

**CHAD - CAMEROON PETROLEUM
DEVELOPMENT AND PIPELINE PROJECT**

**Impact Assessment of the Project to the Local Community:
Case Study of the Ocean Division of Cameroon**



Nkushi Francis Shombong

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Master of Philosophy (M. Phil) Degree in Resources and Human Adaptations.

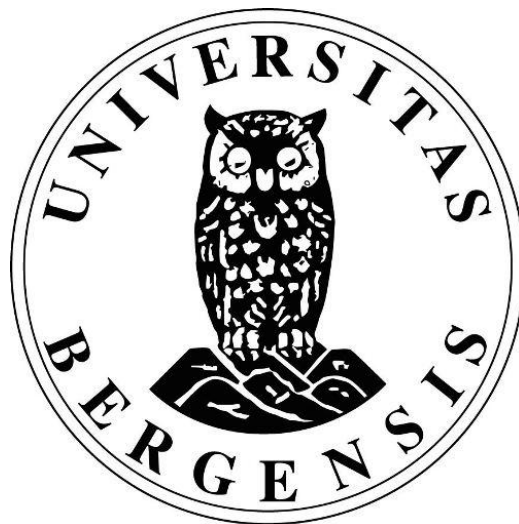
*Department of Geography
University of Bergen, Norway*

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Nkushi Francis Shombong

Bergen, Norway

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Abstract

The Chad-Cameroon petroleum development and pipeline project was received with great expectations. Though the project presented negative effects to the environment, with the proposed mitigation strategies, many people saw it as a path to help improve their livelihoods through proposed compensations, provision of health facilities, school, drinkable water, and an opening for job opportunities. The Bakola on their part were promised better housing, improvement in their health situation, possibilities to encourage them to be more farmers than hunter and gatherers, recognition of their civil status and also encourage the Bakola to leave the forest and integrate into the wider society.

With the completion of the pipeline project in 2004, this thesis tries to assess the impacts of the project to the people of the Ocean Division since its completion. With the project being officially publicized as beneficial to the people of Cameroon, the affected communities are claiming a myriad of negative impacts and if any, some few positive impacts to these communities. While the villagers are claiming lost of livelihood sources and unfair compensation, some Bakola are praising the project for having provided them with houses and some items, while most of the Bakola are attributing their lost of livelihood sources (hunting and gathering) partly to the effects of the pipeline project in opening up the forest.

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List of Abbreviations

CCP:	Cameroon Compensation Plan
CLS:	Center Line Survey
CNSI:	Cameroon National Statistics Institute
CPR:	Common Pool Resource
CTS:	Cameroon Transportation System
DOE:	Department of Environment
DVD:	Digital Video Disk
EA:	Environmental Assessment
EIA:	Environmental Impact Assessment
EMP:	Environmental Management Plan
EU:	European Union
FEDEC:	Fondation pour l'Environnement ET le Developpement au Cameroun
FSO:	Floating Storage and Offloading vessel
GNP:	Gross National Product
Ha:	Hectare
IBRD:	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IDA:	International Development Association
IPP:	Indigenous Peoples Plan
IRAD:	Institute of Agricultural Research for Development
MEAO:	Mission d'Etude pour l'Amenagement de l'Ocean
NEPA:	National Environmental Policy Act
NGOs:	Non Governmental Organizations
PID:	Project Information Document
PM&E:	Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation
PPAV:	Plan pour les Peuples Autochtones Vulnerables
PRS:	Pressure Reducing Station
RAPID:	Reseau d'Action Participatives aux Initiatives de Developpement
SDO:	Senior Divisional Officer
SIA:	Social Impact Assessment
UK:	United Kingdom
UNECE:	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
USA:	United States of America

Glossary

<i>Assegai:</i>	A hunting tool that is no longer in use
<i>Baton de Manioc:</i>	Boiled cassava paste tied with leaves
<i>Bengies:</i>	Cameroonian in the Diaspora (Francophones)
<i>Bush faller:</i>	Cameroonian in the Diaspora (Anglophones)
<i>Buyam sellam:</i>	Women who buy foodstuff and vegetables in bulk and retail at higher prices
<i>Carabot:</i>	Wood house
<i>Case:</i>	local name of a villager's house
<i>Crevettes:</i>	Lobsters
<i>Gare de Moto:</i>	A park or station for motor cycle taxi
<i>Harki:</i>	Locally brewed whisky
<i>Kuassio:</i>	Local language spoken by the Mabea and the Ngumba Bantu groups
<i>La chute de Lobe:</i>	The waterfall at Lobe
<i>Les grosses poissons manges les petits:</i>	Those who are at the top have dominate those who are at the bottom
<i>Ma nyo 'o ma nzambe:</i>	God's nectar
<i>Nkola:</i>	Singular form for a Bakola
<i>Odontol:</i>	Locally brewed alcoholic drink
<i>Potopoto:</i>	Bamboo house thatched with mud
<i>Prefecture:</i>	Senior Divisional Officer
<i>Titre Foncier:</i>	Land title
<i>Villageois:</i>	French word for a peasant or a villager

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background Introduction

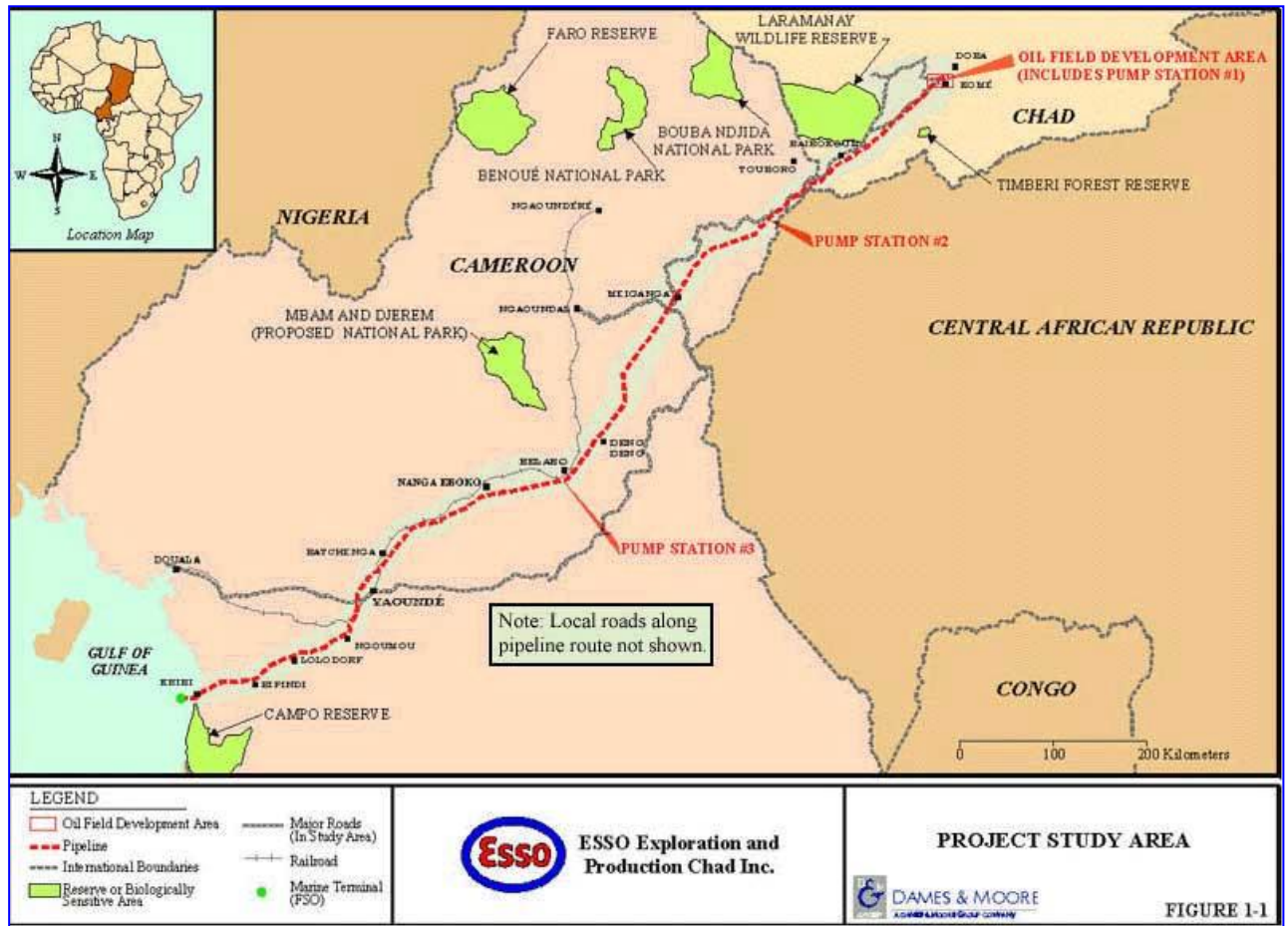
Large amount of oil deposit was discovered in the Doba region of Southern Chad in the late 1980s, but since Chad is a land-locked country, there was need for a coastal terminal for the final export of petrol. The Southern coast of Cameroon offered the best possible option for the pipeline terminal. In contrast to Chad, Cameroon is a country of striking diversity - in geography, climate, people, religion, language and economic structure.

According to the PID (Project Information Document) of 1997, Chad with a population of about 8 million is one of the poorest (US\$ 180 GNP per capita) and amongst the least developed countries in the world. Before petroleum exploitation, agriculture, especially cotton generated 40% of the GDP and provided livelihood for over 80% of the population. It was therefore believed that the development and export of Chad's petroleum reserves in the Doba region could significantly improve its development prospects. Cameroon on its part has a population of about 18 million (CNSI: 2006) and a GDP per capita of about US\$ 610. After averaging a growth rate of about 7% a year from 1960-1985, economic growth turned negative with per capita income falling 50% by 1993 owing to negative declining oil production, a collapse in terms of trade, unproductive public spending, corruption and sharp appreciation of exchange rate. (PID: 1997).

With the difficult situation of the two countries, the development of the oil fields was deemed necessary. The 1070km pipeline from the Doba region of Chad to the offshore loading facilities on the Cameroon Atlantic coast was estimated to cost US\$3.2 billion. The project could result in US\$2 billion in revenue for Chad, averaging US\$ 80 million per year and US\$ 500 million for Cameroon, averaging US\$ 20 million per year over a 25-years period. The objective of the petroleum and pipeline project therefore was to promote economic growth for Chad and Cameroon through the private sector-led development of Chad's petroleum reserves and their export through Cameroon. The project is expected to substantially increase public revenue for Chad, would provide additional resources to alleviate poverty through social sector and infrastructure development. The project will also provide needed additional government revenue to Cameroon (as a transit country) to support macro-economic stability and service government's financial obligations and expenditures (World Bank, 1997:1, 1999:10)

Map 1.1

Overview of the Pipeline Transportation System



Source: Esso 1999

1.2 Description of the Pipeline Project

The pipeline project involves the development of the Doba oil fields in Chad; the construction of a 1070km buried pipeline from Doba in Chad to Kribi in Cameroon’s Atlantic coast, and related pumping stations, pressure reduction station, ancillary facilities and infrastructures; and the installation in Cameroon of an offshore marine export terminal facility: a moored Floating Storage and Offloading vessel (FSO), and associated marine pipeline and related facilities.

Of the 1070km of pipeline, 890km of a760mm diameter pipe is buried in Cameroonian soil (Esso 2003:2). It traverses 4 provinces, 11 divisions, and 238 villages, affecting a population of about 1 million people. An estimated 3.500ha of land is needed with about 125ha for the installation of permanent facilities. 30m wide of Land Easement is needed for pipeline construction and on difficult terrain with steep slopes, roads and railway crossings, the width of Land Easement may be expanded to 50m and at river crossing, Land Easement may be 60m.

The pipes are buried at a depth of 1.0 to 1.5m and on rocky areas; its depth may be 0.5m. Of the three pump stations, two are constructed in Cameroon at Dompla and Belabo. There is also a Pressure Reducing Station (PRS) close to the marine terminal at Kribi. It also involves the construction of a subsea pipeline of about 11km long, an FSO vessel off the shore of Kribi. The project will also include the upgrading of various infrastructure facilities, permanent and temporary storage areas, roads and railway system, and a satellite-based communication system (IBRD 2001:34, World Bank 2000:1-2).

The pipeline construction would involve the temporary clearing of a strip of land between 30 and 60 meters wide along the pipeline route; digging a ditch to accommodate the pipes; transporting and stringing the pipes along the length of the route; welding the pipes; installing the pipes in the trench; backfilling the trench; and reclaiming the cleared area along the pipeline route.

Construction work will take place over 3.5years and will involve a peak work force in Cameroon of between 2.000 to 2.600workers. During the 30years nominal life of the project, it is estimated that approximately 300 operation personnel will be required, and about 200 of these positions could be available to Cameroonians. Cameroonians will be hired and trained to replace expatriate personnel as the operation progresses (Esso, October 1997)

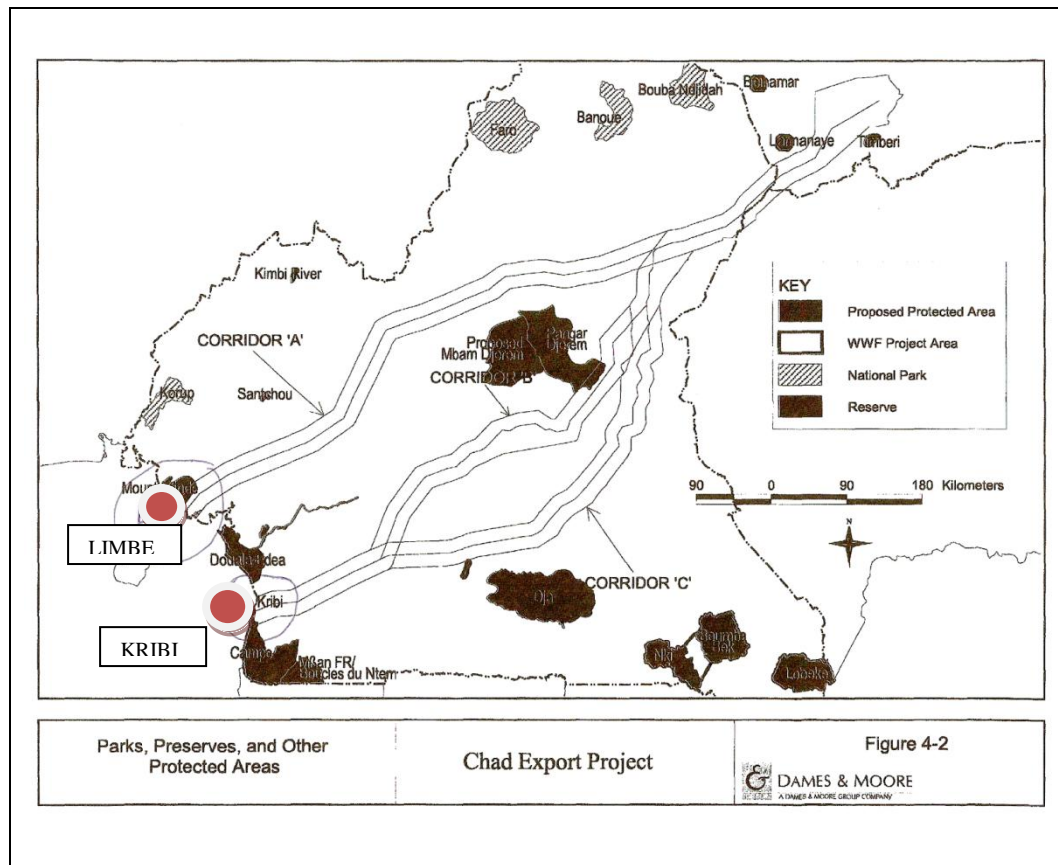
1.2.1 Project Alternatives

Before the final decision on the pipeline route, different alternatives to transport the crude oil to the world market were also considered. Firstly, alternative to pipeline transport of produced crude oil were considered – where a combination of trucking, rail, road, river and small diameter pipeline transportation of crude oil. But it was decided that for the project to be economically viable, the only feasible alternative to transport the huge volume of crude oil is the pipeline construction.

Secondly, alternative pipeline route and sitting facilities – here, two marine terminal locations were identified (Limbe and Kribi), and three possible pipeline corridors - A, B, and C. The selected locations and routes were assessed to come out with the most economical, technical and environmentally acceptable alternatives. In this regard, preliminary environmental and socio-economic criteria to be avoided were considered based on: areas of high priority for protection; parks, reserves, and intact areas of primary forest; terrain with high agricultural

land use potentials for development; steep sloping terrains and erosive soils; zones with dense and relatively undisturbed vegetation.

Map 1.2 Pipeline Corridors and Terminal Alternatives.



Source: Esso 1997

Each of the corridors possesses advantages and disadvantages in view of their physical, environmental and socio-economic considerations. See map 1.2. Corridors A and C both intersect greater number of sensitive features which includes: evergreen forest (corridor A), oil palm plantations (corridor A), Mountainous/rocky terrain and mount Cameroon (corridor A), wetland and swamps associated with the upper Nyong river (corridor C). Corridor B encounters the largest areas of urban land use, including traditional small villages such as the Bakola Pygmies, but this affect a relatively short length of the pipeline (3.8km). It was believed that this situation could be avoided by the final routing of related activities or mitigated by appropriate design and construction techniques. Corridor B did offer greater proximity to existing transportation routes which will reduce the potential for environmental disturbances due to vegetation clearing which can potentially create easy access for people into the forest. Thus corridor B was chosen with a marine terminal at Kribi. But it is also argued amongst Cameroonians that corridor B was chosen for political reasons because of the marginalization of

English Cameroon by French Cameroon since Limbe is in the English Cameroon, despite the fact that corridor A offered favorable conditions with a natural sea port at Limbe and the existence of an oil refinery at Limbe.

Thirdly, no project alternative – in this aspect, the benefits of the project was compared with the adverse impacts of the project and it was concluded that the project will raise local employment, increase government revenues, improve infrastructures and enhance business opportunities for Cameroonians. Thus, the no project alternative was dismissed because it will result in a lost opportunity for Cameroon.

1.2.2 Impact Assessment Made before the Project's Takeoff.

For the project to go operational, the World Bank acting as the major lending partner needed a comprehensive impact assessment of the project before funds will be allocated. In this regard, an international consulting firm – Dames and Moore, was consulted to carry out the impact assessment of the project which was completed and published in different volumes in 1999 in documents commonly known as Environmental Assessment (EA) and Environmental Management Plan (EMP). The EA identified physical, biological, human and socio-economic and environmental issues pertaining to Cameroon's portion of the project and the EMP put forward mitigation measures to redress the adverse effects of the project.

The EA identified the project's impact on the human environment, biological resources, hydrology, hydrography and water quality, geology, soil seismicity, meteorology and air quality, public health and safety, and waste management. On the human environment, the impacts of the project included: short term changes in land use, mainly, the land easement will result in dislocation of some agricultural and economic activities; long term changes in land used within the easement system will allow only the cultivation of annual crops that do not interfere with the functioning and maintenance of the pipeline. Long term changes in land used for construction and operation of permanent facilities such as the pump stations and the pressure reduction stations; labor and the potentials for unequal distribution of jobs; potential boom-bust syndrome as workers are recruited and released from construction, potential development of unplanned settlements in the vicinity of the project camps and facilities; inflationary effects on the residents of the area from the purchase of local goods and services for the project; potential boom-bust syndrome for local suppliers as the purchasing requirements for the project decline at the end of construction; dust generated by project activities resulting in unsafe traffic conditions and nuisance to local population; disturbance to ancestral remains

and sacred places and objects; interference with transhumance migration patterns causing encroachment on neighboring land holdings or increase competition for food and water; potential disturbance of Pygmy settlements and population during construction (Esso 1999)

On the biological resources, impact will be felt on movement, mixing and compaction of soils, by heavy equipment resulting in loss of topsoil and essential nutrients and other soil components; removal of vegetative cover and shade canopy, increasing soil surface temperature, decreasing moisture content, killing soil organisms and increasing potentials for erosion along the pipeline and roadways/river crossings; deposition of dust on the vegetation adjacent to project facilities and roadways, which could contribute to the local die-off of the vegetation, the possible spread of the invasive weed chromolaena (*Eupatorium*) odorata into the Mbere Rift Valley; removal of commercially valuable timber where the pipeline passes through patches of unlogged semi deciduous forest north of the Lom River and between Belabo and Nanga Eboko area; potential increase in mortality of wildlife from the increase traffic on the main and secondary roads; the disturbance or the clearance of the natural vegetation along rivers and streams, which are important in providing cover to slow moving or secondary wildlife species; facilitation of access to currently remote and relatively inaccessible areas including patches of relatively undisturbed semi deciduous forest or patches of matured or well developed secondary forest in the littoral evergreen zone; degradation of the natural habitat in the core area of the Mbere Rift Valley from construction activities; direct displacement of local wildlife or depletion of wildlife resources due to hunting or on increase demand for bush meat by construction work force in the wooded savanna, semi deciduous forest, and Atlantic evergreen forest; increase turbidity and reduced visibility due to erosion and sedimentation; potential disturbances to aquatic resources from minor spill of diesel, gasoline, hydraulic, brakes, transmission, and other equipment fluids or chemicals, damage to botanical, wildlife and other aquatic resources and contamination of both groundwater and surface water bodies resulting from oil spills (Esso 1999).

On the public health and safety, impacts will be felt on the following domains: increase incidence of respiratory diseases; increased incidence of vector-related diseases, such as malaria, schistosomiasis, filariasis, and onchocerciasis; increased incidence of sexually transmitted diseases; increased incidence of water and food related illnesses; increase in accidents, injuries, and increase in chemical exposure and environmental diseases.

1.3 Putting the Problem into Context

According to Barrow (1997:6), impact assessment should be more concerned with the continued welfare of the people and the preservation of nature, and it should also be a promising tool for sustainable development. He goes further to argue that many development attempts have been to sacrifice long-term wellbeing for short-term gains which are often achieved at the expense of damage to the environment or to people's physical and mental welfare (ibid). This therefore implies, to achieve a development which is sustainable and at the same time maintain the stewardship of nature, there is a need for impact assessment on all programs, plans, projects, policies, and actions.

The purpose of the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project is to transport and sell oil from the oil fields in the Doba basin of Southern Chad to the world markets via marine terminal facilities off the Atlantic coast of Cameroon in a manner which is compatible with the balanced environmental and socio-economic needs of the people of Chad and Cameroon. The World Bank approved the project with the hope that from the EA and EMP (which outlined the adverse effects and mitigation strategies of the project), the people of Chad and Cameroon will benefit from the projects' activities and results. Most of the people in the Ocean Division depend on the natural environment (farming, fishing, hunting and gathering) for their living and it is likely that the activities of these people will be directly or indirectly affected by the project's activities. Therefore, to overcome the adverse effects of the pipeline project, it was accepted that the affected communities will be compensated and the compensation should be equal to or more than their actual living conditions. How fair has the compensation been carried out and how do these communities perceive of the compensation? The present study will take a look at this situation.

About 70% of Cameroonians depend on agriculture for their living and unemployment rate is more than 30%: 2001 estimates (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cm.html>). Most people are employed in the informal economy. The pipeline project was seen as a booster to the economy from the construction phase and throughout the operation phase as it is going to open opportunities for job creation both skilled and unskilled labor and it will also favor the growth of auxiliary services that are directly or indirectly involved with the project. Despite the negative effects of the project, it is believed that the benefits of the project do prevail over these negative effects. The project was therefore approved in order to foster the socio-economic development of the two countries by increasing fiscal revenue from petroleum exportation, creation of employment opportunities for the local people, creation of social amenities such as hospitals, schools, roads and provision of drink-

ing water, which will help them improve their living conditions, the protection of the environment on which these people depend and which is also of vital importance at the global scale. But rather on September 9th 2008, instead of acclaiming the success of the pipeline project, the World Bank announced that it was unable to continue supporting the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project because arrangements that underpinned its involvement in and support for the project were not working. What went wrong? How has the project been able to address its objectives of poverty alleviation or is it more focus on profit making? This study will try to look at the effects of the pipeline project on the livelihoods of the affected communities.

The pipeline project traverses the South Western part of Cameroon which is an area inhabited by the Bakola Pygmies. According to the World Bank, the Pygmies are considered as “Indigenous People”, characterized by “*vulnerability to being disadvantaged as social groups in the development process*” (World Bank policy on indigenous people, Approach Paper for Revision of OD 4.20. (July 14, 1998). To be considered as “indigenous people” the World Bank looked at certain characteristics which must be applicable to the group. This include: a close attachment to ancestral territories and to the natural resources in these areas. The Bakola Pygmies are closely attached to their ancestral territories and surrounding natural resources; the self-identification and identification by others as members of a distinct cultural group. The Bakola Pygmies view themselves, and are recognized by others as a distinct cultural group; they should have an indigenous language often different from the national language. The Bakola language is close to the *Kuassio*¹ language; there should be the presence of customary social and political institutions. Some customary social and political institutions do exist amongst the Bakola Pygmies; and also, the presence of primarily subsistence-oriented production. The Bakola Pygmies are primarily a subsistence-oriented lifestyle people, though agriculture is gaining some importance.

Because of the presence of the Pygmies in the vicinity of the project route, and their vulnerability to the projects activities, a study was carried out on the Pygmies known as the Indigenous Peoples Plan (IPP). The purpose of the IPP is to mitigate any potential adverse impacts to the Bakola Pygmy populations and to provide assistance to these communities. The studies found out that within 2km or less from the Cameroon Transportation System (CTS) easement, are the location of 23 Bakola Pygmy settlements. And also, there are some 20 settle-

¹ Kuassio is the language of the Mabea and Ngumba Bantu group.

ments whose primary access or egress is the Kribi-Bipindi-Lolodorf road. It was estimated that about 1000 Bakola Pygmies live in these 43 camps and all will have to benefit from the IPP (Esso, May 1999). According to the World Bank's recommendation, specific actions towards education and agriculture will be propose to the Bakola Pygmies if they wish, and also, they will be assisted in meeting their health needs and other needs of their communities. With the proposed introduction of new lifestyle and the interruption of their normal activities, how then has the project been able to shape the identity of Bakola Pygmies? This will also be a focus in the present study.

Considering the context as mentioned above, the research objectives of the present study can be formulated as a set of research questions as follows:

Research questions

- 1) How fair is the compensation given to the affected communities?
- 2) After 5 years of exploitation, how has the project affected the livelihoods of these communities?
- 3) What effects has the project on the identity of some indigenous people located in the area?

1.4 Raison d'être of the study

The Chad-Cameroon pipeline project was “hot cake” information during the late 1990s and early 2000, due to it publicity over the media and other governmental and Nongovernmental organizations, describing the advantages that will be accrued from the project and demanding public support and participation for the project. This motivated some people to abandon their jobs and moved to the project area seeking jobs which they believed will be highly waged. After the completion of the project, little is being heard of its activities and the outcome of the project is more or less felt and seen depending on how individuals or communities perceived of the project.

Also, current happenings around the Gulf of Guinea especially the rich oil Niger Delta region of Nigeria, the famous “Ogoniland”, where kidnapping of expatriate oil workers and destruction of oil facilities by locals of the area is a common phenomenon. The locals of the Niger Delta region are demanding a fair share of the oil revenue exploited in their region on which they claim they are being marginalized and neglected from resources exploited in their region. This can be instigation to other oil producing regions if they believe that they have not

been fairly treated. How then can gigantic projects like the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project be the hope for people living in difficult socio-economic and political situation? This has been the motivation behind the present study.

This study is not to make an evaluation of the project in the precise study area, but rather using the EA and EMP statements as a baseline data to find out what effect has the project on the people after the completion of the project in terms of their livelihoods and lifestyle, that is the expectations of the people as far as the pipeline project's goal of improving the living conditions of the people is concern.

