Research dissertation
Research Master 2 in Geopolitics
«Territorial stakes and power rivalries »

The Campo Ma’an Model Forest in Cameroon: Geopolitical analysis

WORKING ATLAS

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5. The Campo Ma’an Model Forest: From Its Vision to Its Field
The year 2005 marks the creation of the Campo Ma’an Model Forest Association (CaMaMF), in the South of Cameroon.

The concept of the Model Forest Association (MFA) was born in the middle of the nineties in Canada. The MFA is a partnership associating all stakeholders concerned by the sustainable future of forest-based landscapes, and combines a set of different socio-economic and environmental interests.

Its objective being to strive for the sustainable development, through the mitigation of conflicts and the promotion of the consensus, the MFA seems to be an innovative instrument of the territorial governance, based on a wide stakeholders’ participation. The MFA is a place attracting all actors, even those who have always been kept away from the decision making.

As far as the territory of the Campo Ma’an Operational Technical Unit (OTU) is concerned, the CaMaMF is a new entity, taking place in the middle of a series of current rivalries between the already established territorial holds – agro-industries, forest enterprises, the National Park – and the new ones, related to the big development projects, which are covering some areas of the OTU territory, and thus overlapping and adding complexity to the already unstable system.

In this territory which is so wide and depopulated, a question can be asked: « Are the land claims the expression of a real lack of land, or are they just the representation of more complex situations? »

The CaMaMF does not call into question the existing institutional bodies’ role. It is a meeting point between the decision-making bodies and the local communities, who find the opportunity to express themselves and actually take their future in their hands, for the first time.

Offering a room for exchanging and decision-making democratically, it is susceptible to create a critical mass representative of the population and the other actors, as well as to exert a power in the negotiations with economic and institutional organizations, concerned by the territory issues.

From now on, each stakeholder has to define its own spatial strategy and adopt a stance in relation to the increasing CaMaMF influence on the territory.

Today, even though all actors are invited to join the initiative, some stakeholders are standing back, while others are refusing by reticence about the establishment of this new power.

Throughout their massive participation, the populations recognize the CaMaMF as an innovative and legitimate development instrument, offering for the first time a pleading place, to freely discuss, get structured and represented, and strive for improving living condition, away from empty promises.
Among the 50 Model Forest Associations (MFA) existing in the world today, in four continents, I chose to make the geopolitical analysis of the Model Forest of Campo Ma’an, located in the South Region of Cameroon.

It is a matter of exploring why a territory – at least of a group of the population – of the African continent, celebrating the 50th anniversary of decolonisation, is « spontaneously » adopting a western model for development.

In fact, the « Model Forest » (MF) approach was born in Canada, in 1995, with a view to associate social, cultural and economic needs of the local communities, towards the sustainable development of forest-based landscapes.

Each Model Forest belongs to the International Model Forest Network (IMFN).

Two Model Forest Associations exist currently in Cameroon: the Campo Ma’an (CaMaMF) and Dja and Mpomo (FOMOD). These MFA are the first of the Congo River Basin, as well as of the African continent as a whole.

New Model Forest Associations are developing in the Sub-saharan Africa. This is the objective of the African Model Forest Network (AMFN), which is working to launch this initiative in other Countries, firstly in the River Congo Basin, but also in other African forestry regions.

Because it concentrates a rich variety of situations in many respects, Cameroon is commonly called « Africa in miniature ». For this reason it represents the most appropriate pilot territory for the African model forest network, which can take benefit of this experience by proving effective support to new territories willing to trigger this process.

In Africa, such a large continent, which has been built on sediments of modernity deposed by Europe, Cameroon is a kaleidoscope of ethnic groups, cultures, languages and natural environments. Inheriting from the colonisation of diverse European powers, it has become a hinge between the French-speaking and the English-speaking Africa, as well as a bridge between tradition and modernity. (Pourtier, 2010)

The territory concerned by the Campo Ma’an Model Forest Association encompasses an interesting complexity for a geopolitical research, because of the plurality of actors playing a role in the space sharing, and wielding varying intensity powers, based on antagonist logics.
INTRODUCTION

The Objective of the research is to identify some of the stakes of the territory concerned by the Campo Ma’an Model Forest Association, being the Operational Technical Unit (OTU) of Campo Ma’an, as well as the power relations exerted within its boundaries by diverse actors.

In this so large and sparsely populated territory, the « lack of land » is considered as a major stake. This is such a contradiction, deserving to be investigated, in order to find the reasons it is inspired by.

Because of the wide number of actors and power stakes concentrating in this territory, it has not been possible to make the analysis of each power relation in depth. Nevertheless, it has been very interesting to explore the plurality of situations and learn about the size of the projects and the different stakeholders’ visions, in order to draw the first conclusions on the geopolitical role of the Campo Ma’an Model Forest Association.

The spatial covering strategy of the territory carried out by every actor, is driven by a set of very different and contradictory visions. A lot depends upon the representations each stakeholder has in mind as regards as the relations between the territory, the other actors and even itself. Each representation provides either the legitimacy or not to the Model Forest Association.

This analysis is supposed to be an exercise, to be repeated in other territories, where a « Model Forest » process is ongoing, in order to better understand the situations and the deep reasons influencing the stakeholders positioning.

In particular, the objective was to understand how the creation of a « Model Forest Association » can provide solutions to the conflict management, by encouraging the effective and inclusive participation of all actors, and also to identify the reasons steering stakeholders to join the initiative or not.

First of all, the Model Forest Association is a partnership, sharing a coherent long term vision for the forest-based territory development. Its legitimacy and capacity to develop a significant critical mass face of the State and other institutions - donors included - depends on the actual participation of actors.

A « coherent vision » does not mean that all the stakeholders share a single representation of the territory unanimously. By design, the Model Forest has to cope with the complexity of individuals and community interests, whose borders are often difficult to find.

Stretched between modernity and tradition, the governance systems and policies need to deal carefully with two different, often contradictory visions. On the one hand, the Cameroonian Government fosters a rational zoning-based resources exploitation and, on the other hand, other individuals or collective actors are asking for the conservation of the traditional customary laws, as well as for the integration of some socio-economic and environmental parameters, by the project managers.
INTRODUCTION

Methodology
Since the core of the geopolitics is to study power relations and power rivalries taking place on a territory, I am going to list the acteurs concerned by the Model Forest, as well as the representations influencing their strategy for the land occupation.

Individuals, institutions and local communities are the result of their historical and cultural experiences, which has marked the way they interact and they conceive the world.

With the view to understand the deep reasons mobilizing men and women, institutions and local communities, I had recours to diverse disciplines (anthropology, ethnography, economy, law, geography, ecology, etc.), the analysis of contradictory evidences, the reading of different bibliographique sources and press media, as well as to the interviews made on the filed.

The geopolitical analysis of the Model Forest Association is based on the observation of overlapping spatial regions within and outside the OTU boundaries.

Which are the spatial regions? Which are the intersection zones? What does it happen at this level? How is the Model Forest supposed to reduce the tensions of the stakeholders’ contradictory strategies?

Phases of the research

**COLLECTION OF INFORMATION**
- BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH: BOOKS AND THEMATIC REVIEWS.
- WEB RESEARCH: ACADEMIC AND SPECIALIZED ARTICLES.
- PRESS REVIEW ARTICLES WRITTEN BY LICENCED JOURNALISTS AND PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS AND ON THE WEB
- MEDIA: RADIO AND TV.
- OBSERVATION OF IMAGES: MAPS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

**CHECKING OF COLLECTED INFORMATION**
- INTERVIEWS BY DISTANCE
- INQUIRY ON THE FIELD: INTERVIEWS OF CONCERNED ACTORS. NO QUESTIONNAIRES HAVE BEEN ADOPTED, BY FREE DISCUSSIONS.

**MAPS PRODUCTION**
- THE RESULT OF THE COLLECTED INFORMATION IS VISIBLE THANKS TO THE ELABORATION OF VERY DIVERSE MAPS, REALIZED WITH THE ADOBE ILLUSTRATORS SOFTWARE.
PART I - THE « MODEL FOREST » AND ITS NETWORKS: GEOPOLITICAL ANALYSIS

1. Introduction to the Model Forest: concept and network

The conflicting interests linked to the utilisation of forest resources are very different and triggered by complex dynamics.

Forest-based landscapes are often at the core of important threats of corruption linked to illegal timber business, excessive timber exploitation, loss of biodiversity and impoverishment of people, who are not taking benefit from the economic and social development potential of the forests they live in.

Because of the conflicts among loggers, industries and natives, about the way to manage the forest resources in a Canadian region, the Government of Canada decided to develop the « Model Forest » approach, beginning 1990.

By « Model Forest » it is intended a partnership gathering diverse socio-economic interests and actors, willing to elaborate a long-term sustainable development strategy, for a territory where the forest is predominant.

The Model Forest partnership is formally set up as a legal body, generally an association (a syndicate). Thus it is common to say: the Model forest decided, the Model forest takes part to, etc.

The proposed approach brought rapidly to some good results. In fact, the participants achieved a common understanding, towards problem solving, on the forest issue, but also on other matters like economic development and biodiversity conservation.

The Model Forest concept is based on the respect of 6 universal founding principles: partnership, governance, landscape (territory), sustainability, activity programme and networking.

The Model Forest is a « collaborative process where people and groups advocating a variety of values and having diverse stakes and point of views, establish a public-private partnership, neutral and transparent, and develop their own governance system for the elaboration and the implementation of a strategy to ensure the forest territory sustainability. »
The International Model Forest network

The networking is carried out by the International Model Forest Network (IMFN), whose Secretariat (IMFNS) is in Ottawa within the Ministry of Natural Resources of Canada.

