation, town hall, house construction for old people in village, pit latrines" (Butcher 1997, Annex 18,3), while Fabe received assistance in the form of advise, when they wanted to establish a community plantain farm in 1990/1991 (Butcher 1997, Annex 18,3), 100.000 FCFA to buy drugs, when the village started their health post (Butcher 1997, Annex 17,3) and half of the zinc roofing for

their two rooms primary school (Butcher 1997, Annex 17,3). The construction of a road, which links Fabe to Mundemba (Butcher 1997, Annex 16,3), is seen as the mayor contribution to the village development, but there are still high expectations and wishes for the future, such as tapped water supply for the whole village and electricity (Butcher 1997, Annex 18,3).

Ekundu-Kundu received quite a lot of assistance from the KORUP Park: six agric. roosters in 1994 (Butcher 1997, Annex 15,6), seven cutlasses, two spades, two diggers (Butcher 1997, Annex 16,4), two bundles of zinc sheets in 1992, 1 bundle of zinc sheets in 1994, 100 litres of fuel, 10 litres engine oil and a chain saw in 1994, textbooks for class 1,2,3, and 4 in 1995, primary school text books in 1995 (Butcher 1997, Annex 17,4). It seems obvious that this inequality of treatment through KORUP authorities produces jealousy in the host villages, which is creating problems for the relation of the villages themselves.

In 1999 most inhabitants of Ekundu-Kundu complain that their decisions are not considered. They state that KORUP decided which location and which village layout is suitable for the Resettlement site (for details see p.35 of this report), without consultation. Nevertheless the people are satisfied with the location at the moment. It seems quite important to add "at the moment", because the economic expectations, which arise from the road connection, seems to be far away from reality as one can see from the part on the economical dimension of the resettlement.

	Satisfied with location			Unsatisfied		
	S I	S II	Total	S I	S II	Total
Men (18-50)	60%(3)	70% (7)	67%(10)	40%(2)	30%(3)	33%(5)
Men (above 50)	00%(0)	100%(3)	60%(3)	100%(2)	0%(0)	40%(2)
Men Total	43%(3)	80%(10)	65%(13)	57%(4)	20%(3)	35%(7)
Women (18-50)	75%(9)	100%(7)	84%(16)	25%(3)	0%(0)	16%(3)
Women (> 50)	00%(0)	33%(1)	20%(1)	100%(2)	66%(2)	80%(4)
Woman Total	64%(9)	80%(8)	71%(17)	36%(5)	20%(2)	29%(7)
Boys	57%(4)	75%(3)	64%(7)	43%(3)	25%(1)	36%(4)
Girls	71%(5)	100%(4)	82%(9)	29%(2)	0%(0)	18%(2)
Total	60%(21)	80%(25)	70%(46)	40%(14)	20%(6)	30%(20)

It has to be mentioned that quite some of the people, who say that they are satisfied with the Resettlement site give as reason the fatalistic answer, that they have no other opportunities and that the situation would not become easier if they hate the place where they have to live in the future. The unsatisfied villagers, which are mostly young male hunters and old people relate their anger to the different surroundings. The hunters claim that it takes years to find good places for hunting and trapping in the new hunting zone, while the old people claim that they love their old village because they have grown up there, know everything and everybody and want to be buried next to their relatives. The high grade of satisfaction among young women is related with their hopes to become wealthy market-women in Mundemba.

Highly satisfied are the Ekundu-Kundu villagers with the community hall, which they did not have in their old site, and the Ekpe-hall, which is now a "ultra-modern" airy building instead of a dusty, dark mud hut. The position towards the school is overshadowed by the claim for additional two classrooms, because they state that KORUP has promised four class rooms (this is also written in the budget - KORUP 1999) instead of the two nice rooms which are there. On the other hand it seems strange that the 25 children enrolled in the primary-school should be supervised by one teacher in four classrooms. For the villagers of Ekundu-Kundu there is no problem existing, because "KORUP has money and they want us to live here so they have to fulfil all our wishes".

Closely related to the satisfaction of the village layout is the claim for additional infrastructure. Most people, who are satisfied with the location and the layout, say that still a lot of things have to be done by KORUP-Project and the Cameroonian Government. Most villagers state that KORUP, the Resettlement Co-ordinator of KORUP Project and the government (D.O., S.D.O.) had promised additional infrastructure, which is not existing and - according to KORUP-Project - also not prospected. Document 1 justify the administrative' position, but on the other hand is the importance of documents limited in a society, which is not familiar to written laws and contracts.

Requested infrastructure	Requested by		Total
	Ekundu-Kundu	Resettlement	
Electricity	34% (12)	58% (18)	45 % (30)
School (up to class 7)	43% (15)	42% (13)	42 % (28)
Church	20% (7)	39% (12)	29 % (19)
Taped water	23% (8)	32% (10)	28 % (18)
Ownership of farms by women	29% (10)	23% (7)	26 % (17)
Hospital (health-centre)	11% (4)	32% (10)	21 % (14)
More farmland	9% (3)	3% (1)	6 % (4)
Free transport-facilities	0% (0)	10% (3)	5 % (3)
Barns	6% (2)	3% (1)	5 % (3)
Houses for women	9% (3)	0% (0)	5 % (3)
More houses	0% (0)	3% (1)	2 % (1)

We found a significant gender stratification not only in the request for the ownership of land for woman (71% of the women), but also in the request for a church (67% of the women). The villagers who are already living at the Resettlement site even stated that there is a church in Ekundu-Kundu, which is not true, while others want to force KORUP and the government to fulfil its promises. It seems wise for KORUP and the resettlement-committee of the Ndian-Division to take these problems seriously, because in small communities like Ekundu-Kundu rumours can become a driving force.

The perception of the houses in the Resettlement site is very ambivalent. The majority of the villagers, who live already at the Resettlement site do not like the houses. The houses are too

small and the tiles on the roof are not appreciated by the villagers. They prefer zinc. While the complain on the house-size can not stand reality, because most houses in Ekundu-Kundu are much smaller than the ones in the Resettlement site, the conflict tiles versus zinc seems to be related to the fear of the villagers, that tiles are not lasting as long as zinc. Positive experiences will most probably change this prejudice. The often heard complain, that the tile-roofs are leaking seems to be "related with the unfinished construction of some houses", as a ECOFAC-technician said.