1.5 Organization of the Study

Considering the objectives of the present study, this study will be divided into eight chapters. The first chapter above introduces the study and the objectives of the study. The second chapter presents the socio-geographical background to the study area and the different ethnic identities in the area. The third chapter describes the techniques applied and adapted to gather the necessary data in the field, while the fourth chapter presents and discuss the concepts and theories used in the study. The fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters' focuses on the description and analysis of the collected data, and also tries to answer the research question. The eighth chapter which is the conclusion will focus on analyzing the main finding and gives a summary of the present study.

2. The Study Area

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the socio-geographical background of the study area, the different communities that make up the study area, that is, the ethnic identity of the people and their main economic activities.

2.2 Geographical Background.

The Ocean Division is amongst the four Divisions of the South Region of Cameroon. It is located within latitudes $2^{\circ} 57'N$, and longitude $9^{\circ}55'E$. This coastal plain is undulating with altitudes ranging between 0 to 600m above sea level. Further away from the coast, the hinterland is made up of a low plateau. At Kribi which is the Divisional capital, the mean annual rainfall is about 3000mm, and the mean annual temperature is about $27^{\circ}c$. It has equatorial climate with alternating wet and dry seasons and a vegetation of the equatorial forest. (Cameroon National Statistics Institute (CNSI): 2006). This coastal climate is influenced by the meteorological equator, which is the meeting point between the anticyclones of Azores (north Atlantic) and that of Saint Helen (south Atlantic). The combine effects of the convergence of the tropical oceanic low pressure zone and the inter tropical front within result in the type of climate found in this area, where rainfall along the coast increases from the south to the north, with rainfall of about 3000mm in Kribi, 4000mm in Douala, and about 11000mm in Debund-scha, long rainy seasons of 8months and a dry season from November to February (IRAD: 2001). The forest in this area is wet, green Atlantic forests which have different stages made up of trees, shrubs and grass.

The Ocean Division has a surface area of about $11.280km^2$ and a population of about 133.062 inhabitants, with a population density of 8 persons per km^2 , less than the national average of 32 persons per km^2 (CNSI: 2006). The Ocean Division is further divided into 9 subdivisions; AkomII, Bipindi, Campo, Kribi Urban, Kribi Rural, Lokondje, Lolodorf, Mvengue and Niete. And these subdivisions are further divided into villages. My study area is focus around Kribi. Kribi has a population of about 60.000 inhabitants (CNSI: 2006). It is a beach resort and sea port in Cameroon, lying on the Gulf of Guinea coast, at the mouth of the Kienke River. It services sea traffic in the Gulf of Guinea and also lies near the terminus of the Chad-Cameroon pipeline. Many ethnic groups live in the Ocean Division but they are mostly cate-

gorized under the leading traditional lifestyle of the Pygmies and the Bantus. These groups are culturally distinctive and have their own communities.

2.3 Ethnic Identity: Bantus and Pygmies.

The Ocean Division is inhabited by two distinct ethnic communities which can be categorized under the Bantus and the Pygmies' ethnic groups. The Bantus form the majority of the population while the Pygmies are the minority and are permanently in scattered locations around the area. The Bantus in the Ocean Division are further divided into different ethnic groups and do speak different local languages which include Bakoko, Bassa, Fang, Mabea, Batanga, Ngoumba, Evouzok, Boulou, Yassa, Mvea and other Bantu speaking group. These languages are similar and someone speaking Mabea do understand what someone is saying in Ngumba, but the main official language in this area is French.

The Pygmies on their part are commonly seen to be shorter people than their neighboring Bantu. Though they are short, they are not dwarfs. And also, their long history of intermarriage with the *Kuassio* has made it in such a way that at times it is difficult to distinguish between a Pygmy and a Bantu in terms of height. According to Stefan Anitei, a science editor in his three page document "*Who Are the Pygmies? – They are not dwarf,*" published on the 30th November 2007, he says, "*Unlike the Bantus; the Pygmies have hairy body, an aquiline nose and a lighter skin. They are restricted to the most inhospitable places in the tropical forest and are isolated from the surrounding population*" (<http://news.softpedia.com/news/Who-Are-the-Pygmies-72485.shtm>). Pygmies in general are called different names depending on their geographical location such as the ba'Kola, ba'Bongo, ba'Mbenzele, ba'Aka ba'Twa or ba'Mbuti. My study area is inhabited by the ba'Kola (Bakola) Pygmies. It is believe that the Bakola Pygmies and the *Kuassio* migrated together in the Atlantic littoral area and have since maintained closed relations therefore they speak closely related mutually comprehensible language. These Pygmies live in camps made of huts, constructed in a circle form. The huts are built by women from forest branches and leaves. The huts are just sleeping places and shelter for rain as most of their life is deploy outside. Their settlements are referred to as camps because the Pygmies are nomadic people without permanent settlements.

Unlike the Bantus, the Pygmies are not fully engaged in agriculture. Their main source of food is from the animals they hunt, and their teeth are usually sharpened to adapt to meat eating. Since they are Mobil, they don't rear animals and the only domestic animals they have

are dogs which are used for hunting. The Pygmies have special hunting senses and are capable of imitating the movements and sound of the animals they hunt. They use poisoned bows with arrows, spears, knives, and hunting webs, made of vines. They usually hunt in groups and on the run, chasing the prey till they can shoot their arrow. Their hunts are usually complimented with what the women and children gathered from the forest such as: forest fruits, berries, fungi, nuts, leaves, roots, snakes, frogs, termites and other insects, caterpillar, larvae, worms and honey.

The Pygmies usually make barter with the neighboring Bantu people. They offer extra hunt meat and forest products and in return, they receive weapons, pots, knives, fabrics, palm oil, manioc, green bananas, alcohol, tobacco and cannabis. Sometimes, the Pygmies are hired to work in cocoa plantations for some few weeks and after being paid, they abandoned their jobs and disappear deep in the forest.

Photo 2.1

Typical Pygmy Camp



The Pygmies have an excellent knowledge of the forest pharmacopeia, they know plants that can cure from gut worm to snake bites and eye diseases, and are considered as traditional healers where people do go for local treatment. The oldest person in a Pygmy camp is usually the “chief” of the camp. The Pygmies are very reticent in their relations with the neighboring people since they are being considered as primitive, inferior and less intelligent by the Bantus. The Pygmies enjoy playing music and dancing during their leisure time and when carrying out rituals. They use drums made of hallow tree trunks covered by a patch of skin. They

dance in a very agitated and expressive way, imitating the sound and movements of animals (Stefan Anitei: November 2007).

The Bakola Pygmies and the Bantu cultivators live side-by-side and do have variations in their relationship. According to Ngima G. (2001:209), there exist two types of relationship; one which appears superficial and limited to economic exchange between the Bakola Pygmies and the Bassa, Bakoko, Mvea, fang, Evouzok and Yassa, and the other which is based on cultural and inter-ethnic relationship between the Bakola and the *Kuassio* speaking groups (Ngumba and Mabea). The Bakola Pygmies are therefore closer to the *Kuassio* due to cultural and historical similarities than the other Bantu groups. But despite these variations, the Bakola and the Bantu groups share the same forest environment which indubitably conditioned their everyday life.

In the Ocean Division, the Pygmies are commonly referred to as “*indigene*” (indigenous people), while the Bantu farmers are referred to as *villageois*², (villagers or local population) Thus, it is not common to hear people talking of the Bantu or the Pygmies, rather, they use “indigenous people or indigenes” to refer to the Pygmies and the “villagers” or “peasants” to refer to the Bantus. Therefore, the present study will try to find out what effects has the pipeline project on the identity of these indigenous people.

2.4 Their Economic Activities

The main economic activities in the Ocean Division include industrial plantations such as Socapalm (palm oil), Hevecam (rubber), and some commercial enterprises around the harbor area, including weekend tourist trade. The private sector plays an important role in the local economy. According to Van den Berg and Biesbrouck (2000:13), this region has recently seen the development of large banana, pineapple, and oil palm plantations which is the work of city elites and not from the local village population. The local economy is also boosted by retired workers who are engage in petit trading and women popularly known as “*buyam sel-lam*³” whose role is to go into the inaccessible hinterland or country side and buy foodstuffs at a cheaper rate and retail them in town at a much higher rate. This is because the country side populations have products to sell but no markets for the products which is further constrained with high transport cost, where as the coastal populations have markets but no product therefore, these women go to these hinterlands to buy and retail in town. Fishing is also a

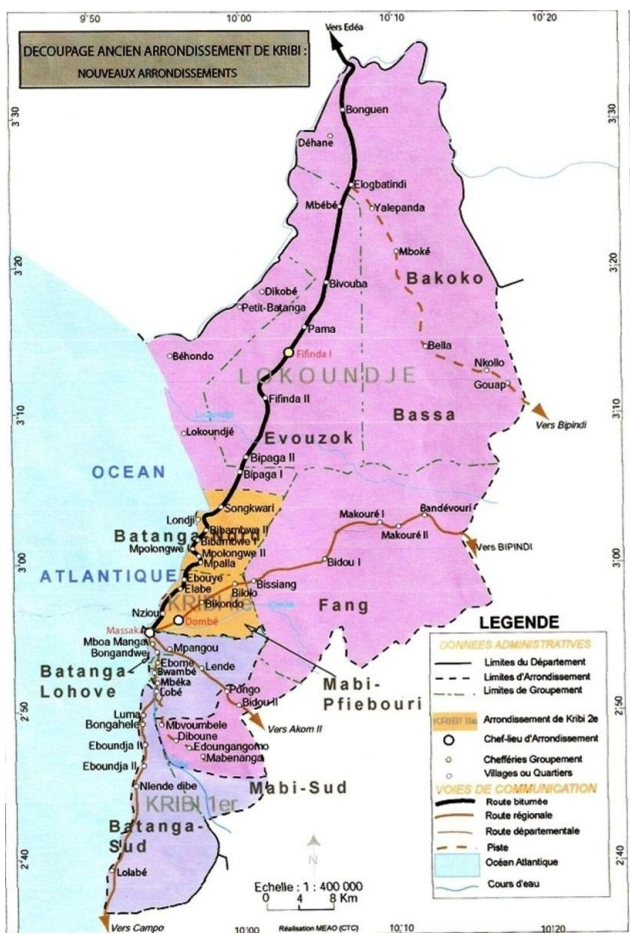
² French word for a peasant or someone from the country side.

³ Women buying and retailing foodstuffs and vegetables

principal economic activity and it is mostly practiced by the coastal Batanga, while the Pygmies live mostly on hunting and gathering.

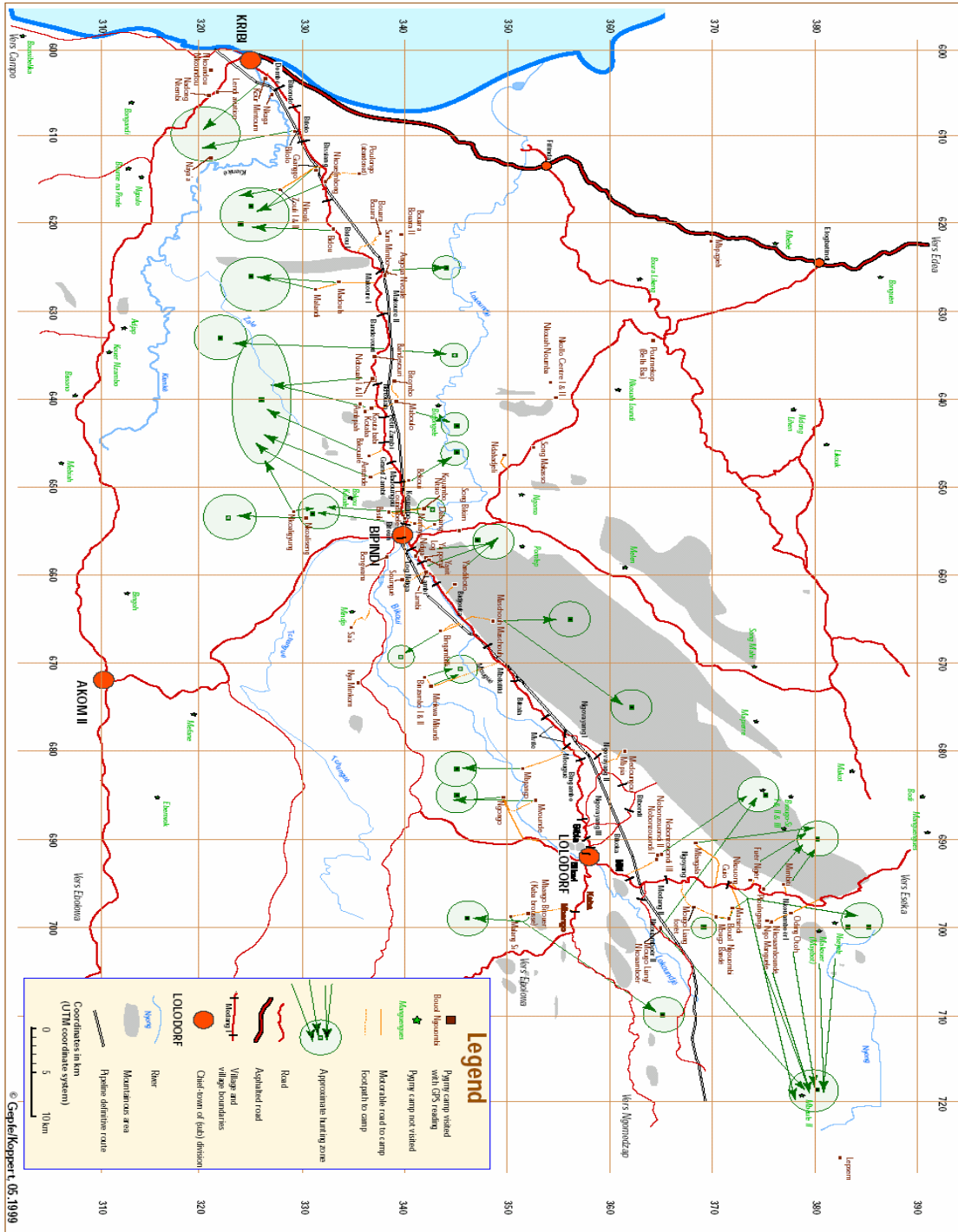
General, most of the people rely primarily on subsistence agriculture and in some areas; they have oil palm and cocoa for cash crop. But since the prizes of cocoa crumbled in the world market in the late 1980s, their importance is reducing significantly. Though the prices have been rising, the fields have not been significantly rehabilitated as many plantations still suffer from crop diseases and pest control is not readily available. They cultivate food crops such as cassava, cucumber, intercropped field mixed with banana, plantains, some maize, macabo (cocoyam) and others.

Map 2.1 Kribi Urban and Rural Sub Division



Source: MEAO

Map 2.2 Location of the Bakola Pygmy Base-camps and Hunting Areas



Source: Esso 1999

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This section focuses on the choice of the study area, the role and procedures I pursued in collecting primary and secondary information, the challenges I encountered on the field, and the experiences I gained doing fieldwork. It also focuses on the techniques and the tools I will apply in analyzing the entire data.

3.2 Why the study area?

From the onset of my research topic; bearing in mind the extensive nature of the pipeline project (1070km), I had three major areas of concern to carry out my fieldwork. Firstly, the coastal region of Kribi in the Ocean Division of Cameroon which is the terminal port for the pipeline, secondly, further inland at Bipindi, some kilometers away from Kribi and still in the Ocean Division and thirdly, further north at Mbai Mboum in the Northern Region of Cameroon which is a border and transit town between Chad and Cameroon. Unfortunately, I had very limited knowledge of these areas.

After reviewing documents on the different areas and getting information from people who knew the different areas, I was able to compare the socio-economic, cultural and the physical environment of the three areas to come out with the one which is advantageous and relatively accessible for my fieldwork, and Kribi offered the best option.

The reason for choosing Kribi in relation to the other areas stem from the fact that, firstly, Kribi is easily accessible from major towns like Douala and Yaoundé, about three hours drive by road, it is a small cosmopolitan town with people of different religions, culture, language and a sea side resort that attracts lots of tourists. Secondly, it has the equatorial climate of the ocean type with four seasons and heavy rainfall giving favorable conditions for the growth of different flora and fauna species which can be highly affected by the project and on which the people of the area depend for their livelihoods. Though having the same climatic characteristics as Bipindi, Kribi is preferable due to its accessibility, whereas Mbai Mboum has a more difficult climatic condition of the sudano-sahelian type with limited rainfall, extreme temperatures and a desert like conditions on which the impacts of the project on the environment would not have been very significant and also it would have been more difficult for me to carry out my fieldwork. Also compare to Kribi, Mbai Mboum have a religion, language and culture that is completely different from the South of Cameroon which will make integration

with the community to be difficult and I will be easily identified as a stranger and making access to information very difficult.

3.3 Shaping of Behavioral Setting in Fieldwork

We have been alerted in our methodology class lectures about the possible problems of role, status and the predicament of researcher and respondents during field work. Linton (1936:113-114), pointed out that, “*Status refers to the position of the individual in the society associated with rights and duties, while role represents the dynamic aspects of status, which is the actual behavior that a person plays out of his status*”. During this lectures, Aase⁴ stressed on the fact that researchers always come along with his/her social status by which he/she has some situated knowledge depending on age, sex, gender, ethnic affiliation, language and profession of his/her society. Creswell (2009:177) pointed out that researchers are typically involved in and sustained intensive experience with participants and this introduces a range of strategic, ethical, and personal issues into the research process and with these concerns, researchers explicitly identify reflexively their biases, values, and personal background, such as gender, history, culture and socio-economic status. With this in mind, I was expecting a lot of challenges in the field because neither do I know my study area physically nor do I belong to their society and social norms. The major doubts that I was nursing was based on the fact that, how will this community receive an English speaking Cameroonian in a widely dominated French speaking region? Despite my knowledge of the French language, I will be easily identified by my English intonation. Also, I had doubts on how they are going to perceive of me as a Cameroonian living and studying in Europe. I carried this doubts with me and reached my study area in the beginning of June 2009 to face the reality.

I reached Cameroon on the 27th May 2009 and after some welcome meetings with family and friends, I set out for my study area on the 3rd June. Since I had no contact person and did not know anybody in the area, I set out to work immediately. I looked for a hotel where I arrange for my lodging and from the hotel manager; I was able to get directives on where to go and get the information I needed. I was directed to the Council office and with the aspect of “*bot-tleneck*” in Cameroon, where there are no free services, I was asked to come back the next day. When I returned the next day, I was asked to present a research permit from the Senior Divisional officer (S.D.O) “*prefecture*”. I went to the S.D.O and I was asked for a proof of research order from the University of Bergen. I presented the research order and after paying

⁴ Professor Tor Halfdan Aase (University of Bergen, Norway)

for a physical stamp, an authorization to carry out research in Kribi was signed and given to me. I took it to the council office where I was directed to another office called MEAO (Mission d'Etude pour l'Amenagement de L'Ocean), which is in charge of the development of the Division. From MEAO, I was given maps of the Division, and a direction on the different villages traversed by the pipeline. All the transactions between the offices were done with some charges.

My next objective was to have a guide who knows the area well and could speak the different local languages of the area. When I asked for this from the MEAO office, I was directed to the motorcycle park popularly known as "*gare de Moto*" since the main means of daily transportation in the area is by motorcycle or "*Moto taxi*" as the roads are earth roads and inaccessible during the rainy season. I was told that at this park, I will find guides who always wait for tourists and who will be able to lead me. When I arrived the *gare de Moto*, I met lots of young boys with their *Moto* ready to offer me the services I needed. But I have to make a choice because I needed someone who will be able to speak the local languages and fortunately, I met Yannick who met the language criteria and he also spoke and understood English. He is then to serve as my guide, my interpreter and my transporter with the use of his motorcycle.

With all arrangements made and a thorough explanation on what I want to my interpreter, we set out for work the next day. I studied the maps given to me and discovered that Kribi is a converging and diverging area of three road network and these roads at some point intersect with the pipeline. I started by doing what Kent et al (1997: 315) referred to as "*Cook's Tour*" or "*look-see*" field visit on these roads. This was to help me have an overview of the unfamiliar landscape and people. It was mainly personal observation and no social interaction was involved. This method helped me to situate the different areas to be studied, the extent to be reached, and to know what I will need during my visits there. It also helped me to know the trekking distances in order to be well prepared before my visits.

From my "*look see*" observation, I was able to situate three villages – Dombe, Lobe and Kribi, in which I planned to stay, and for the two months I have to spend for the field study, I divided my time into two weeks per village and divided the field studies into two phases, the first to take place throughout June 2009 and a one week break during the early days of July 2009, then the second phase from early July to 4th August. Table 3.1 shows my fieldwork time plan. From the 7th July to the 10th of July 2009, I was at COTCO (Cameroon Oil Trans-

portation Company) office in Douala for information which was never made available to me. During my early stay in these villages, I did not immediately tell the people that my purpose there was for research. I wanted to get used to them and see how eased they are with me.

Table3.1 Fieldwork Study Time Plan

Location	Dates
Doumbe	7 th - 21 st June 2009
Lobe	22 nd June - 6 th July 2009
COTCO (Douala)	7 th - 10 th July 2009
Kribi	13 th July – 4 th August

Source: Field survey 2009

I was given the status of a tourist at the beginning but as time went on and depending on the ideology of the people, I was able to adjust my status according to their needs. During my entire field studies, I was ascribed different statuses – tourist, NGO personnel, COTCO personnel, student from the University of Yaoundé I, and student from the University of Bergen, off which only the status as student researcher from the university of Bergen is the correct one. The reason for accepting whatever status they gave me was based on the fact that at certain point in time, people who are under some form of predicament, will always prefer to tell their story to someone they think will be of help to them or who can channel their problems to the right quarters. At Doumbe village for instance, as I was considered an NGO personnel from Yaoundé, most people came to me to tell their story instead of me seeking to visit them as a researcher. On the other hand, in Lobe village, I told them that I am a student researcher from the University of Bergen and with that, I was approached differently. They said it is of no need to tell their story to a student because the student cannot help them in anyway; instead the student is making money from their information. Also, those who knew about research understood it but if you tell them that you are from Europe, they will be expecting you to give them some payments for their information, saying students in Europe are rich. With this type of persons, I usually change my status to a Yaoundé University student. Meeting with the Pygmies was a different story. They immediately asked “*are you a personnel from COTCO?*” since they have been frequently questioned by COTCO personnel regarding compensation. So accepting the status as COTCO personnel, I believed was an opening to get information.

My consistent change of status and its effectiveness stemmed from the fact that during my early contacts with the people I tried to study and understand what they think and their approaches to different issues through informal discussion, when I was still being considered as a tourist. One amazing issue is the fact that I easily gained the trust and confidence of the people and I realized that this was due to the fact that I was not only observing and to some extent participating but I was fully involved in their household activities like accepting what they do offer you to eat, drink and wear etc without any reservation, where I stayed at Lobe, they wanted to give me a special room with special beddings but I turned it down and slept with the young boys in their room. Though it was very difficult, it was fruitful, because within days, though I was a stranger, I was not considered an “outsider” because my presence was not regarded a threat to them.

My curiosity combined with my status/role adaptability is considered as the driving force to my fieldwork. And I discovered that it is necessary to be able to adjust as fast as possible in an ethical manner so long as this will lead you to the rightful information. I did not find it necessary to convince them that I am a student doing research since I believe this will make them to give me very limited information and also they will try to tell me what they think I want rather than telling me their story and also due to time constraint, it was necessary to be smart. Towards the end of the fieldwork, I was mostly focused on informal discussions so as to verify and get an understanding of some of the data collected on the field, I made interview with an NGO, and also tried to get information from government officials without success.

3.4 Fieldwork Methodology Procedure and Respondent

My process of interacting with the villagers helped me to select the respondents that I needed. I paid special attention to accumulate diverse context of the society regarding the objective of the present study. My study objectives are; to know how fair these communities perceive of the compensation given to them and also what impacts has the pipeline project on their livelihoods and identity. To attain these objectives requires observing and speaking directly with the villagers to acquire information on their experiences and perception of the whole situation. My primary focus was to talk to as many villagers as possible, then to talk to some NGOs located in the area and also to get the story of some government institution directly involved in the pipeline project, especially from COTCO. I also had outside informers and resource persons which actually helped me to broaden the understanding of the subject of study. The table below shows the respondents’ age and gender and this will be used in the

analysis to show the different perceptions of the project by the different age groups and gender.

Table 3.2 Respondents' Age and Gender

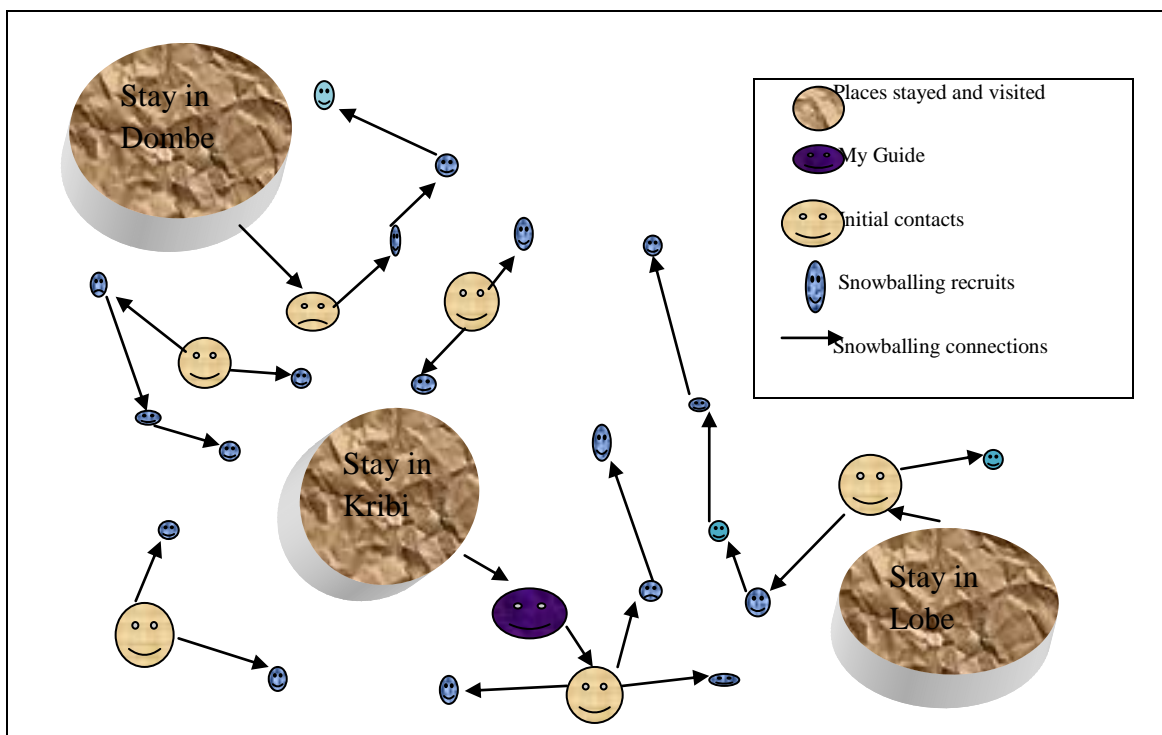
Respondents' age	Gender		Total	%
	Male	Female		
20-24	1	0	1	2.5
25-29	1	0	1	2.5
30-34	4	2	6	15.0
35-39	4	3	7	17.5
40-44	5	1	6	15.0
45-49	6	1	7	17.5
50-54	3	1	4	10.0
55-59	3	1	4	10.0
60-64	1	0	1	2.5
65-69	2	0	2	5.0
70-74	1	0	1	2.5
Total	31	9	40	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2009

To select the informants, I applied the snowball or chain sampling technique. This is a non probability method that relies on referrals from the initial participants to identify additional participants. Flowerdew et al. (2000: 177), says the term snowballing describes using one contact to help you recruit another contact, who in turn can put you in touch with someone else, and this initial contact may be a friend, relative, neighbor, or someone from a social group or organization. I applied the process mentioned by Flowerdew et al. Having explained my objectives to my interpreter, he was able to identify someone that we could visit. Fortunately, my first visit paid off and my first respondent became my main informant. He is a notable of Lobe village, he was affected and received compensation from COTCO and he was also employed during the construction phase of the project. From him, I was able to extend my links with the villagers. This helped me to overcome the obstacle of recruiting respondents, and also gaining their trust. The problem I had with this method was that, some of the respondents recruited through snowballing wanted to know what their friends said when I interviewed them. But I told them that each interview is confidential. With this problem, I

decided to multiple my initial contact point. That is, after 4 or 5 recruited, I changed to a new initial contact that the previous ones do not know. Since most of the villagers were aware of my presence and knew I was going around asking questions and most of them were expecting me to come to them as some usually explained “*we have been waiting for you*”, so I realized some of the villagers have been meeting and preparing a common response to my questions, which then forced me to change the initial contacts frequently. This strategy was important because I avoided lots of persons from a very narrow circle of like-minded people who tend to have the same ideas since they are all friends and have certain common characteristics which might make the findings to be focus in one direction.