The IMFN encourages the Model Forest Associations to work at both local and global level, exchanging experiences and solutions, carries out the networking and the strategic positioning of the network in relation to national and international institutions.

Today, there are in the world more than 50 Model Forest Association, in 20 Countries and 4 Continents.

They all belong to the International Model Forest Network, as well as to the big geographical areas Model Forest networks.

Each Model Forest Association has its own identity and evolves establishing its priorities, the way of fonctionning, as well as building its capacity to position itself vis-à-vis of donors towards a sustainable future.

The Model Forest Association is like a bridge between the concerns of the local communities, in search of pragmatic solutions for a peaceful, democratic and sustainable development, and the global community, looking forward to fostering sustainable policies and strategies.

In front of problems and solutions which are continuously overlapping between local and global, and increased by the globalisation speed, the MFA are susceptible to be innovative instruments for the development and dissemination of good practices for reducing conflicts within forest territories.
The African Model Forest Network (AMFN)

The Congo Basin, in Central Africa, hosts the second largest rainforest in the world, after Amazonia. A big part of the Congo Basin forest is in Cameroon. Ecompassing 90% of African ecosystems, it is considered as one of the richest areas of Central Africa.

In this region, the high ecologic value which is threatened by forest and mines activities, as well as the demographic growth and populations pooreness are at stake.

The forest is an element strictly linked with identity, and plays a paramount role in the Cameroonian’s life. Indeed, the forest represents a set of very important social and traditional values for the autocthonous populations.

In this context, Cameroon is the biggest exporter and the second biggest timber producer in Africa.

In 1994, the Cameroonian Government starting to deal with the forest deterioration by promulgating the Forest law, encountered many problems.

In 2002, the International Centre for the Forestry Research (CIFOR), based in Yaoundé, contacted the International Model Forest Network (IMFN) in order to explore the possibility to launch pilot Model Forest experiences in Cameroon. Thus, the forestry national administration, the local actors, the Canadian International Development Agency, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the FAO and the Forest Commission of Central Africa joined to the development of this initiative.

In 2005, following the publication of a call for proposals, two sites have been chosen as pilot areas for the creation of two Model Forests, the one of Campo Ma’an (CaMaMF) and the one of Dja and Mpomo (FOMOD).

Since 2009, the African Model Forest Network mission is to encourage and facilitate the creation and the running of a panafrican Model Forest network, in the Congo Basin.

AS A MAJOR STAKE, OF THE AFRICAN MODEL FOREST:
- THE PARTICIPATIVE GOVERNANCE
- THE SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
- THE RESOURCES CONSERVATION AND GOOD MANAGEMENT
- THE KNOWLEDGE GENERATION AND SHARING
Map 2: The African Model Forest Network and its expansion

The expansion of the African Model Forest Network in the Congo Basin

Legend
- African Model Forest Network Secretariat (Yaoundé)
- Existing model forests
- Model forest to be created
- New potential model forests
- Specific support
- Planned expansion

Cartographic source: Daniel Dalet/ d-maps.com
Source: IMFN 2011
©Elaborated by: Michela Ravelli 2011
The Initiative for the creation of Model Forests in Africa

In 2009, the Ministry of Natural Resources of Canada launched the Initiative for the Model Forest Associations in Africa, whose funds are provided by the IMFNS, in the perspective to improve the conservation and the sustainable management of the natural resources linked to the forest-based landscapes in the French-speaking Africa, thus in the Mediterranean regions of Maghreb, and in the Congo Basin.

This initiative finances the African Model Forest Network Secretariat, which has been based in Yaoundé since 2009, in order to provide support to its mission to develop the two Cameroonian Model Forests, and demonstrate the worth of the Model Forest approach in Africa, and establish an actual African Network, before 2013.
Map 3: The initiative for the Model Forest in the French-speaking Africa (IFMA)
The Model Forest in Cameroon

The Model Forest approach has been initiated in a period of great effervescence for the territory ever. Indeed, this is a period of transition from the conflictual relationship between the territorial current holds (agro-industries, the Campo Ma’an National Park, the loggers) and the local communities, to new potential conflicts between the local communities and the new upcoming holds, which are moving to the territory as new occupants, for implementing the « big projects »

The territory concerned by the Model Forest Association corresponds to the Operational Technical Unit (OTU) of Campo Ma’an, and will be treated in the next part. In 2010, the Campo Ma’an Model Forests integrated the Municipality of Lokoundje, which is located at the North of Kribi and the OTU.

In 2005, following the publication of a call for proposals, two sites have been identified as pilot territories for the creation of two Model Forest Associations, the one of Campo Ma’an (CaMaMF) and the one of Dja and Mpomo (FOMOD).

Starting from 2005, the two Model Forests organized their own management and governance structures, their partnerships and became legal entities (Associations) in order to start working on some actions for the promotion of sustainable income generating activities.

« PARTICULAR CARE HAS TO BE TAKEN ABOUT INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS THAT HAVE OFTEN BEEN SET ASIDE AND EXCLUDED FROM THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS, AS WOMEN AND NATIVE POPULATION ». (Gagoe Julie; Diaw Mariteuw Chimère, 2011)
The Campo Ma’an Model Forest Association and its objectives

The Campo Ma’an Model Forest association is a legal entity with financial autonomy, regulated by Law N° 90/053 of 19 December 1990 on the liberty of association in the Republic of Cameroon. Its recognition as Non Governmental Organization in compliance with the Law N°99/014 of 22 December 1999, is pending. (Art. 1 and 2 of the Statute of the CaMaMF).

“The CaMaMF has the objective to build a room of life where poverty declines dramatically and where the forest resources contribute to a social cultural and economic development of local communities, in the respect of natural balances”. (Art. 5)

The CaMaMF is composed of active members, organized in platforms and facilitator members, all of them having equal rights and obligations. (Art. 10)

There are the following platforms or working groups:

- communes, mayors and municipal councilors
- deputies
- rural women (complexe),
- rural young people,
- community forests, hunting areas and other association for the community natural resources management (complex),
- Bagyeli Pygmies community,
- traditional authorities,
- elites and resource people,
- agroindustries,
- forest companies,
- actors from the water, energy and mines sectors,
- private medias,
- national park and actors involved in conservation and tourism sector,
- local development structures(complex),
- local supporting NGOs.

In creation in 2011:
- traditional practitioners,
- micro-finances,
- tourism.
Map 4: The administrative divisions concerned by the Model Forest Association before and after 2011

Legend
- MVILA: Name of the division
- : Main town of the municipality/sub-divisions
- : Municipality boarders
- OTU of Campo Ma'an
- : Boarders
- : Atlantic Ocean

Cartographic source: National Institute of Cartography

©Elaborated by: Michela Ravelli 2011
2. From the small to the large scale: zoom in on the Campo Ma’an OTU territory

Cameroon: a geopolitical view of « Africa in miniature »

Being a bridge between Western and Central Africa, Cameroon is often presented as the « Africa in miniature ». (Lacoste, Dictionnaire de Géopolitique, 1995).

Located below the equator, this Country covers 475 000 km². From the North to the South, it measures about 1 200 km, from the Gulf of Guinea to the Tchad Lake; from the West to the East it measures 800 km from the Atlantic Ocean to the boundaries with the Central African Republic.

The relief varies considerably from the sea to the summit of the Mount Cameroon, the highest of Central Africa.

Because of its human diversity, Africa is kaleidoscope of ethnic groups, cultures, costumes and languages. Cameroon encompasses the elements of this multi-faces Africa. (Pourtier, 2010)

First colonized by Germans (1894), after World War I, the territory was divided between France and Britain as League of Nations mandates.

At the end of the World War II, the United Nations placed Cameroon under trusteeship. The Country integrated the French union such as the other colonies until 1960, when the Country conquered its indipendency through the use of violence.
Legal framework

The Operational technical unit of Campo Ma’an has been created by the Cameroonian State in 1999, with the purpose of a better planification and coordination of the biodiversity conservation and management, as well as to develop economic, ecologic and scientific values.

Being part of the Congo Basin, the second largest rainforest in the world, after Amazonia, this site has been chosen as a major site for the biodiversity preservation combined with the economic development.

Objectives

- Supervise the creation and management of the Campo Ma’an National Park.
- Develop a sustainable management process of forest resources and animals in the peripheral multi-use area.
- Develop a land management and conservation of the coast area.
- Promote the participation of local communities to the biodiversity management.
- Coordinate the actions of forest police and hunting.
- Facilitate ecotourisme activities.