	Satisfied with the houses			Unsatisfied		
	S I	S II	Total	S I	S II	Total
Men (18-50)	40%(2)	40%(4)	40%(6)	60%(3)	60%(6)	60%(9)
Men (above 50)	00%(0)	33%(1)	20%(1)	100%(2)	67%(2)	80%(4)
Men Total	29%(2)	38%(5)	35%(7)	71%(5)	62%(8)	65%(13)
Women (18-50)	42%(5)	57%(4)	47%(9)	58%(7)	43%(3)	53%(10)
Women (> 50)	50%(1)	67%(2)	60%(3)	50%(1)	33%(1)	40%(2)
Woman Total	43%(6)	60%(6)	50%(12)	57%(8)	40%(4)	50%(12)
Boys	43%(3)	0%(0)	27%(3)	57%(4)	100%(4)	73%(8)
Girls	71%(5)	50%(2)	64%(7)	29%(2)	50%(2)	36%(4)
Total	46%(16)	42%(13)	44%(29)	54%(19)	58%(18)	56%(37)

The villagers appreciate the solid structure of their new houses, because in Ekundu-Kundu the walls are made of sticks tied together and chocked with mud with the result that half of the houses in Ekundu-Kundu look half-standing and half-falling. Village authorities state that the agreement between KORUP and the village promised them cement block walls - which is according to document 1 not true -, but the ordinary villagers are quite satisfied with the sun dried bricks. Another problem is seen that in the new houses the kitchen is attached to the house, while in Ekundu-Kundu a separate kitchen-hut is used. Some men complain that the smell and noise of the women in the kitchen annoys them in the living-room, while women appreciate the new setting. A problem is also seen in the fact that social stratification is not reflected in the house-sizes in the Resettlement site. In general it is obvious that even the smallest new houses (F3: living-room, 2 bedrooms, one kitchen) offers more space than most houses in the village, but on the other hand is the biggest type (F5: living room, 4 bedrooms, one kitchen) smaller than the houses of the village elite in Ekundu-Kundu. Also the different shape (bigger but less rooms) is criticised, but on the other hand mostly young people involved in the construction of the houses say that they want to extent their houses on their own when they have more money or when their family grows. Another argument against the complain could be seen in the fact that the Resettlement site offers more than twice as much houses as Ekundu-Kundu, so that young families do not have to live in the same house as their parents.

2.3. Ecological Perception

Carr describes the area as "purely pagan" (Carr 1923,3). "The whole area is covered with

dense forest, and even in the highest parts, no decrease in density is noticed" (Carr 1923,5). The villages cleared only the ground but did not cut the major trees. Palm trees were planted around the farms (Carr 1923,27). During the German colonial times only ebony was exploited as timber and camwood was used in small quantities for local consumption (Carr 1923, 28). Especially at Ekundu-Kundu "ebony was said to be plentiful" (Carr 1923, B4).

One of the main reasons for the interest to resettle Ekundu-Kundu outside KORUP National Park, is the impression that hunting activities of the villagers reduce the wildlife population. The Infield Report (1988) gave comprehensive information about hunters, hunting and the ecological dimension of this source of income for the villagers.

Infield asked the villagers about their willingness to stop hunting, which would be an alternative to their resettlement. Most of the villagers, who were hunting, said that they are not prepared to stop hunting: "Not every man is a farmer. I get no power from farming because I am a hunter and a fisherman" (Infield 1988,38). An interesting question for the 1999 survey was the question, if the villagers are prepared to stop hunting now, where they are going to be resettled? It seems quite idealistic that a hunter is limiting his hunting zone to the areas outside a National Park, which is only two hours away.

Willingness to stop hunting and trapping

	1988a	Ekundu-Kundu	Resettlement-Site	1999	Total
prepared to stop	45%	13% (2)	44% (8)	44%	29% (7)
no interest to reduce hunting	55%	87% (14)	56% (10)	56%	71% (24)

Source:

1988a: Infield 1988, 38.

The hunters which do not want to stop hunting in the future also agree that they do not fear KORUP sanctions or game guards, because they state they know the forest better than anybody else and that they are able to hide there even if a whole battalion is searching for them. Another problem is produced by KORUP itself. The young men earn a lot of money through their involvement in construction-work in the Resettlement site and they used their money to buy better guns and traps. The majority of the villagers appreciate these increasing hunting-activities, because now they are able to eat from time to time some bush-meat themselves, while before all meat was directly exported to Nigeria.

While hunting is a men-only-business fishing is also carried out by women. Both use nets and fish traps for private consumption but use gamalin for harvesting of fish, which they sell as dried fish.

It has also to be mentioned that inside the KORUP National Park a lively bush-meat trade takes place, which is the major source of monetary income for the village, and seen as an important step towards development. Most of the time one or two bush-meat traders are waiting in Ekundu-Kundu for the fresh meat (monkeys, drills and deer) from the forest, which they transfer sometimes everyday to Ekon and to Nigeria, while the dried meat from the traps is also sold in Mundemba and Bulu. The hunters as well as the traders state that as long as

Ekundu-Kundu people hunt in their hunting-zone no or few foreign hunters work in that area, but all agree that as soon as Ekundu-Kundu people give up controlling this area, Nigerian hunters will start to hunt there.

Another interesting point is strongly related to this: as long as the villagers and especially the hunters do not have the impression that their activity reduces the wildlife population, it will be difficult for the KORUP authorities to convince the people of Ekundu-Kundu to stop hunting, trapping or fishing inside the National Park.

Villager's perception of the wildlife population

	1988a	1999		Total
		Ekundu-Kundu	Resettlement-Site	
wildlife reduced	36 %	14% (3)	13% (3)	14% (6)
wildlife not reduced	64 %	86% (18)	87% (20)	86% (38)

Source:

1988a: Infield 1988, 39.

Infield relates this finding to the reduction of wildlife around the villages, while he suggests that outside the one day hunting area, it still remained the same as before (Infield 1988, 39). "Many of the villagers engaged in hunting and trapping are young men who have completed their education but have been unable to secure employment, or have lost jobs as a result of the worsening economic situation in the country. Generally these men have no strong attachment to the way of life and would eagerly turn to alternative ways of making a living, if provided with an equivalent level of income" (Infield 1988, 47). Infield indicates that KORUP National Park should offer the 97 active hunters living in the forest a better paid job (Infield 1988, 48). But who should pay them and how would KORUP be able to stop other people from using a short hunting career as a first step to employment through KORUP National Park?

All these problems originate from a different perception of forest as such. KORUP National Park tries to conserve forest and its wildlife, because Cameroonian government and international donors are interested in the abstract idea of environmental conservation. The villagers of Ekundu-Kundu do not join this abstract view and in their majority do not even understand it. The tropical rainforest "is very nice to me. I use it for trapping and hunting. My heart is glad, when I shoot or catch animals in the forest." This statement is representative for the people of Ekundu-Kundu. They all focused in their perception of their surrounding on the exploitability and productivity of the forest. We asked them, if it is important for them to live in a forest with animals inside. 84 % said that they do not like animals at all, because they are dangerous and destroy crops in the farms. A significant majority does not appreciate animals and does not mind if they are all killed. 16 % stated that they find it important to live in a surrounding full of animals, but they all added: "I love bush-meat. If the forest is empty I would not get my preferred food."

Knowledge and understanding of the KORUP National Park among villagers from Ekundu-Kundu

	1988a	1999
No Knowledge	75 %	7% (3)
Some Knowledge	25 %	93% (41)

Sources:

1988a: Infield 1988, 35-37.