Figure 3.1 Snowballing or Chain Sampling Method



Source: Fieldwork 2009

Altogether, I surveyed 40 households with semi-structured questionnaires; my attention was mainly focus on quality information rather than the quantity of the respondents. Most of the time, the interviews were more informal with some villagers so as to verify the findings that I registered. With the snowballing technique, the number of people will grow bigger and bigger. Figure 3.1 above presents the process of snowballing or chain sampling of the present study.

According figure 3.1, from my guide, I was able to get an initial contact and from the initial contact I was directed to other contacts known as the snowballing recruits. When I discovered

that the recruits have been meeting and giving me almost similar responses, I then switch to another initial contact that had no links with the former recruits.

3.5 Research Technique (Quantitative and Qualitative Methods)

In differentiating between qualitative and quantitative methods, Patton (2002:14) laid emphasis on the fact that qualitative methods facilitates the study of issues in depth and in details, which enables fieldwork to be carried out without predetermined categories of analysis which in return contributes to the depth, openness and detail of qualitative inquiry. Quantitative method by contrast requires the use of standardized measures so that the varying perspectives and experiences of people can fit into a limited number of predetermined categories to which numbers are assigned (ibid).

Creswell (2009: 12-13), in distinguishing between qualitative and quantitative methods, says “*quantitative research provides a quantitative or numeric description of trends, attitudes or opinion of a population by studying a sample of that population by using questionnaires or structured interview*”, and quantitative method is further divided into two groups: experimental design and non-experimental design such as survey, while on the other hand, qualitative method involves a detailed and an in depth study of issues. Qualitative method involves different strategies such as ethnography, grounded theory, case studies, phenomenological research, and narrative research (ibid: 13). The determination of the research method usually depends on the research problem. According to Creswell (2009: 18), if the need is to identify the factor that influences the outcome or the utility of outcome, or to understand the best predictors of outcomes, then quantitative approach is the best to use. On the other hand, if the concept or phenomenon needs to be understood because little research has been done on it, then qualitative approach is useful because it is exploratory and useful when the researcher does not know the important variables to be examined (ibid).

Based on the differences of the two methods and in relation to my research objectives, I focused my attention on qualitative approach because it gave me the ability to observe and explore event immediately as they occurred during my fieldwork, it enabled me to try to understand the phenomenon that are on the ground, and thus prompted me to try and get an in depth meaning of events. As my questionnaire where meant for household survey, the questionnaire contained both closed-ended and open-ended questions, which will permit me to add some quantitative data analysis. This is due to the fact that as Miles et al (1994: 40) puts it, to understand the world, we need both numbers (quantitative) and words (qualitative)

techniques which do have different strength and weaknesses, and are alternatives but which are not mutually exclusive techniques for research.

3.5.1 Reasons for focusing on Qualitative Technique

The main objective of this study is to know the perception of the people concerning the fairness of the compensation given to them and what are the impacts of the project on the livelihoods and identity of the affected communities. The research agenda therefore calls for a more qualitative discussion in the analysis since it is mostly based on the experiences and perceptions of the people. Therefore, it will be mostly descriptive and analytical.

To acquire materials for the description and analysis, I have to enter into the life world of these communities and try to get an understanding of what they do, think and say. To explore and narrate the understanding of the respondent and also to understand their expressions do calls for a qualitative research and analysis method.

3.6 Data Collection Procedures

As Creswell (2009: 178) puts it, “*the idea behind qualitative research is to purposefully select participants and sites (or documents or visual materials) that will best understand the problem and the research question*”. Concerning the participant and site, Miles and Buber- man (1994, cited in Creswell 2009: 178) identified four aspects to be considered in this regard: the *setting* (where the research will take place), the *actors* (who will be observed or interviewed), the *event* (what the actors will be observed or interviewed doing), and the *process* (the evolving nature of events undertaken by the actors within the setting). After selecting the site which is the Ocean Division of Cameroon, I now have to decide on selecting the participant. In order to make open the present study, I decided to focus my attention on three groups; the local population, NGOs, and government institutions directly involved in the project.

Creswell (2009: 178) goes further to specify that not only the site and the participants are needed, but also of value is the type or types of data to be collected. In this regard I think data are being produced rather than collected. Data are products that are being produced because they are not readily made available to be collected. Therefore we have to adopt methods and strategies to produce them. Thus to acquire data for the present study, I have applied primary as well as secondary methods of data collection and qualitative and to a lesser extent quantitative techniques. I interviewed 40 households with semi-structured questionnaires; I also

had informal interviews with some key persons in the villages and outside informers and resource persons, I also had some informal group discussions. The second major technique I applied was observation on the household activities, daily activities of the people. The following section explains how I applied these techniques in the field.

3.6.1. Interview

The interviews were carried out mainly on face-to-face or one-on-one interview between the informant and me via speaking and talking and some of the time with the help of an interpreter especially when speaking with the Pygmies. Maccoby and Maccoby (1954: 499, cited in Dunn, 2003: 51) defined interview as *“a face-to-face verbal interchange in which one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information or expressions of opinion or belief from another person or persons”*.

40 households were interviewed by designing semi-structured questionnaires. I also carried out several informal conversations with the aid of unstructured questions. The household survey was divided into two parts. Firstly, the livelihood of the household which included information on the demography of the household, occupation of household members, agricultural and livestock production, alternative sources of income and household history. Secondly, the compensation and impact of the project to the local people, which included how were they compensated (in cash or in kind), their perception of the compensation in relation to their properties destroyed. This section was mainly based on an evolutionary process or comparing their livelihoods from the pre-project to the post-project, and also the impact of the project on social amenities such as school, hospitals and drinking water.

I also carried out informal/unstructured interviews, though the questions were in line with the semi-structured questionnaires, I raised questions on topics related to their society, culture, day-to-day activities which did arise from observed phenomenon in the field which needed some clarification. This type of interview was mostly conducted with key informants. I also had interview with an NGO which greatly enable me to understand other perspectives about the pipeline project. I tried but without success to get information from either COTCO or government offices directly involved in the project. They claimed that there are lots of controversies concerning the project and information given out have been used against them especially on compensation and environmental pollution and they have court cases filed against them. So they can't give me any information. This would have been of great value since it will enable me to get the story of all the actors of the pipeline project.

The interview method required patience since at times I needed to spend much time with the respondent either to wait for them to finish what they are doing before attending to you or at times I discovered that the responses are biased because of my presence or at times they will tell you to meet them at a designated time and place because they don't want their wives or the husband to hear what you are saying thereby making observation of the natural field setting impossible. Despite these limitations, it is worthwhile. As Flowerdew et al (2005: 76) puts it, "*in-depth interviews provides an alternative means for exploring issues in more depth than is generally possible using questionnaires*", because I had control over the line of questioning and I was able to get some historical information on issues that cannot be observed.

3.6.2 Observation

Observation was a vital technique that I applied for the data collection. According to Creswell (2009:181), "*qualitative observations are those in which the researcher takes field notes on the behavior and activities of individuals at the research site*". He further emphasized that a qualitative observer may engage in varying roles ranging from a non-participant to a complete participant. Field research therefore involves the relation between observation and participation. (Creswell, 2009:179; Junker, 1960 cited in Steen, 2009: 201) outlined four combinations of participant and observation positions which are used for research investigations: (1) complete participant (the researcher is fully involved in the group or community in which he or she is doing research); (2) the complete observer (the main emphasis is placed on observation, not on social interaction); (3) the participant as observer (how participant observation can be a way to explore how environments produce, and are produced by, social activity); and (4) the observer as participant (observation with some participation).

Due to the time available for the data collection, it was not possible for me to be neither a complete participant nor a complete observer, I was somehow in between, that is, more observation with some participation. Observation requires the use of all the senses of seeing, hearing, feeling, and smelling. For the observed events to be meaningful, it must be categorized into cognitive categories for it to be recognized as data with attributed meaning. For instance, from observing the structure of a house, you can determine the number of wives an individual has.

I was able to observe household activities, village activities and hearing what they say from individuals or group meetings. After one week stay in Lobe, I was able to deduce the number of wives a man has by not asking him but by just looking around in his compound and count

the number of fuel wood kitchens in the compound. If there are three kitchens, I know he has three wives and to be sure if it is true, I might ask him “*has your third wife gone to the farm*”? From there, you are going to know the numbers of wives he has because at time he might have a son who is married and living in the father’s compound. Some of the questions I asked were to confirm some of the observed phenomenon.

The major point of contact and discussion was at the Lobe beach, popularly known as “*la chute de Lobe*” which is mostly visited by both villagers and tourist. It acts as a swimming ground, local fishing port, business place and a touristic site. When the villagers don’t have anything doing for the day, the next place to go is *la chute de Lobe* and this was where I had a lot of informal group discussion. From this area, the marine terminal (FSO) is clearly visible and this was possible for me to quickly raise issues for discussion concerning the pipeline project.

In the beginning of my fieldwork, it was very difficult for me to categorized observed phenomenon and events because I do not belong to their socio-cultural background, but as time went on, I became familiar with some observed phenomenon and events and it became easier to understand them and their categories.

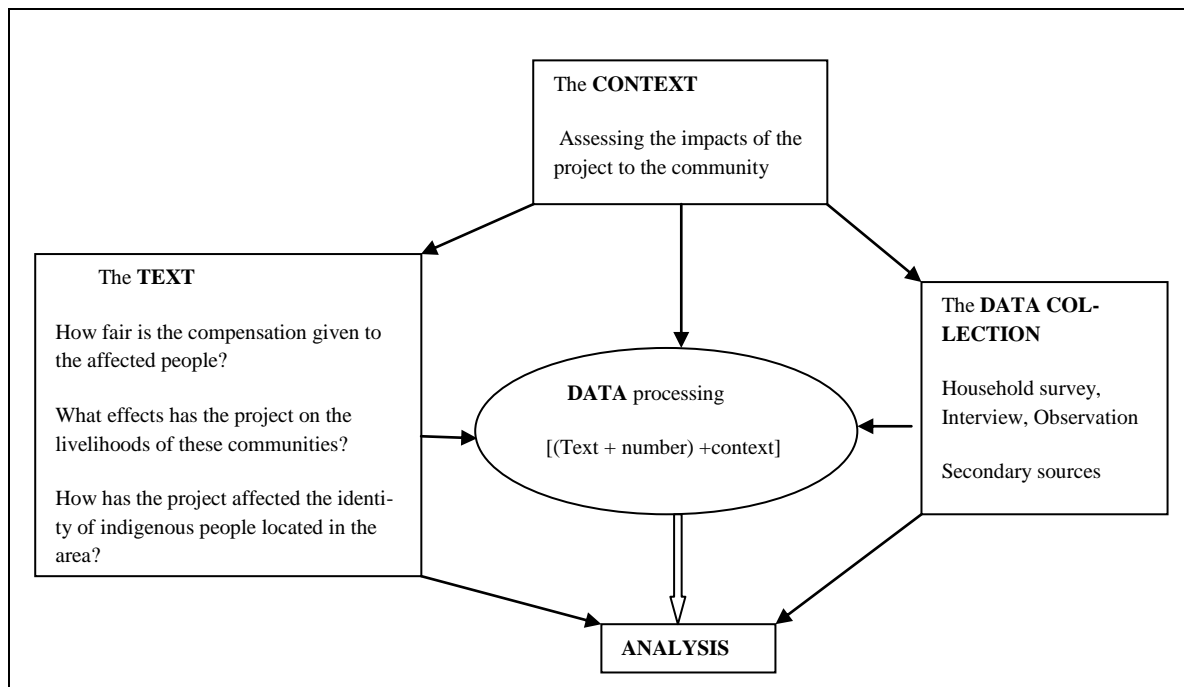
3.6.3 Secondary sources

Textual as well as numeric secondary information are used in the present study. I was able to collect information from existing reports and other documents for the present study. The socio-demographic information and the maps of the Ocean Division were gotten from MEAO, I was also able to get documents from NGOs concerning studies carried out on the Pygmies, documents on the biannual update of the project by Esso Chad Exploration, reviewed documents on studies carried out in the Ocean Division, and I also visited websites containing information on the pipeline project.

3.7 Data Interpretation and Analysis

After collecting the data on the field, the next major challenge according to Patton (2002:432) of qualitative analysis is to make sense of the massive amounts of data collected. To analyze the data therefore, entails relating the “context” of the study to the “texts” which will help to answer the research questions and give some meaning to the study. This will be done with the use of words, expressions, sayings, phrases, figures, tables, numbers, maps and photos. To interpret the data of the following study, I have to analyze the interviews, informal talks and the observed phenomenon on the field.

Figure 3.2 Analytical framework



Source: Adapted from Poudel (2007:28)

The “contexts” of the study which is assessing the impacts of an international pipeline project on the local communities around the coastal region of Cameroon- Kribi, which is traversed by the pipeline. On the other hand, the “texts” which I will analyze in relation to the context will be based on how fair is the compensation given to these communities and how has the pipeline project affected their livelihoods and identity in such context. This is shown in the figure 3.2 above

3.8 Validity and Reliability of the Data

The challenge of analyzing collected data is to present the data in a convincing manner and to show that the findings are genuinely based on critical investigation. With the increasing importance of qualitative research in the study of social relations, the collected data should be capable of demonstrating some validity and reliability. Briggs (1992: 23) refers to reliability and validity of qualitative research as “*reliability refers to the probability that the repetition of the same procedures either by the same researcher or by another investigator, will produce the same results, and validity is the accuracy of a given technique, that is, the extent to which the results conforms to the characteristics of the phenomenon in question*”. On the other hand, Hammersley (1990: 57) says, “*by validity, I mean truth: interpreted as the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomenon to which it refers*”. In the same line, Hammersley refers to reliability as “*the degree of consistency with which in-*

stances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions” (1992: 67). It can therefore be concluded that reliability and validity in qualitative research can be a process of measuring and at the same time minimizing discrepancies and biases in research study.

They are different ways in ensuring the reliability and validity of qualitative research but for the present study, I have focused on critical reflection to make certain its validity and reliability, this includes: the research methods I have used in the study, the different strategies adapted in collecting the data and the techniques used in analyzing the data collected.

I have used “face-to-face interview” (household interview, interview with key informants, informal group discussions and field discussions) as the primary tool in gathering my data. Though the interview method has its own limits, it is highly recommended as a qualitative research method because it is able to explore events and phenomenon in an in depth manner. During some informal group discussions, I was able to verify some of the information previously given to me by respondents. For instance some respondents when questioned one-on-one about the compensation given to them, some completely refused that they were not compensated, but during group discussion, I was told that most of those affected were compensated though they did not receive what they expected that is why some are refusing that they were not compensated. Others said some were compensated more than other because they have relatives in the administration, saying “*les gros poissons mange les petits*”, literally meaning those who have relatives in the administration were able to influence the amount of compensation given to their relatives. Two Pygmies living as neighbors, one was compensated and the other wasn't, and when asked why he was not compensated during group discussion he said “*they constructed houses for the other because they are married and have children*”. But his claims could not be verified because I was unable to have an interview with COTCO to know why some Pygmies received compensation while others did not. Observation was also an important tool for the data collection. I used observation to crosscheck some of the information given by the respondents mostly on their daily activities such as fishing which most of them said they are out of activity because of the pipeline project's activities and I could see most of them sleeping along the fishing ports and beaches during the day.

Also, one aspect that helped me to minimize misleading notions of the data was my early familiarization with the study area and also my early acceptance by the people of the study area. My guide was very valuable in this regard as he was able to introduce me to the people

and their activities which made them to gain some trust in me thereby enabling me to gain access to valid and reliable information. To be sure that the information given is valid, I made sure that the questions written in English were given the right translation in the different languages. This was done by first allowing my guide to ask the questions in French which I understood to French speaker before moving to areas where the local language is spoken. This enabled me to overcome the misinterpretation of the questions by my interpreter in the different local languages. Thus, I was able to confirm his French interpretation before we moved on.

Also the aspect of using both quality and quantity (texts and numbers) in analyzing the field events gives some validity to the study. Though more focus is on qualitative analysis, statistics will also be used to explain some quantitative aspects that need explanation.

This study has not been through without challenges and limitations which include time, access and economic limitations. This thesis is part of the fulfillment of the requirements for a Master Degree. Other courses included: Theories about Development and Migration, Methods in Social Science, Myths, Narratives and institutions: Critical Perspectives on Environment and Development, etc. Therefore, we had from June to August to carry out fieldwork. With this limited time it was difficult to effectively carry out fieldwork and explore all the details needed for the thesis. Thus I am able to write only on what I saw, heard and understood within that period in the field. The time limit coupled with financial limitation made it difficult for me to verify some information within a short period of time in some distant areas. Access to information and accessibility in the study area was difficult due to poor roads; climate and mosquitoes were also major obstacles during my fieldwork. Despite the challenges, it was a worthwhile exercise.

4. Theory and Concepts

4.1 Introduction

Every research has a theoretical position, and “*any theoretical position rests ultimately upon two philosophical components: ontology and epistemology*” (Holt-Jensen, 2004:125). He further explained that ontology is regarded as the nature of being or the theory of existence, a philosophy of what really exist as against what does not, which provides a basis for understanding the world. Epistemology on its part, he says, gives guidance on how to work scientifically; it is a theory that seeks to understand knowledge about the world. It is a theory of knowledge that seeks to determine correspondence between the realm of knowledge (concepts, propositions) and the realm of objects (experiences, things). Epistemology therefore helps to guide the formulation of research problems, theory evaluation, and choice of appropriate research techniques and results interpretation. (ibid: 118). Therefore, for the epistemology to be concrete there is a need for a model or the methodology that guides us to develop appropriate techniques in the study.

To present answers to the research questions, this chapter will throw some light on the conceptual framework of the present study. Before looking into the concepts of impact assessment, community and identity which are the main quest of the study, I will first of all briefly examine the different types of impact assessment and a brief history of its coming into being.

4.2 Types of Impact Assessment

The philosophy or culture of most governments and the public a large in recent times has been one of, according to Barrow (1997: 1), ‘*develop now, minimize associated costs and, if forced to, clean up later*’, but recently, he say, sound environmentally and socially appropriate development is of great concern, and destroying the environment and societies in the name of “*progress*” is being questioned seriously. People are becoming more and more frightened with the threat posed by technology and biotechnology, and there is greater call for sustainable development. “*To minimize problems, maximize benefits and, increasingly to involve the public and win their support, planners and decision-makers need to assess how activities have affected or might affect the environment – including social conditions*” (ibid). Therefore, there should be need for impact assessment on programs, policies, planning, actions and project which amongst others include the following:

Ecological impact assessment: This is assessments that consider how organisms in general, and people in particular, will be affected by a development project. Ecological assessment is

concerned with establishing the “state of the environment”, that is, a description of the environment, usually of a site prior to a development and what the site will look like after the development.

Habitat evaluation: This is mainly to assess the sustainability of an ecosystem for a species faced with development, or the impact of development on a habitat. How habitat will be affected with a proposed development project.

Cultural impact assessment: It include studies of how people change their culture in the face of development due to immigration, or contact with tourists or new tastes, exposure to media pressure, threats opportunities, new concepts etc (Cochrane, 1979, cited in Barrow, 1997:235).

Gender impact assessment: It is a process that seeks to establish what effects development will have on gender relation in a society. Will development help to close the gap that exist between men and women or will it further widen the gap that exist between men and women in terms of jobs, rights, marginalization, etc.

Risk or hazard assessment: This is a process of assigning magnitudes and probabilities to the adverse effects of human activities (including technical innovation) or natural catastrophes. It involves identifying hazards, and using measurement, testing and mathematical or statistical methods to quantify the relationship between the initiating events and the effects (Suter, 1993:3).

Health impact assessment: It seeks to predict positive or negative health impacts triggered by some proposed development including policy or programme changes.

Environmental impact assessment: It is a critical objective assessment of the likely effects of a development (project, programs, policy, plans, social or economic change, environmental change, etc.). It should in addition to identifying the impacts, clarify what the situation would be if no development or change were to occur and what are the impacts for various possible development options.

Social impact assessment: It is viewed as a subdivision of environmental impact assessment or, alternatively, the opposite end of the same spectrum of activities, which is concerned with the impact of development on people, whether individually or as a group – ranging from households up to global society. It is also concerned with the impact of people on develop-

ment and the environment. Social changes may affect development and generate feedback that alters society.

Given the different components of impact assessment, this study will be mainly focused on environmental and social impact assessment. The reason for focusing on EIA and SIA is based on the fact that, all the components listed above are most often than not included when carrying out impact assessment of a project. These components are usually not treated separately but are considered as likely impacts of a project. The Chad-Cameroon pipeline project examined all the possible impacts of the project in its EA documents and all the impacts were classified either as environmental impacts or social impacts. Therefore, though the conceptual framework will be focus on EIA and SIA, this study will take a look at the possible impacts of the project after completion.

4.3 Brief History of Impact Assessment

Due to the wide spread of pollution in the USA in the early 1900s, there was a conference call in respect to pollution control and conservation in the USA in 1908, but it was in the second half of the century that legislation was enacted. This subsequently led to the creation of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) in 1969 which was passed by the US Congress and signed into law in 1970. The US government was largely reacting to public opinion that conventional planning did not adequately take account of the environment. (Barrow, 1997:168)

NEPA required an environmental impact assessment prior to federally funded projects that do greatly affect the environment. The crucial sections of NEPA included section 101, which set regulations to protect the environment, section 102(2) (c), which ensured that they were pursued, and section 103, included provision for inadequate environmental impact assessment statements to be challenged in court. (ibid: 168).

With the introduction of the USA NEPA act in 1969, it became evident that altering the environment of its natural ecosystem also altered the culture and social organization of human population. After the decision to build the Alaskan pipeline from Prudhoe Bay on the Arctic Sea to Valdez on Prince William Sound in 1973, a local chief commented “*now that we have dealt with the problem of permafrost and the caribou and what to do with hot oil, what about changes in the customs and ways of my people*” (Burdge and Vanclay, 1996: 62). Here it was a question of how the traditional culture and the lifestyle of the people will be changed by

such a massive construction project. Different social aspects were to be considered in this regard; Alaska had very small population, and of the 42000 persons needed to work, only a few will come from this region. How therefore will the influx of construction workers who spoke a different language and brought in distinctive lifestyle with them affect the culture of the local people in the area? Burdge and Vanclay claim that it was because of these impacts on human populations, that the term ‘social impact assessment’ probably was first used in 1973 to refer to the changes in the indigenous Inuit culture due to the pipeline. (1996: 62). A European Community (EC) directive in 1985 accelerated its application in the EU member states and, since its introduction in the UK in 1988; it has been a major growth area for planning practice.

4.4 Environmental and Social Impact Assessment.

Over the past decades, there has been a remarkable growth of interest in environmental and social issues- sustainable and better management of development in harmony with the environment. Munn (1979) defined Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) as a process “*to identify and predict the impact on the environment and on man’s health and wellbeing of legislative proposals, policies, projects and operational procedures and to interpret and communicate information about the impact*” (cited in Glasson et al, 2005:3).

The UK Department of Environment (DOE, 1989), on its part, gives an operational definition in which it claims the term “*environmental assessment*” describe a technique and a process by which information about the environmental effects of a project is collected, both by developers and from other sources, and taken into account by the planning authorities in forming their judgment on whether the development should go ahead. On the other hand, the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE 1991) sees environmental impact assessment as “*an assessment of the impact of planned activity on the environment*” (ibid: 4).

Development actions may have impacts not only on the physical environment but also on the social and economic environment. Mostly, employment opportunities, services (health and education), community lifestyles and values may also be affected. Socio-economic impact assessment or social impact assessment (SIA) is therefore regarded as an integral part of EIA. According to Graham Smith, the exact definition of SIA is imprecise; it gives different meanings to different people. In this regard, he argued that social, economic, physical and biological aspects of the environment are so interconnected that impact assessment should not be treated separately, but should be linked together (1993:49).

Burdge and Vanclay defined SIA as a “*process of assessing or estimating, in advance, the social consequences that are likely to follow from specific policy actions or project development, particularly in the context of appropriate national, state, or provincial environmental policy legislation*”. They go forward to specify that social impacts include all social and cultural consequences to human population of any public or private actions that alter the ways in which people live, work, play, relate to one another, organize to meet their needs, and generally cope as members of a community. Cultural impacts involve changes to the norms, values, and beliefs of individuals that guide and rationalize the cognition of themselves and their society. (1996: 59).

Wolf (1980:27) defined SIA as a “*process to predict and evaluate the social effects of a policy, programme or project while in the planning stage – before the effects have occurred or the assessment of the effects of physical and/or socio-economic changes on people, institutions and communities*”.

From the above definitions, one should realize that impact assessment is mostly focused on the pre-project execution level and during the execution phase but rather, it should be a continuous process since the effects of development projects are not definite. Impact assessment should be carried out before a project takeoff (predictive), during the project, and after the completion of the project (postdictive). This is so because all effects cannot be predicted. For instance, it might be predicted that during a project, ten trees will be cut down but during the execution phase, natural phenomena like wind speed and direction may cause one tree to destroy other trees or houses which were never predicted, and this might change the course of action. Also, projects might influence the influx of workers. These workers are likely to have effects on the social lifestyle of a given community and with the completion of the project and departure of the workers, social conditions are also likely to change, either a vacuum is created or social behavior of the locals may change as they tend to copy the lifestyle of the foreigners. These are situations that are often difficult to predict before the execution of projects. Therefore, impact assessment should be able to identify, predict and evaluate to make sure that all is in line as planned.

SIA amongst other things, is a planning tool and can monitor and assess projects or programme or plan or policy changes that have taken place or that are ongoing. Thus, it needs to be integrated into planning and decision-making. Usually, SIA is a modest component of the wider EIA. As Barrow (1997:233) explains, SIA deals with a very broad range of things, and

it might be difficult to accomplish it accurately and comprehensively. Impacts may be felt at individual level, family level, community level, regional level, national level or even international level. He further presents the following variables which can be of interest when undertaking SIA (ibid: 234):

- Assessment of who benefits and who suffers: locals, the region, the developer, urban elites, multinational companies, shareholders, etc;
- Assessment of the consequences of development actions on community structure, institutions, infrastructure, etc;
- Prediction of changes in behavior of various groups, a society or societies to be affected;
- Prediction of changes in established social control mechanisms;
- Prediction of alteration in behavior, attitude, local norms and values, equity, psychological environment, social processes, activities;
- Assessment of demographic impacts;
- Assessment of whether there will be reduced enhanced employment or other opportunities;
- Prediction of alteration in mutual support pattern (coping strategies)

SIA therefore seeks to assess whether a proposed development may alter quality of life and sense of well-being of people, and how these communities can adapt to change(s) caused by development. With these variables, it is believe that as with EIA, it is possible for SIA to focus on known vulnerable components of the social or socio-economic environment; such as the poor, the elderly, the young, the unemployed people, women, ethnic minorities, social “underclass”. Thus SIA can be used to predict the effects of changes in social norms.