As reported by the Master Plan for the development of the OTU of Campo Ma’an, its territory covers an area of 771,668 ha, and encompasses three departments of the South Region:

- the department of Océan, the district of Campo as a whole, as well as some parts of the District of Kribi and Akom II,
- the department of Vallée du Ntem, the district of Ma’an as a whole,
- the department of Mvila, with a small area included in the triangle Zouameyong-Ebemvok-Nkong-Yebay
Map 6: 1999 – Creation of the Campo Ma’an OTU and the project of National Park
Map 7: Zoning of the Campo Ma’an OTU

Zoning of the Campo Ma’an OTU

Legend
- Main town of the municipality
- Campo Ma’an National Park
- Agroindustry plantations
- Forest management unit (FMU)
- Protection forests
- Agroforestry area
- Atlantic Ocean
- Main roads
- Secondary roads

Universal Transverse Mercator Projection (UTM) Zone 32 N
Datum: WGS 84
Ellipsoid: Clarke 1880

Cartographic source: WWF Programme Kudu-Zombo (Juin 2009)
©Elaborated by: Michela Ravelli 2011
### Table 1: Land allocation in the Campo Ma’an OTU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land allocation</th>
<th>Surface (ha)</th>
<th>Surface (ha)</th>
<th>% of the OTU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Campo Ma’an National Park (State permanent private domain)</td>
<td>260 830</td>
<td></td>
<td>33.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unity of Forestry Management (UFM) (State permanent private domain)</td>
<td>235 485</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro-forestry area (State non-permanent private domain)</td>
<td>275 033</td>
<td></td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... HEVECAM</td>
<td>42 010</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... SOCAPALM</td>
<td>16 332</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... Protection forests</td>
<td>13 024</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... Agro-forestry area « villages »</td>
<td>203 667</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maritime public domain</td>
<td>320</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>771 668</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Master plan for the development of the OTU of Campo Ma’an/Modified by Michela Ravelli

### Table 2: Distribution of the population in the OTU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administrative or agro-industries units</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bantu and others</td>
<td>Pygmy Bagyéli</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kribi*</td>
<td>1.308</td>
<td>1.366</td>
<td>2.674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campo</td>
<td>2.748</td>
<td>2.693</td>
<td>5.441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akom II</td>
<td>5.779</td>
<td>5.581</td>
<td>11.360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebolowa*</td>
<td>1.076</td>
<td>1.113</td>
<td>2.189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma’an</td>
<td>6.924</td>
<td>6.783</td>
<td>13.707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambam*</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-Total</strong></td>
<td>17.971</td>
<td>17.682</td>
<td>35.653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEVECAM**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18.216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCAPALM**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-Total</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24.071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>59.724</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Inquiry ERE on the field March 2001/January 2002

*Data concerning the administratives unites included in the OTU only

**Data provided by agro-industries
This area embraces a huge cultural diversity linked to the plurality of ethnic groups, which is susceptible to add a certain complexity to the relationships within the group of sedentary populations, but also between sedentaries and nomades.

There are:

• **SEDENTARY POPULATIONS:**
  the Bantus composed of 6 main ethnic autochthonous groups [Batanga, Iyassa, Mabi (Mabéa) (coastal population), Mvae, Boulu, Ntumu]

• **NOMADE POPULATIONS:**
  the Bagyeli-Bakola Pygmies.
The Villages and their organization in the space

The **HOME GARDENS** are just beyond houses, while the cacao and oil palm plantations are a little bit further.

Then, there is a strip with trees, protecting the vegetable plots against animals.

Beyond this strip, within a 5-km distance, from the road to the forest, there are vegetable plots and set-aside lands.

The main **VEGETABLE CROPS** (temporary cultivations) produced are manioc, cocoyam, corn, plantain banana, groundnut and cucumber, generally associated to short fallsows (3 to 5 years), then of bananas and cucumbers (essep) fields, on the edge of the forest, with long fallow shifting (15 to 20 years).

A part of the vegetable crops productions are for sale.

The **SLASH-AND-BURN AGRICULTURE** is the most used. The agricultural calendar is divided in two seasons: the first one, from March to July, and the second one, from September to November.

The vegetable crops average surface is about one hectare per year per household. Some households may have up to three fields per year.

The **PRODUCTIVE CULTIVATIONS** are in the North and in the West of the OTU, between Akom II and Nyabizan. The cacao cultivation is the most widespread, with an average plantation surface of 4 hectares. Because of the cut price and the lack of technical and financial support, the cocoa (2.5 ha per household as average size) are little maintained. This kind of cultivations are not produced on the coastal area.

A huge palm oil demand is encouraging the **OIL PALM PLANTATIONS**, often started by local elites. Some villagers produced **RUBBER TREES**, especially in Zingui and Adjap.

The **LIVESTOCK OF SMALL ANIMALS** is little developed. Each household has some animals, such as poultry, sheeps, pigs and goats, running free, and serving as foodstuff for special events. The livestock of cow is not appropriate at all, beacause of the risk of trypanosomiasis.

The **TRAPPING** is very much practiced in the nearest of the fields, as protection against rodents threatening cultivations. Captured animals are consumed locally or sold (porcupines, monkeys, crocodiles, etc…). Hunting, fishing and forest non-timber products harvest are practiced within the agro-forestry strip of 5 km wide.

There are **SEASONAL PRODUCTS** (fruits, mushrooms), the day-to-day harvest product (firewood, condiments) and the whole year available products, but harvested on the basis of needs (herbal medecins, building materials).
In the Park peripheral area there are about **120 sedentary villages**, and **22 Pygmy nomades settlements**, scattered in the forest in the district of Akom II, Campo and Kribi, as well as some agglomerations created around **agro-industries and forestry companies**.

Villages and are built along the carriage way.

**Eventhough the support provided by local and international NGOs is paramount and long lasting, the people organization capacity is still very weak.**

Due to the lack of basic infrastructures, the difficulties to move on long distances across very inconfortable forest tracks, communication, trades and exchange relations get more complicated and expensive.

People live in a very dense forest environnment, where the luxuriant vegetation is reconquering progressively each piece of abandoned land.

Because of the weak soil fertility, the slash-and-burn agriculture is the sole solution for the local communities and their soaring demographic growth. Thus, a huge land surface is needed to guarantee sufficient period for the fallows. (Tropenbos, Minef, Snv, 2001)
PERMANENT FORESTS or CLASSIFIED
Belonging to the permanent forest domain

NON-PERMANENT FORESTS
Belonging to the non-permanent forest domain

State domain forests
Communal forests
National domain forests
Communitary Forests
Individuals’ forest

Private domain of the State
Private domain of the Commune
Right of use recognized
The community owns all forest product
Titles

Protected areas for the fauna:
• NATIONAL PARK
• FAUNA RESERVES
• PRODUCTION FORESTS
• AREAS WITH CYNEGETIC INTEREST...

Chart 1: Schematisation of forests typologies created by the Forest Law n°94/01

Chart 2: Land cover: permanent and non-permanent forests

Forêts permanentes
Forêts non permanentes
PART I

Relation between the population and the territory: first conclusions (I)

The «lack of land» and the land conflits are often cited by the NGOs and the Campo Ma’an National Park. Since this territory is very large and sparsely populated, this claim seems to be contradictory.

In general, it seems that the lack of land is due to the territorial holds, such as agro-industries and logging companies. Yet, by observing figures, it appears that the territory is very wide and scarsely populated. What is the situation?

So, what is known is that there are no inhabitants within the perimeter of the National Park, neither in the protection forest areas, nor in the public maritime domain. Furthermore, according to the CMNP management plan, people living within the GMG HEVECAM and SOCAPALM concessions, should be about 24,189 out of which 118 Bagyeli Pygmies.

The information on the number of people actually living in the forest area included in the CMNP is missing. Indeed, since this area belongs to the State private domain, it is supposed to be uninhabited.

Therefore, if someone is still living within the National Park boundaries, then they should be a few people. This seems to be confirmed by the map of the villages (Map 9).

A CALCULATION of the ratio between the surface of the spatial regions coming out by the zoning of the OTU of Campo Ma’an and the population, allow to drax some considerations.
### The ratio between the population and the territory: first conclusions (II)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zoning</th>
<th>Surface (ha)</th>
<th>Surface (ha)</th>
<th>% of the OTU</th>
<th>Population Bantus</th>
<th>Population Pygmies Bagyéli</th>
<th>Total of the population</th>
<th>Population density inhabitant /km²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Campo Ma’an National Park</td>
<td>260 830</td>
<td></td>
<td>33,5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FMU</td>
<td>235 485</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agroforestry area</td>
<td>275 033</td>
<td></td>
<td>35,5</td>
<td>24071</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>24189</td>
<td>8,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... HEVECAM</td>
<td>42 010</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18216</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>18334</td>
<td>43,64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... SOCAPALM</td>
<td>16 332</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5855</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5855</td>
<td>35,84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... Protection forests</td>
<td>13 024</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... Agroforestry area « villages »</td>
<td>203 667</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>35653</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>36149</td>
<td>17,74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maritime public domain</td>
<td>320</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>771 668</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>59724</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>60338</td>
<td>7,8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Master plan for the development of the Campo Ma’an OTU/Table on the population ERE Développement 2002. Modified by Michela Ravelli.

### OBSERVATIONS:

The demographic pressure on the territory has different intensity from one place to another. A quite huge pressure is observed in the agroindustry area of HEVECAM. The calculation of the demographic pressure in the OTU as a whole, does not make any sense here, since a large portion of the territory is not populated at all.

17,74 inhabitants per km² is the pressure on the area which is actually at disposal of population. Even if this density data gets closer to the reality, it still remain far from a true interpretation.

The « agroforestry villages area »: the regions remaining at disposal of the population after substracting the surfaces of the other zoning. It encompasses villages, home gardens, annual and pluriannual vegetable crops as well as fallows.

If we consider that this area covering 203 667 ha has not any limits to be used, and that inhabitants are 36 149 people (out of which 496 Bagyeli Pygmies), we can say that each inhabitant can make use of 5,6 hectares. [203 667/36 149 = 5,6 hectares per person]
The average surface for the annual vegetables cultivation is about 1 hectare per household. According to Benjamin Ondo (Secretary General of the CaMaMF), we can estimate that a farmer (woman) has 3 vegetable crops on average per year, plus 1 ha of fallow and the cocoa cultivation on average. This amounts to about 5 areas of 1 ha each.