It seems obvious that in 1999 all Ekundu-Kundu villagers have at least some knowledge about the objectives and aims of KORUP National Park - only three old ladies state that they never heard of KORUP before. But an abstract knowledge, which includes the statement that KORUP wants to protect forest and wildlife, still gives rise to a large variety of interpretations and opinions. Some villagers are of the view, that KORUP tries to stop hunting inside the park, because "they want to create a place where animals are kept to eat later, when the animals of the other forests are finished." A significant majority (77%) expresses that KORUP National Park is a white men's idea, which is not useful for Cameroonians, while the village administration holds the view that Cameroonian authorities asked foreigners to help them to conserve the national park. After all the village meeting, workshop, focused group discussions and aid 70% of the Ekundu-Kundu inhabitants have a negative feeling towards KORUP-Project and their objectives, because they do not see any change in their environment and due to that do not understand the need to protect it.

A major fear of the inhabitants of the villages inside KORUP National Park is linked to the close border to Nigeria. "If the people leave the forest, others from Nigeria will move in and there will be war" (Infield 1988, 58). Infield still supports the idea of armed game guard forces and law enforcement (Infield 1988, 54-57), but in the nineties KORUP National Park should try to reach its objectives through participatory methods rather than through bullets. In 1999 this fear was still common, but only among farmers and users of non-timber-forest-products, because - as said before - nearly all hunters plan to hunt in their traditional hunting-zone inside the National-Park and see themselves in a position to defend it against settlers or concurrence.

Another topic related with the conservation of KORUP National Park is the perception of the new environment at the resettlement site. While ten people (23% - mostly women) never visited the resettlement site and ten people (23%) could not identify any difference between the old and new environment, 54 % of the villagers complain that they do not find their new surrounding as good as the old one.

What do you not like in the resettlement site which you have in the village?

(related to those who identified differences)

	Ekundu-Kundu	Resettlement Site	Total
Soil is not as good as in the village	58% (7)	50 % (6)	54 % (13)
Not enough animals	25% (3)	25 % (3)	25 % (6)
Not enough rivers for fishing	17% (2)	17 % (2)	17 % (4)
Lack of NTFP's		8 % (1)	4 % (1)

Even if only a small number complains that they did not find all NTFP's in the new site, which

they have in Ekundu-Kundu overall 86% state that they will go back to their old site to harvest NTFP's, because they are the traditional owners of the forest - a land-ownership which they claim to be not effected by the resettlement at all.

2.4. Economic Dimension

In 1923, farming was the only source of income next to hunting and gathering, but "farming is carried out in the most haphazard and slovenly manner" (Carr 1923,24). "Farming is mainly in the hands of the women. (...) Men may join for mutual help in cleaning the ground, or a rich man may call for helpers, and give them a present of food, and a goat, in return for their labours (Carr 1923,24). The area used as a farm was between one acre (4046,24 m²) and one acre and a half (6069,36 m²) per family (Carr 1923,25). The crops found in 1923 were plantains, cocoyams, beans, maize, caso, essaka, masua and pepper and in smaller quantities yams, mbu, sugar cane, kassava and okra (Carr 1923,25). Fertilisers and the system of rotating crops were unknown in 1923 (Carr 1923,26).

Rubber, which was introduced by the Germans, brought little income to the villages of the Korup Region. Ituka was a place, which harvested and dried kola for exportation (Carr 1923,27). Palm oil was produced in most of the villages, but in Ekundu-Kundu only for private use (Carr 1923, B5). Processing palm oil and hunting were the main occupation of the men (Carr 1923,29), while the women carried out farming. Hunting was done with nets and with dogs (Carr 1923,29).

Ituka and Fabe, the host villages, are today mainly producing cocoa and coffee as cash crops and bananas, colocasia and plantains as subsistence crops (Butcher 1997, Annex 12,3) and collecting the non timber forest product 'bush mango' for cash as well as for subsistence (Butcher 1997, Annex 14,5). The people of Ekundu-Kundu produce palm oil and cocoa as a cash crop and colocasia and plantains as subsistence crops (Butcher 1997, Annex 12,6). They do also collect bush mango, njangsanga, shea nut and njabe oil as non-timber forest products for subsistence needs but also for cash (Butcher 1997, Annex 14,7).

In 1923, most exchange with the outside world was organised by the factory of Messrs W.D. Woodin's & Co. Ltd. in Ndian, who had an absolute monopoly (Carr 1923,32) in buying palm oil and palm kernels. Kola was collected by local traders from Calabar. There were no markets in that region, but the villagers could reach Ndian in two or three days by canoe. The people of Ekundu-Kundu bought their goods in 1923 in Ndian, which was only one hard walking-day away, in exchange for palm kernels (Carr 1923, B6). In Calabar, which could be reached in three days, or with traders from Calabar they traded kola (Carr 1923, B5), while they sold fish, which was caught in the dry season, to the Batanga (Carr 1923, B6).

In the days before the Germans reached this region the people were involved in slave trade. The price of a slave was 10 pieces of cloth or a gun. They were captured near Mamfe or bought on the slave market in Mbela and transported to the slave markets in Calabar (Carr

1923,42).

In 1997 Bessem states that "farming is done mostly by the elderly population most of whom depend solely on the crops they grow" (Bessem 1997, 46), while hunting is carried out by "middle-aged men" (Bessem 1997, 46).

Profession of the inhabitants of Ekundu-Kundu 1999

	Ekundu-Kundu				Resettlement Site				Total				
	Hun.	Trap.	Fish.	Farm.	Hun.	Trap.	Fish.	Farm.	Hun.	Trap.	Fish.	Farm.	
Men (18-50)	40%	100%	40%	40%	60%	90%	70%	100%	53%	93%	60%	80%	
Men (above 50)	50%	50%	0%	50%	67%	33%	67%	100%	60%	40%	40%	80%	
Men (Total)	43%	86%	28%	43%	62%	77%	70%	100%	55%	80%	55%	80%	
Women (18-50)			67%	100%			86%	100%			74%	100%	
Women (>50)			50%	50%			33%	100%			40%	100%	
Women (Total)			64%	93%			70%	100%			67%	96%	
Total		14%	29%	52%	76%	35%	43%	70%	100%	25%	36%	61%	87%