Impact assessment should not only focus on predicting and identifying changes that might affect man and the environment, but it should go further to propose mitigation strategies to overcome the negative effects of the actions and a follow up to see to it that these mitigation strategies are implemented in an effective manner. Changes to environments, societies and economies are difficult to predict, and predicted results of assessments are often uncertain, thereby making predictions more or less hypothetical. It is also likely that, projects can be well assessed; mitigation strategies proposed so as to get the approval of executing the project, but once the project has been approved, the proposed mitigation strategies are often minimized, thereby letting man and the environment to bear the consequences. Therefore, to

complete the process of impact assessment, there should be prediction of impacts, proposition of mitigation strategies and post-project audit or follow-up to see to it that the mitigation strategies are lined up as planned. This study therefore, is to identify what has happened and what is happening to the people affected by the pipeline project.

4.5 Why Impact Assessment?

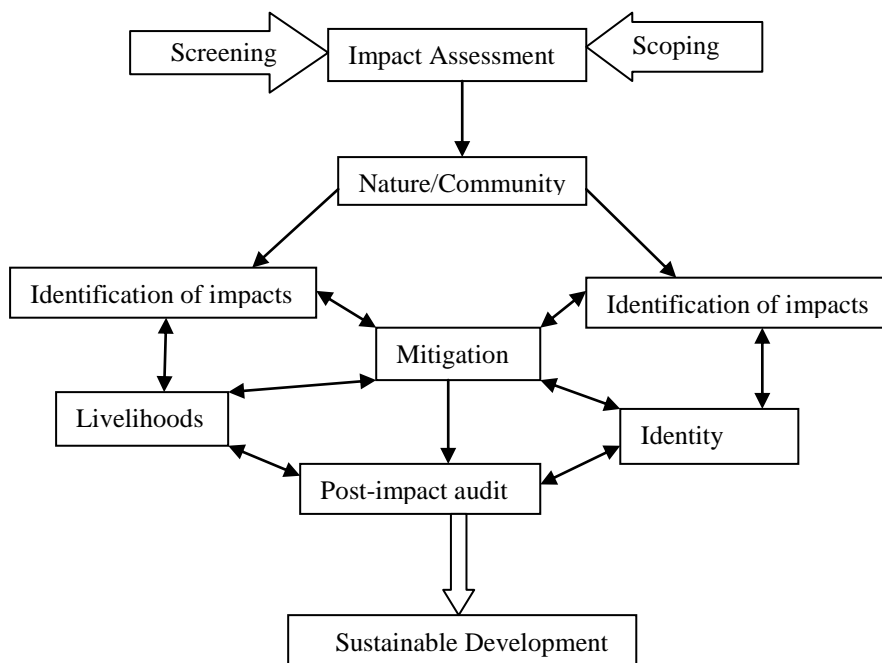
The aim of impact assessment is to achieve sustainable development –‘*development which meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of the future generation to meet their own needs*’ (United Nations Commission on Environment and Development 1987, cited in Glasson et al, 1994: 9). The introduction of impact assessment met with widespread skepticism about its value. As Barrow (1997:64) explains, many saw it as delaying progress and increasing the costs of development, of benefits mainly to assessors and lawyers involved in related litigation. Burdge et al (1996) also claim that data are often poorly collected, thus making projections to be based on inadequate information which is often isolated, and therefore lack validity checks. They go further to explain that, relevant literatures on SIA is hard to find, and often not accessible. Many valuable resources are not published, but exist only as consultancy reports. Because of litigation and commercial secrecy concerns, consultants, proponents and government agencies often prefer not to publish or make widely available reports. Where reports are published, they do not provide the details necessary to fully evaluate the methodologies used and validity of the claims (ibid: 67). But since the 1970s, because of environmental and social concerns, impact assessment has developed a much wider acceptance, and today, impact assessment is seen as a valuable input to planning and decision-making.

The Chad-Cameroon pipeline project is aim at improving the economy of the two poor countries thereby improving the living conditions of its people. To attain this goal required impact assessment of the project from prediction of impacts to a post-impact assessment audit. This will help to counteract some of the negative effects of the project since the project touches natural environments on which the people depends and the project will also have an effect on the daily activities of these people. From my field survey based on interviews and observation, I was able to come out with a sample model of how impact assessment should have been carried out thus making impact assessment necessary for the project. According to figure 4.1, impact assessment should start by delimiting the project area and a screening and scoping of the project. This should be followed by predicting and identifying the adverse impacts on the

environment and the communities to be affected and propose mitigation strategies. Since the project was also aimed at improving the livelihoods of these communities, it should look at how the project is going to affect their livelihoods either positively or negatively. With the presence of some indigenous people around the project area, impact assessment of the project should also predict and identify the likely effects of the project on the lifestyle and livelihoods of the indigenous people and measures to help mitigate and ameliorate their living conditions. The next stage is the post-impact assessment audit, which is to evaluate the process to see to it that all the stages have been executed as planned. This stage is important and it is where most of the respondent said since the completion of the project, nobody has come by to see if they were rightfully compensated or how they are living after the project. The post-impact audit stage will ensure that the intended aims of the project are met for the betterment of the people.

In some cases, especially in developing countries, impact assessment is often politicized, that is, using it as campaign to convince people on how the project is important and how adverse effects can be overcome. Therefore the people should support the government if they want to reap the benefits of the project. Instead of using impact assessment as a political tool, impact assessment should be integrated as a planning and decision-making tool which can guide planners and decision makers to be more accountable for their action.

Figure 4.1 Simple Impact Assessment Model



Source: Inspired by my Field survey 2009

Though many people still view impact assessment with lots of skepticism about its value, it is gaining importance in some countries especially developing countries, though most of the time it lacks some validity checks, it is a way of introducing a degree of environmental planning that would probably not have been likely.

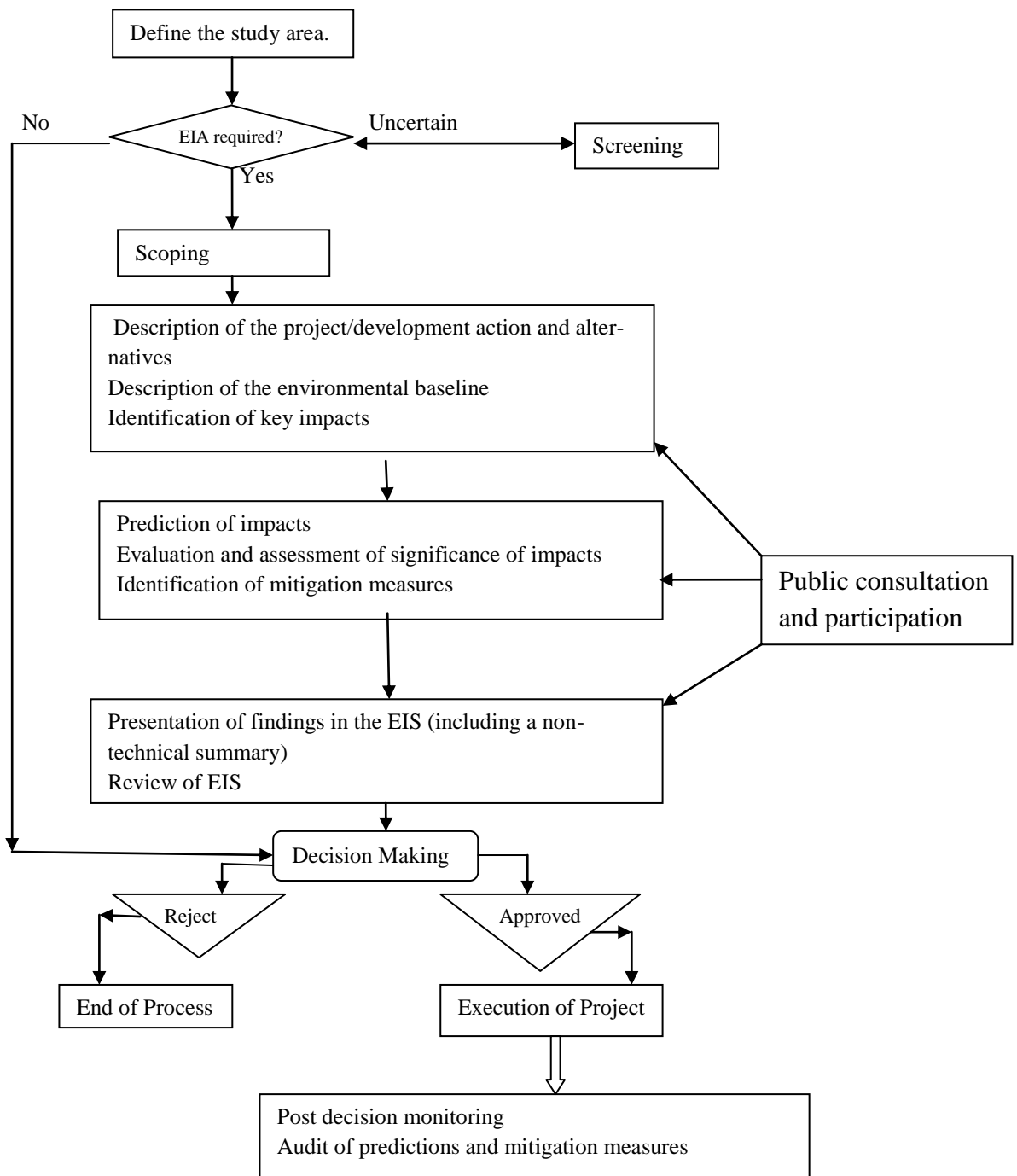
4.6 Processes and Approaches to Impact Assessment.

Impact assessment is regarded as a rational approach to decision-making. Therefore, emphasis should be laid on the systematic process, objectivity, and a consideration of alternatives. Impact assessment should be a systematic process that examines the environmental and social consequences of development actions in advance and after the development action through predictions and post-project auditing. Though assessment is usually made on development projects, it is sometimes not done in a systematic and multidisciplinary way as impact assessment. Assessment on projects most often than not, usually focuses on the benefit of the project to the community; the number of jobs to be created, profits to be made, and other health, educational and recreational infrastructures to be put in place, rather than focusing on both the positive and negative effects of the project and propose remedies to redress the negative effects of the project on the environment and on societies. Impact assessment should therefore include a number of stages as outlined in figure 4.2 below.

Impact assessment and planning are highly connected and impact assessment should be designed to fit into planning and management. Planning have a range of definition and according to Barrow, planning can be defined as '*a systematic problem-solving and decision-making, or as a process that seeks solutions to problems and needs or one that develops actions that will satisfy goals and objectives*'. (1997: 66). Since impact assessment does function as a blue-print type of classical planning but with its goals based on environmental and social concerns, it should involve different adaptive approaches.

For impact assessment to be technically effective and also socially and politically appropriate requires different approaches. Therefore, each approach needs to be adapted to meet up with the needs of each specific situation. To be effective in impact assessment, Barrow (1997) identified different approaches which include amongst others adaptive environmental assessment and management, integrated and regional impact assessment, and assessment at programme, policy and planning levels: strategic environmental assessment

Figure 4.2 Important steps in EIA process



Source: Adapted from, Glasson et al 2005:4 and Barrow 1997:101

4.6.1 Adaptive Environmental Assessment and Management

Impact assessment most often than not, tends to adopt a static ‘snapshot’ approach; it assumes that causal relationships are constant over a period of time, that is, it assumes that fundamental aspects of the environment and societies are constant whereas, they are not, and therefore makes assessment to be ineffective (Barrow:1997). Monetary units may be deval-

lued or revalued, the environment may alter, and decision-making objectives may change. In this case, the environment, societies and their economies are not static, and not often stable; hence, there is need for an adaptive impact assessment approach and to ensure that assessment is continuous, or at least regularly repeated. Hollick (1981:83), warned that impact assessment could discourage planners from carrying out adequate monitoring if they were satisfy with a static 'snapshot' view.

Graham Smith (1993:23) commented that adaptive environmental assessment and management are broader than 'mainstream' environmental impact assessment and do have bias towards coping with uncertainty, rather than just impact prediction; they actually seek to 'expect the unexpected' and do assist policy-makers as well as project developers. This approach therefore allows predicted and unpredicted impacts to be considered thereby making impact assessment a continuous process.

This approach uses a series of carefully designed research periods followed by workshop attended by science and social science experts, planners, managers, resource users and locals. The workshops do develop alternative scenes and management strategies; these are then compared to arrive at the best problem-solving approach. The workshop seeks to ensure that the assessment team and participants continually review efforts to predict and model policy options for decision-makers, and also provide a 'bridge' for different disciplines and competing perceptions. This adaptive management can help identify indirect impacts.

Adaptive environmental assessment and management can be viable where baseline data are poor; though it is claimed to be quite demanding in terms of research expertise and time completion Barrow (1997:82)

4.6.2 Integrated and Regional impact assessment

Integrated impact assessment approach deals with the study of ecological and socio-economic consequences of an action. Since impacts are difficult to predict, account should be taken of other planned or current development that has been done either at the individual, regional or national level and get the feedbacks. This will make impact assessment faster, easier, and cheaper. With this approach, there is closer integration of impact assessment into planning, policy-making and management.

Regional impact assessment approach on its part assesses development projects in their spatial and regional setting and it also offers possibilities for exogenous impacts on a region.

Ballard et al (1982:6) presented different objectives for integrated regional environmental impact assessment approach which include: providing a broad, integrative perspective of a region about undergone or ongoing development; to identify cumulative impacts from multiple developments in the region; to establish priorities for environmental protection; to assess policy options; and to identify information gaps and research needs.

4.6.3 Assessment at programme, policy and planning levels: strategic environmental assessment

Programme impact assessment covers a much wider field than project assessment. As Barrow (1997:85) claims, it tries to include cumulative impacts triggered by a set of related projects or proposals, and assessment should be designed in such a way that other policies, culture and other forces affect a given policy.

Strategic environmental assessment is a form of policy based on sequential environmental impact assessment which seeks to provide a framework within which project, programme and policy impact assessment can take place. Strategic environmental assessment is defined as ‘attempts to assess systematically the environmental impacts of decision made at, what is conveniently called, the level of strategic decision’ (Partidaro, 1996:31, cited in Barrow 1997). It is claimed that strategic environmental assessment can ensure that environmental impact assessment is initiated at the correct point in the planning cycle and therefore makes it easier to pursue sustainable development by helping to prevent possibly difficult-to-reverse problems. It is also increasingly seen as a key approach for implementing the concept of sustainable development because it allows the principle of sustainability to be carried down from policies to individual projects.

The above approaches can be considered as standard approaches to impact assessment and are approaches that better fits to pre-project execution. But for the purpose of the present study which is focus on assessing the project’s impacts after execution; it is necessary to adopt different approaches which have different focus. This is so because according to Ashley et al (2000:13), assessing the impact of development projects usually focuses exclusively or excessively on how much cash, how much increase production, or how many jobs are to be created, rather than on livelihood issues, and also, assessments on projects are mostly oriented towards internal management issues to see how the objectives of the project can be obtained through planned activities. Rather, impact assessment on development projects should take a longer-term view, whereby both the intended and unintended consequences of

the project on livelihood concerns are being looked into. To overcome the weaknesses of the standard impact assessment approach, Ashley et al (2000) put forward other approaches to impact assessment which can give a broader picture of how development projects can be focused on livelihoods and poverty reduction. This includes: Conventional, Participatory, and Sustainable Livelihood Approaches to Impact Assessment.

4.7.1 Conventional Approaches

This approach is mainly focus on assessing whether the project has met its stated objectives by looking at the predicted and unpredicted impacts. Analysis is being taken at different point during the projects life cycle: during the project execution (mid-term review); at project completion; and several years after completion (ex-post evaluation) Ashley et al (2000:14). In so doing, the stated objectives of the project are being followed. This method is usually carried out by outside experts who do work with indicators that were defined at the start of the project thereby making a degree of distance between those assessing the impacts and the beneficiaries.

4.7.2 Participatory Approaches

Due to the short comings of the conventional approach, Ashley et al (2000:14), believe that the participatory monitoring and evaluation (PM&E) is an alternative to the conventional approach. It takes into account a range of techniques, tools and approaches to assess the impacts of development projects. This approach involves all the stakeholders: local people, development agencies and decision makers, who do take part in decision making, measuring the progress of the project and taking actions on the results obtained. All the stakeholders are involved in data collection and analysis. The PM&E uses both qualitative and quantitative data but relies mainly on qualitative indicators made by the local people and project staff rather than quantitative data made by outside experts. But it is claim that this approach lacks some neutrality in analysis as the local people will tend to speak for their own purpose and objectives rather than on general objectives (ibid).

4.7.3 The Livelihood Approach.

This approach is mainly focus on people's lives rather than on defined project objectives thus making it to be different from the conventional approach. Most approaches on livelihoods focuses on increase in income as the main determinant of livelihoods. Rather, Ashley et al (2000:14) highlighted three other dimensions apart from increase in income where poverty reduction can be address. Firstly, to address poverty, aspects such as food security, social in-

feriority, exclusion, lack of physical assets and vulnerability should be considered. Secondly, household poverty is determined by factors such as access to assets and the influence of policies and institutions. Thirdly, livelihood priorities vary; outsiders cannot assume knowledge of a given household or group. Therefore, impact assessment must be based on proper understanding of people's objectives and also on informed views of how their livelihoods are constructed and which factors are the essential causes and manifestations of their poverty. The livelihood approach tries to take all these concerns into account. Therefore, impact assessment on development projects should be able to measure measurable changes such as cash, yields etc, in terms of their contribution to livelihoods.

This contribution to livelihood may be direct such as adding to income, health, and food or indirect such as affecting their assets and activities. Therefore the changes in the way people live their lives greatly depends on what they are able to achieve. The livelihood approach to impact assessment takes into account both the aspects of participatory and conventional approaches. The Chad-Cameroon pipeline project was aimed at improving the livelihoods of the people affected by the project. To do this, measure such as compensation to affected people and communities was outlined, special compensation and integration of the Bakola Pygmy population into the broader society who are considered as a vulnerable and socially excluded group and the provision of amenities such as schools, hospitals, portable water, and roads to the benefit of the population was proposed. To what extent therefore has these aims been attained?

The above section in this chapter has been looking at the concept of impact assessment and the different components involved. To better understand the context of the study and the study area, I will make use of other concepts that are applicable to the present study. Thus, the below section will take a brief look at the concept of community, livelihoods and identity which are important aspects to the study area and to the present study.

4.8 Defining Communities

Community is largely regarded as a homogeneous group of individuals sharing the same interest and with the ability to manage their common pool of resources to the best of the whole community leading to a sustainable development (Agrawal and Gibson 1999:629). Dikeni et al (1996) view community as a spatial unit, an economic unit and as a unit consisting of a web of kinship, social and cultural relations (cited in Kepe 1998:416). These definitions of

community focus on space, size, composition, interaction, interest and objectives of a group or groups of people to be regarded as a community. However, to better understand the concept of community, Agrawal and Gibson (1999) considered that for a group to be qualified as a “community”, they should have the following three characteristics: community as a spatial unit, as a social structure, and as a set of shared norms.

Community as a spatial unit takes into account two aspects- smallness (of both area and individuals) and territorial attachment. The smallness of a village is believed to make communal bond stronger, thereby, linking the territorial conception of community and successful resource management (1999:633). The smallness of a village eases up communication amongst members and facilitates interaction among the group which helps in avoiding conflict over use of resources. However, focusing on the size of the village alone might be misleading because not all villages are small in terms of space, population and resources. Therefore, when the village is large other aspects of the community have to be considered which can favor resource management.

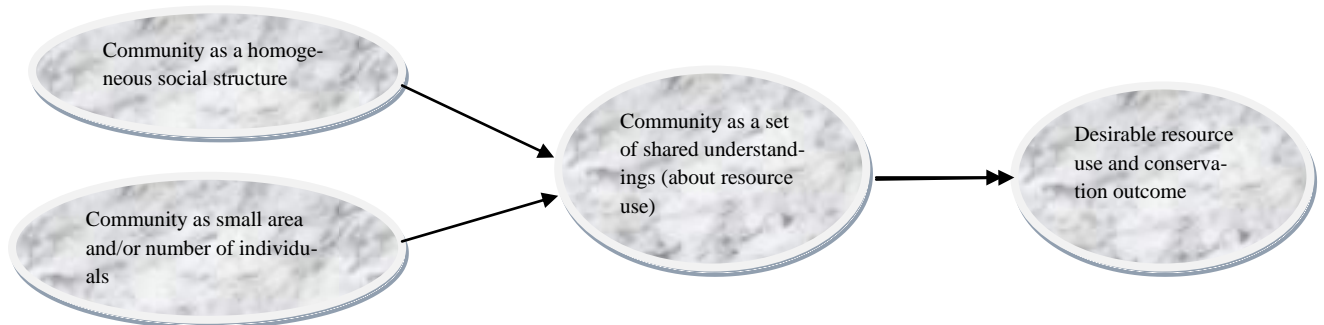
Community as a homogeneous social structure is considered in terms of assets and income, relative homogeneous household having common characteristics in relation to ethnicity, religion, caste or language. It is believed that this homogeneity leads to cooperative solution, reduce hierarchical and conflict interaction and promote better resource management, and also facilitates regular interaction among group members (Agrawal and Gibson 1999:634). The Ocean Division is inhabited by people with two distinctive cultures – Bantu and Pygmy making it a heterogeneous social structure. How then are the people managing their resources in this heterogeneous community? Here, community can be considered as an “economic unit” (Kepe 1998:420) where different social actors share common interests, control particular resources or practice similar economic activities to make their livelihoods. These people may not reside in the same locality or have any social ties but because they share several resources such as rivers, forest, grazing land and coast and may encounter conflict over access and control of these resources, they can be considered as a community because they share common economic goals.

Community as shared norms and common interest depends strongly upon the perception of its members. Common and shared rather than individual and selfish is what make resource management more likely (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999: 635). Shared norms involve people who share a history, knowledge, beliefs, morals and customs, and who have ties of kinship

and marriages (Kepe 1998:421). Shared community norms can promote conservation in different ways. There may be norms that specifically prohibit some actions such as, the cutting down of particular trees or from hunting particular animals. Communal norms can also promote cooperative decision-making within the community, if the members believe and accept shared identities and common experience, they will be willing to cooperate over formal decisions to manage and preserve their resources. In this regard, conservation norms are difficult to be introduced into the community by external forces, especially when the resources to be conserved are a critical part of the family income.

Therefore, for a community to be able to conserve its resources, they should be included in decisions concerning resource use since the tendency is that, once they are not involved in resource management, they tend to be destructive to the resources but if they are involved, the benefits they receive will act as an incentive to become better managers of their resources.

Figure 4.3 A conventional view of the relationships between community and conservation



(Adapted from Agrawal and Gibson, 1999)

With the heterogeneity of the Ocean Division, this study will also look at how these communities manage their resources in this heterogeneous social structure? What is the relationship between the Bantu and the Pygmies? What effect has the project on these relationships?

4.9 Defining Livelihoods

It is widely common to see that the assessment of development projects often focuses excessively or exclusively on how much cash, how much increase production, or how many jobs are generated, rather than on a broad range of livelihood issues. Ashley et al (2000) claim that, project impact assessment are usually oriented towards internal management issues, that is, mostly focusing on the achievement of existing project objectives, through planned activities. They continue to say that, broader development and poverty reduction impact of a

project can be gained by making assessment to take a longer-term view, by looking both at the intended and unintended consequences of projects across a variety of livelihood concern. (2000: 13). What then is a livelihood?

“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term (Chambers et al, 1991:6)

According to Chamber et al (1991), livelihood is based on three basic concepts: capability, equity and sustainability.

4.9.1 Capability

Sen (1987), used capability to refer to being able to perform certain basic functioning's, that is, what a person is capable of doing and being. This includes for instance, to be adequately nourished, to be comfortably clothed, and to avoid escapable morbidity and preventable mortality, to live a life without shame, to be able to visit and entertain one's friends, to keep track of what is going on and what others are talking about (Sen, 1987: 18, cited in Chambers et al, 1991:4). Sen claimed that, such capabilities are not just reactive, but are able to respond to adverse changes in conditions; they are also proactive and dynamically adaptable.

4.9.2 Equity

Equity is mostly measured in terms of relative income distribution. But chambers et al (1991) used it to mean less unequal distribution of assets, capabilities and opportunities and especially the enhancement of those of the most deprived. It includes an end to discrimination against women, against minorities, and against all who are weak, and an end to urban and rural poverty and deprivation (1992:4).

4.9.3 Sustainability

Sustainability entails different meanings and interpretations. Environmentally, sustainability refers to the global concerns with pollution, global warming, deforestation, the overexploitation of non-renewable resources and physical degradation. Chambers et al (1991) refer to sustainability as connoting self-sufficiency and an implicit ideology of long-term self-restraint and self-reliance. Sustainability is used to refer to life styles which touch the earth lightly; to organic agriculture with low external inputs; to institutions which can raise their own reve-

nue; to processes which are self-supporting without subsidy. (1991: 4). Socially in the livelihood context therefore, sustainability will mean the ability to maintain and improve livelihoods while maintaining or enhancing the local and global assets and capabilities on which livelihoods depends.

Chambers et al (1991) uses capabilities, equity, and sustainability as an integrating concept to explain the concept of sustainable livelihood. They claim that livelihood is a means of gaining a living. Capabilities can thus be considered as both an end and means of livelihood: a livelihood provides the support for the enhancement and exercise of capabilities (an end); and capabilities (a means) enable a livelihood to be gained. Equity is also an end and a means. Equity involves a decent livelihood for all (an end); and equity in assets and access are pre-conditions (a means) for gaining adequate and decent livelihoods. Sustainability is also considered as both an end and means: sustainable stewardship of resources is a value (or end) in itself; and it provides conditions (a means) for livelihood to be sustained for future generations (ibid, 5)

This integrating concept of sustainable livelihood urged the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED 1987a: 2-5) to define sustainable livelihood security as:

Livelihood is defined as adequate stocks and flows of food and cash to meet basic needs. Security refers to secure ownership of, resources and income-earning activities, including reserves and assets to offset risk, ease shocks and meet contingencies. Sustainable refers to the maintenance or enhancement of resource productivity on a long-term basis. A household may be enabled to gain sustainable livelihood security in many ways – through ownership of land, livestock or trees; rights to grazing, fishing, hunting or gathering; through stable employment with adequate remuneration; or through varied repertoires of activities.(ibid, 5)

What then are the livelihoods means of the people of the Ocean Division and how has their livelihoods been affected by the pipeline project? This will be examined in the present study.

4.10 Defining Identity

When we belong to a group, we are likely to derive our sense of identity, at least in part from that group. We also enhance the sense of identity by making comparison with out-groups. Place do also have effects on identity, and identity is among other things, the product of the physical environment. In defining “identity”, Tajfel (1982) used the word “self concept” to

refer to the answer of the question of “who am I”? Self concept therefore brings out the similarities and differences amongst people and can be classified into two categories: personal identity and social identity.

Tajfel defined social identity as “the individual’s knowledge that he/she belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional or value significance to him/her of the group membership” (cited in Harris 1995:9). Social identity will therefore include groups such as nationality, culture, religion, social status, and family. On the other hand, personal identity is defined as the relationship between a person at one time, and a person at another time, which makes him one and the same person (Harris 1995:14). Personal identity thus explains what makes people different from each other in the group that they belong at one point in time and this is made up of unique and personal characteristics.