Therefore, in total there are 2.5 to 5 hectares on average per household. It is common that some households own up to 14 hectares per year.

Considering that each Bantu’s household is composed on average by 4 people, the number of households is calculated as follows: $35\,653 / 4 = 8\,913$ households.

Vice versa, when dividing the total available surface of 203,667 ha by the number of households, it results that each household can make use of about 22.85 ha.

In order to calculate the land needs, three scenarios are presented:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenarios</th>
<th>Number of households</th>
<th>Number of hectares per households</th>
<th>LAND NEEDS in ha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>8 913</td>
<td>2.5 ha</td>
<td>22 282 ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIDDLE</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 ha</td>
<td>44 565 ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 ha</td>
<td>89 130 ha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to what is estimated here, the available areas seem to be largely above the land needs of the local communities.

However, beware not to take this result as satisfactory, since other factors have to be considered...
Other factors are little known...:
- the pressure of the population living in the agro-industries concessions,
- the existence of private properties, to be taken off the total available,
- the current number of inhabitants, as well as the actual population densities on the territory and the demographic growth.
- the actual available area to be exploited, since the hydrographique network is highly developed reducing the available space, and the relief is difficult to exploit without appropriate engines.

In conclusion, due to the lack of information about these parameters, it is difficult to draw up some trustful conclusions:

**THE LACK OF LAND IS ACTUAL, BUT AFFECTING SOME PRECISE AREAS:**
(for instance, around the villages at the border with the Campo Ma’an National Park, the agroindustries, or the forestry companies, ...) This information deserves to be studied on the field.

**THE LACK OF LAND CONCERNS THE NATIVE NOMADS:**
Their right of use is recognized within the national domain forests (non-permanent forest), and in principle, according to the law, this right is not recognized in the forests belonging to the private domaine of the state (the Park, the FMU)

**THE LACK OF LAND IS AN ARGUMENT** used for attracting and sensitivizing the public opinion about some environmental, economic and social issues.
This second part aims at providing information about the complexity engendered by the co-existence of diverse spatial ensembles, within the Campo Ma’an Otu and thus on the territory concerned by the Model Forest Association.

The approach which has been adopted to understand the geopolitical stakes, has been to make a distinction between the two big spatial ensembles overlapping.
3. The « old » territorial holds: the National Park and its neighbours

The **first group** is formed by the « old » territorial holds, since they have been present on the territory for many years:
- the Campo Ma’an National Park
- the forestry companies
- the agroforestry industries
- The agroforestry area

The **second group** is composed of the ongoing or future infrastructures projects, which are either punctual or linear elements, overlapping with the previous established zoning and thus increasing the complexity of geopolitical stakes for the control and the access to the territory. That is the reason they deserve to be taken into account and analysed.

They are the « Big projects »
- the dam of Memve’ele
- the port of Kribi
- the iron exploitation of Mbalam and Monts Mamelles
The current territorial holds

The administrative structure is composed of:

- State
- Region
- Divisions
- Commune / Sub-divisions

The socio-economic is composed of:

- Private businesses
- Populations

Table 4: Distribution of territorial holds in the OTU of Campo Ma’an

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TERRITORY</th>
<th>% OF THE TERRITORY</th>
<th>UNDER THE HOLD OF...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L’UTO</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>The STATE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The integral protection (CMNP) + the peripheral area</td>
<td>The integral protection area being 33.5%</td>
<td>(through the Conservatory of the CMNP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest Management Unit</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>PRIVATE BUSINESSES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FMU</td>
<td></td>
<td>(now, under the control of one private company)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The agroforestry villages area (villages, home gardens...)</td>
<td>Agroforestry villages area</td>
<td>POPULATION / COMMUNES (SUB-DIVISIONS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The community forests</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>POPULATION (Minof Departement / State)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The agroforestry plantations</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>PRIVATE BUSINESSES (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The maritime domain</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
<td>The STATE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The protection forests</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>The STATE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 3: The territorial holds in the OTU

- State
- Private businesses
- Populations

PART II

The administrative structure is composed of:

- State
- Region
- Divisions
- Commune / Sub-divisions

The socio-economic is composed of:

- Private businesses
- Populations

Table 4: Distribution of territorial holds in the OTU of Campo Ma’an

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<td>The STATE</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

See the map>
In conclusion, the previous table, the chart and the map provide information about the ACTUAL HOLDS on the territory.

In fact, even though the FOREST MANAGEMENT UNITS (31% of the territory) are part of the PRIVATE NATIONAL DOMAIN OF THE STATE (permanent forests), BY DEFINITION, THEY ARE CONCESSIONS, THUS UNDER THE HOLDS OF PRIVATE COMPANIES.

THIS IS OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE, SINCE THAT MEANS THAT TODAY ONLY ONE PRIVATE COMPANY IS ACTUALLY HOLDING THE CONTROL ON THE TERRITORY, THE WIJMA S.A.
The Campo Ma’an National Park (CMNP) is at the core of the OTU of Campo Ma’an. It is characterised by an « S » shape, and it covers 260 830 ha, which corresponds to the integral protection area. This area is surrounded by the peripheral area, which is a buffer area, encompassing forest concessions, two agroindustry concessions (rubber and oil palm trees), as well as a belt of agroforestry area surrounding the villages.

The Park and its peripheral zone have been created by Decree no 2000/004/PM of January, 6, 2000 « Creation of the Campo Ma’an National Park (CMNP) ».

The Campo Ma’an National Park: at the core of the territory

The Campo Ma’an National Park, as area of environmental compensation

The site of the CMNP has been created as environmental compensation area, following the installment of the pipeline between Chad and Cameroon, on a territory located beyond the northern border of the OTU. At present, the Foundation for Environment and Development in Cameroon (FEDEC) finances conservation projects within the National Park.

Among the major actions cited in the Management Plan 2006-2010 of the PNCM and its peripheral area there are:

- the materialisation of the Park borders,
- the definition and implementation of a surveillance strategy,
- the negotiations of comanagement agreements with the Park neighbours

«Poaching» for economic purposes is felt as an actual threat by the Park and the WWF.
The private forest enterprises and their concessions

The sole forest enterprise on the territory, at present: the GWZ Wijma Douala company

So far, the forest companies the National Park had to deal with, were: the Forestière de Campo (HFC) belonging to the Bolloré group, the GWZ Wijma and the SCIEB (see map11).

Today, after the departure of the Forestière de Campo, in 2002, and the SCIEB more recently, the sole company still on the territory, is the GWZ Wijma (see map12).

As far as SCIEB is concerned, it is still registered as concessionaire of the FMU 09 025 (first attribution 2004). Even though the direction signs to the SCIEB exploitation are still on the territory, the company has been replaced by Wijma.

At present Wijma has been the concessionaire of the following FMUs: n° 09-0021 (41 695 ha), since 2001, 09-0024 (76 002 ha - ex Forestière Campo), since 2004, and 09-0025 (86 788 ha - ex SCIEB), recently.

The FMUs n° 09-0022 and 09-0023 are forest concessions of Gau Service (78 461) and Bubinga (56 192) respectively. Both are subcontractors of GWZ Wijma.

The total area under direct control of the Wijma company is 204 485 ha (which is 26% of the OTU in front of 34% covered by the integral protection area of the Park), and 134 653 ha under indirect control.

"Wijma Cameroun S.A. is the Cameroonian subsidiary of the Wijma group, a family enterprise situated in Holland. The enterprise has been working in Cameroon, since 1967, in the sector of forest exploitation and wood second and tertiary transformation."

FMU The Forest Management Unit

Since 1995, the forest concessions have been the major exploitation licences in Cameroon. They have been attributed to forest societies through tenders.

The forest concessions cannot exceed 200 000 ha. They are located in one or several Forest Management Units (FMU) belonging to the permanent forest domain of the State.
Map 12: The loggers and the FMU in 1997
Map 13: The loggers and the FMU since 2001

The expansion of GWZ WIJMA since 2001

Legend
- Main town of the municipality
- Villages
- FMU (GWZ Wijma forest concessionaire)
- FMU loggers subcontracted by GWZ Wijma
- Sawmill Wijma
- Sawmill Ex-Scielb recovered by Wijma FMU 09 0025
- Crossing road
- To the Sawmill of Ipomo
- Timber loading in the deepwater of Campo
- Atlantic Ocean
- Rivers
- Main roads
- Universal Transverse Mercator Projection (UTM) Zone 32 N

Cartographic source: WWF Programme Kudu-Zombo (June 2009)
©Elaborated by: Michela Ravelli 2011
The crossing road: a major stake for the OTU development

Among the negotiation issues between the Park and the loggers, there is the amendment to the terms concerning the Park crossing road maintenance.

Since the departure of the Forestière de Campo (HFC) company, in 2002, this road has been abandoned and its opening is a controversial matter.

It goes without saying, that for this very isolated area, the implementation of communication networks, are at stake of the development.

Nowadays, it is difficult to know what will be the negative environmental impact of the Park crossing road, as well as the often cited positive economic impacts on local populations.

The opening of the crossing road is a way for local population to communicate, exchange and develop tourism, which is a major stake for the development of this territory, provided that people are allowed to make use of it.

Furthermore, environmental friendly economic and tourism activities are susceptible to increase incomes, and better control impacts.
The agroindustry companies and their plantations

The agroindustry plantations are part of the agroforestry area, which is part of the non-permanent domain of the State, principally dedicated to human activities, encompassing houses, plantations, fallows and community forests.

Two agroindustry companies are working in the north-west of the peripheral area of the Park:
- the GMG HEVECAM
- the SOCAPALM

whose activities are focused on the exploitation of the rubber and the palm oil tree respectively.