In 1999 the economic activities of Ekundu-Kundu villagers are still related to the hunting and gathering style of living, but most people wish to change to a more stratified way of income generating. According to the traditional form of living in the Korup region men are hunters as long as their health allows them to carry out this activity, while women are not allowed to hunt. Individual preference for traps or gun-hunting is mostly related to ability and interest. While the fresh meat is sold to Nigerian traders in the village, the dried meat is transported to the markets by the hunters or their wives. Hunting is the main source of income, which offers a high income for the successful hunter. 10.000 FCFA for a deer, 7.500 FCFA for a drill and up to 5.000 FCFA for a monkey is far above the income opportunities of farmers or plantation-workers considering also the differences in opportunity costs involved. Most hunters state that they are able to shoot up to two animals a day and that a day without success is not common, because most hunter use both forms (trapping and gun-hunting). They fear that the new hunting-zone in the resettlement site is not as good as the one inside the KORUP-National-Park, while some KORUP-officials state that the new zone offers excellent hunting-opportunities. In the presentation of this report, other KORUP-officials criticised this view. It seems as if no scientific data exist, but personal experience, which were gathered during a different survey in the hunting zone of the resettlement-site. The illegal aspect of hunting inside the park does not count for the hunters, because they sell most of the meat to Nigeria. Bush-meat is rarely used for individual consumption (rituals and death-celebration) and is seen as the income generating activity now but also in the future. A common fear is the amount of wildlife at the new site, the easier access for controls through KORUP-Officials and governmental tax-collectors and the longer distances to the bush-meat markets in Nigeria, which are seen as the major places to sell. As a consequence of these negative aspects of the resettlement-process, the hunters state that they will continue hunting inside KORUP National-Park. They are aware that farming would not offer them the same income as hunting, so they will hardly change their form of living.

Fishing is carried out by men and women. While fishing for private consumption with fish-traps and netting is more a women-business, the fishing for selling as dried fish with gamalin is carried out by men and is subject to seasonal changes. The people living at the resettlement site complain about the reduced and more difficult access to fishes. "I live now for 6 weeks at the resettlement site and I only got once a nice fish." On the other hand mostly young women have discovered the Mundemba market as a place to generate personal income from selling fish. They want to increase this activity but agreed that it is more difficult to catch fish at the new site.

Farming is carried out in Ekundu-Kundu mostly by women, while at the resettlement site all inhabitants work on farms. This is related with the easier access to the markets. While the villagers in the old site only go once a week to the markets in Mundemba and Bulu, the people at the resettlement site hardly miss one of the biweekly markets in Mundemba. Plantain, Cocoyam, Casava and banana are the most common fruits produced by the people of Ekundu-Kundu and are used for sale as well as for private consumption. Mostly women have a high expectation in the economic aspect of farming and state that they will become rice from farming. A major problem is seen in the lack of land certificates for their farms and in people from Mundemba and Ituka, who are accused for stealing plantains and bananas from the plantations at the road-side.

Livestock is limited at Ekundu-Kundu. Most families have goats, chicken and dogs for sale. They keep them as a form of account, because they only sell them in hard times: "If poor enter me I fit carry am go sell for town." They realise prices up to 15.000 FCFA for a goat and 10.000 for a fat dog, but none of them keeps livestock as an income source. Some people state that they want to change that at the new site, because they observed that these goods are rare in the Mundemba market. They ask KORUP to support them with pigs and the necessary buildings and instruments. This seems to be an income source which could even attract young men to stop hunting, but we did not have enough time to analyse the market-chances of livestock-keeping in the Mundemba region, but the Ekundu-Kundu villagers expect quite some income from this activity.

Trading is seen as the positive impact of the resettlement. "I want to start a business. I will buy small goods and sell them at my door. I will use the grain to live with my children. Then the accrued expenditure will be used to buy more goods, so that the money never gets finished." A small private shop has opened at the resettlement site, but the customers are mostly ECOFAC-workers, because Ekundu-Kundu villagers claim that it is cheaper to buy in Mundemba. As long as transport through the KORUP-cars is free of charge, trading can not be seen as an income generating activity based on pure economic criteria. If all people who want to become rich through trading really start a shop in the resettlement site it will soon look like a market lacking customers. The expectations are so high that satisfaction seems impossible.

Other forms of income generating activities are seen in the field of construction work. The young men involved in the construction of the resettlement site hope that KORUP will ask

them to take over the task of ECOFAC in the construction of other resettlement sites and village infrastructure programmes. They see in it a reasonable source of income - even better than hunting - but the limited area of Ndian-Subdivision will hardly offer jobs for the 33 young men from Ekundu-Kundu and soon some of the 53 boys will start to look for a job.

Some of the elders realised that the resettlement itself has to be seen as the best and only activity to become rich and provide a better future to the youth. "I need to be rich in future from weekly allowances as the result of resettlement." The enormous increase of village population in the resettlement-documents has to be seen from that perspective. As shown in the statistics the village-administration managed to get a lot more houses, more farms, more compensation than they should have got. Even if they did not get the differences between reality and manufactured reality in cash, they are aware that KORUP spend without many complain more that 80.000.000 FCFA for not existing villagers. In front of this background it seems quite normal that most elder villagers ask for Millions as compensation and that the list of additional support is longer than a letter to Father Christmas.

In general it is obvious that in the remote area economic systems and the societal expectations are either working or not. In the case of Ekundu-Kundu it seems as if the high Nigerian interest in bush-meat provides the villagers with a suitable and satisfying economic activity. 75 % of the Ekundu-Kundu villagers and even 88 % of the decision-makers were and are satisfied with their economic opportunities in Ekundu-Kundu. Only 25 % of the people claim that the resettlement site will change their economic life to become better. As long as economy has to be seen as a milestone towards a successful resettlement of Ekundu-Kundu, much work still has to be done. If the offered economic opportunities in the new site do not satisfy the inhabitants of Ekundu-Kundu they would not change their life towards a farming-based society, with reduced hunting-activities and one of the main aims of the resettlement will be missed and put the resettlement of the other villages on the disposal.

2.5. Social Impact

Even the remote area of Korup was affected by the slave trade. Villagers joined slave traders from Calabar to the northern part of South West Province and even in some villages, Carr found slaves still owned by chiefs and other nobles, but after one generation they were treated as freeborn (Carr 1923,42). In Ekundu-Kundu, marriage hardly existed in 1923. "No dowry is paid and a woman stays with a man as his wife just as long as she wishes, but should she leave one man and live with another, the latter is liable for the refunding of petty presents, and expenses (Carr 1923, B8).

It is very interesting and significant that none of the enormous numbers of surveys and reports produced to analyse the resettlement programme and its impact, gives information about the social organisation of the people of Ekundu-Kundu. At least Bessem tries to give some: "Most youths have left the village and are living either in Mundemba or Ekundu-Titi town. Some are students, others are self employed such as electricians, builders, constructors, carpenters and

petty traders. Others are civil servants, workers in private institutions and job seekers" (Bessem 1997, 47). From this the idea could arise that the enormous amount spent for the resettlement could be saved if KORUP had waited till the old and middle-aged people died. As a result of other research it can be seen as a fact that the youth, who live in the towns, only return to the villages to be buried there.

In 1999 all people are aware of the substantial impact of resettlement for the social system of Ekundu-Kundu. According to their position towards the resettlement-programme they either fear the changes or do not mind them, because of the expected advantages of the resettlement. For most of them the economic changes will affect the social system, which seems quite obvious, because so close to a town their hunter and gatherer society can not survive.