The Ocean Division is inhabited by people with peculiar and distinctive lifestyle. The Pygmy group in the Kribi region is classified by the World Bank as “indigenous people” since they have a social and cultural identity which is very distinct from the broader society. They are mostly gatherers and hunters with mobile residence and who like to live in isolation. As stipulated by the IPP, they were to receive special treatment and will be compensated with equal values as the Bantus. Having compensation in cash or in kind and the provision of other benefits will certainly have an effect on their lifestyle. Considering that the Pygmies live as individuals and also as a group, how has their identity as an individual or as a group been affected?

5 The Project and Compensation.

5.1 Introduction

Economic development is often pursued by undertaking large civil engineering projects and these projects often present adverse socio-economic impacts to their immediate environments. Therefore, to put in place a proper balance between the benefits expected from the project and the social cost borne by the society, mitigation strategies are often adopted. The Chad-Cameroon pipeline project adopted compensation as part of its mitigation strategy to cover up the adverse effect of the project on the concerned communities. According to the Cameroon Compensation Plan (CPP) report, two types of compensation will be given out; individual compensation and community compensation. Individual compensation will be based on land status, usage and improvements of the land, official rates and rates of market surveys and the compensation will be intended to meet the intent of the World Bank operational directives concerning compensation. Community compensation and compensation for concessions will be based on negotiations and agreement reached at fixed facility sites (Esso: 1999). This chapter will present an overall view of the compensation method; what is to be compensated, who will receive compensation and the value of proposed compensation. It will go further to examine the actual compensation that was given out to the concerned communities and how these communities perceived of the compensation.

5.2 Scope of Compensation

Generally, the enormous distance of the pipeline presents effects on both the natural and the human environment. Therefore, a wide variety of aspects to be compensated was considered. This study will consider reports presented in the Environmental Assessment (EA), Environmental Management plan (EMP), and the Cameroon Compensation Plan (CCP) of 1999 as the baseline data for the study. According to the report, an estimated 3400 ha of land will be needed for the project with 50 ha of land to be retained for the installation of permanent facilities. In addition, 10-to-15 m wide land easement along the pipeline route will be retained for maintenance and emergency access, though farming could be allowed in most areas of the land easement there will be some restrictions such as only the cultivation of seasonal crops. Generally, land to be considered for compensation included: farmland under active cultivation, farmland in fallow, forest/savanna occupied by traditional users, agro-industrial concessions and privately-owned land.

Apart from the land needed for use by the project, other aspects considered for compensation included: compensation for structures, crops, and improvements made on the land, compensation on natural resources, cultural heritage sites such as; tombs and burial sites, sacred and ritual sites, sacred objects, compensation for concessions, compensation to the Bakola Pygmies, and compensation associated with resettlement.

5.2.1 Goals and Objectives of Compensation

The overall objectives of the Compensation Plan (CP) was to ensure that the affected individuals and communities were happy and satisfy with the project and to feel the advantages of the project promised to them. To do this, there was a need for a fair and adequate compensation to the affected based on the following guiding principles:

The guiding philosophy of the compensation was to ensure that the local people sees the compensation as fair and equitable based on local cultural values and that what the people received should be perceived as fair. It should be transparent as practicable and the process should treat people the same way whenever practicable.

The use of land for the project's site facilities and routing was to be carefully assessed to avoid populated settlements, thereby limiting the potentials for resettlement. The project's land use should be limited, reclaiming land after construction, and making as much land available as possible to pre-construction users.

After the completion of compensation, the standard of living of the affected people should be equal to and/or more than their current living standards. Both holders of legal title to land as well as land users are compensated and the compensation should be provided in a timely manner that assures the land is available for use when needed for project construction and operation. And it should also be recognized that most lands are held under traditional rights.

There should be public participation, that is, the affected individuals should be informed and should participate in the compensation process. Public participation will help to address issues voiced during consultation with the local people, NGOs, and other stake holders.

The people of the impacted and surrounding areas should continue to be supportive of the project and there should be participation of the World Bank and the Republic of Cameroon (Esso 1999).

5.2.2 What is to be compensated?

Though different items were considered for compensation, not all the items were finally liable for compensation. Therefore, items considered for compensation were determined by a report presented by the Center Line Survey (CLS). As far as compensation on land is concerned, only those with land title “*Titre Foncier*” are eligible for compensation. Where land is needed only for a short period of time during construction, and where land needed for construction, operation and maintenance is public property, compensation is not paid for the land. However, compensation will be paid for structures, crops and any other improvements made on the land as per applicable Cameroonian legislation. In many cases, land is usually acquired through normal transaction under ordinary law. That is, state land is given to someone by the local chief. In such cases, the chief must confirm that the owner rightfully acquired the land before he can be compensated.

Natural resources that will be affected by the project were also considered for compensation and the compensation should meet the intent of the World Bank Operational directives. Natural resources are usually individually and communally-owned. In such cases, compensation will be paid to individuals or to the community and it include resources such as medicinal plants and trees, individually owned wild trees, beehives, fisheries, and community owned bush and forest resources.

As concerns cultural heritage sites, it is usually difficult to identify these sites since they are not usually open to the public. In this regard, the villagers were asked to select an alternative route in areas that is suspected to have a sacred site. Therefore, adjustments will be made to avoid cemeteries, tombs, and other sacred sites and trees and where it was difficult to avoid, compensation will be paid based on special arrangements with the villagers.

On community compensation, the community will be paid in kind on a case by case basis for losing their land for the installation of the projects fixed facility such as pump station and storage yards. As concerns concessions, concessions are on national domain and state private property and will be compensated on the basis of negotiations.

The Bakola Pygmies were also considered for compensation. The World Bank considered the Bakola Pygmies as a vulnerable group therefore, information was gathered to assess appropriate compensation measures related specifically to the Bakola Pygmies. But according to Cameroonian law, no specific compensation is expected for vulnerable people. The pipeline

was re-routed at certain locations to avoid Pygmy camps as much as possible and to limit damages to their fields and crops. However, damages did occur which required compensation. Thus, the Bakola Pygmies were eligible for community compensation as well as individual property compensation on items such as food and cash crops, fruit trees, medicinal plants and trees, forest resources that can be traced back to the individual proprietors, houses and other constructions, sacred sites such as graves and sacred trees and other sacred items, but they were not considered for compensation as a vulnerable group. The individual property was compensated using fixed rates same as those of the Bantu. Compensation was paid to the Pygmies as owners of crops, not as owners of land. This is because it was considered that Pygmies often live on village land or land given to them by the Bantu villagers.

Apart from the compensation, recognition of the specific needs of the Bakola Pygmies was looked into and it was promised that attempts will be made to redress the situation. These specific needs included: recognition of their civil status and their civil rights in the same way as other Cameroonian population, education to help them understand and negotiate with outside interests, hygiene and public health are lacking more for the Pygmies than for other populations, insufficient agricultural production makes them more dependent on other populations and self confidence and pride are still lacking.

As far as resettlement is concerned, no individuals and households in Cameroon are expected to be eligible for resettlement because it is claimed that there is a relative abundance of available land in most areas of Cameroon and that the project land needs have been designed to avoid populated areas and where the population is being affected by project activities, it is usually over a short period of time about 3 months. After this period, the people do have full control over their land. However, where the installations of fixed facilities do affect the property and structures of people, they will be considered for relocation and in this case, will be eligible for compensation.

5.2.3 Who is to Receive Compensation?

The project's compensation principles have seen lots of controversy based mainly on the issues of who is to be compensated and its value. Generally it was stated that only those with land titles were to receive compensation for land, but most Cameroonians in the country side do not have land titles since they acquire land through ordinary laws depending on each village and through active occupation of unoccupied land. With this in mind, it was further considered that, those who will be entitled to compensation on land must be confirmed by the

local chief as the legal occupant of the land. Therefore, land compensation was given only to those with land titles and those recognized by the village chief as rightful owners of the land. All the others will be compensated only on the improvements made on the land.

Compensation was paid only to individual who holds primary rights to the land or to the resources, and this individual is responsible for settling with anyone else who may also be using the land or the resources. This was a major problem because in Cameroon, most land users are not land owners. Therefore, most land owners did not settle the users of their land for the damages done on their crops. However, those users of land who were recognized as users and not owners were compensated for all the developments made on the land such as houses, farmlands, trees and gardens.

Another major problem on who is to be compensated was based on gender. In Cameroon, most crop owners are women who are either farming on their husband's land or the land of someone else. But in the study area, due to the abundance of land, all the women I interviewed, farm on their husband's land. The issue now is, is it the husband to receive compensation for the crops on his land or the wife to receive the compensation for her crops on her husband's land? Most of the women when interviewed said they negotiated with their husbands and their husbands received compensation for both the land and the crops on the land while some of the women insisted that the compensation for their crops should be paid to them. When asked why, they said if the money is given to their husband, they will not receive anything and the household will go hungry since the men didn't care about feeding the family.

In all, there were two different groups of compensation: individual compensation and community compensation. Individual compensation was given to those who owned assets or resources individually and where the resources are jointly owned by a community, this community is entitled to community compensation.

5.2.4 Value of Proposed Compensation.

There were two different values of compensation given to individuals and communities. Firstly we have compensations that were given out under Cameroonian law and secondly, supplemental compensation that was paid out by COTCO. Supplemental compensation was only applied to specified items and it is the difference between the amount due under applicable Cameroonian legislation and the amount due to meet the World Bank directives con-

cerning compensation. The supplemental compensation was implemented to necessitate flexibility for the following reasons: to cover a wider range of resources which people use, and which are not included in resources normally compensated under Cameroonian legislation; to make assessment of market values and not to be limited to payments using only fixed rate sheets; to make it possible to have consultation with the affected population; to let people make a choice between cash and/or in-kind payment; and to make the compensation to be implemented during a longer period of time.

The Republic of Cameroon will pay compensation in cash while COTCO will pay in cash and/or in kind, and compensation will not be paid for any building or field created on a piece of land after notification of its use by the project have been given. To determine the appropriate compensation rates for damages to crops incurred during land clearing for the project, a market survey was undertaken to determine the value of a crop depending on variable such as: market price of the crop; average yields of cropland in an area and labor required for clearing and other farming activities. This was done by visiting markets in villages and towns along the intended pipeline route where both buyers and sellers were interviewed about prices of various crops. To determine crop yields, farms were also visited and observations were made on densities of planting and other parameters including fertilizers and seeds.

There were some major issues concerning the value of community compensation and also the value of compensation to the Pygmies. On community compensation, it was decided that compensation will be in kind. To determine the compensation, the community receiving compensation will have to use the traditional process of group discussion and debate to decide on: the type of improvement that the community wants; whether it is capable of sustaining over time; and whether it meet the needs of the largest number of people. A decision has to be reached and handed to COTCO to undertake the project. The community will henceforth be responsible for the maintenance of the structure.

As concerns the Pygmies, it was decided that, it is extremely important not to interfere with the equilibrium that exists between the Pygmies and the Bantu villagers by giving help and equipments to the Pygmies without equivalent compensation to the villagers. This can create problems and lead to serious social and inter-ethnic tension. With this in mind, the Pygmies were compensated as owners of crops and not as owners of land since it is considered that the land on which they live is given to them by the Bantu villagers. Though with some disputes

on who is the rightful owner/user of resources, the disputes were settled amicably, and most of the Pygmies preferred in-kind compensation.

5.3 Compensation to the Villagers.

No differentiation was made between the compensation under Cameroonian legislation and supplemental compensation when the compensations were being handed out. The compensation has already been calculated by the concerned authorities before meeting the affected persons. Only the specified items that were not compensated under Cameroonian law made the people to know that they are receiving supplemental compensation. This was noticed because when the villagers were interviewed, they usually said the COTCO compensation was better than compensation paid by the state. Thus, I was able to realize that they knew the different types of compensations available. This section will mainly deal on community and individual compensation.

5.3.1 Community Compensation

The first part of my study took me through four villages; Ebome, Bwambe, Mbeka'a and Lobe. These villages are located close to the pipeline terminal (FSO) and are neighbors to the Ocean. These villages mostly depend on fishing as their main income generating activity. With the installation of the FSO, their fishing grounds were highly disturbed. From the shore to the FSO, the distance is about 11km and all around this area, a demarcation has been made where fishing activities cannot take place. Thus, these communities were liable for community compensation. Each village received compensation depending on the "needs" of the village. At Ebome village, they received fishing nets, 100 plastic chairs to be used in the village, during village meetings, a container to store the chairs, and a well was dug to supply water to the village. When asked to see the fishing nets, they claim it has long been damaged, and at moment, only about 20 plastic chairs are remaining. The villagers said they also received one fishing engine boat with a high power engine that could take the fishermen far into the sea. Materials for the rehabilitation of the chief's place at Ebome were also given.

At Bwambe village, they were given 1.5million CFA⁵ francs for the construction of a village community hall, fishing nets were also given out to some selected individual, and mosquito nets given to some notables. When asked why some people were selected, no reasons were advanced. They only cited favoritisms that flawed the compensation process. At Mbeka'a vil-

⁵ African Financial Community, the currency of the former French colonies in West and Central Africa. Exchange rate of 2003:\$1=581CFA Francs.

lage, 100 plastic chairs were given and a tent erected to host village meetings in case of rain. A wheelbarrow was also given for transporting fish from the shore and also two deep freezers for preserving the fish in case the fish caught are not sold, they will be able to sell them in the coming days.

Photo 5.1 Plastic chairs and container at Ebome village



Photo 5.2 well dug at Ebome village



At Lobe village, 3 million CFA francs were given for the construction of a village hall. The work has begun but now suspended because of lack of funds.

Photo 5.3 Community hall at Mbeka'a village



Photo 5.4 uncompleted community hall at Lobe



Community compensation was also carried out at the locality of Dombe which was another major village that I stayed during my field studies. In this area, community compensation was mainly paid for the destruction caused to forest resources used by the people. Around this area is the location of a pressure reduction station. For this purpose, three villages were allocated the sum of 3 million CFA Francs. These villages decided to construct two class rooms at Bikondo which is in the centre of the three villages. These classrooms were transformed into a community primary school which now has been transformed into a government primary school. The rest of the compensation that took place in this area was mostly individual compensation which was paid for the destruction of crops and loss of land.

Photo 5.5 Classrooms at Bikondo



5.3.2 Individual Compensation

Individual compensation to the villagers was mainly on farm land, fallowed land, fruit trees, crops and labor on land that has been prepared but not planted. Fallowed land was compensated for its labor because it is strenuous to clear a parcel of land in the forest and prepare it for planting. And when it has been cleared, it is cultivated for a number of years before it is allowed to fallow. Therefore, all the parcel of land that was cleared the previous years and not yet planted was compensated for its labor.

As compared to community compensation, individual compensation was almost invisible in the study area since nobody was able to give an account of what he did with the compensation given to them. Some of the respondents were even refusing that they were not compensated whereas, they did receive compensation. This implies that they minimized what was given to them and now tend to claim they were not compensated. From the three localities I stayed, only 3 of the respondents were able to tell me what they did with the individual compensation they received and they said most of the money was spent on household goods and the paying of school fees for their children. However, 1 respondent was able to present to me his provision store which was set up from compensation money.

5.4 Villagers Perception of the Compensation

Majority of the villagers interviewed are still criticizing the compensation in particular and compensation process in general. Based on the fact that the principles guiding the compensation was to ensure that it is regarded as fair and transparent by the people and also that it should be sustainable, when looking at what has happened and what is happening, one tend to question these principles. Regarding the community compensation, only two of the communi-

ty halls are solid structures. The rest of the halls will not be able to withstand a longer life span as the structures are already in a state of dilapidation. Most of the land which has been used by the project and on which the people were expecting to receive compensation, was considered as national land thereby disregarding the ordinary acquisition of land according to traditional laws. The people also claim that the well that was dug at Ebome was a replacement of a natural spring that was coming out of the area and was destroyed by the project.

Despite the flaws of the compensation, some of the grievances given by the people were unfounded because after notification for the use of the land was given, people did go forward to cultivate these land parcels hoping to be compensated, but when they were not compensated, they started complaining. Also, each community chose the type of structures to be erected in terms of community compensation but when these structures were erected, they started criticizing them saying it is of no use to them. Similarly, it can also be argued that, the structures were chosen in relation to the amount that was allocated for each village. Therefore, they could not choose structures that could cost more than the available amount. During group discussion, I asked them why they decided to choose structures that were of no benefit to them. They said COTCO presented options to choose among so they preferred to have something than not having anything. Lobe village chose a bigger structure with the intention of raising funds through contributions from the villagers plus compensation money. Works have begun and have been suspended because of lack of funds. There are also some villages like Grand Batanga that still have their own community compensation money but still yet to decide on what to do with it. Hope they will learn from the results of the other villages. There are still promises of compensation and the villagers are still hoping that more will be done since the compensation process is still going on.

5.5 Compensation to the Pygmies

The Pygmies were compensated on normal basis as the other villagers but their vulnerability was taken into account. They were not compensated because they are considered as vulnerable group (under Cameroonian legislation); rather their compensation was given such that their vulnerability can be ameliorated. Therefore, the Pygmies were mostly compensated in line with the supplemental compensation. This was done by mostly paying them in kind. This kind payment was done mainly for two reasons; firstly, the Pygmies don't have bank accounts or Credit Union accounts where money could be paid directly into their accounts. Therefore, paying them in cash will attract thieves to their camps which can lead to murder

situations. Secondly, the Pygmies are strong consumers of alcohol and drugs and it was believe that if they are paid in cash, they will use the money for alcoholic drinks and drugs rather than doing something that can improve their living conditions. The villagers provide drugs and alcohol to the Pygmies which make them vulnerable for exploitation by the villagers. According to a report presented by ERE Developpement (June 2005), (Etudes ET Realisations Economique pour le Developpement), the Pygmies usually receive two glasses of *harki*⁶ which cost 100 CFA francs per glass as payment for a day's job. All these made the Pygmies more vulnerable and it was deem necessary for them to be compensated in kind.

The Pygmies were compensated by constructing hut popularly known in the area as *case*⁷. They were also given items such as cutlasses, hoes, seedlings, kerosene lamps, and files for their cutlasses. Other aspects such as education, health, agriculture, and citizenship are being undertaken to improve the lives of the Pygmies by some NGOs and other organizations, but it is not regarded as part of the compensation for the pipeline project.

Photo 5.6 COTCO hut at Bikondo



Photo 5.7 COTCO hut at Nkoundoung-Nkoundoung



5.6 The Pygmies Perception of the Compensation

Unlike the villagers, most of the Pygmies who were compensated showed some sign of satisfaction. They were happy to explain in what way the “house” has been able to bring some changes in their lives. They are becoming more permanent in their residence and are more engage in agriculture than hunting. Though there are still some grievances amongst those who were not compensated, the great question to ask is: what criteria was use to construct

⁶ Locally brewed alcoholic drink

⁷ French word for a hut

huts for the Pygmies? This question is asked because I visited a camp at Nkoundoung-Nkoundoung which is inhabited by three different families. They live in the same area and use the same resources but two of them benefited from the hut construction whereas one had nothing. When I tried to find out what happened to him, he said maybe he was neglected because he is not married and does not have a family. This thus raises the question if they were being compensated for the effect of the pipeline project or if they were compensated for other social reasons?

Photo 5.8 Forgotten Pygmy



There is also a similar situation were at Lendi village, there is a Pygmy camp inhabited by four families and about 3km away from the camp is the installation of the PRS. These Pygmies claim that this area was part of their hunting ground and at moment, they are obliged to go further into the forest for their hunting. But they never receive anything as compensation. What characterizes this camp is that the Pygmies are more settled and do practice agriculture and are more advanced than the other Pygmies. Why then were they not compensated? Maybe it's because they are more advanced than the other Pygmies and there was no need to construct the huts since these Pygmies do have similar huts as the ones COTCO is constructing. How fair then is the compensation?

There is the famous story of Jeanne Noah presented in the ERE Developpement report (June 2005) and which is commonly spoken by the people around Kribi. Jeanne Noah, a Pygmy wanted his own house to be constructed with sawed planks rather than with the round polls thatched with mud "*potopoto*"⁸. He was to supply the sawed planks and COTCO was to take charge of the construction. Unfortunately, he presented sawed planks belonging to someone else. When he finally presented his own materials, it was not enough and the iron roofing sheets that were given to him was very difficult to be taken back and use for someone who

⁸ Common name for a mud house, Small polls and bamboo thatched with mud.

needed them. Finally, the materials he brought are under the rain undergoing decomposition. Unfortunately for me, Jeanne Noah was living in a far off village that was difficult for me to reach.

Some Pygmies therefore, expressed that they have not been compensated according to their needs because not all of them have the same needs. Some of the Pygmies said they would have preferred money to use in their own way. Some have children who are going to school and need to pay school fees, some have these huts that are common in the area and would prefer better housing structures. Therefore, some of the Pygmies preferred the same treatment as their neighboring Bantu since they claimed they have been living alongside the villager for long and do have almost the same lifestyle as the villagers.

It is necessary to mention that the water and forest resources are used by both the Villagers and the Pygmies. Therefore both Villagers and Pygmies were to be consulted for community compensation. But as expressed by the Pygmies, they were not consulted for community compensation and they had no voice in deciding the type of compensation to be given to the community.

Generally, the compensation was received with mix feelings amongst the Pygmies. Of the 4 Pygmy camps with 13 families visited, 2 camps had some families that were compensated and 2 camps had no compensation. 3 families compensated were happy and satisfied with the compensation; 1 family was not satisfied with what he received claiming that he expected more than what had been given to him. 9 families received nothing and 4 of the families are in condemnation of the project saying the pipeline project has added more hardship into their lives, while 5 of the families had no idea about the pipeline project. The 4 families are condemning the project not only because they have to go longer distances to hunt but also because when they look at what has been compensated to the other Pygmies and nothing to them, they feel unhappy. But they do speak with hopes in their faces saying they have been promised something and they are sure COTCO will one day look at them.

5.7 Review of the Compensation

The objective of the compensation plan was to see to it that after the project completion, the affected people will be able to pursue a living standard that is equal to or more than their actual living conditions. Generally, the aim of development projects is to improve the living conditions of the people and when assessing the impact of a project, it is to see to it that ad-

verse effects of the project are overcome by the benefits of the project to the people. How fair therefore is the compensation? Judging from the peoples' responses and feelings, one can say that the compensation is yet to meet its goals. Most people are discontented and they said more is still to be done for them to feel the benefits of the project. From the above description of the compensation, how can a "community tent" or hall ameliorate the living conditions of the people? How fair is the compensation when for example the Pygmies were not consulted during community compensation? How then can we consider the pipeline project as a means of helping the Pygmies integrate into the society?

The pipeline project has changed the living conditions of some people. Some people claimed the pipeline project have improved their living conditions by being able to establish businesses with the money they got from the compensation, while others have experience a decline in their living conditions, especially for those who relied on fishing around the project's marine terminal, as their activities have come almost to a halt and only those who are able to afford for modern boats are still operating in that fishing area. Some of the Pygmies on their part have been able to change positively and are copying the lifestyle of their Bantu neighbors, but the majority of the Pygmies are still lagging behind. Some of the Pygmies who were compensated are finding living more difficult because they need to adapt to the new conditions whereas, they were not educated and prepared for the changes. The effect of the project on the livelihoods of the people will be discussed more in chapter 6.

The main area of concern amongst the people of the Ocean Division is the compensation. This is the area in which according to the people, they should have felt the most the benefits of the pipeline project. Though there were other areas such as roads, hospitals, schools, water and job opportunities, their expectations rested most on compensation because they said, the jobs lasted only for a short period but the project destroyed their property or better still the project destroyed their main sources of livelihood. Therefore, they are unhappy in the manner and rate at which the compensations were executed.

6 Livelihood Activities of the People

6.1 Introduction

Chambers and Conway (1991:1) defines a livelihood as that which “*comprises people, their capabilities and their means of living, including food, income and assets*”, while Ellis (2000:10) adds that their access to these livelihoods components are “*mediated by institutions and social relations, that together determined the living gained by the individual or household*”. This therefore means peoples’ earning sources are determined by their social relations and position which can be constrained or facilitated by institutions in place. Though the livelihoods sources of the people in the Ocean Division to an extent depends on social relations (social position), in most cases, it depends more on physical capabilities, how creative and innovative they are, rather than being determined by their social position and institutions in place as is the case with other areas. Considering that earning sources is one of the most important determinants of the peoples’ livelihood, this chapter describes the major activities from which the people derive their livelihoods which include subsistence agriculture, fishing, hunting and gathering, and how they earn cash income for different livelihood needs. It is also going to look at the three concepts of capability, equity and sustainability (Chambers and Conway 1991:3) to relate how the people make their living and finally, an analysis of the effects of the pipeline project on the peoples’ livelihoods.

6.2 Quest for Livelihoods

In the Ocean Division, the well-being of a household is categorized in terms of housing structure, the level of education of the children, a household having a family member abroad and in some areas, the size of the household determines the well-being of the household. Generally, a well constructed house with cement and sometimes having a fenced wall is a well-off household, while those constructed with sawed planks popularly known as “*carabot*⁹” and those constructed with wood thatched with mud “*potopoto*” are of the low class. Still in this category, depending on the materials used, better-off households can be distinguished from poor households. Where “*carabot*” and “*potopoto*” houses are constructed with good wood, painted walls, cemented floor and have electricity, they are considered better-off households than those that are constructed locally.

⁹ A wood house

Rather than constructing good houses, some parents prefer to educate their children and in this regard, they are highly regarded in the village because *“he is capable of educating his children therefore he is rich”*, they say. Also, those families that are able to send their children abroad are normally considered rich families as it involves a lot of cost and these people commonly known as *“bush-fallers¹⁰”* or *“bengies¹¹”* do send remittances to their families which greatly improve the well-being of the family. The size of a family in this region is considered as a sign of wealth. In other areas of Cameroon, the purpose of getting married to two or more wives and having many children is to generate wealth for the family but in this area, getting married to two or more wives and having many children is a sign of prestige or to prove that you are rich. Since this area is not agriculturally intensive, family labor on the farms is not all that very important. Therefore, they told me having wives and many children, is only for the rich. Amongst the Bantu household interviewed, 6 percent was polygamous and the rest of the household was monogamous, and the polygamous households were all notables of the village. The Pygmies on their part depend on their family and camp size for their well-being. Since they depend on hunting and gathering, the greater the number of men going out to hunt, the greater the quantity of hunt since the hunt by running and chasing their prey until they are able to shoot it down with their arrow, while the greater the number of women and children, the greater their wild food collected. One striking feature about the Pygmies is that they are not polygamous rather they are prone to divorce. Of the 13 families’ interview, 9 of the men have been married more than once.

In some villages in the Ocean Division, the household is considered as the primary unit of consumption and production and their food and income generating capability is determined by the number of productive members of the family whereas in some villages, neither the number nor the productive nature of a family member determines an increase income or food to the household since as early as 15years, a young boy is allowed to fend for himself and any of his activity is not accounted for to his parents. He is given his own room and is allowed to take care of himself. Where the household is a consumption and production unit, the household is more structured and organized.

In a structured household in this region, the women are of vital importance to the family. Apart from reproductive work, the women are considered as the breadbasket of the family since they bear most of the burden of farm labor. The men are mostly concerned with clear-

¹⁰ Common name for Cameroonians in the Diaspora (English speakers)

¹¹ Common name for Cameroonians in the Diaspora (French speakers)

ing of the farm. Since the women mostly cultivate for subsistence, they are also engage in other activities such as petit trading, selling of fresh and roasted fish, buying and selling of foodstuffs and vegetables “*buyam sellam*” to generate income for the family in addition to taking care of the house.