These two national companies have been created by the Cameroonian government during the 70ths, with the objective to invest in agriculture towards the food self-sufficiency. Thus, the Cameroonian State invested huge amounts of petrol incomes, in order to boost productive crops, such as cocoa and coffee, and the creation of SOCAPALM and HEVECAM.

Under the pressure of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, Cameroon has been pushed to implement a privatisation policy, according to the Structural Adjustment Programme, started during the 80ths. SOCAPALM has been privatised in 2000.

THE AGROINDUSTRY ENTERPRISES ARE PERCEIVED AS A WINDFALL FOR THE COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT.

Investments have been huge, the companies are managed by well experimented multinational enterprises working on diversified sectors.

THIS SHOULD BE SUCH A GUARANTEE OF SUCCESS AND IMPORTANT MACRO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS.
The conflicts between the population and SOCAPALM: some examples

- **Problems with Pygmies**
  - Difficulties for Pygmies to move freely within and around the plantations
  - Denial of access to infrastructures

- **Problems with the security service**
  - Population and workers are often accused of stealing

- **No more land for the population**
  - No boundary marking/mobile boundaries

- **Suspection of expansion**
  - Crops rejuvenation
  - Enterprise capitalisation
  - Investments in new technologies
  - Are these initiatives part of an expansion strategy?

- **Living conditions / no work safety**
  - Work accidents due to the lack of safety measures
  - Insufficient infrastructures

- **No work for the population**
  - The hierarchical summit is in Europe (Bolloré), managers are European, principally, and workers are often from abroad

- **Pollution**
  - Land and water pollution

- **No support to villagers’ plantation**

- **No compensation for traditional lands**

- **Etc...**

PART II
The institution of the community forests and their regulations are one of the most important innovations in the Cameroonian forest legislation. This is a unique experience in Cameroon, and in Central Africa. (Lescuyer, 2005)

The objective of the forest policy is to develop the economic, ecologic and social functions of the forests, and get them sustainable. In the permanent domain, the forest management focuses on the vegetal cover and its biodiversity, while the non-permanent domain is the room for community forests, whose activities are supposed to satisfy villagers needs. (Oumba, 2007)

The increasing involvement of populations in the resources management aims at reinforcing the sense of responsibility and influencing behaviours. Local communities need to satisfy their subsistence needs and learn how to manage their resources with a view of sustainability.

After a few years evaluation on strenghts and weaknesses of the community forest management models, some conclusions can be drawn.

The gap between the socio-economic potential of this instrument, and the effective impacts on the territory, raises some question marks about the failures of this system.

Which are the difficulties encountered by the Community-based Forests Enterprises?

- LACK OF FUNDING
- DEPENDANCY FROM FOREST BUSINESSES (EQUIPMENTS RENTAL, ETC.)
- WEAK NEGOTIATION POWER
- WEAK SPECIALIZATION
- DIFFICULTIES TO PROVIDE A REGULAR AND QUALITY PRODUCTION
- NO SECONDARY TRANSFORMATION
- DIFFICULTIES TO MANAGE ACCOUNTING AND CASH FLOWS
- DIFFICULTIES OF COMMUNITY TO THINK « SAVINGS-INVESTMENTS »
- DIFFICULTIES TO MARKET
- …
The community-based forest enterprise of AKAK

The community forests are managed by organizations based on the association model (Bigombe Logo, P., 2002), which can be a Collective initiative group (CIG), a cooperative, a syndicate or an Economic interest group (EIG). (Tsana Enama J.; Minsoum’à Bodo A. J.L., 2008)

In spite of some organization and management difficulties, the Community-Based Forest Enterprise of AKAK is working and representing such an exemple for other CFPEs.
4. The « Big projects »: the new territorial holds

The analysis of (ongoing or future) infrastructure projects, overlapping the current territorial holds, add a layer of complexity on the lack of land issue, but also on other socio-economic stakes.

Before introducing the three « big projects » planned for the territory, it is worth to remind the previously mentioned Chad-Cameroon pipeline, which keeps being such an emblematic project to local communities – at least to a part of the population – at the origin of the representations linked to the following chained concepts:

**Which kind of representations ?**

It is a matter of illustrating how something happened one decade ago, beyond the OTU boundaries, can influence what is happening within the OTU, today.

In particular, it is interesting to investigate the influence this project, implemented during the 90ths, beyond the northern border of the Campo Ma’an OTU, may have at present, on the « big projects » representations today, with respect to the common occurring issues (compensations, resettlements, environmental impact).

According to me, the future big projects as well as the Park that is perceived – at least by a part of the population – as a « banning » zone, will both encounter difficulties linked to the representations the pipelines engendered in the populations minds. This project has arisen a lot of conflictual debates and the current projects presents a lot of similar issues such as the land conflicts, resettlement and compensations.
THE PROJECT  January, 31, 1995, the agreement on oil transportation through Cameroon is signed.

The 1050 Km pipeline has been conceived for the transport of the crude oil from the oil camps of Komé, Miandou and Bolobo, in the Doba basin in the South of Chad, to the storing and loading floating terminal, located south of the town of Kribi (South Region).

THE PARTNERS  This is essentially a private project, receiving the symbolique support of the World Bank, up to 3% (i.e. 135 millions $ (70 millions to Cameroon and 45 millions to Tchad). At present, the consortium is composed by Exxon (American, 40 %), Chevron (American, 25 %) and Pétronas (Malaisian, 35 %). Two companies, under Cameroon and Chad law, la Cameroon Oil Transportation Company (COTCO), and the Chad Transportation Oil Company (TOTCO), have been created.

THE COMPENSATION MECHANISMS - The World Bank support implies the compulsory application of the Operational Directive 4.30 (OD), which imposes the elaboration of resettlement and compensatory plans.

SOME CRITICS

SINCE THE BEGINNING, THE PIPELINE HAS BEEN A CONFLICTING MATTER, BETWEEN SUPPORTERS AND OPPONENTS HAVING CONTRADICTORY VISIONS OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENT IMPACTS. THE AFOREMENTIONED FACTS AND VISIONS PROVIDE A KEY TO UNDERSTANDING HOW THE PUBLIC OPINION COULD HAVE BEEN SHAPED IN RELATION TO THIS PROJECT AND THE CHAIN OF REPRESENTATIONS:

BIG PROJECTS‡ EXPECTED IMPACTS AT LOCAL LEVELS ‡ ACTUAL IMPACTS
THE PROJECT In Cameroon, the generation of electricity is not sufficient, 520 to 650 MW that brings to the rationing of energy distribution to users.

With a view to satisfying the energy demand, Cameroon intends to upraise its production up to 2000 MW before 2015. To this purpose, the Government planned the hydroelectric project of MEMVE'ELE on the river Ntem as a top priority of the Energy Sector Development Plan before 2030.

THE PARTNERS
- The Development Bank of Central Africa States (BDEAC)
- Sinohydro Corporation Limited Construction / Building / Engineering
- Africain Development Bank (ADB)

SUPPORT MEASURES The Cameroonian Government introduced socio-economic provisions (PASEM), addressed to the inhabitants of the area concerned by the project, with a view to encouraging a balanced distribution of benefits among the local communities, and reducing poverty.

- **1900 ha**: the area concerned by the water plan / About 5 households to be resettled

SOME CRITICS
- A TOO SHORT AND NON SIGNIFICANT DATA COLLECTION PERIOD / NO CLEAR IDENTIFICATION OF THE INFLUENCED AREA
- UNDERESTIMATED CULTIVATED AREAS (PRODUCTION POTENTIAL / LAND SURFACES TO BE COMPENSATED OR RELOCATED)
- NO ATTENTION PAID TO THE ARCHEOLOGIC HERITAGE AND ITS MANAGEMENT
- NO CONSIDERATION TAKEN ABOUT THE CUMULATED IMPACTS ON THE SITE AND BEYOND, UP THE COAST
- UNDERESTIMATED DEMOGRAPHIC GROWTH AND RELATED IMPACTS ON THE FOODSTUFF DEMAND (RISK OF POACHING)
THE PROJECT

The deepwater port of Kribi is among the top priority projects of the President Biya. Indeed it has a strategic importance for Cameroon opening to Africa and international trade, without passing through Douala, the sole international trade port at present.

« The population of Kribi, in the South Region, has been waiting for the deepwater port since 1985. They expect actual impacts in terms of employment, and economic development of the region (tourism, transport and trade), and of Cameroon in general. »

THE PARTNERS

are the MINEPAT Ministry of Economy, Planning and Territorial Management, GDF Suez, Camship, Cameroon Alumina Limited (CAL), Rio Tinto Alcan (RTA), Bolloré. HEC is the subcontracted company of conception and implementation of the project as a whole. The funds are provided by the Export Import Bank of China.

COMPENSATORY MEASURES AND RESETTLEMENT

The estimated amount of compensations for expropriated people is up to 24 milliards de FCFA, to be paid within 3 months. According to the project Director, at the end of 2010, about 3 milliards were available.