Which changes have you noticed in your lifestyle at the resettlement site?

	Ekundu-Kundu	Resettlement-Site	Total
Being exposed	24% (5)	52% (12)	39% (17)
Have to buy food	38% (8)	22% (5)	29% (13)
No meat and fish	19% (4)	13% (3)	16% (7)
Starvation	19% (4)	13% (3)	16% (7)

While the complains on unsatisfying economic sources are mostly heard among those who do not like the resettlement at all and has to be seen from that perspective, the feeling of being exposed and the need to buy food are also heard among those who like the resettlement. The fact that money will become a major element of social interaction in the new site can not be overestimated in its social impact. It is already effecting the traditional institution of societal stratification. The traditional rulers are losing their societal power very fast:

In the case of conflicts, where do you go for a solution?

	Ekundu-Kundu	Resettlement-Site
Chief	57% (12)	13 % (3)
Elder	33 % (7)	4 % (1)
Government	5% (1)	13 % (3)
KORUP-Project	5% (1)	70% (16)

While in the traditional world of Ekundu-Kundu witchcraft and social prestige are social realities the new site is seen as ruled by the donor of the resettlement. A very significant example for this change is the legal system. The old Ekundu-Kundu is a closed society.

While in the modern world moral norms - whether based on tradition, convention, or belief - appear unable to provide the means by which human beings can live together without conflict, in Ekundu-Kundu all these forces are seen as realities. "If you did something wrong you have to give afo-fo to the elders and to the gods." Witchcraft only works in closed societies - without the possibility to escape - and it is the driving force of the moral norms of Ekundu-Kundu people. "If somebody did something wrong in the village we will push him to follow the law or kill him with witchcraft, but at the new site we can only send him to prison. The youth

will no longer follow the laws, because we will lose our power." "The laws will change at the new site, because so near the road the ju-ju can not come out as they like. We have to dance and carry out sacrifices before it works." An everyday phenomena in Ekundu-Kundu becomes a rare exception at the resettlement site. "Things fall apart" as Chinua Achebe states. While all the above quoted statements come from elders or village-authorities, the youth adore the change: "We still will go to the chief to ask for conflict solutions, but if the solution is not satisfactory we contact the administrative authorities." This change from a society based on tradition and belief to a society based on money and written laws has to be seen as the background for the requested land certificates and signed agreements, because even the village authorities do not trust their old style of libation-based contracts.

This invention of modernity is also related to the feeling that the Ekundu-Kundu villagers are exposed at their new site. Most of them have no identity card or two (Cameroonian and Nigerian) and nobody questions them when if they go to Nigeria or Cameroon, they hardly saw any customs- or tax-officer, nor a police-men in their village, but they fear to be exposed to them at the new site. Thieves hardly exist in the village, because you can not hide anything. The economic advantage of being exposed has to be connected with the conflicts which arise from being so close to a town. Already now it is obvious that the youth settle down in Mundemba and only use the resettlement site as a base for farming and hunting, but no longer as centre of their living. A good example for the negative impact of being exposed to modernism is Ituka: A nearly dead village only inhabited by elders and those who did not manage to find their place in the modern world.

We focused on this issue not because we favour traditional lifestyle, but it is important that even before all villagers are resettled, the "things fall apart". Ekundu-Kundu will not be the same as before.

We discovered a significant gender inequality. Women were according to their statements neither involved in the discussions on the resettlement site, nor were they consulted when the new house was chosen. At both sites, most women and children could not remember a family-meeting related to the above mentioned decisions (80% and 88%), while all men stated that they had long and open discussion on these topics. But the reality of gender inequality in Ekundu-Kundu becomes visible if one analyses the following statement:

Who of your family chose the new house?

	I chose the house			My father or husband chose it		
	S I	S II	Total	S I	S II	Total
Men (18-50)	80% (4)	90% (9)	87% (13)	20%(1)	10%(1)	13%(2)
Men (above)	100% (2)	100% (3)	100% (5)	00%(0)	0%(0)	00%(0)
Men Total	86% (6)	92% (12)	90% (18)	14%(1)	8%(1)	10%(2)
Women (18-50)	00%(0)	0%(0)	00%(0)	100%(12)	100%(7)	100%(19)
Women (above)	00%(0)	0%(0)	00%(0)	100%(2)	100%(3)	100%(5)
Woman Total	00%(0)	0%(0)	00%(0)	100%(14)	100%(10)	100%(24)
Boys	00%(0)	0%(0)	00%(0)	100%(7)	100%(4)	100%(11)

Girls	00%(0)	0%(0)	00%(0)	100%(7)	100%(4)	100%(11)
Total	17%(6)	39%(12)	27%(18)	83%(29)	61%(19)	73%(48)

Decisions in Ekudu-Kundu are made by elder men.

2.6. Resettlement

The people of the Korup region were used to a system of shifting cultivation and resettlements were common. The village of Mufako, today at the boundaries of KORUP National Park, had divided its settlement in 1923, one part moving north and one to the south (Carr 1923, 10). Ndian and Boku are resettlement sites of an old village called Kua-Peme (Carr 1923,10). The whole village of Weke, which was located near Akpasang at the southern boundaries of today's KORUP National Park, moved completely during the German colonial time to Nigeria, because the hut-tax was lower there (Carr 1923,10). According to Carr three villages of the Korup Tribe (Okpabe, Okabe and Ekonenaku) moved to Nigeria (Carr 1923, B1,7). He received information "that the whole tribe once lived between the present sites of Ekong and Ekundu-Kundu on a hill known as 'Jun a Korup'. The village was called Kitop. (...) They claim no relationship with any other tribe, but they appear to inter-marry with the Kiaka (Mamfe Division)" (Carr 1923, B3; cf. Inyang 1988, 2). Devitt states that in 1982 the people of Ekundu-Kundu were willing "to move eastwards, towards the proposed Mundemba - Fabe - Toko road, as long as a place could be found where the fishing is good. They did not seem particularly concerned about moving out of their own tribal territory into Bima land" (Devitt 1988,58).

That this process was all but based on self-reliant and free choice, becomes obvious if the workshop documents are analysed. In his opening speech of the resettlement workshop (6 July 1991), the SDO started with a general statement: "It is true that a forest reserve cannot be said to be conserved if it is inhabited by people who, in their effort to eke out a living, are bound to carry out activities that destroy what we want to preserve. That is therefore the reason why it has been found necessary to displace the population of the villages presently situated within the Park to a new site considerably removed from the Park" (KORUP 1991, 2). Even if he claimed later that "resettlement must be voluntary" (KORUP 1991, 3), it distorts reality, if KORUP officials still state that the resettlement programme of these six villages was totally voluntary. The representative of the WWF in Cameroon - Stephen Gartlan - used in his address a form of extortion, which does not fit at all in the concept of a pluralistic NGO, which is interested in conserving nature: "WWF would like to see the villages from inside the park resettled to a site where benefits can be brought to them" (KORUP 1991, 5). "WWF can do nothing unless there is quick choice of a site; there is a real danger that funding agencies seeing the discussions, debates and arguments will decide not to fund any site or any resettlement programme" (KORUP 1991, 6). The conservator of KORUP National Park used cynical elements in his speech, when he said, that "a national park is a large track of land declared to be public property by a national government (...) Hiking, camping, game viewing, photography

and science research are permitted because they do not alter the park" (KORUP 1991, 11). How many of the people who are transferred now to other sites will enjoy these opportunities?