Children as young as 10 years and above are also of economic value to the family. They assist their parents after school either by doing some house work, or helping their mother in the market or farms. During holidays, the children are seriously involved in commerce like selling ground-nut, sweets, etc along major streets and markets, so as to help their parents with school fees payments. Some men who are fishermen usually have the assistance of their sons in fishing. The function of the aged people in the Ocean Division cannot be ignored. As a touristic site in Cameroon, this region is experiencing the growth of fenced cities, modern hotels and bars, which are the achievements of the “*bengies*”, thanks to the presence of their parents back in the village. These aged people are the only ones that their children abroad can trust. Therefore they are actively engaged in managing their children’s finances. The aged people are also involved in light activities such as trap-hunting and the tapping of palm wine from the palm tree, mending fishing nets and carving of canoes from tree trunks.

Depending on the structure, organization and nature of the household, men, women children and the old do play a role in the family’s livelihood. Whether its farming, fishing, commerce, hunting or gathering, all of them work hard to earn a living. The next section will describe the main economic activities on which the people derive their living.

6.2.1 Fishing

Fishing is one of the main economic activities of the Ocean Division as both men and women are actively involved. This area is traversed by three rivers; Lobe, Kienke and Loukounje, and is also bordered in the West by the Atlantic Ocean. These rivers and the Ocean provide an enormous fishing ground for the people. Fishing is carried out year round except during periods of high water, during the rainy season when the Ocean is turbulent. Fishing is carried out individually or collectively. Individual fishing is carried out along the rivers and a few kilometers into the Ocean, while collective fishing is done further into the Ocean because the fishermen are afraid of the constant presence of pirates along the gulf of Guinea. Therefore, they usually arrange and go for fishing in groups. This is usually done ones a week, where they leave every Friday evening to be back on Monday morning.

The men, women, children and the old are actively involved in fishing and fish trade in one form or the other. The men do the fishing and at times, especially weekends and during holidays, they are accompanied by their young sons. The women on their part are mostly focus on fish trade. They wait for the fishermen at the fish port where they receive the fish and sell to other retailers or to other people who need the fish for consumption. In most cases, the fishermen have deals with the women fish traders in that, when the fish arrives, the quantity is measure and its prize is determined depending on the type of fish, it is then given to the women and the fishermen are paid when the fish have been sold. Sometimes, the wives of the fishermen are the ones doing the fish sales while in some cases; the fishermen do the sales themselves. From the fish market, the fish is now taken to different destinations for different purposes. Some of the fish is taken to specialists who smoke-dry the fish and sell them at higher prices, some are taken to hotel and restaurants, some are taken to other cities, some for household consumption and some is being roasted for sale along the beaches and along major streets. Roasted fish is mostly done by the women and in some cases; it is done with the assistances of their young daughters. In some instances, it is extensively done by girls.

The old men who are no longer able to go for fishing do also have a role in the fishing activity. As they stay at home, they are the ones who are responsible for repairing the nets of the fishermen and preparing it for their next fishing. They are also charged with the construction of the fishing canoes and they receive payment for these services.

Photo 6.1 Pygmy women plaiting lobster baskets



Though most of the people in this area take part in fishing and related activities, fishing is intensively carried out mostly in villages located next to the Atlantic Ocean. Those carried out along the rivers are mainly for local or household consumption, and the catching of lobsters (*crevettes*) for sale in hotels and restaurants. Of the 29 Bantu household interviewed, about 60 percent of them are involve in fishing and most of them are from the villages next to the Ocean. As for the Pygmies, only those located along the Rivers are doing fishing for

household consumption while the Pygmy women do plait and sell basket for the trapping of lobsters.

6.2.2 Agriculture

Apart from oil palm, cocoa and rubber plantations, farming for subsistence is the main agricultural activity carried out in the region. Farming is mainly to feed the family and in some cases excess harvest is taken to the market. This region do experience two growing seasons which is in line with the two rainy seasons; November to February and from March to August. Towards the end of the dry season, farms are cleared and the plants are burnt when they get dry. After burning, the soil is till and made ready for planting when the rain comes. The burnt ashes act as manure. The clearing is principally done by the men while the women do the burning, tilling, planting, weeding and harvesting. Cultivation is done on a parcel for 4 to 5 years and the parcel is abandoned (allowed to fallow) and a new one is cleared. The main crops cultivated are tubers such as yams and cassava (manioc) and these crops are cultivated separately on their own plots. The other crops cultivated are usually intercropped fields mixed with maize, plantains, ground-nuts, beans, cocoyam (macabo), banana and others.

Less than 15 percent of those interviewed do take their harvest to the market. Farming amongst the women is done in line with other commercial activities. Therefore they rely more on their commercial activities for cash income than on their farm produce. This explains why some women go to their farms as early as 6:00 am and by midday, they are back and ready to go to the market, while those who trade in vegetables and fruits go to the market early in the morning and by midday, they are through and ready to go to their farms.

One common feature in the Ocean Division is that land is readily available and in abundance. That is why of all those interviewed, none of them said he is able to cultivate all the land he owns and none of them said they demand land for cultivation from their neighbors, family or friends. This means everybody cultivates only the land he owns. Only those who are foreigners or non natives of the area do cultivate on the land they do not own and the quantity of farms they cultivate is most often larger than those of the natives. Surprisingly, the foreigners cultivating in the area are mostly the ones supplying food stuff to the market from their farms. When asked why, I was told the people are lazy and do not like farming since they have other sources of making money. According to IRAD study, the coastal region of Cameroon is considered as the economic lung of the country. With respect to national averages, this region has fewer jobs in the primary sector and more in the secondary and tertiary sec-

tors: 36.9% of the active population is engage in the primary sector as against 71.9% for the whole country; 21.4% and 41.7% work in the secondary and tertiary sectors respectively, as against 7.3% and 20.2% for the whole country. This explains why the people of the Ocean Division are not very engage in agriculture (IRAD, 2001:29).

Apart from working in the palm oil, rubber and cocoa plantations, some of the villagers do have their own individual plantations especially palm oil and cocoa plantations. This is because these corporations do encourage local farmers to produce cocoa and oil palm and sell to them. Presently, the people are more concern with the growing of palm oil since cocoa is less profitable because of its falling prizes in the world market and at the same time, it is expensive to maintain. They prefer oil-palm because it needs less care and maintenance and they themselves can locally produce their oil for household consumption.

6.2.3 Tourism Activities

Tourism plays an important role in the livelihood pursuit of the people of Ocean Division. This region has enormous touristic attractions; from its sandy beaches to the famous Lobe waterfall (*chute de la Lobe*); where the Lobe River enters the Atlantic Ocean by a waterfall and provides more fresh water for swimming. The Pygmies, their camps and their activities are also attractive scenes for tourist. The area is also rich in flora and fauna species and at the Campo reserve; tourist can see the different plants and animals that are present in the region.

Photo 6.2 Lobe waterfall (*Chute de la Lobe*)



6.2.4 Animal Husbandry

This region is relatively lacking in livestock as compared to other regions of Cameroon. Two reasons can be advanced for this. Firstly, this region is prone to tsetse fly which causes serious illness to livestock thereby making the rearing of livestock in the area very difficult. Secondly, this area has abundant wildlife and fish resources with no restricted access to it by the local people. Therefore, they believe fish and bush meat is a substitute for livestock rearing

since livestock is difficult to rear. However, there are instances where some household do keep pigs and goats. 2 of the interviewees have attempted poultry but it was not successful as all the chicken died of illness for which they do not know the cause. But almost all the villagers and some Pygmies do rear local chicken for household consumption and in some cases; they sell them when emergency arises.

Table 6.1 Animal Types and quantity owned

Household with animal	Types of animals	No of grown animal	No of young animals
None	Rabbits	None	None
33	Chicken	183	77
2	Guinea fowl	15	20
4	Ducks	25	57
4	Goats	18	15
None	Sheep	None	None
2	Pigs	8	31
None	Cattle	None	None
N =40		249	200

Source: Field survey, 2009

Table 6.1 shows that most of the household do keep local chicken. The reason being that there is no cost incurred in rearing the chicken since they are allowed to feed around the compound and it can be easily sold in case of emergency. When they were asked how it has evolved over the past five years, most of them said the quantity is almost constant because when the young ones get mature, they either sell the old ones or eat them, and also they don't keep much of them because they are afraid it might be stolen. Most of the Pygmies, who keep chicken, have only a few since most of the chicken are often eaten by a small animal from the forest commonly called the *bush tiger*. Ducks are usually for consumption since according to them, it is forbidden to sell, so when it becomes many, they usually give them out as gifts. Goats and pigs are mostly for commercial purpose or to be used for some major traditional festivals. Some of the households do rear two or more of these different types of domestic animals

6.2.5 Hunting and Gathering

This is the main livelihood activity of the indigenous people and for a few villagers who are far off in the forest. The Pygmies practice hunting and gathering not only because the animal and wild food and fruits are available in the forest but also because they have unstable resi-

dence. Those who have a stable residence are seeing the daily practice of hunting and gathering decreasing and they are now turning more to agricultural activities. Though hunting and gathering is decreasing in importance amongst the Pygmies with stable homes, they still see it as a cultural practice which they have to carry on. The Pygmies believe hunting and gathering is a cultural knowledge which needs to be transferred from the older generation to the younger generation. That is why during their hunting season, the men, women and children have to abandon their homes and activities and go deep into the forest only to be back after weeks or months. When asked why, they said it is to hunt and look for food. But when you look at the quantity of hunt and food brought back, it does not answer the question of their going to the forest for weeks or months. Thus, there is a local myth that the Pygmies have special rituals that they have to carry out in the forest that their purpose is not only to hunt. Therefore, they hunt while performing their rituals in the forest.

As far as gathering is concern, the women and children do have particular periods for gathering and during this period, they must leave for it. This is because wild fruits and wild food do have particular periods when they are ready and after this period, it will be too late and they might not gather anything. Therefore, they must be in time enough to gather before the fruits and food get decompose in the forest.

6.3 Needs for and Means of Earning Cash Income

The most important need for cash income of the villagers and Pygmies is to supply food for the family. Though they cultivate crops such as cassava, yams, plantain and maize, most of the area is occupied by forest, oil palm, cocoa, and rubber plantations which are mainly cash crops. Therefore, most of what they consume is brought in from other areas making them to need money to buy this food stuffs. Education is seriously gaining grounds in the area and most people are doing everything possible to educate their children. The level of education of a man's children determines his social position therefore; everybody is striving hard to be rank high by educating his children which also needs much money. Though some villages have government primary schools where education is free, almost all the secondary schools are located around Kribi urban making walking distances to be too far so much so that children do stop their education at the primary level because their parents cannot afford for everyday transportation to send them to secondary school. Those who are fortunate to have relatives in town can pursue their education by staying with their relatives. Therefore, those who intend

to educate their children will need money either to rent a room in town for the child or pay the daily transportation for the child to school.

Health is also a major aspect where money is needed. The area is infested with mosquitoes thus making malaria to be prevalent and a major cause of death in the region. People are obliged to go to hospital for treatment; they need standby cash for such cases. Due to the lack of money, the people are at times forced to seek traditional treatments which are more often than not very dangerous.

For their farming to be productive they need improved seeds and fertilizer and those with plantations need insecticides and pesticide to do away with pest and diseases. Therefore, they need money to buy these seeds and chemicals. There is also the growing importance of household items such as radio, television and DVD players and the possession of these equipments gives you a place of pride in their milieu. They also need money for the constant repairs and maintenance of their houses since these houses are not constructed with durable materials, there is constant wear and tear of the housing structures.

Another important area where money is needed and which demonstrate your level of wealth is during funerals and death celebrations. People prefer to spend more money on the death celebration of a family member when he/she is dead than spending money when he/she is ill and is in the hospital. Funerals and death celebrations are also areas where people demonstrate how wealthy they are. Apart from money for death celebration, money is needed for the clothing of the family and most importantly for buying of alcoholic drinks both men and women alike. Beer bars and locally brewed alcoholic drink *harki* or “*odontol*¹²” are open as from 6:00am to about 2:00am during the week and on weekends, it opens 24hours. Both brewed beer and locally made alcohol is consumed, needing much money. The beer parlor is a flourishing business in the region and at almost every corner of a street is a bar.

With the different needs for cash income of the people, they need to develop means to generate money so as to meet up with their needs. The following section explains the different ways the people use in generating cash income to meet up with their daily needs.

Income from fishing

Fishing and fish related activities are the major income earning source for most of the households neighboring the Atlantic Ocean and villages located along the major rivers. Most or all

¹² Locally brewed whisky

of the fish caught is sold at the fish market or along the beach. From the fish market, the fish is sold to other people who also use the fish to generate their own income. The fish is sold to operators of hotels, restaurants, to those who are roasting, smoking, and to those who need it for household consumption. People from surrounding villages and towns even as far as Yaoundé, do come to Kribi to buy fish. The money earned from fish sales is used to meet their daily needs.

Income from agricultural activities

Apart from fishing, the people also earn money from agricultural activities. Though agricultural practice is mostly for household consumption, some households do take their farm produce to the market when need arises. Households that rely on agriculture as their major income sources are those that are involved in cash crop cultivation such as oil palm and cocoa. In such cases, the farmers harvest their crops during the harvesting season and sell them to oil palm and cocoa corporations where their produce are being measure and they are paid per kilogram supplied.

The major agricultural activity on which the people are actively involved is doing manual labor in these large plantation corporations. Jobs are readily available in these plantations year round and payment is on a daily basis. Therefore they prefer to work and be paid daily than doing jobs that need long term payments. Their jobs range from clearing the grass on the plantations, applying fertilizers, spraying the plant with insecticides and pesticides, harvesting the crops and prune the branches of the plants. Men, women and even children are involved in this plantation labor and at times, the Pygmies are also actively involved. From this plantation labor, the people are able to earn cash income to meet their needs.

Some people do earn money by being hired to work on the farms of individual. There are parents that have other jobs and do not have available time to go to their farms. So they hire other people to work for them and they are being paid depending on the type of job done and on special negotiations. In such instances, people do earn money.

Income from tourism activities

Tourism activities also provide cash income for the people of this region. Very early in the morning, young male villagers go to the different motor parks to wait for the arrival of tourists. They usually act as guides for the tourist and are being paid depending on where you want to go and what you want to see. There are canoes available for tourists who want to visit the Pygmies located along the Lobe River. And to hire a canoe cost between 20.000-

25.000CFA Francs for a round-trip. There are also canoes for those who want to go closer to the Lobe waterfall and it cost 5.000CFA Francs.

Photo 6.3 Canoes along the beach ready to be hired



Along the beaches, there are different commercial activities that generate income for the people. Beer is sold to visitors who come to the beach and at the same time, restaurants are being operated in the area. The food sold in the restaurants is mainly roasting of fresh fish that is still fresh from the sea and preparing lobsters. A plate of prepared lobster cost 5.000CFA Francs.

Photo 6.4 Cooking lobsters along the beach



Another commercial activity along the beach is the sale of paintings and handicraft items made from local material found in the area. These handicraft items are made from the skins, horns and bones of wild animals found in the area, from snail shells collected from the ocean, from coco-nut shell and from other plants found in the area. In this way, the people are able to sell their items and earn money that is necessary for their living.

Photo 6.5 Boys proposing different services they can offer to tourist



Photo 6.6 Sale of handicraft items along the beach

The Pygmies are not left out in the gains from tourism. One of the means by which the Pygmies earn their money is from gift given to them by tourist. Most tourists that arrive in the Pygmy camps usually offer them gifts, either in cash or in kind, most of the time it is usually in kind. The Pygmies are always ready with their dancing material and instruments such that when the tourists arrive, they are prepared to dance and in such exciting entertainment, they are always offered some money which they use in buying their needs. Apart from money, they are being offered clothes, food, buckets, plates, spoons, cigarettes and drinking water. That is why you will always find plastic bottles of mineral water in their camps that they now used for fetching and storing water.

Income from animal husbandry

Since livestock is not important in this region for reasons mention above (6.2.4), cash income earned from animal husbandry is very minimal. However, those households that keep animal especially the local chicken, pig and goats, do earn money from their sales, mostly in time of emergency. As they told me, it helps them immensely when a member of the family suddenly fall sick or when they need to pay school fees or buy books for their children.

Income from hunting and gathering

Bush meat is highly consumed in this region and both the villagers and the Pygmies are involved in hunting. There are some villagers who rely on hunting for their cash income. Bush meat is expensive and a hunter who is able to have a catch everyday makes a lot of money. A piece of cooked bush meat in a local restaurant is 600 CFA Francs, which is the price of ½ a kilogram of cow meat in the market. The people hunt from snakes to antelopes, birds, monkeys etc. animals such as elephants, tigers, lions, gorillas are protected species and are not allowed to hunt though people still hunt them illegally.

I was told by some Pygmies that some years ago, they did not have the idea of selling their hunts. They usually exchange their hunt for food, clothes, salt, oil, cigarette, alcohol and other item. But presently with the increasing knowledge of and need for money, the barter trade is declining rapidly between the villagers and the Pygmies. Even the villagers told me that “*the Pygmies are now very intelligent and they don’t barter their hunt anymore. They take it directly to the market*”. Presently, the Pygmies have contacts with the women who cook and sell bush meat such that when they have a hunt, they take it directly to these women and they are being paid. In this manner, the Pygmies make money from their hunt.

Gathering of wild fruits and plant is also a source of earning cash income for the villagers and the Pygmies. Gathering was formerly for household consumption but with the growing importance of the fruits and plants for medicinal purpose, this activity is now becoming a Commercial activity, almost all what the Pygmies gathered as wild fruits and foods are now sold in the market, meaning that the villagers are also actively involved in the gathering activity to make money. Thus, men women and children are all involved in the gathering activity. A good example is the collection of wild honey and *strophanthus gratus* liana commonly known as *bush mangoes*. Honey and *bush mangoes* were formerly collected in the wild only by Pygmies. But presently, the increasing needs of the *bush mangoes* by pharmaceutical industries have made the villager to be involved in the collection of these seeds. Both the Pygmies and the villagers are involved in honey collection. They don’t only collect honey in the wild but they are now able to keep bee hives around their houses and camps. The honey collected is taken to the market where it is sold and money is earned.

Photo 6.7 Bakola Pygmy and his hunt



Photo 6.8 Kitchen of a compensated Pygmy



Income from migration

Income from migration is rapidly becoming a major income earning source for some households in the study area, not only cash income but also goods such as second hand clothes, ra-

dio, television, DVD players, and other household items. Though no family member was willing to tell me how much they receive per month or per year, 80 percent of the households interviewed had a family member who is a migrant. These family members have migrated either to other major cities or are abroad. About 7 percent of the interviewees have a family member abroad while the rest are internal migrant within the country. I was able to experience the importance of migration to household income by visiting one money transfer agency in the area called Express Union. I spent 2 hours at the agency and for the 2 hours, the agency had 24 customers. Of the 24 customers, only 2 came there to send money to a family member and when I enquired, I learnt that the 2 customers are not natives of the Division. The remaining 22 customers were natives of the Ocean Division and were at the agency to receive money sent by their family members in another city. This therefore shows the role at which migration remittances add to household earnings.

Income from other activities

The villagers likewise the Pygmies do earn cash income from other activities. Most of the teachers in the village primary schools are villagers having a monthly salary from the government and when it is a community school, they are being paid by the community. Some of the villagers have jobs in Kribi town where they work in governmental as-well-as non-governmental organizations, while some do own provision stores in town or in-front of their houses.

The Pygmies on their part do earn cash income from traditional medicines. They are considered as great traditional healers because of their knowledge of the forest pharmacopeia, therefore people do come to them for treatment. In such cases, they earn money from treating people. I visited a pygmy camp at Lendi and there, the main activity of the camp chief was traditional healing. He has constructed huts and people are being admitted for treatment, both Pygmies and Bantus and even non natives of the region. At the time I was there, there were 8 patients undergoing traditional treatment. In this way, they earn money to sustain their living.

6.4 Fundamentals of Livelihoods: Capability, Equity, Sustainability

Chambers and Conway (1991: 3) mentioned that production, employment and cash income are the main indicators that determine wellbeing of industrialized and urban conditions but these concepts and measures do not fit into the complex and diverse realities of most rural life. Therefore to measure the wellbeing of most rural life, other concepts must be taken into

account which includes amongst others capability, equity, and sustainability. They go further to say the three concepts of capability, equity, and sustainability are linked together and each of them is seen both as an end and a means to good living (ibid: 3). The people of the Ocean Division therefore do not depend only on production, employment and cash income for their livelihoods. Instead, they depend more on their capabilities, equity and sustainability to make a living.

Capability refers to “*being able to perform certain basic functioning, to what a person is capable of doing and being. It also includes being able to cope with stress and shocks, and being able to find and make use of livelihood opportunities*” Sen (1984,1987; cited in Chamber et al, 1991:4). The villagers and Pygmies of the Ocean Division end their living mostly from their capabilities. They have a vast and diverse resource of land, fish and forest resources. Land is available in the forest and those who are capable, able and willing to exploit this land are able to make and improve their living, while those who are lazy do lag behind. Sometimes poverty is achieved because the people don’t want to make use of the resources they have. There are people from poor family background that have become rich by positively exploiting the resources they have around them. There are limited or no local institutions in place to limit the use of the land, forest or fish resources therefore, those who are creative, innovative and ambitious, are making gains from these resources and improving their lives.

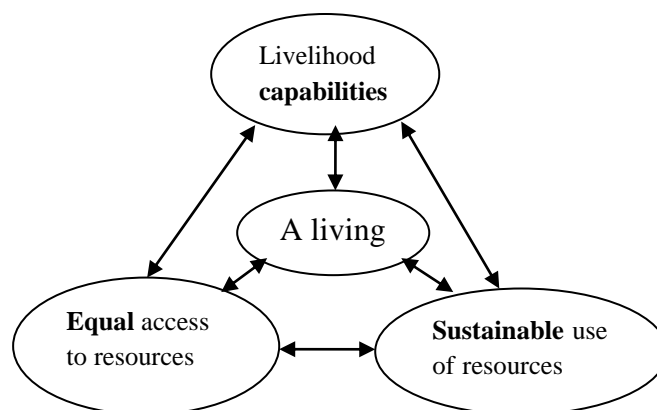
Equity on its part conventionally means relative income distribution. But chambers and Conway (1991:4) use it to mean “*less unequal distribution of assets, capabilities and opportunities and especially enhancement of those of the most deprived*”. It also means equal access to resources, though this does not assure sustainable use of resources because appropriate and effective institutions to manage the exploitation of these resources are lacking. In the Ocean Division, there is equal access to the use of resources to the villagers of each village. It now depends on the villagers capabilities to put the available resources into use and to make a living from it.

The Pygmies also have equal access to their hunting and gathering resources. As a Pygmy child, you have access to all the resources of your father and as a married woman; you have access to both the resources of your father and the resources of your husband’s family. But when the woman divorces, she only has access to the resources of her father. Though the Pygmies are considered primitive by the Bantus, there is hardly any conflict between the Pygmies and the Bantu over resource use. Though some Pygmies complained about disputes

with their Bantu neighbors over land for settlement, especially with the Pygmies that have adopted permanent settlements along the road, both Pygmies and Bantu have equal access to the resources since most often, their activities are not similar. In this way, they live on what they are able to have.

Sustainability is the major concern of the Ocean Division. It involves the over-exploitation of non-renewable resources, deforestation, illegal hunting and physical degradation. Sustainability therefore means the “*ability to maintain and improve livelihoods while maintaining or enhancing the local and global assets and capabilities on which livelihoods depend*” (ibid: 5). While deforestation is being blamed on the uncontrolled clearing of the forest by the local people, the local people of the Ocean Division blame the destruction of their forest on the logging companies. The equal access to the forest by both the locals and the logging companies do accelerates the depletion of the forest and forest resources. Though there are no formal institutions to regulate the use of these resources, I think left to the local people alone, these resources can be sustainable for a longer period because of their norms and practices such as restrictions from hunting particular animals, felling particular trees, the respect and protection of sacred forest and because most of their activities touches the earth lightly.

Figure 6.1 fundamentals of Livelihood



Source: adapted from Chamber et al, 1991

Figure 6.1 shows the fundamental components of livelihoods: capabilities, equity and sustainability. These components are linked to each other and each of them is both a means and an end to living. The capability to make use of the resources around you and the opportunity to have equal access to these resources together with using the resources sustainably will lead to a better and sustainable livelihood. Capabilities and equity can be portrayed as the major livelihoods assets of the people of the Ocean Division. With these assets, the main question to asked is, how sustainable?

6.5 Effects of the Pipeline Project on Livelihoods

Livelihoods can simply be defined as a means of gaining a living. According to the World Commission on Environment and Development, livelihood is defined as “*adequate stocks and flow of food and cash to meet basic needs*” (WCED 1987a: 2-5 cited in Chambers et al 1991:5). In many rural societies, livelihoods determinants are not only ascribed at birth but can be achieved through education, migration, a better management of available resources and through the development of projects. The Chad-Cameroon pipeline project is an example of a project that should have effects on the livelihoods of the rural people. Many saw the pipeline project and its activities as an opportunity to improve their living and thus widely supported the project. As time went on the expectations of some people fell and the pipeline project is now perceived with mixed feelings; some people saw an improvement in their living, others saw a decline in their living, while others witness no changes.

I was able to assess the changes in their livelihoods by asking them if they possess certain item which are most often regarded as prove of better living, how these items have evolved over the past five years. These items and their responses are presented in table 6.1 below.

Table 6.2 Items and number of households in possession

Items	No of households in possession	Percentage
Car	0	0%
Motor cycle	3	7.5%
Bicycle	0	0%
Cart	0	0%
Kerosene lamp	32	80%
Radio/TV/DVD	22Radio, 10TV, 6DVD	55% Radio, 25% TV, 15% DVD
Flash light	33	82.5%
Iron sheets roofing	36	90%
Modern furniture	10	25%
Sewing machine/hair salon	6	15%
Electricity	15	37.5%
Bank savings	3	7.5%

N=40

Source: Field survey 2009

Items such as cars, motorcycle, bicycle, radio, TV, DVD, modern furniture, electricity and bank savings are considered luxurious goods and only those who are able to meet their daily

needs and are still left with surpluses can afford these items. Those with bank savings are either government employees, retired employees or those with large plantations. 80% of the interviewees still have kerosene lamps though some do have electricity, they always have kerosene lamps not only because of the constant blackout but because most often they are unable to pay their electricity bills on time so their electricity is suspended until they are able to pay their bills. In such suspension, they use kerosene lamps. Owners of sewing machines and hair dressing equipments are all women and most of them had these items before getting married. When asked how they got them, I was told that they worked as house-maids and after 3 years they were paid by allowing them to learn a trade and at the completion of the trade these items were bought for them, and they were allowed to go and establish their own business.

My major concern on these items was to know how it has evolved over time. That is, to know if the possession of these items has been the gains of the pipeline project because from observations, it is difficult to determine if the project had any effects on the livelihoods of the people. 40% of those in possession of radios, TV, and DVD were bought with compensation money, while the rest got theirs as gifts from migrated children or buying them with money earned from their daily activities. 2 of the interviewees had provision store that was established with compensation money. Generally, about 80% of the interviewees claimed not to have benefited from the project; rather, they said they are experiencing negative effects of the project especially those involved in fishing are seeing their fishing income reduced since they are not allowed to fish where they usually fish.