- 4 000 people to be resettled.
- 26 000 ha of occupied land, 30km length 7km width

SOME CRITICS

- UNDERESTIMATED COMPENSATIONS
- DELAY IN POPULATION RESETTLEMENT
- VILLAGERS LIVING OF FICHERIES ARE RESETTLED FAR FROM THE SEA
- THE DEMOGRAPHIC GROWTH WILL INCREASE THE PRESSURE ON NATURAL RESOURCES
- WHO WILL BE THE BENEFICIARIES OF THE PROJECT, ACTUALLY?
Start up of works and «first problems»:

**February, 2011**, The Ministry of Economy, Planning and Territorial Management (Minepat), announces that «213 billions of Fcfa have already been gathered for the construction of the deepwater port of Kribi». (Cameroon Tribune, La Rédaction, 2011)

**April, 11, 2011 « Port of Kribi site: it doesn’t get better »**

Tensions keep strong on the site destined to host the deepwater of Kribi. This morning, the villagers of Lolabé have one more time blocked the excavation works carried out by the Razel company.

Villagers’ claims was marked on the placards: «village of Lolabé: we do ask to stop defrauding us» ; «the population of Lolabé shall not be a martyr of development», « Lolabé: we do ask for the resettlement area», « Please, unlock our personal bank accounts », « Take into consideration our customary lands », « We do ask for a new estimation of our goods ».

The calculation of compensations is slowing because of some so-called landowners, list of population resettlements and of lands being the basis for the calculation and thus getting the calculation false. Many conflicts exist on land titles. Some have obtained after the signature of the Declaration of public utility ». (Le Jour, 2011)

...from the beginning of villagers’ claims, the Minepat gives authorization to the... to announce (finally) the three potential resettlement areas.
THE PROJECT

Among the big projects concerning the territory of the OTU of Campo-Ma’an there is the construction of a railway destined to the transportation of the iron-ore. The mine to be exploited is located further east of the OTU, nevertheless the project foresees the construction of a factory, and also of a 490 km railway, up the Atlantic coast for the transportation of the iron-ore towards Europe and Asia.

There will be at least two main impacts within the OTU, one related to the installment of the railway and the other one to the infrastructures needed for shipment in the deepwater port of Kribi.

THE PARTNERS

The project is carried out by CamIron Sa, a company under the Cameroonian Law, whose main funding partner is the Australian company Sundance Resources Ltd (90%).

In 2008, CamIron signed its agreement with the Cameroonian Government for the iron-ore exploitation in Mbalam, located in the East Region.

Partnership with CHINA

In September 2010, Sundance signed two agreements concerning infrastructures with two Chinese groups.

The first with CRCC China-Africa Construction, in charge with the planning of the activity (costs, objectives, delays, need of materials, etc.), the second one with China Harbour Engineering Company, focusing on similar studies on the deepwater port of Kribi area destined to iron shipment.

SOME CRITICS

- China, searching for raw materials, is felt as a hold on Cameroon
- Will the announced positive impacts for the population be actual?
- How will the state cope with the expected Cameroonian GDP 8% increase?
- A lot of employment promises for Cameroonian... What about?
Map 18: The foreign OLD TERRITORIAL HOLDS
Map 19: The foreign NEW TERRITORIAL HOLDS

Legend
- Main town of the municipality
- Camlron Railway
  Australia-China
- Hydroelectric Dam of Memve’ele
  China-Cameroon
- Deepwater port of Kribi
  China-Australia-France-Cameroon
- Iron field of Monts Mamelles
  China (in stand-by)

Legend:
- Atlantic Ocean
- Rivers
- Main roads

Universal Transverse Mercator Projection
(UTM) Zone 32 N
D: WGS 84
Ellipsoide: Clarke 1880
Cartographic source:
WWF Programme Kudu-Zombo (Juin 2009)

Elaborated by: Michela Ravelli 2011
Which Big projects will involve chinese partners?

- **The hydroelectric dam of Memve’ele**
  Sinohydro Corporation Limited Construction / Building / Engineering;

- **The deepwater port of Kribi**
  « China finances the Port of Kribi » [newspaper: Le Jour, January, 10, 2011].

- **The iron-ore exploitation of Mbalam**
  A partnership with CRCC China-Africa Construction, China Harbour Engineering Company (financial support and also infrastructures such as the railway and the port facilities (as well as the heliport).

- **The ironfield of Monts Mamelles (in stand-by)**
  « Villagers blocked the road to the engines of the Sinosteelcam company » [newspaper: Le Jour, August, 28, 2009].
Map 21: China in Africa

- The investments of China in Africa (2005)

Legend:
- > 300 millions $
- > 100 millions $
- > 50 millions $
- > 40 millions $
- > 30 millions $
- > 20 millions $
- > 10 millions $
- < 10 millions $
- N.D.

Eckert IV Projection
Source cartographique: © Daniel Dalet / d-maps.com
Source: Unctad
©Elaborated by: Michela Ravelli 2011
Map 22: China in the OTU
The « lack of land » and the land conflicts are often cited by the NGOs and the Campo Ma’an National Park. Since this territory is very large and sparsely populated, this claim seems to be contradictory.

What is the situation when considering the influence of the big projects, on the land availability and the demographic pressure?

At the end of the Part I, it has been difficult to draw up some trustful conclusions about the land availability, since a certain number of important information could not be quantified and integrated.

Three scenarios have been taken into consideration in order to make an estimation on the land needs.

According to the information at disposal, among the big projects, the Dam of Memve’ele and the Deepwater port of Kribi are susceptible to have the most important impact on the land cover.

**THE CALCULATION** A new calculation of the relation between the population and the surfaces, the areas concerned by the « big projects » have been deducted from the available surface calculated in the previous table (Part I).
### Table 5: Summary of the « big projects »

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land cover</th>
<th>Surface (ha)</th>
<th>% of the OTU</th>
<th>Bantus</th>
<th>Bagyeli Pygmies</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Ha/ Person For the total of the population</th>
<th>Ha per household Bantu (8913 households)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total area at disposal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... Agro-forest villages’ area</td>
<td>203 667</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>35 653</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>36 149</td>
<td>5, 63</td>
<td>22,85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area covered by the « big projects »</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dam of Memve’ele</td>
<td>1 900</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deepwater port of Kribi</td>
<td>26 000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway (CamIron)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(unknown covered area)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monts Mamelles 1500 ha</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(in stand by)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total remaining area</td>
<td>175 767</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>35 653</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>36 149</td>
<td>4,86</td>
<td>19,72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Management Plan for the development of the OTU of Campo Ma’an/Table of the population ERE Développement 2002

Modified by Michela RAVELLI
If compared with the hypothesis of land needs per household, that we called « high », at the end of Part I, (10 ha/household), this new result (19.72 ha/household), brings to the conclusion that the establishment of these new « big projects » will not cause a « lack of lands ».

The land needs per household concerns the Bantus, since the need of the Bagyeli Pygmies are unknown.

The « big projects » and the related demographic growth encroach on quite important land portions, thus reducing the available area per inhabitant.

Ex : For the port of Kribi, 20 000 new jobs are planned, a « new town » will be built. Much depends on « Who are these new employees: will be from here or do they come from elsewhere? Will they bring their families with? Moreover, will they purchase the foodstuff they need, or will they cultivate land? The port construction will bring to the moving and resettlement of about 4 000 people, who shall find a solution to their land needs?

In conclusion, if we take into consideration all parameters, mentioned in the Part II, which are susceptible to significantly reduce the available areas, and increase the forecasted demographic pressure, it seems reasonable to say that:

- **THE DEMOGRAPHIC GROWTH CONSEQUENT UPON THE BIG PROJECTS WILL INCREASE THE PRESSURE ON THE LAND AVAILABILITY.**

- **THE DEMOGRAPHIC PRESSURES WITHIN THE TERRITORY ARE DISTURBED, WITH UNEQUAL LAND PRESSURES.**

- **THE NATIVES BAGYELI PYGMIES, WILL ENCOUNTER INCREASING DIFFICULTIES TO MOVE WITHIN THE TERRITORY AND TO FIND NEW FOREST NON-OCCUPIED AREAS.**

- **ACCORDING TO THE DIVERSE INTERVIEWS, IT SEEMS THAT THE LOCAL COMMUNITIES FEEL LIKE THEY HAVE LOST EVERYTHING, AND THEY FEAR TO LOSE MORE AND MORE, BECAUSE OF THE FUTURE PROJECTS, GIVEN THAT THEY HAVE NEVER TAKEN BENEFIT FROM THE PREVIOUS PROJECTS.**
AFTER THE INTRODUCTION OF THE THEORIC CONCEPT OF «MODEL FOREST», IN THIS THIRD PART WE CAN DRAW SOME CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE ACTUAL INTEGRATION OF THIS WESTERN MODEL OF TERRITORIAL GOVERNANCE INTO THE TERRITORY: THE MODEL FOREST ASSOCIATION.

IT IS TIME HERE TO UNDERSTAND WHO ARE THE SUPPORTERS OR THE OPPOSANTS OF THE MODEL FOREST ASSOCIATION, AND WHICH ARE THE REASONS OF THEIR POSITIONING.
5. The Model Forest of Campo Ma’an: from its vision to the field

The strategic vision of the Campo Ma’an Model Forest Association

**EACH MODEL FOREST ASSOCIATION SHALL ELABORATE A STRATEGIC PLAN.**

The CaMaMF Strategic plan, 2010-2013, focuses on the objective to reduce local communities poverty and improve living conditions, through the sustainable utilization of forest resources.