After all this pressure and intimidation, it is no wonder that a KORUP representative complains "that there is little or no trust between the people to be resettled, the people within the project area, Ndian elites and the project" (KORUP 1991, 17).

Bessem still states, in accordance with the official KORUP policy, that the "resettlement was not compulsory, but voluntary" (Bessem 1997,42). "The Ekundu-Kundu villagers decided to move to this area (Six Cup Garri) because life there will be better off than it used to be at the old site" (Bessem 1997, 46). If this is correct, the view towards resettlement has changed in the ten years from 1988, when Infield received the statement that Ekundu-Kundu "is a good place. Our fathers were not fools when they chose this place to live in" (Infield 1988, 37).

An interesting question is the fact that all officials state that it is not allowed for anyone to live in a national park, but in the publications carried out by social scientists for the KORUP project, a different position is documented. According to the Cameroonian law, people are only not allowed to live or hunt within the boundaries of a national park, if these activities interfere with management plans for the national park (Law 81-13; § 13,47,69,73 and 83-169; § 2,3; 83-170; § 1,3,8,9,16,21,72 - cf. Riutenbeek 1988a 4-7). Due to this unclear situation KORUP National Park decided to resettle all villages by paying compensation. KORUP based their decision on the vague construction of a "public purpose" for this resettlement (Riutenbeek 1988a, 16-18). Scientist like the widely discussed Melissa Leach and Robin Mearns book on the "lie of the land" (1996) came to the conclusion that not only wildlife - like discussed above - can be better preserved by inhabitants inside National Parks, but also that forest and especially the rainforest of west- and central Africa, is made and conserved by human beings living inside them.

In 1986, however, the WWF discussed and organised in accordance with the Cameroonian Government, a plan to change and enlarge the existing forest reserve to become KORUP National Park. In 1988 WWF presented in its first workshop on resettlement its plans: the village of Bareka Batanga, with a population of 24, should be resettled in 1991, the villages of Esukutan, Bera and Ikenge in 1992, and the village Ekundu-Kundu in 1993 (Riutenbeek 1988b,19). A lot of water passed along the Ndian river, but nothing happened.

In 1991, Ekundu-Kundu was finally chosen to be the first village to be resettled. According to Ogork (1997 5.3.1), the process of resettlement should have started in September 1996, but now, in April 1999 the first group of people from Ekundu-Kundu, has begun to be resettled at their new location. 236.855.200 FCFA are spent for the construction of 47 houses for living, a community hall, a traditional ekpe-hall and a primary school (KORUP-Project 1999). Vabi (1999, 53) is using the same figures, but ends up with 336.855.200 FCFA. A calculation or spelling error of 100.000.000 FCFA, which is contrasted by the statement "could have been much less" (Vabi 1999,53).

For each of the 49 families, which are expected to settle down at the resettlement site more than 7 Mil. FCFA will be spend. As to be expected in Cameroon the highest single cost is related to the administration (32.500.000 FCFA - KORUP-Project 1999; Vabi 1999,53). If KORUP Project would have produced the same amount of houses found in Ekundu-Kundu it could have saved quite some money:

If KORUP would have build instead of 47 houses in the budget only the number of houses, which is found in Ekundu-Kundu (23) a direct saving of 48.000.000 FCFA would have benefited KORUP-Project. Non existing people also do not need farms: KORUP would have been able to save additional 4.320.000 FCFA for the establishment of farms, plus 14.904.000 FCFA for plantain- and oil palm-seedlings. Also the land clearance would have requested only half the size of the existing resettlement site (A saving possibility of 12.974.400 FCFA). All in all KORUP Project spend the amount of 80.198.400 FCFA for people, which have maybe some spiritual linkages with Ekundu-Kundu, but who do not live there. KORUP Project spent 36% of the overall budget of the resettlement of Ekundu-Kundu on people which did not live in Ekundu-Kundu, and which neither have a house nor a farm in Ekundu-Kundu.

Budget for the Resettlement of Ekundu-Kundu

Description	price per unit	KORUP-Analysis 1999		Findings 1999	
		Units	Costs	Units	Costs
Costs					
Land clearance	180.200 per ha	141	25.408.200	69	12.433.800
Access road	2.500.000 per km	3	7.500.000	3	7.500.000
Village roads	1.500.000 per km	3	4.500.000	3	4.500.000
Farm establishment	60.000 per ha	141	8.460.000	69	4.140.000
Plantains for planting	175.000 per ha	141	24.675.000	69	12.075.000
Oil-palms for planting	32.000 per ha	141	4.512.000	69	2.208.000
Ekpe hall	8.000.000	1	8.000.000	1	8.000.000
School	8.000.000	1	8.000.000	1	8.000.000
Community hall	8.000.000	1	8.000.000	1	8.000.000
Living houses	2.000.000	47	94.000.000	23	46.000.000
Small culverts	1.000.000	3	3.000.000	3	3.000.000
Armco ring culvert	2.000.000	1	2.000.000	1	2.000.000
well-digging/insulation	1.400.000	3	4.200.000	3	4.200.000
well-hand-pump	700.000	3	2.100.000	3	2.100.000
Administration	32.500.000		32.500.000		32.500.000
TOTAL			236.855.200		156.656.800

The estimated land is linked to the number of houses. In the KORUP estimate 47 houses with 3 ha per household puts you forward to 141 ha overall. The 23 households we found would only require 69 ha.

The ha-cost for planting material is based on the estimate that it needs 700 plantain seedlings (250 each) per ha and additional 80 oil palm seedlings (400 each) per ha (KORUP Project 1999).

2.6.1. Attitude of villagers towards the resettlement

2.6.1.1. The reception of the resettlement of Ekundu-Kundu in Ituka

Ituka is a very small village with 6 houses and a population of 17 inhabitants. 11 of them (3 men, 6 women and 2 boys) were interviewed. The men are part-time hunters and part-time workers in Mundemba or the Ndian Estate, while the women carry out farming activities. Due to this stratification women are not aware of the boundaries of the traditional land and mostly not able to name all neighbouring villages of Itukua, while all men were able to name boundaries and villages. The new boundaries with Ekundu-Kundu are known, but Ituka-villagers claim that without libations, which should be paid by the KORUP-Project, the new traditional boundaries "are not working."