Some of the Pygmies on their part have seen improvements in their living. Most of the Pygmies that were compensated have seen major changes in their livelihoods. Not only are they able to have a stable habitat, but they are also practicing less hunting and gathering and more subsistence agriculture. Around their compound, they are cultivating crops such as plantains, banana, fruit trees and even oil palm trees. The palm trees provide them with palm nuts, palm oil and palm wine (Photo 7.3) thereby making them not to rely much on the villagers for the locally brewed *harki*. The houses now permit them to harvest and store the crops in their houses since they have enough space in the house. They have kerosene lamps; farming tools such as cutlasses and hoes which encourage them to farm and most of the Pygmies go to hospital for consultation when they are sick since consultation is free of charges to all Pygmies. The Pygmies who were not compensated still show some differences with those who received compensation, especially those living further away from the Bantu population. They still rely

on hunting and gathering and their camps are surrounded by wild forest. Some of them have no idea about the pipeline project, no kerosene lamps, agriculture is still farfetched. All they know is that strangers do come to their camps to see them, and these strangers usually offer them money and gifts and at times, they dance to entertain the strangers.

The effect of the pipeline project on the livelihoods of the people of Ocean Division is viewed differently by the different age groups and gender of the region. Table 3.2 shows the different ages and gender that were interviewed. The age group 20-39 years makes up 37.5% of the interviewed population. This age group is very critical of the project. They claim that, they were hoping to be massively employed during the pipeline construction but because they were not qualified, people from other regions were employed. Therefore, they claim that they have not been fairly treated and have not benefited from the project. The age group 40-59 years makes up 42.5% of the interviewed population. These age groups are owners of land and they received individual compensation for the lost of their land to the project. But since they were not educated on how to manage the compensation money, they misused the money and when it got finished, they started complaining that the compensation was not enough in relation to the property destroyed. The women on their part also have different opinions. Some were able to receive compensation for damages done to their crops, while to others; the compensation was paid to their husbands who are owners of land, while some women received nothing.

In this survey, the pipeline project appears not to have significantly improved the livelihoods of the people. According to responses from those interviewed, they said during the construction phase of the project, most of the people saw changes in their living because of the increase circulation of money due to the presence of foreigners who were working for the project. During this period, all the economic activities of the area experienced boom and everybody with a trade was able to make gains. But with the completion of the project, most economics activities came to a halt and less flow of cash. Thus the project showed some significant benefits to the population in the short run which was unable to be sustained in the long run. Therefore, it can be said that the people saw some improvements in their livelihoods during the construction phase of the project which was not sustainable after the completion of the project.

7 Pygmy Identities and Inter-Ethnic Relationship

7.1 Introduction

It is a common believe that, who you are and what you are defines you and your geographical location, that is, where you are determines the way you live. Knowing who is who permit us to know what is what. According to Jenkins (2004:5), “*identity is the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities*”. To identify ourselves or others depends on the meaning we give to it. This meaning always involves interaction: agreement and disagreement, convention and innovation, communication and negotiation (ibid: 4). The Ocean Division is inhabited by a heterogeneous community with two distinctive cultural and social identities. On the one hand, we have the Bantus (villagers) who form the majority of the population and do carry out their normal socio-economic activities as other Cameroonians, on the other hand; we have the Pygmies (indigenous people) with a distinctive lifestyle completely different from the Bantu. Despite these differences, the Bantu and the Pygmy communities have a long history of relationship. They live side-by-side in the same natural environment and do share and manage the same natural resources.

With the coming of the pipeline project and the called by the Cameroonian government and other organizations to civilize the Pygmies and improve their living conditions, there are likely going to be changes on who and what we know of the Pygmies and also their relationship with their neighbors. This chapter is going to look at the effect of the pipeline project on the identity of the Pygmies and the relationship that exist between the Pygmies and the Bantu; it is also going to look at the heterogeneity of this community and how they manage their resources but before going to that I will first try to present the geographical location of the Pygmies, and a description of who and what we know of the Bakola Pygmies.

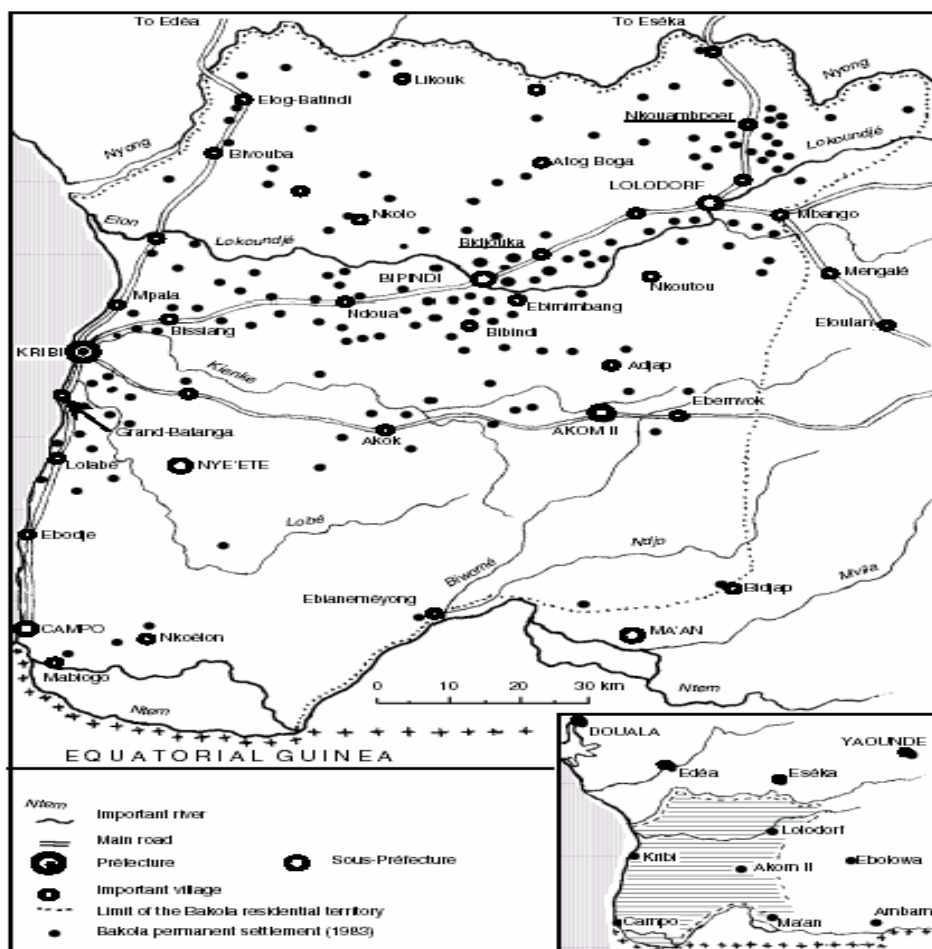
7.2 Identity of the Bakola Pygmies

There are Pygmies located in the Southern forest zone of Cameroon and these Pygmies are classified into three major groups according to their location: the Baka, the Bakola, and the Medzan. Numerically, the Baka Pygmies make up the largest group and they are located in the Eastern Region of Cameroon. The Bakola Pygmies are the second largest and they are found in the Southern Region of Cameroon. The Medzan which is the smallest, are located in the Centre region of Cameroon (see map 7.2). The Medzan no more rely on hunting and ga-

thering as their main source of subsistence and they no longer practice most of the activities of the Pygmies. This can be attributed to their fast integration into the broader society due to urbanization and an increasing scarcity of their hunting and gathering resources.

The Ocean Division which is my study area is inhabited by the Bakola Pygmies. According to Ngima (2006:49), there are about 5000 Bakola Pygmies spread out in 4 Divisions of the South Region of Cameroon. Of the 5000 Bakola Pygmies, about 3500 of them live in the Ocean Division and most of them are settled along the road between Kribi-Bipindi-Lolodorf-Nkouambpoer (see map 7.1).

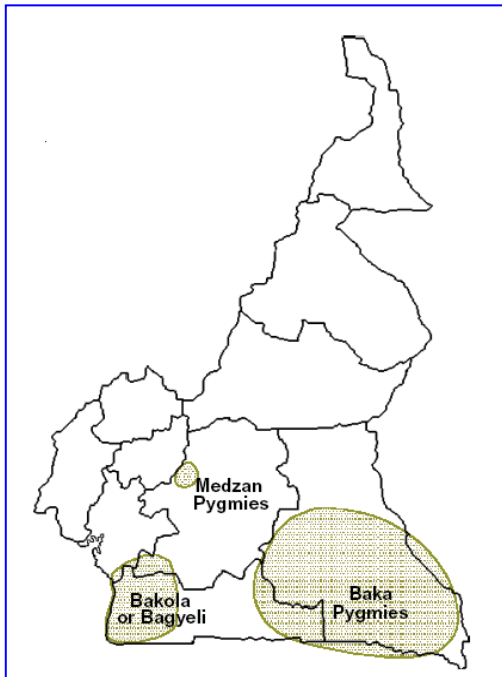
Map 7.1 Location of the Bakola in the Ocean Division



Source: Esso 1999

The Bakola Pygmies still rely mostly on hunting and gathering for their living, though recently, fishing and agriculture have been introduced, they are slowly adopting it into their life-

Map 7.2 Geographical location of Pygmy groups in Cameroon



style. In a survey carried out in 1996, 43 Bakola Pygmy camps which will be directly or indirectly affected by the pipeline project were identified. It was estimated that about 1000 Pygmies live in this camps along the road between Kribi-Bipindi-Lolodorf (Esso, 1999), and all these Pygmies were to benefit from the pipeline project. How then has these benefits affected the identity of the Bakola Pygmies?

7.2.1 Who and What are the Bakola Pygmies?

The Pygmies are commonly known as the short primitive people of the forest. Since little is known about the history of the Bakola Pygmies, they are

mostly identified by what they are, that is, their activities and lifestyle. Most of the Bakola are located along the road, or about one to two hours walking distance from the road or from a Bantu village. Those living along the road are living a lifestyle similar to those living far off in the forest, but their increasing interaction with the neighboring Bantu farmers is gradually changing their behavior and they are copying more and more the farm work of the Bantu.

Just like the Bantu farmers, the Bakola depends on the forest for their living. The forest is the main supplier of their foodstuffs (bush meat and wild food in particular). The forest is not only use for food supply, it is also of cultural values, it is the dueling place for their gods and the spirit of the dead that guards them through with their hunting, fishing, gathering and other activities. Despite the large size of the forest and the abundance of bush meat and wild food, the Bakola are still not self-sufficient in the forest. The reason for this insufficiency is due to the gradual decline in wild resources and the uncontrolled destruction of the rain forest. With the gradual decrease in their food resources and their increase contact with the Bantu farmers, they tend to develop the zeal to become civilized and more open to the outside world. This is further encouraged by the state, NGOs and international organizations. With the eagerness to be civilized, the Bakola are becoming more and more semi-sedentarised and are more in-

volved in agriculture, construction of solid and durable houses, education and religion. Despite these improvements, they have not fundamentally change their way of hunting and gathering and what it symbolizes to them, even with their increasing use of more modern tools for hunting and gathering. Even those far off in the forest are adopting new and modern tools and methods of hunting, fishing and gathering so as to meet up with the ever increasing need for food. Despite the introduction of these modern tools and techniques, the Bakola Pygmies said their old tools still have some roles to play and they need to preserve them in order to continue their unique culture from generation to generation. This cultural practice is mostly performed during collective hunting and honey collection where men, women and children are involved and each of them has a specific and important role to play.

The Bakola usually trade their hunts with the Bantu farmer in order to purchase other necessities such as salt, palm oil, alcohol, iron hunting tools and clothes. Formerly, the Bakola traded their hunt by the barter trade but presently, most of their products are being exchanged or sold for money. They claim that they were being cheated by the Bantu in the barter trade. Though they practice food and cash crop cultivation at varying degree, hunting and gathering is still predominant because it is not only to acquire food for a living, it is also a cultural practice. They use different tools and techniques in the hunting and gathering activities as explained below.

7.2.2 Hunting and Gathering Tools and Techniques of the Bakola

Hunting

The Bakola use a wide variety of hunting tools. All the men can manufacture and use their local tools. According to Ngima (2006:51), these tools are not used in the same manner. He classified the tools according to their frequency of use such as “frequent”, “occasional”, “rare”, and “disappeared”. The most frequently used tools are nets, spears, dog, machete, trap stick and club; occasional used tools include reinforced nets; and disappeared tools include *assegai*¹³ and liana. With these tools, they apply different hunting techniques which include: trapping (line trapping, bait trapping and collar trapping); net hunting; and cross-bow. Hunting is carried out individually and collectively.

¹³ English name not known

Photo 7.1 Bakola setting his trap for monkey and arboreal animals



During the rainy season, most of the hunting is individual hunting, mostly the trapping of animal around their settlements, while during the dry season, collective hunting is practice. The most important hunting technique is the net hunting and it is mostly done collectively. It is important because of its cultural and religious values. As Ngima (2006:57) noted, net hunting involves members of at least two to three different camps with about 60 persons and it is done in preparation for a major festivals such as funerals and marriage ceremonies, and also on other major cultural and religious festivals. In collective net hunting, men, women and children do take part and each individual have a specific role to play. It is during the net hunting period that the Bakola abandon all their other activities and camps and move deep into the forest. For net hunting to be successful the Bakola work seriously and collectively to prepare for it.

Gathering

Apart from hunting, gathering is also an important activity for the livelihoods of the Bakola. This activity is mostly reserved for women and children and it is carried out year round. It is being practiced during hunting, fishing, to and from farm work. The tools used for gathering are varied and numerous. They range from sticks, stones to machetes and anything that they can lay hands on. But the most important tool is the machete which is used for cutting wood, felling trees, clearing weeds, uprooting wild yams, extracting honey etc, and at the same time used for killing animals. They also use basket for carrying the gathered items and also use ropes for binding.

Gathering is carried out in any manner since they are no cultural or ritual predisposition involved. However, gathering is done depending on the seasonality of the forest product. As Jairis (1994) noted, during the season for yams, mushroom, caterpillar, and various fruits, ga-

thering is organized by women and their children (cited in Ngima 2006:58). But at times also, the men do assist the women and their children in the task of gathering.

Honey Collection

Honey collection is also an important traditional activity for the Bakola Pygmies. Honey collection is done individually and collectively. It is an activity that attracts a lot of people into a forest camp. It is important because of its social, cultural and economic role. All the active sectors of the camp are involved in honey collection with each actor having a role to play. The skill for searching the honey, its discovery and collection are based on learning handed down from father to son or mother to daughter. Thus amongst the Bakola, honey is referred to as “*ma nyo ’o ma nzambe*” (God’s nectar) Bahuchet (1972, cited in Ngima 2006:67). Amongst the Bakola, honey is valued for its nutritional values, medicinal and magical use and its social significance: it is shared amongst individuals, households, and other families of the same camp or different camps, it is also given to Bantu farmers and it is usually the main gift given to visitors who visit the Pygmy camp. It is also bartered or sold for cash.

Fishing

Fishing is a rare practice of the Bakola despite the presence of several water courses and Bantu fisher men in the area. However, due to the increasing scarcity of bush meat, the Bakola are becoming more and more involved in fishing. It is carried out mostly by those along the sea shore and along river courses and it is mostly practiced by women and children. Their fishing tools include fishing rods, fishing lines, hooks, machetes, baits and nets. The Bakola frequent contacts with the Bantu have helped them to improve their fishing techniques. Their fishing methods include: angling, fish bailing, hoop net fishing, fishing with baits or crab fishing and roller fishing (Ngima 2006:61). Most of the women fish in slow moving streams or swampy areas.

7.3 Gender Division of Labor amongst the Bakola

In most African societies, there is usually division of labor and social roles between men and women. It is often said that men are engaged in more difficult duties such as clearing, felling down of trees, construction of houses etc, while the women do carry out less difficult activities such as tilling, planting, weeding, harvesting, cooking, taking care of the house and children. But the Bakola have a different approach in labor organization. There is no apparent division of labor between men and women in their daily activities. The participation of both

men and women in hunting, gathering, fishing, honey collection and farming is important. Men, women and children perform the different activities for their daily living. While the men set the traps, both women and children do check the traps and during gathering, women also hunt arboreal animals and others such as bush rat or Gambian rat by digging and using smoke to scare the animals out of their holes. There is hardly any activity reserved either for a man or for a woman. The men likewise the women do take part in the construction of the huts in their camps.

However, in certain instances concerning rituals or cultural and religious practices, division of labor between men and women is obvious because the Bakola believe it involves magical and religious powers. This is usually done during collective net hunting and collective honey collection. In such occasions, the women are prohibited from performing certain activities. This prohibition is not only limited to women but also to Bakola men who are not initiated and also to the Bantu farmers (Ngima 2006:66). In such occasions, men, women and children have different roles and tasks to perform and everybody is restricted to the specified role and task assigned to him or her.

Therefore, in order to meet up with their daily living, the Bakola men and women are actively involved in a wide variety of their daily activities throughout the year and only on seasonal and temporal basis (mostly during cultural and religious practices) that there is division of labor between men and women.

Despite unintentional and intentional actions in place such as deforestation by logging companies, clearing of the forest for cultivation, attempts to settle the Bakola along the road, and the provision of social amenities to the Bakola which can persuade the Bakola to change their lifestyle, hunting and gathering still represents a major part of their activities and do occupy most of their time. According to most of the Bakola interviewed, they said their hunting expeditions will never be interrupted for agricultural or other reasons. Hunting and gathering form the basis of their identity and without hunting in general and net hunting in particular; I think the Bakola will no longer be identified as Pygmies.

Changing the lifestyle of the Bakola might not necessarily improve their living conditions. Rather than asking the Bakola to move out of the forest, they should be educated on the importance of preserving their culture and at the same time giving them access to hospitals, schools, water and agriculture. In this way, the Bakola will be prepared to face these changes. For the Bakola to settle along the road without having legal ownership to the land on which

they have settled will likely add more hardship to their lives as the Bakola can be sent away from the land by their landlords at anytime. To settle the Bakola along the road also requires the provision of facilities to help them improve their lives because even some of the villagers who are considered “civilized” are not better-off. Therefore, I think training the Bakola on how to improve their agricultural techniques no matter where they have settled and at the same time giving them access to education, health and water can improve their living conditions and at the same time help to preserve their identity. Some NGOs are pursuing this method with some success. From the ERE Development report of June 2005, a program financed by the World Bank on the follow-up plan for indigenous vulnerable people- PPAV (Suivi du Plan pour les Peuples Autochtones Vulnérable), this plan was to look at the results on the different interventions carried out on the Bakola in agriculture, education, health, housing, and citizenship.

On agriculture, as of February 2005, 152 farms cleared by Bakola farmers were identified with a cultivable surface area of 68 ha. These farmers were divided into 10 farming zones depending on the camp or village. These zones were assigned with 2 specialized agronomists to train 10 local Bakola farmers (7men, 3women). The trained Bakola farmers were in turn to transmit the knowledge to other local Bakola farmers under the supervision of the specialized agronomists. According to the report, by March 2005, of the 152 farms identified, 34 showed signs of sedentary agriculture: they mastered the agricultural calendar and were able to start their farms at the same time like the Bantu without external support. To encourage these farmers and others, free planting seeds were given to them and those who were buying seeds had the assistance of the trained Bakola to make the choice of the seeds. The Bakola farmers were also given agricultural tools. During the month of April 2005, the trained Bakola farmers and the agronomists paid frequent visits to the Bakola farms to sensitize them on the follow-up of their crops. During this first agricultural campaign of 2005 to the Bakola, it was observed that some Bakola farmers have farms bigger than those of the Bantu and the average size of farm holdings by the Bakola is 0.45 ha. Those Bakola farmers who undertook the program were able to have enough harvest and are now producing palm oil for household consumption. The success of this program was a motivation to other Bakola who saw what their fellow Bakola have become and they were thus interested in agricultural activities to ameliorate their living conditions. Similar programs are also carried out in health and education.

According to the report, despite the success of this program, there are still some difficulties in the agricultural development of the Bakola which include: land insecurity, the Bakola doesn't have legal ownership of land; their farms are very far away from the main road; the Bakola are extremely mobile making them to abandon their agricultural activities during hunting and gathering period; the Bakola are highly dependent on alcohol and drugs making them to be negligent in maintaining their farms; the Bakola have the habit of consuming their seeds at the end of the dry season when food is scarce before the planting season arrives making them not to farm because there are no seeds to plant.

Despite these difficulties, this program is an example of an approach that can be adapted to ameliorate the poor living conditions of the Bakola Pygmies.

7.4 Relationship between the Bakola Pygmies and the Bantu Farmers

As mention in chapter 2.3, the Ocean Division is inhabited by two major ethnic groups- the Bakola Pygmies and the Bantu farmers. The Bantu farmers are further divided into different ethnic speaking groups such as the Ngoumba, Fang, Boulou, Mvea, Mabea, Bakoko, Evou-zok, Batanga, Yassa, Bassa, and others. The Bakola and the Bantu share some relationships which differ from one Bantu clan to the other and from one individual to another. According to Ngima (2001:209), there exist two types of relationships between the Bakola and the Bantu: one which is cultural, linguistic, historical, and inter-ethnic between the Bakola and the Kuassio (Ngoumba and Mabea), and the other which is superficial and limited to economic exchange between the Bakola and the other Bantu clan. Despite these differences in relationship, the Bakola and the Bantu farmers do share the same forest environments which condition their daily life.

A study on *The Social Dimension of Rainforest Management in Cameroon* found out that the dependence or lack of dependence for the Bakola is correlated with the Bantu clan they were associated with. In the Kuassio areas, the Bakola only grew 20-30% of the food crop they consumed since they can easily obtained food crops by trading with the Kuassio in exchange for their bush meat. In the Boulou and Fang areas, the Bakola grew about 63% of the food crops that they consumed because trading with the Boulou and Fang is difficult (van den Berg and Biesbrouck 2000:13). Apart from cultural and inter-ethnic relationship, personal relationship depends on the frequency, quantity and quality of gifts and counter-gifts, exchange, assistance and services provided to the Bakola (Ngima 2001:211). Talking to a Bako-

la about their relationship with the Bantu farmers, he said “*we are in good terms with the Ngoumba than with the other clans; we inter-marry more with the Ngoumba than with the other clans; we receive more humane treatment from the Ngoumba than with the others*”.

7.4.1 Relationship between the Bakola and Kuassio

The close relationship between the Bakola and the Kuassio is based on history, culture and language. There are many myths about this relationship. According to Loung (1959), this relationship dates back to the 19th century when the Kuassio migrated to their present location. It is believed that the Bakola have “*led the Kuassio across the forest massif right to their present location*”. According to Ngima (2001:213), oral history of the Bakola and the Kuassio recount how the Kuassio decided to leave the Great Lakes region of Eastern Congo and asked the Bakola to guide them through the forest since the Bakola do master the forest. They arrived and settled at their present location with the Kuassio having domination over the Bakola. The Kuassio became the “masters” while the Bakola became the “servant”. Presently, some Kuassio notables still own some Bakola Pygmies. During my field study, the Bantu villagers often refer to some Pygmies as; “the Pygmy of Mr. X, or the Pygmy of Mr. Y”. During this long stay, there were inter-marriages between the Bakola and the Kuassio, and the Bakola adopted the language of the Kuassio. They do have similar names, identical language and similar traditional dance.

As time went on, this relationship was strained and the Bakola were obliged to migrate to other locations in the forest thereby coming into contact with other Bantu clans. This dispersion of the Bakola into the forest was due to their maltreatment by the Kuassio, coupled with the search for forest with more games and also a search for more affectionate masters and greater autonomy (Ngima:1987)

All the Bakola Pygmies that I interviewed claimed that they are in good terms with their Bantu neighbors. But unfortunately, I could not identify the clan of their nearest Bantu neighbors though I was aware that the majority of the inhabitants of the study area are Kuassio. The major dispute that most of them have especially those Bakola along the road is land dispute. The Bakola claim that the Bantu are encroaching on their land and selling the land to other people since sale of land is now a valuable business. However, they told me that they are closer to the Kuassio than the other clans. When asked why, they said they speak the same language, they do inter-marry and that they consider the Kuassio as their brother since they are not being well treated by the other clans.

From Ngima (2001:215) interview to the Bakola, he claimed that three quarters of the Bakola preferred living with the Kuassio than with the other Bantu clans. They said “*we are Ngoumba (Kuassio) Pygmies and will like to live with the Ngoumba. But given that we have settled here long time ago, where else do you expect us to go? The Bassa, Boulou, and Fang maltreat us more; but there is nothing we can do, for we have our lands and farms here and we have already buried our grandparents, brothers and children here. If we leave this place, where shall we go to?*” This explains why most of the Bakola are located along the Kribi-Bipindi-Lolodorf road which is an area of high Kuassio population.

7.4.2 Relationship between the Bakola and the other Bantu clans

Relationship between the Bakola and the other Bantu clan is not cordial. It is limited only to economic exchange. Myths told indicate that, *Nkola*¹⁴ and Bassa were brothers but since *Nkola* was obstinate, he was cursed by his father and sent far off into the forest thereby creating enmity between *Nkola* and Bassa. And this hatred has persisted for generation (Ngima 2001:220). Presently, the hatred is linked to the maltreatment of the Bakola by the Bassa in terms of economic exchange. It is said that the Bassa do exploit the Bakola in the barter trade. For instance, barter trade between the Bakola and the Kuassio has a fixed exchange rate: a porcupine from a Bakola is worth 10 “*baton de manioc*¹⁵” from a Kuassio, or a Gambian rat is worth 4 *baton de manioc* from a Kuassio, but exchange with the Bassa was not fixed leading to an exploitation of the Bakola by the Bassa thereby straining their relationship (Ngima 2001:221). Also, marriages between a Bassa and a Bakola is Prohibited and if a Bassa woman get marry to a Bakola man, she is regarded as an outcast. This maltreatment of the Bakola by the Bassa is also practice by other Bantu clans thereby straining their relationship.

Relationship between the Bakola and the Kuassio is based on language, clan affiliation, common ancestors and history whereas the relationship between the Bakola and the other Bantu clan is very fragile and limited to economic exchange. This explains why the Bakola living closer to the Boulou, Fang or Bassa are more involve in agriculture than the Bakola living near to the Kuassio since they can easily exchange their bush meat for food crops with the Kuassio thus making them to be less interested in agriculture. But presently, the treatments the Bakola receive from the different Bantu clans are almost the same. The Bakola now freely chose where to live and they no longer depend on their masters. With the increase use of money, the barter trade is almost extinct and the Bakola sell their hunts to whoever

¹⁴ Singular for Bakola

¹⁵ Boiled cassava paste tied with leaves

they want and at the prices they think are necessary. Though when a Bakola meet with a Kuassio, they are friendlier than when they meet with other Bantu clan because they can understand the language of each other.

7.5 Impacts of the Pipeline Project on the Identity of the Bakola

It is often said that when development comes by, people do change their lifestyle to adapt to the changes that have come to them. The Chad-Cameroon pipeline line project presented aspects that might have affected the lifestyle of the Bakola. Unfortunately, little has been done in the name of development that can significantly affect the lifestyle of the Bakola. Most of the changes that have taken place on the Bakola have been through the efforts of International Organizations, NGOs, missionaries, and their contacts with the Bantu. However, some few Bakola were fortunate to receive compensation from the pipeline project. Therefore, I think the project have been able to change the personal identity of some Bakola. By this I mean those Bakola who received compensation have been able to change from a Bakola at one point in time; living in a hut constructed with leaves, to the same Bakola at another time living in a house with zinc roof. But socially as a group, they are still widely identified as Pygmies because they still maintain their activities and practices. They are still highly involved in collective hunting, less agriculture. Aspects such as agriculture, education, and health that should have highly shape their social identity have been less introduced to the Bakola. Though the pipeline project has not greatly changed the lifestyle of the Bakola, it has put in place a typology of Bakola Pygmies. Therefore, the Bakola Pygmies in the Ocean Division can be classified into three categories: first class, second class and third class Pygmies depending on their level of “civilization” or their level of copying the activities of the Bantu.