**THE CAMPO MA’AN MODEL FOREST STRATEGIC VISION AIMS AT IMPROVING:**

- The social equity, for an equal benefits distribution of forest resources utilization
- The enlarged access to the micro-credit for poverty reduction actions to all social strata
- The access of women to forest products and marketing circuits
- The living conditions of the local communities, included Bagyeli Pygmies

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**The zoning of the territory concerned by the Model Forest Association**

**Chart 4 : The zoning of the territory concerned by the CaMaMF**

- CMNP: 8%
- Forest Management Unit: 2%
- Agroindustry plantations: 34%
- Agroforest villages' area: 31%
- Protection forests: 25%

Source: Strategic Plan of CaMaMF (2010-2013) – Chart elaborated by MR
The organization chart of the CaMaMF

**General Assembly**
Topmost body for decision-making
- President
- Executive Secretary

**Steering Committee**
Executive body
- President*
- 1st and 2nd Vice-President
- Counsellors

**Executive Secretary**
Day-to-day coordination body
- Executive Secretary
- Administrative and financial assistant
- Liaison officer
- Accounting officer
- Point focaux

**Representative to the GA**
- The Mayors of the Municipalities of Campo, Ma’an, Akomil, Niété, Kribi 1er, Lokoundje, Ebolowa 2ème
- The Deputies of the departments of Ocean, Vallée du Ntem, Mvila
- The platforms representatives

**Members of the SC**
- The Mayors of the Municipalities of Campo, Ma’an, Akomil, Niété, Kribi 1er, Lokoundje, Ebolowa 2ème
- One representative per platform

**Platforms**

*The Steering Committee President is the President of CamMamF. The Presidency is chaired in turn by the Mayors.*

**Source:** The Statutes of CaMaMF – Organization chart elaborated by Michela Ravelli
The financing of the CaMaMF

Art. 37 of the Statutes sets that the CaMaMF funding comes from:

- Annual Memberships
- Community and communal resources allocated to projects
- Own incomes related to its own activities
- Partners contributions
- Annual membership fees varying according to the member:
  - Loggers, agro-industries, and hydraulic energy operators: 1 million de FCFA (1 524 Euro)
  - Local decentralized authorities: 500 000 FCFA (762 Euro)
  - Community forests: 50 000 FCFA (76 Euro)
  - Rural women: 10 000 FCFA (15 Euro)
  - Bagyeli Pygmies: 1 000 FCFA (1,5 Euro)

On the basis of the Strategic Plan and in the framework of the Initiative for the Model Forest in Africa IFMA, the Ministry of Natural Resources of Canada essentially provided funding for the communication activities, the start up of the platforms, and the association running. The initially expected contribution was up to 370 136 Canadian Dollars, for a 3-year period, that is 261 672 Euro.

The 3-year period being reduced to 2 years, the amounts are 179 500 Canadian Dollars (that is 127 404 Euro), for 2010-2011 and 199 236 Canadian Dollars (that is 141 412 Euro) for 2011-2012.

Conclusions on funding

Eventhough the Model Forest instrument is born in the West, it is worth to remind that the Model Forest Association has been created here, thanks to some Cameroonian initiators with the support of the some public authorities, and it is developing thanks to the will of participants, which are Cameroonians.

Funding put at disposal of CaMaMF in the frame of the Strategic Plan seem to be very limited in front of the ambitous programme exposed. According to this and observing the diverse projects which have been implemented on the territory for many years, it is obvious to ask questions about the sustainability the CaMaMF may have. Indeed, because of this limited initial funding, the CaMaMF is aware about the need to build a strategy in the framework of sustainability.

The Government of Canada and the IMFN provide assistance to the developing Model Forest Associations, but always with limited funds, since this is not the funding of a project, but the seed money to start up a processus. It is up to each MFA to find its sustainability, thanks to the stakeholders involvement.
The participants actively involved in the Model Forest Associations join in platforms, according to the common thematic interest. Among the platforms (working group), the one grouping rural women is particularly performing. Others have just been created and are developing.

The platform of
Rural Women of Cameroon
PLAFFERCAM

The Plaffercam wishes to work against the isolation of the OTU, the weak rural women education, the lack of funding, poverty, the weak access to the credit, and the failure in material and human management...
Their involvement in the « model forest » process encourages them to develop new capacities and create innovative income generating activities.

Le slogan
« RURAL WOMEN OF CAMPO MA’AN !
THE WORLD IS MOVING, LET’S MOVE WITH ! »

The Plaffercam is an association composed of classical administrative bodies. The general assembly is composed of 105 members, belonging to 7 communal platforms Kribi 1er, Akom II, Campo, Ebolowa 2, Niete, Lokoundje and Ma’an (except for Ebolowa and Ma’an, the other platforms host a representative Bagyeli each).

The participation of women to the Plaffercam does not mean they are in search for emancipation, since rural women are already independent from their husband, included from a financial point of view.

Women keep carrying out rural activities they are proud of: agriculture, breeding, fisheries, small trade, craft, domestication, transformation, marketing of non-timber forest products, etc.
The Platforms: the most active actors

Other platforms are raising and working >>

The platform of PRIVATE MEDIAS

In Cameroon there are public and private medias. The first includes the Cameroon Tribune (newspaper), as well as the CRTV (Cameroon Radio and TV), informing on the Cameroonian Government facts and policies, and the latter encompasses a lot of private medias, included medias on the Internet.

The role of private medias is to interprete what is diffused by the official press and make the bridge with the population, maintaining a critical perspective.

In the frame of the CaMaMF, private medias play a paramount role in terms of COMMUNICATION within the territory of the Model Forest, and towards the outside.

The platform of COMMUNITY FORESTS

The potential of the community forests is still under-utilized. Just less than 10% of the annual authorized cut are used. Nowadays the community forests are called Community forest enterprises (EFC). They encounter many difficulties, such as the implementation of simple management plans, the organization and qualification of human resources, the lack of funding and equipment, the difficulties to find markets and to cope with negotiations. (WWF, 2011)

Among the Campo Ma’an Model Forest platforms, the PLEFCOCAM is very young. It has been officially created in October, 15, 2010 and gathers 8 community forest enterprises of Ndjabilobé, Akak, Tyassono, Alen, Biboulemanm, Bitoto, Nemayong and Assock EFC, encompassing 23 000 ha within the buffer zone of the Park, to be exploited for 25 years.

The platform allows to the CFE to join together and think about the strategies to solve common problems they all are facing, as well as implement the simple management plans.
The partners mentioned in the Strategic Plan and those actually endorsing the MFA

In the Strategic Plan of the CaMaMF a lot of actors have been mentioned: The 6 rural communes of Campo, Ma’an, Akom II, Kribi, Nieté and Ebolowa 2nd, the community forests, the community of the Bagyeli Pygmies, the Bantus, the Plaffercam (the platform of rural women), the agro-industries (HEVECAM, SOCAPALM), the loggers (Wijma, SCIEB), the hydraulic energy operators, the protected areas (Campo Ma’an National Park), the organization of the civil society, the NGOs, the local development committees, the traditional chiefs, the deputies, the local councils, the elites and resource persons.

This all-comprehensive list of actors highlights that the Model Forest Association is keen to associate all actors. Actually, some of them are not endorsing the MFA process, so far.
**PART III**

In 2011: Who is endorsing the MFA and who is not?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WHO IS ENDORSING</th>
<th>WHO IS NOT ENDORSING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>POPULATIONS GATHERED IN PLATFORMS</strong></td>
<td><strong>CAMPO MA’AN NATIONAL PARK</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The local communities trust the Model Forest Association and provide legitimacy to this new territorial governance instrument.</td>
<td>See later...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In front of the disappointment arisen by the big projects as well as the lack of actual positive impacts for local people, the local communities engage in the Model Forest, as first protagonists.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>MAYOR OF COMMUNES / SUB-DIVISIONS</strong></th>
<th><strong>FOREST ENTERPRISES</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The mayors of the communes (the sub-divisions) are the key actors of the development. «Within this context of decentralization in Cameroon, the municipality is the way to implement development actions. It is the future local authority where competences and means are addressing the local communities and their living condition improvement. It is the pillar for the collective social infrastructures. (Comité de suivi du projet hydroélectrique de Memve’ele, CSPM, 2007)</td>
<td>In its new « social » policy » Wijma could find a certain interest to endorse the CAMAMF.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **AGROINDUSTRY ENTERPRISES** | |
|-------------------------------||
| Weak interest to endorse the MFA, currently endorsing the CAMAMF would mean to accept some compromises... | |
The Park is at the core of the territory concerned by the MFA, and the park warden is in charge with the mission of conservation of this forested area.

The observation of the relationship between the Park and the CaMaMF highlights that two different representations are actually existing about the organization chart of this « potential » cooperation.

Eventhough the National Park has been mentioned among the partners of the Model Forest Association in its Strategic Plan 2010-2013, the park warden announces that no initiatives have been taken by the CaMaMF, so far, in the perspective to find out an agreement.

The park warden whishes to find an agreement with the Model Forest Association, based on a memorandum of understanding, provided that this document is signed and approved by the supreme institutions. This is a contradictory information, with respects to the Model Forest Strategic Plan, which cited the Park among its partners. Thus this means that, for the moment, the Park is « invited » to be partner, but the partnership is not actual, so far...