All interviewed persons have some knowledge of the resettlement of Ekundu-Kundu and 100% enjoy the idea of the resettlement, but only in relation to their high expectations for compensation. The idea of compensation stood mostly in the centre of the interviews, because all interviewed villagers claim to be the traditional owner of the resettlement-land and that problems and conflicts arise, if the government and KORUP-Project do not fulfil "their promises". One lady said: "If not, we go take we bush, them no fit enter we bush weh them no fit pay we fine." While the whole village was united in their claim for compensation, they can not say if, when and where the consultations and agreements were arranged.

Did anybody consult you or your family about your opinion on the resettlement?

Only the elders were asked	29%
The whole village was involved (except the women)	29%
Nobody asked us, but we were informed by the government	42%

Was any agreement signed?

Yes	14 %
No	42 %
Do not know about it	42 %

Document 2 and 3 show that an agreement was signed and that the government promised to build a five kilometre road towards Ituka, but the agreement is neither known by the villagers, nor by the authorities.

As mentioned above, the idea of receiving compensation for the willingness to provide the land for the resettlement of Ekundu-Kundu was the main key towards the positive reception of the whole resettlement-programme. Even if they were not sure if government promised all the items they made clear that without compensation they go for quarrels with the Ekundu-Kundu people and the government. They all agree that a road from Mundemba to Ituka should be build - as prospected in document 3 - and that KORUP-Project has to provide them with houses like in the resettlement site. Parents claim that a school has been promised, while others want to remind government to give the "promised" palm-plantation, wells and well build palaver-house, but none of these claims are related to the existing agreements.

Our 20 interview-partners in Fabe were mostly village-authorities such as chief, elders and members of the women secret-societies. Due to this our findings are not representative for the whole village, but for the village authorities. We interviewed 8 men, 11 women and 1 boy, which can not be representative for the 158 inhabitants of the 32 houses, but give at least an impression of the reception of the resettlement of Ekundu-Kundu.

All our interview-partners agreed that Fabe and Ekundu-Kundu people are close relatives and due to that, appreciated the idea of the resettlement. Some Fabe-people even speak Korup, intermarriages are common and two elders claimed that something like a blood pact exists between the two villages, while the interviewed hunters focused on the fact that they even hunt and eat together with hunters of Ekundu-Kundu. All interviewed persons said that they look forward to a fruitful relation with the resettled village, even if the resettlement takes place on Fabe land. The traditional ownership of the land of the resettlement seems to be a major problem between Fabe and Ituka, because the village authorities complained that "Ituka boycotts all agreements on land ownership, because they fear all compensation will go to Fabe." The conflict seems to be related to the fact that mostly the ordinary villagers expect enormous compensation through the KORUP Project and the government, while the village authorities agreed that they gave the land free of charge to Ekundu-Kundu. As in Ituka villagers claimed that Fabe should get the same assistance from KORUP as Ekundu-Kundu, mostly in form of water-taps, better houses (resettlement-style) and electricity, but as one could see from document 2 none of these claims are covered by the existing documents. Document 3 only states that "compensation should be paid as per the valuation report of the competent expropriation commission, for the unexhausted improvement on the community farm of Fabe village now to be abandoned to the resettling village."

They agreed that they were informed and consulted by "KORUP authorities, the S.D.O. and the mayor of Mundemba", who is also the president of the Bima-Union and seen as the guarantor of the claimed land certificates. He is seen as possible conflict-manager with Ituka, in the problem of traditional land ownership, and with the government or KORUP-Project, related to the wishes for compensation.

It seems as if Ekundu-Kundu is highly welcomed by its host-villages Ituka and Fabe, but they both claim to be the only host and ignore the contribution of the other village. For the people in Fabe, which is quite developed and active, the problem of ownership seems more related to the prestige and the honour, while in Ituka, which we found as a dying place, the villagers want to use the claimed compensation to stop the migration of younger people to Mundemba and Bulu. The question of compensation is mostly related to the fact that the excellent infrastructure and the modern houses in the resettlement site produce jealousy among the inhabitants of the host-villages. The majority of our interview-partners in both villages claimed - in contrast to the reality - that no agreement has been signed and that the necessary traditional libations for the installation of boundaries are not carried out yet. The agreements which were signed should be submitted to the villagers and the promises fulfilled, before conflicts become a problem for the development and partnership in that region, especially as all future host-villages and

resettlement-villages are watching the resettlement process of Ekundu-Kundu carefully.

2.6.1.4. The reception of the resettlement-process by the inhabitants of Ekundu-Kundu

Proportion of Ekundu-Kundu villagers willing to move to and to stay at the resettlement site

	1988a	(1997a)	1999
Men (18-50)		(27 = 93 %)	67%
Men (above 50)		(3 = 60 %)	60%
Men Total		(30 = 88 %)	65%
Women (18-50)		(29 = 100%)	84%
Women (above 50)		(2 = 100%)	20%
Woman Total		(31 = 100%)	71%
Boys		(8 = 89 %)	64%
Girls		(16 = 100%)	82%
Total	50 %	(85 = 94%)	70%

An interesting question, which gave rise to long discussions, was the decision-making process towards the resettlement. A significant majority of the people, who have knowledge about the resettlement-process, are of the view that KORUP Project choose a location and a village layout without participation of the villagers. While the village administration and the elders agreed that the location was chosen by the village or the chief, the ordinary villagers made KORUP responsible for the whole resettlement-process, from the very first planning till the construction of the last wall.

Decision-maker (location)	Ekundu-Kundu	Resettlement-Site	Total
KORUP	34% (12)	52% (16)	42% (28)
Chief	3% (1)	16% (5)	9% (6)
The entire village	17% (6)	13% (4)	15% (10)
Elders	0% (0)	3% (1)	2% (1)
Do not know	46% (16)	6% (5)	32% (21)

Decision-maker (layout)	Ekundu-Kundu	Resettlement-Site	Total
KORUP	46% (16)	64% (20)	55% (36)
Chief	0% (0)	10% (3)	4% (3)
The entire village	25 % (9)	6% (2)	17% (11)
Elders	0% (0)	10% (3)	4% (3)
Do not know	29% (10)	10% (3)	20% (13)

The difference seems to be related to the fact, that the majority is satisfied with the new location, but not with the village layout, especially with the houses. While the village administration claims that they choose the new location, they do not want to be responsible for the unloved layout. They claimed that they had decided to be resettled at a place called "six

cup garri" (cf. Bessem 1997, 46), but KORUP did not like this place, because it was to close to the National Park. Nevertheless a majority of the people at the resettlement site (58%) and Ekundu-Kundu (54%) remembers some village meetings related to the decision-making, but mostly ordinary villagers complain that it was not an open discussion and a participatory decision. They say that KORUP and government officials just informed them about the resettlement without consulting them. The village authorities had a quite contradictory view. One even states that they decided to settle at the new location, without any influence from outside, while others remember an excursion to the National Parks in the north of Cameroon, organised and paid by KORUP, which convinced them to agree with the resettlement-programme.

Proportion of villagers from Ekundu-Kundu who have a positive attitude towards the resettlement site

	(1997a)	1999
Men (18-50)	(22 = 76%)	67%
Men (above 50)	(1 = 20%)	60%
Men Total	(23 = 68%)	65%
Women (18-50)	(21 = 72%)	84%
Women (above 50)	(2 = 50%)	20%
Woman Total	(22 = 71%)	71%
Boys	(8 = 89%)	64%
Girls	(14 = 86%)	82%
Total	(67 = 74%)	70%

1997a: Bessem 1997, 37-38.

It is obvious that in 1999, while the resettlement site is nearly completed, a positive attitude towards the site is closely linked to the willingness to be resettled. "I found the new village nice, so I will move", was an often heard statement, even if the people still complain about the houses and ask for additional infrastructure as it is outlined above.

2.7. Ritual Dimension and Customs

According to Carr the customs of the Bima, Balundu Badiku and Korup ethnic group, which is classified as a semi-bantu tribe, "are similar, as also is their history" (Carr 1923, 1). He states that all these people have a strong relation to the Bakundu-tribe, with whom they were united in the tribe, called Bongoe. It seems as if they moved into the region of Korup from Beboka (Lipinja-region), when the population of this region became too large for their territory (Carr 1923,9). Inyang claimed that "the Korup people originated from the Bantoid race in Central African Republic. They immigrated into Cameroon about the fourteenth century, where they first settled with the Bamenda people for about three years before finally finding their permanent settlement in a place called Kitok" (Inyang 1988,2).

In Carr's report on ethnological facts of the region (Carr 1923, 44-48) no ritual or custom is

described, which is related to a specific area. It seems that this is due to the needs of the shifting lifestyle of the inhabitants of the Korup region. Like in most other ethnical groups in that region "each man is supposed to possess a soul in some animal. He is himself aware of the animal in which his soul resides, but he does not, under any circumstances, disclose the name of the animal to anybody. The death of the animal in which his soul resides, is supposed to cause the death of the man, but this does not prevent him hunting and killing the species of animal to which he is allied, as it is but one in which his soul resides, and should the man and the animal meet, it is believed that recognition would immediately take place, and naturally no harm would occur to either" (Carr 1923,48). As long as it is believed that this relation exists mostly with animals - or even natural phenomena as rainbows (Carr 1923,48) - which are situated in the nearer surrounding of the place of birth, the resettlement seems to raise the problem of hunters of other areas, who hunt in the former hunting area of Ekundu-Ekundu after the village is resettled without knowing which animal is related to a villager and which one is "free". So the totemistic belief of the villagers seems to be a problem in the process of resettlement, as long as KORUP National Park is unable to guarantee that no other hunters move into the hunting area of Ekundu-Kundu. In 1988, Infield received a statement which expresses this potential danger: "If the people leave the forest, others from Nigeria will move in and there will be war" (Infield 1988, 58).

According to Carr and even Inyang there are no ritual links to shrines or burial grounds (Carr 1923,50-52); the Korup tribe even does not hold a ceremony for funerals (Carr 1923, B9). Also the different secret societies are only related to the world and the village of the living people, but neither to the burial site of ancestors nor secret places in the forest (Carr 1923, 52-57; Inyang 1988, 10-25).

Bessem states that "secret objects or places such as fetishes, shrines, groves and graves are in the forest" (Bessem 1997,4). "Ancestors will become angry with them for leaving their land of birth. (...) In order for them to live happily and peacefully without any incident, they called on the Cameroon government to meet the peoples' need for libations" (Bessem 1997,46), or to say it more directly: money is requested.

In 1999 Ekundu-Kundu villagers in both sites state that they want to continue with their rituals and worship their traditional gods, but on the other hand, 29% of them ask for a Christian church. While the details of the rituals and the belief system are not so much of interest for this study it is worth to mention that in contrast to the willingness of Ekundu-Kundu villagers to keep their traditional gods in mind they are of the view that traditions will change due to the different environment. A common idea is the above mentioned position, that witchcraft will reduce. While elder people criticise this change young people and women look forward to the new lifestyle. They state that they hate the domination of the elders in the village. Women we met alone talked quite negative about the birth-rituals. They hope that in future, they are able to deliver in the Mundemba hospital and use "modern medicine". The access to "modern doctors" has to be seen as a development in the field of health care, but it reduces the power of witchcraft and through that the traditional basis of the society. Soon birth will be no longer seen as a present of the gods, but as a biological phenomena. The impact of the invention of

modern health care can be studied throughout Cameroon. While the first generation still first consult the traditional doctor before they see the "white-men doctor", the second generation only look for traditional answers to their problems, when "modern medicine" seems to fail - as in the case of AIDS etc..

Witchcraft which has to be seen as the driving force of the ritual dimension of the traditional society only works in its universal and original meaning in places like the old Ekundu-Kundu. None of the 25 pupils who go to primary school were able to name the president of Cameroon. They did not know about Nigeria, Kumba, Iran or America. In such an environment, rituals get a meaning which is far beyond the folkloristic traditions which are found in the major villages and towns. Due to that it is difficult to discuss or negotiate the requested libations to pacify the ancestors. One problem arises from their believe that their ancestors do not like to stay in the rain. "If you bury old people outside and the rain is beating their graves, they become angry. Since some of them have been witches they will give us trouble." They bury their deaths in the houses to protect them from rain, but if they leave the old site rain will soon enter the houses and "annoy the ancestors". They state that the ancestors would not mind to join them to the new site if they physically transfer parts of them. "Before we are able to be resettled, the rites of purification must be performed to appease our ancestors while calling them to join us where we are going." For this transport as well as for the reestablishment of the Ekpe-hall in the new site, they request money, because according to their believes libations have to be carried out. While some of the elders requested up to 10.000.000 FCFA for libations others would be satisfied with a cow. Some of the elders ask for a helicopter to transfer the holy stones and the ancestral drum from the old to the new site, because no human being is allowed to carry it, while others explain that the only problem is that the libation-fee is not yet paid.

However, rituals are nothing stable and change according to the worldviews of the people who perform them and the conservation of human societies is neither an objective of KORUP National Park, nor a common aim of the Cameroonian state. Some younger people of Ekundu-Kundu already adopted traditional elements to their new lifestyle and state that they had for long an ancestral song with the inspiring title "KORUP has taken our forest". They could create a dance for the youth on this song and present it to tourists and project-visitors. The original tradition and ritual dimension will soon disappear to the ancestral world, but it seems as if nobody among the youth will miss them.

3.8. Literature

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3.9. Maps

- Map 1: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen); Berlin 1912.
- Map 2: F. B. Carr 1923.
- Map 3: KORUP Forest Reserve 1936.
- Map 4: KORUP Project (ODA) 1989.
- Map 5: PRA map of Ekundu-Kundu 1999.
- Map 6: Map of resettlement site 1999.
- Map 7: KORUP-Map of Ekundu-Kundu 1997.