**Why?**

« THE PARK CANNOT COUNT LIKE ANY OTHER ACTOR IN THE DECISION-MAKING, SINCE ITS MISSION IS THE CONSERVATION. THE PARK CANNOT ALLOW THAT OTHER ACTORS MAKE DECISIONS THREATENING THIS MISSION ». [The park warden]

**LEGALITY / LEGYTIMACY**

« THE CMNP IS THE RESULT OF A MINISTRY ACT, WHILE THE MODEL FOREST, NOT. HOW COULD WE FIND A SOLUTION TO COMBINE THIS? » [The park warden]

**TWO OPPOSITE REPRESENTATIONS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THIS COOPERATION**

ON THE ONE HAND, THE **MODEL FOREST ASSOCIATION** IS CONCEIVED AS A PLACE GATHERING ALL ACTORS, ALL HAVING THE SAME WEIGHT, IN THINKING ABOUT THE FUTURE AND CONTRIBUTE TO THE DECISION MAKING. THUS, THIS ASSOCIATION IS SUCH A TABLE AROUND WHICH ALL ACTORS SIT DOWN TOGETHER.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE **PARK WARDEN** SAYS THAT THE PARK IS SUPPOSED TO GATHER ALL THE ACTORS, THEN THE CREATION OF ANOTHER ORGANIZATION IS UNUSEFUL. THEREFORE HE INVITES THE MODEL FOREST TO SIT DOW TO THE WORKING TABLE OF THE PARK.
IT IS COMMON THAT THE FORESTRY AUTHORITIES FEAR TO LOSE CONTROL ON USERS.

The centralization trend of the forestry domain obstructed the development of a democratic structure, involving users in the decision making.

The fear of forestry authorities to lose their control on users is something happening in divers countries, including Cameroon.

THE MODEL FOREST ASSOCIATION IS OFTEN CONSIDERED HAS A TERRITORIAL GOVERNANCE INSTRUMENT DEVELOPPED TO FILL THE LACK OF INSTRUMENTS. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE MODEL FOREST IS REPLACING THE FORESTRY ADMINISTRATION OR ANY OTHER INSTITUTION.

To the extent to stop this misunderstanding, the International Model Forest Network put a compulsory condition, which is addressed to applicant Model Forest Association that says : « a letter shall be submitted » by « the national or sub-national organization in charge of forests » (c.f. §1.4 of the Chart).

The Campo Ma’an OTU area is hosting private foreign economic projects concerning the exploitation of local resources, as well as the big projects for the development, carried out by the Cameroonian Government.

At present, the reluctancy of the Park to endorse the MFA process, is favouring the instalment of a double-headed system, where the two institutions supposed to gather all actors and establish a sustainable development system for the territory are working in parallel without meeting.

This is a power rivalry, which is susceptible to engender new conflicts, and threatening the potential synergies.

In conclusion, can these two organizations responsible for the Campo Ma’an OTU development allow this fragmentation, while the territory is litterally dropping into the hands of actors essentially moved by economic interests?

THE PARK FEARS THIS NEW INSTITUTION, WHICH IS ENDORSED BY A LOT OF PEOPLE.

THE PARK WANTS TO KEEP ITS ROLE SUPER PARTES AS REGARDS AS THE OTHER ACTORS, AND DOES NOT WANT TO BE PLACED AT AN EQUAL POSITION WITH THE OTHERS.

PART III

In 2011: Which could be the interest of the Park to take part in the CaMaMF?
The CaMaMF: a critical mass, an advocating place and a lobbying power

The interest of finding out an agreement for cooperation among diverse actors satisfies the needs to establish a powerful critical mass able to take part in negotiations concerning the territory.

This does not mean to oppose the development projects carried out by the Cameroonian Government, but rather that the CaMaMF shall play the role of the territory representative, having legitimacy to propose, and even « impose » some conditions.

Thus, the role of CaMaMF is to intervene in order populations can eventually take benefit from the « big projects », as well as to obtain some guarantees that projects are implemented by respecting a global sustainability.

PERMANENT ADVOCATING PLACE
It seems to be quite realistic to think that local communities feel the Model Forest Association like an advocating place, the first one they can count on.

A LOBBYING POWER
The Model Forest Association strategy can be effective, provided that it is supported by a heavy critical mass, during negotiations on frequent conflict issues: compensations, local employment, environment sustainability, actual local economic impacts, etc.

Based on a strong public-private critical mass, the MFA becomes a unique, credible and trusted actor, which is provided with the legitimacy to represent the local communities and exert a lobbying power.

It is not just a matter of fund raising, but also of major stakes, like acting to trigger proposals for policies and legal instruments improvement in different sectors, towards a global sustainability.

The endorsement of actors to the MFA as well as the development of relationships with new donors should be at the core of a well structured internal and external communication work, to be started up.

IN CONCLUSION, THE MODEL FOREST IS NOT ANCHORED IN THE CUSTOMARY TRADITION, BUT A NEW CONCEPT RECOGNIZED BY LOCAL COMMUNITIES AS LEGITIMATE.

AT PRESENT THE MODEL FOREST ASSOCIATION NEEDS TO GATHER MORE ACTORS, AND TO STRENGTHEN THE CRITICAL MASS IT REPRESENTS.
The Campo Ma’an Model Forest Association is one of the 50 Model Forest Associations (MFA) in the world, today, and it is one of the two pioneers in the African continent. For this reason, the development of this approach is a test.

With the creation of the MFA, the participants are testing a new territorial governance instrument applied within a complex panorama. Given that, this complexity characterizes other areas of the Congo Basin, as well as other African Countries, this Cameroonian experience is susceptible to inspire new forestry territories to start up a Model Forest approach. To this extent, the African Model Forest Network has the objective to widespread good practices and create new Model Forests Associations.

The analysis of the territory concerned by the CaMaMF has principally focused on the understanding of the Operational Technical Unit of Campo Ma’an, which is a very young instrument (created in 1999), promoted by the Government for zoning and rationalizing the organization of the area.

The OTU is a homogeneous area, where populations share a common history, as well as a strong linkage with the land, beyond the belonging to diverse ethnic groups.

In this area encompassing diverse spatial ensembles arising power rivalries and conflicts essentially based on the competition for access to land, the Campo Ma’an Model Forest Association can play a geopolitical role.

In front of this so wide and depopulated territory, the argument of the « lack of land », often mentioned by populations, seems to be contradictory as a first step, thus it arises questions about the linkage between the land claims and the representations of the Model Forest Association.

CONCLUSIONS

With the objective to understand the place the Model Forest Association has on this territory, at present, as well as the geopolitical stakes it is supposed to manage, two issues have been treated:

- The « lack of land »,
- The integration of the Model Forest Association into the territory.
In the perspective to provide answers to the issue of the « lack of land », demographic data have been crossed with surfaces information, bringing to distinguish two kind of main occupants:

**THE TERRITORIAL EXISTING OR « OLD » HOLDS:** the Campo Ma’an National Park, the agroindustries and the loggers;

**THE NEW TERRITORIAL HOLDS** linked to the big projects: the hydroelectric dam of Memve’ele, the deepwater port of Kribi and the railway project for the iron-ore transportation of CamIront.

Thanks to the zoning of the OTU, it has been possible to calculate the surfaces under the influence of the « old » holds, such as the State (about 36% of the surface) and the private businesses (about 38% of the surface), and thus the surfaces being potentially available to populations 26%. On the contrary, it has been difficult to make an estimation of the surface to be covered by the « big projects ».

In conclusions of Parts I and II, we found that it would be not very logic to speak about lack of land.

But, if a mathematic calculation brings this result, if we take into consideration the reality on the filed, we will be oriented towards a new conclusion. Because of the lack of some information, it has not been possible to demonstrate the actual situation with figures.

Nevertheless, we can mention diverse information allowing to get closer to the reality and eventually to show how the land claims are rational and logic. To this extent, we should ...

**MAKE AN ACTUAL PROJECTION OF DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ON THE MAP**

The actual localisation of local communities on the territory would be useful to draw some appropriate conclusions about the « lack of land » for each microregion of the OTU, and in particular to make a census of areas submitted to huge pressures, as well as to portions of land that cannot be utilized (such as lands beyond the 5-km strip or on fallows) and of areas needed by the natives Bagyeli Pygmies, used to move within the forestry territory, etc.

**THE DEMOGRAPHIC TREND**

The natural demographic growth is influencing the future land availability, as well the demographic phenomena linked to the implementation and management of the « big projects », such as the arrival of new workers from abroad, the new distribution of the people on the territory after resettlement (as for the port of Kribi). These new balances concerning demographic densities would be rendered on the map in order to better understand the stakes and the potential conflicts.

It is important to put into evidence that the conflicts between actors are concerning the land but also economic and social issues.
The representations of the Model Forest Association thrive on the representations of the other actors exerting their influence on the territory.

The current representations the population has of these actors and of the projects linked to foreign investments are rooted in a very recent history, which has fed recurring schemes.

Every time an actor established its hold on the territory, populations have past through the same history, from the hope of improving their living conditions, to the disillusion linked to the lack of actual positive local impacts, which brought to an opposition behaviour.

The Chad-Cameroon pipeline project is representative of this kind of representations.

The Campo Ma’an Model Forest Association found its place and legitimacy within the gap between promises and disillusion, thanks to a great endorsement of people organized in platforms.

So far, populations have never been invited to share benefits, neither with old nor with new holds. Thus they have the feeling to have been totally dispossessed.

The Communes, being important key actors for the development decision making, are taking part in the MFA closely to the populations, while others both private (private businesses) and public actors (the Campo Ma’an National Park) stay apart, or refuse to support this approach fearing their powers are in danger.

Today, as far as the CMNP is concerned, the meeting point with the MFA would be reached thanks to the sharing of « common interests » with the objective to face « common threats », such as the demographic non-controlled explosion, susceptible to worst the pressure on the resources and social tensions.
Indeed, the Model Forest Association invites local communities to join together for the first time, in order to be organized towards a development process, in which their opinions are taking into account.

The Model Forest is an advocating place, as well as a representative actor for all people who have already been excluded from power.

That is why the geopolitic role of CaMaMF is largely endorsed by populations who are eventually taking their future into their own hands, thus living a sort of « NEW LEGITIMACY » as first occupants.
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