7.5.1 First Class: More Civilized Bakola without Compensation

These classes of Bakola are settled mostly along the road. An example I visited was at Lendi, some 10km from Kribi town and about 3km from the Pressure Reduction Station (PRS). This camp had 4 families and a father of more than 90years. But the chief of the camp is his son who is about 68years. All the families of the camp were never considered for compensation for reasons which are not known. The camp had 9 houses and 6 of the houses had iron roofs (zinc). Those without zinc were for patients since the chief is a traditional healer. 8 members of the camp were more than 25years and all of them had a national identity card and all of them took part in the 2007 presidential elections. All of them spoke and understood French and all the children from 6 years and above were going to primary school. They keep local

chickens and ducks. They are more farmers than hunters, but they said during the hunting season, they abandoned all their farming activities and suspend those children going to school and move into the forest until the hunting season is over. The chief has been in this location for about 15 years while the other has been in the location between 5 to 8 years.

Asked about how they came into farming, they said they were advised by their chief in the forest to leave the forest and when they came out they started rudimentary farming. With the help of an NGO, they were taught how to improve their farming techniques, to master the planting seasons, how to preserve their seeds and also, they were being given farming tools, and seeds which improved their harvest and at moment, they usually take their excess harvest to the market.

7.5.2 Second Class: Uncivilized Bakola with Compensation

These classes of Bakola are located far off in the forest. I visited two camps, one at Bikondo and the other at Nkoundou-Nkoundou. At Bikondo, I met a grandmother who told me that the rest of the family has gone to the farm that she is too sick to talk. But the surrounding environment presents the same features as that of Nkoundou-Nkoundou. At Nkoundou-Nkoundou, I met two families; these two families were compensated and have a house with a zinc roof. They have no national identity card, non neither spoke nor understood French, and none of the children is going to school. They are more hunters than farmers, though around their houses, there are signs of farming with crops such as cassava, maize, plantains, banana, and palm trees. They have fruit trees such as mangoes, pawpaw and plume, and some local chicken which indicates they are adopting a permanent settlement.

I met one of the women in the kitchen preparing large quantity of *baton de manioc* and when I asked why she is preparing it in a large quantity; she said she is taking them to the market because with the house and a lamp, they need kerosene to fuel the lamp at night. Therefore they need money to buy kerosene and other house needs. She also said since her husband's hunt is presently not frequent, they have to look for other alternatives to raise money. One of the families had a new born baby and the child was delivered at a nearby health center. The mother usually takes the child to the hospital as consultation and vaccination for all Pygmies is free.

Photo 7.2 Bakola woman preparing *baton de manioc*, Photo 7.3 Palm wine tapping by the Bakola



7.5.3 Third Class: Uncivilized Bakola without Compensation

These classes of Bakola are still living in the wild and they depend more on their natural environment for a living. Some of them are still servants of their Bantu masters. They know nothing about the pipeline project but they said they have once been asked by some people to help them locate other Pygmy camps in the area. Certainly, it was when COTCO was taking the census of the Pygmies. The case I visited was located about 10km upstream along the river Lobe. They live in very dense forest and some of them have never been out of the forest. This camp had 5 families with many huts and only one of the huts was solid with a raffia roof. The other huts had round shapes and were constructed with large leaves from the forest. The number of huts and the number of people in the camp was unequal and when I asked them where they go when it is rainy or at night, they pointed at the huts. I just wonder how many people were sleeping in a hut. These Bakola are mainly hunters and fishermen with little or no farming activity. There are no signs of cultivation around them and they said they have been in that location for years. They still practice barter trade with the Bantu and also get money and gifts from tourists. They said when they have money, they take it to their master which is the village chief and the chief will sent someone to the market to buy what they need. These Bakola don't show any signs of civilization and do not go to hospital even though consultation is free to all Pygmies. These Bakola still present most of the characteristics of the Pygmies; sharpened teeth, huts constructed with large leaves, possession of local hunting tools etc.

To ascertain that the pipeline project has been beneficial to the Pygmies or significantly affected their lifestyle at this stage might be fallacious. Most of the Bakola claimed that the pipeline project has brought to them more problems than solution. Even those Bakola who

received compensation are claiming that, though they are satisfied with their “new houses”, they are still finding it difficult to maintain these structures. Therefore, making the Bakola to have permanent settlement without training them on how to live a stable life is like taking a patient to a hospital where there are no doctors or drugs. Those Bakola interviewed said with the new structures, they are now faced with new problems such as; buying kerosene for their lamps, need alternative sources of income apart from income from hunting and gathering, constant maintenance of their houses because the houses were not constructed with solid and durable materials. Concerning the houses, these houses were constructed by Bantu villagers hired by COTCO who are specialized in this type of house construction. These houses need constant maintenance like changing the support poles when decomposed. The Bakola usually don’t construct these types of houses. To do the maintenance, the Bakola need the help of the Bantu villagers which require payment. How will they raise the money? They need to farm without having the basic farming techniques, they need seeds, their hunt are moving further away from their location due to logging, making it difficult for them to hunt. The Bakola at Nkoundou-Nkoundou told me that presently, if they are fortunate, they can have a hunt 2 times a week at times, they go for weeks without a hunt if they don’t go far into the forest.

Form the claims of the Bakola, the pipeline project has strained the relationship that existed amongst the Bakola and further strained the relationship between the Bakola and the Bantu. There is jealousy amongst the Bakola Pygmies. Those Bakola who have not been compensated are jealous of those who received compensation saying they used witchcraft against them so that they should not receive compensation, while those who received compensations are accusing those who have not been compensated for spelling witchcraft on them such that it is now difficult for them to be successful in their hunting as before. The Bantu are more furious claiming that the Bakola were considered more for compensation. Though the Bantu don’t openly show these grievances, from their saying “*go and asked that to the Pygmies, they are the ones that receive compensation*” one can deduce that they are annoyed and as some Bakola said, their Bantu neighbors are becoming harder on them because of the compensation.

Considering that the Bakola do not have legal rights on the lands on which they live and cultivate situations like this might place the Bakola in a very fragile position because it can raise tension and the Bakola might be asked by the Bantu to vacate their settlements at anytime. An example of the fragile position of the Bakola can be demonstrated in Christa Herrygers 2005 field study in the Ocean Division. According to Christa (2005:26), to stay with the Ba-

kola, she needed permission from the village chief. She visited the chief and gave him a “gift of two beers”. After some days, the chief came back to her and said the gift was not enough because other people had given him more. The chief asked for a case of whisky which if not given, he is going to force the Bakola family with which Christa is staying out of the village. The problem was only solved when Christa consulted the chief’s brother, some village elders and some Bakola elders upon whom the chief was asked to apologize. This illustrates the tenuous position in which the Bakola are in.

7.6 The Local Community and Management of Forest Resources

Both the Bantu and Bakola communities count on and depend on the forest for their livelihoods. They consider the forest as a collective property of the community and are therefore determined to conserve it. Theories on Common Pool Resources (CPRs) such as Agrawal (2003) suggest that to successfully manage CPRs depends on the smallness of the community, homogeneity amongst group members and a set of shared norms which will give them the ability to manage their resources. Though community maybe homogenous, there can still be differences between community members based on gender, caste, age, ethnicity, livelihoods; it may be governed by institutions, “rules-in-use” which are embedded in social relations (Leach, et al., 1999). This does not only show the status and power within the community members but also rights and entitlements over natural resources and other assets.

Community size and homogeneity less applicable in the way the communities of the Ocean Division manage their natural resources. The size of the community is wide and resources are extensive, it is a heterogeneous society but still there are able to communicate and manage their resources with little or no conflicts. The possible explanation for this is that, they share common norms (rules-in-use) which is a major factor determining their access to and use of resource. Both the Bakola and the Bantu communities consider the forest as a living place for their gods and also, they see the forest as a symbol of life and survival. There are trees that remain sacred to both communities and are prohibited from felling. Some animals are considered as totems and it is a taboo to hunt or to eat these animals. If it is accidentally caught in a trap, it is thrown away or taken to the village chief for rituals. There are also special areas in the forest that are sacred and reserved for rituals and only initiated persons are allowed to trespass into this sacred forest. With the unlimited access to the forest of both the Bantu and the Pygmies, and the application of their local rules and norms, large areas of the forest are being preserved. The Bantu often say “*we can commit even a crime to defend and conserve*

our forest, if we are to be robbed of it. But we are powerless with the state or logging companies” (Ngima 2001:30). With the dynamism within community, other theories have been put forward that also fit community and resource management. In this regard, Leach et al (1999:225) put forward the role of local institutions in resource management as *“regularized patterns of behavior between individuals and groups in the society in mediating environment-society relationship”*. This is the guiding principle that governs resource use in the Ocean Division. These communities have the same perception of the forest and they know that their needs and support comes from the forest. Both the Bakola and the Bantu understand each other have needs and understand the presence of each other in the forest. A Bantu goes to the forest to cultivate and the Pygmy is in the forest to hunt. At times the Bantu asked a Pygmy to set traps on their farms that will prevent animals from destroying their crops. There is little or no conflict on who should cultivate or who should hunt. All of them can hunt and cultivate if they are capable. In this way they are able to live peacefully. The main concern is: how do their activities lead to a sustainable management of the forest?

Unfortunately, “their” forest is a victim of deforestation. From my field interviews and observations, the major cause of deforestation in this area can be attributed to the logging companies. The irrational exploitation of the forest by the logging companies whereby immature trees, protected species and trees that cannot be use are fell to have access to one timber. While these communities are often blamed for deforestation claiming that they are using rudimentary farming tools and methods, the villagers are crying foul that it is the cutting down of the trees by logging companies that is opening the forest and putting these plants and animals in danger. The villagers said with their axes and cutlasses, it will take the villager many years to clear the amount of trees that the logging companies are clearing in one day with machines. Apart from the exploitation of the forest by logging companies, the rules and norms and the relationship that exist between the Bakola and Bantu communities concerning access to and use of forest resources; their activities and their common perception of the forest, I think this community will be able to manage and conserve their forest over a longer period since their activities touches the earth lightly.

To sum up, it is the combination of the introduction of money into the exchange system of the Bakola, the impact of logging companies on their forest, and the intervention of the state and NGOs in their daily activities and to a lesser extent, the pipeline project that can be considered as having brought about changes in the thoughts and way of lifestyle of the Bakola.

8. Conclusion

8.1 Conclusion

The aim of this study has been focus on the impacts of the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project on the people of the Ocean Division. Thus, the research objective is focused on: *how fair is the compensation received by the affected community? How has the project affected the livelihoods of these communities after 5 years of exploitation? What effects has the project on the identity of some indigenous people located in the area?* To attain these objectives, I have make use of interviews and observations to produce data for the study, and I have also make use of secondary sources to gather necessary information for the present study.

Development projects are undertaken basically to improve the living conditions of people either presently or in the future. To ensure that these projects attain their objectives, impact assessments are often conducted to ensure that adverse effects are minimized or if possible eradicated. Looking at the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project from the perspective of the study area, one tends to question the position of impact assessment in development projects. Does the role of impact assessment vary from region to region or from country to country? Is it applicable only to developed nations and non-applicable to developing nations? If not applicable to developing countries, instead of referring to it as “development project” it should be termed “debt relief projects” which could help some developing countries to pay off their debts.

The Chad-Cameroon pipeline project contains 19 volumes of well documented environmental and socio-economic impact assessment of the project and possible mitigation strategies. In ExxonMobil October 2003 full page adverts in the *New York Times*, in an advert titled “*Voi-la*”, it strongly described how the people have benefited from the pipeline project (ExxonMobil 2003: A29), also, the annual report of Esso for 2004 describes how the project has improved the living conditions of the people. In the field, these claims are still to be verified; rather, there are diverging opinions about the benefits of the project. Thus this concluding section will analyze the objectives of the study in relation to observations and information gathered in the field. It is also going to revisit the theories and concepts applied in the analysis and the final conclusion.

8.1.1 How fair is the compensation received by the affected communities?

Compensation was handed out to some individuals and communities but some people and communities who were affected are still to receive compensation. Esso stated that “the overall goal of the compensation plan is for a fair and adequate compensation to affected individual and communities... affected people’s standard of living will not be less than their current conditions when compensation is completed. Both holders of legal land title to land and land users are compensated. Compensation is provided in a timely manner that assures the land is available for use when needed for project construction and operations. Compensation is perceived as fair by local population” (Esso 1999c: 1.4). How fair therefore was the compensation? International and national law recognizes that expropriation should be executed only after adequate compensation has been paid out to the victims. The project was completed in 2003 and till today, individuals and communities are still claiming unpaid compensations.

To consider the compensation as fair, one has to look into the following issues: the CP stated that compensation prices will be based on current market values. From my interviews, Prices for destroyed property were paid with the 1970s compensation law of Cameroon whereas; the prices have more than double. The villagers said only items considered for supplemental compensation were paid at market rates because these were items that are not considered for compensation by the state of Cameroon. That is why the villagers said “*COTCO compensation was better than the compensation paid by the state*”. Another major issue was that the people were never educated and prepared for the compensation. The CP neglected the fact that it was dealing with the lifetime investments of people. Thus the lumps sums of money received was seen as a surprise gift and was squandered within a short period of time on household goods and getting married to more wives. Within a short period of time, those who benefited from the compensation became poorer than they were before the execution of the project. Concerning in-kind individual compensation to the Bakola, the Bakola said they were shown a catalog full of items they could choose including: bicycles, sewing machines, plows etc. they could choose any item(s) as long as the items are not worth more than the amount of due compensation. However, they complained that the quality of the items was not good because the items did not last for long. The Bakola also claimed that since they are not owners of land, most of their farms were claimed by the village elites and since they are at the bottom of the village power structure, they had no saying.

On community compensation, it was stated that, communities will have to decide on what will be beneficial to the whole community and COTCO was to execute the project and handed it to them. COTCO had already outlined a list of options and a village could only

choose options that are in line with the amount of compensation they had. This has led to construction of community halls in villages that do not need it. According to Christa (2005:56), Kouambo village choose a football field and they were promised a football field with seating facilities where regional matches could be held and would bring income to the community. But what they got as football field was a piece of land cleared of trees (see photo 8.1). Most communities today are still reclaiming compensation. An example is the fishing communities around Kribi where they are not only claiming compensation for the destruction of a reef that harbored lots of fish, but also, the presence of the FSO have greatly hindered fishing activities of the local fishermen. With the low position of the Bakola in the village power structure, the Bakola were not involved in deciding community compensation. How fair therefore, was the compensation plan?

Photo 8.1 Kouambo football field



Source: Christa 2005

8.1.2 After 5 years of exploitation, how has the project affected the livelihoods of these communities?

People's livelihoods do not only depend on their biological needs but also on their social and cultural needs as well as their relationship with the wider society he/she lives. The project was greatly welcomed by the people of the Ocean Division. This was because of the promises the people were told they will gain from the project. During the early phase of the pipeline construction, the region experience boom in most social and economic activities. There was increase in money supply and circulation from both the pipeline workers and from compensation. However, this was a short term positive impact. The long term impacts will probably prove to be the contrary. Livelihoods depend on people access to everyday basic necessities such as health, food, education, employment etc. The people hoped to improve their living conditions from the employment opportunities. The jobs were available but for how long and

for how much? The villagers said they were hired for one day to at most three months and the daily wages ranges from 1200 CFA Francs for unskilled labor to 7.000 CFA francs for skilled labor. This explained why most of the villagers said they preferred to go for fishing or hunting than to work for the pipeline project because the wages were low. Thus most of the skilled and unskilled labor did not come from the region

Health improvement was also a major area of concern. Rather, there are indications that the health situation attributed directly to the pipeline is worsened. There is pollution of rivers and streams on which these communities used and they are therefore more exposed to waterborne diseases such as typhoid, malaria, diarrhea and skin diseases. According to Yimiga and Hilbert (2002: 15), out of 100 villages traversed by the pipeline, only 10% have drinkable water system. Most of the villager said the opening of the forest has increased the presence of mosquitoes around their homes. For instance, the village stream at Mbikiliki which was a source of water in the region was destroyed by the project and this has cause health crisis in the village. This pipeline trajectory has not only disrupted the course of the stream but it has also created stagnant water which is breeding ground for mosquitoes (AFRODAD 2007:21)

There have been widespread of sexually transmissible diseases along the pipeline route and it is claimed that, the rate of HIV/AIDS along the project is more than the national prevalence rate of 5.4% and a study conducted by the Swiss Tropical Institute in 2001 quotes a prevalence rate of 8% and 15% in Sarh and Kelou, two villages close to the pipeline (AFRODAD, 2007:22). The villagers said new beer bars sprung up around construction camps which encouraged prostitution. With the influx of migrant workers and many beer bars, prostitution was widespread especially amongst minors in the villages. This has also probably increased the rate of unwanted pregnancy and the rise of a generation of children commonly known as “pipeline children”. The whereabouts of the fathers of these children are not known thereby adding more burdens to the families concerned.

There have been questions on whether the project was worthwhile. As stated by AFRODAD (2007:13), the estimated cost of the project was \$3.5billion but finally, the total cost of the project stood at \$4.2billion. Therefore, why should the governments of the two host countries contract such heavy debts for projects that hold little benefits for the local population and the environment and which is largely a private sector project?

8.1.3 What effects has the project on the identity of some indigenous people located in the area?

The pipeline project traverses the tropical forest of Cameroon which is a habitat for the Bakola Pygmies. The Pygmies were not considered during the preliminary impact assessment of the project. But due to the outcry of international and national NGOs, the Indigenous Peoples Plan (IPP) was implemented. To defend the pipeline project Esso stated that “*Change is inevitable even in the absence of the pipeline. The project will accelerate change in the project area, and with the IPP, negative impacts can be minimized and beneficial impacts maximized thus improving the existing living conditions of the Pygmies in the project area*”(Esso, 1999: 5.10). The IPP included programs on health, education and agriculture for the Pygmies. The IPP document stated that:

The IPP covers Bakola Pygmies and Bantu villagers in the rural project area between Kribi and Lolodorf. However, the primary emphasis of the Plan is to address health, education, and agricultural needs issue specific to an estimated 1000 Bakola Pygmies living in the area. This is because:

- Of their sensitivity of the ecological environment and dependence on forest resources.
- Of their limited ability to enter into and participate in many aspects of mainstream Cameroonian life due to pre-existing socio-economic prejudice based on their way-of-life and physical appearance.
- They experience higher rates of diseases, which when coupled with poor access to health facilities, place them at a higher risk than neighboring Bantu villagers.
- They have limited access to schooling; hence little formal schooling, and little motivation to seek it.
- Their agricultural production is poor, in part due to having little limited training in methods to promote even average yields and long absences from settlements to hunt [Esso 1999:1.1-1.2]

In regards to compensation, the IPP stated that:

The Bakola and Bantu villagers will receive compensation for lost land or crops at the same standard rates as all other Cameroonian citizens...In addition; special compensation provisions are suggested to meet the special needs and concerns of the Bakola Pygmies... with regard to compensation, the team explained that:

- Compensation would be paid for damages done to improvements and other replaceable items, including crops/fields and important medicinal and fruit trees, and
- That compensation could be received either as cash and /or in-kind. During this consultation the Bakola Pygmies expressed a preference for In-kind compensation instead of cash. Since they are no banks in the area, money can be stolen, and local leaders in the area indicated that money tends to be spent on non-essential items

such as alcoholic beverages. To the extent practical, Bakola Pygmies will be paid in-kind such as with building materials (corrugated iron sheets for the roofs), machetes, and lamps. In addition to this IPP, other benefits the Bakola Pygmies can obtain through the compensation process are:

1. Individual compensation: but this was limited due to the fact that the pipeline routing avoided Pygmy settlements.
2. Regional compensation: it provides for Pygmies as well as Bantus, hence it is not a Pygmy specific compensation [Esso 1999:2.4]

As of now, little has been done to meet the promises offered to the Bakola Pygmies and it is claimed that it is because the IPP was implemented very late. Apart from that, the IPP ignored the use and occupation of forest resources by the Pygmies out of the pipeline route. Generally, the Pygmies were not included in land compensation because they are considered not to have legal ownership of land. Their lands were expropriated but compensation paid to the Bantu. Community compensation did not consider the need of the Pygmies. The forest and water resources are both used by the Bantu and Pygmies, but when giving out community compensation, only the Bantu were consulted. The Pygmies have lost valuable livelihood resources such as drying up or pollution of streams and rivers which served as sources of drinking and fishing water, the opening up of the forest and the noise generated during construction caused disturbances to wild life and scared them away thereby affecting the hunting activity of the Pygmies. While the Bantu villagers mostly complain of the lost of their crops, the Bakola Pygmies complained of the lost of medicinal plants and scarcity of animal to hunt caused by the pipeline project. Despite the creation of the Campo Ma'an national park to mitigate biodiversity loss along the pipeline route, the Pygmies living in this area said they have been asked not to hunt in the area and some have been asked to leave the area without any compensation or resettlement. Therefore, the rights of the indigenous people living in the project area have been jeopardized.

The pipeline project therefore can be seen as having little or no positive effects on the lifestyle of the Bakola. Any major changes in the lifestyle of the Bakola in terms of agriculture, health, education and religion can largely be attributed to the effort of NGOs and other organizations rather than the efforts of the pipeline project. Though the pipeline project may have shaped the personal identity of some Bakola, socially as a group, the Bakola still largely carry out their activities which makes them to be identified as Pygmies.

8.2 Revisit of Theory

The concept of EIA defined by Munn (1979) and SIA defined by Burdge and Vanclay (1996) laid emphasis on “predicting” and “estimating” the effects of projects on the environment and on man before the execution of the project. Impact assessment should not only aim at predicting and estimating but it should also go further to “evaluate”, to ascertain that the predicted impacts are mitigated. From my interviews, both the Bakola and the villagers said since the completion of the project and the hand out of compensation, they have never been visited to see or find out how they are living after the project. This shows that neither COTCO nor the state have come by to actually see if the compensations were handed out accordingly or to see if mitigation strategies were rightly implemented. Lessons from the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project shows that, we should not only predict and estimate but we should also be able to measure the effects at the end of the project to make sure that all is in line with what was predicted and estimated. Especially in those developing countries that are flawed with corruption, predicted impacts and mitigation strategies are usually documents to encourage lending institutions and organizations to approve of the project. Once the project is approved, the written documents are most often not respected. This may explain why the EA of the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project appeared in 19 volumes with adjustments and readjustments. Therefore, to complete the process of impact assessment, focus should also be laid on post-project auditing and evaluation.

Looking at community and resource management, Agrawal and Gibson (1999) proposed that resources are better managed when a community has a homogenous social structure, when the community is small in terms of area and individuals and when the community shares a set of norms. The Ocean Division is vast and heterogeneous with large amount of water and forest resources but these resources are used with minimized conflicts. During my field work interview and observation, I heard no complaints or conflicts over access and use of resources. Here, the role of norms is put into play. The Bantu and Bakola have respect for the forest and there are unwritten norms that guide them in the use of their forest and these norms are transferred from generation to generation. Therefore without external forces such as the state or NGOs, the people of the Ocean Division use their resources base on their local norms in place and the relationship that exist between individuals and groups (regularized patterns that exist between individuals and groups, Leach et al 1999). The major concern is; are these resources managed sustainably? Though the local norms in place prohibit the felling of cer-

tain trees, the hunting of particular animals, and the protection of sacred forest, this alone does not assure the sustainable use of their forest. During my interviews, the villagers same as the Bakola said if they were the only users of the forest, the forest will never finish because of its vastness. But because of the presence of the logging companies, they are afraid that one day all of their forest will be lost. How valid is the claim by this community to be better managers of their resources?

Looking at the livelihood of the people of the Ocean Division which is their means of gaining a living, the concept of Capabilities, equity, and sustainability put forward by Chambers and Conway (1991) can be applied to these people. Capabilities, equity, and sustainability are seen as a means and an end to livelihood. The capabilities of both the villagers and the Bakola to exploit their resources (an end); gives them the capabilities to enable them gain a living (a means). Equity which include adequate livelihood (an end) though the livelihood is not decent; gives them access (a means) for gaining a livelihood. Sustainable use of resources (an end) based on the norms guiding the use of these resources; provides conditions (a means) for livelihood to be sustained for future generations.

To finally conclude, the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project was approved to address the poor economic situation of both Chad and Cameroon. The project was not only aimed at increasing state revenue from petroleum sales so as to foster economic development but it was also to see to it that the benefits of the project is felt by the most vulnerable and poor people of the country especially, those communities located along the course of the pipeline project were earmarked for the improvement in their living conditions since this communities were either directly or indirectly affected by the pipeline project. In this wise, these people were assured improvement in housing, health, education, portable water, jobs, accessible roads and other amenities. To attain these objectives, impact assessment on the project was carried out to identify and redress these areas of interest.

This thesis tries to find out how the pipeline project have impacted on the affected communities in the Ocean Division in terms of the fairness of the compensation, livelihoods, and also the identity of the indigenous people in the area. The finding shows that two different claims are advanced; one by the project developer and the state combined, and the other by the communities or villager affected by the project.

On the one hand, the project developers and the state are claiming that, the pipeline project has been of great benefits to the affected communities. COTCO claimed that as of December

2008, a total of about 12 billion CFA francs (nearly \$19.7 million) in individual compensation has been disbursed; 45% of temporary used land has been returned to farmers: 885 hectares in three years; wage payments for Cameroonian workers for the third quarter of 2008 totaled 1.4 billion CFA Francs (\$3.1 million); over 88% of the project's direct employment jobs are held by Chadians and Cameroonians at the end of 2008; the project's purchase of goods and services from local suppliers totaled over 114 billion CFA Francs (more than \$1.2 billion); Intensive malaria prevention program has cut the project's malaria infection rate over the last six years by a factor of 40 – reducing rates in 2008 to only 2.5% of the rate recorded in 2002; COTCO contributed \$1.5 million to the Environmental Foundation FEDEC to continue the support of biodiversity conservation efforts in two Cameroonian national parks and an indigenous people program to improve the lives of the Bakola people (Esso, 2008). In Cameroon, construction work ended in 2002 but COTCO is claiming that compensation activities generally relates to the ongoing social statements process to resolve a list of grievances developed in collaboration with local NGOs, representative of the government of Cameroon and villagers and that there are also periodic requirements to compensate for land required for maintenance or facility improvement, which is why compensation is still going on despite the completion of construction work since 2002 (Esso, 2008)

On the other hand, from my interviews with the villagers and the Bakola, they have different claims. Most of the villagers complained of the need for schools, health facilities, roads, portable water which were promised to them but was more or less executed, decline in fishing and a decline in their forest resources. The villagers also complained of not having enough and/or lack of compensation. The Bakola on their part complained of the loss of their medicinal plants, scarcity in their hunts, less or lack of compensation, and increase in jealousy amongst the Bakola which have led to increase in illnesses consequently blaming it on witchcraft. Most of the respondent expressed a decrease in their living standard due to the decline in the availability of their basic daily needs caused by the pipeline project. It should be noted that the intensive malaria prevention program carried out by COTCO applies mostly to the pipeline employees and not to the local population.

With the settlement of the Bakola along the road, given that the Bakola cannot claim legal ownership on the land they occupy, and without identity cards, the Bakola cannot file legal claims if they are harassed in their dwellings by the villagers. This therefore places them at the bottom of the village social structure. The degradation of the forest by logging companies and also the destruction of the forest during the pipeline construction has immensely reduced

the basic forest resources on which the Bakola depend for their daily life and this in turn can be a threat in the way of life of the Bakola. Their communal lifestyle have been disrupted as those families that received compensation are now living in single houses rather than living in camps as before.

While COTCO is praising the project as “development done right” and a blue print example that can be implemented by other large-scale projects, the affected communities are attributing the project to “*a necessary evil*”. What therefore went wrong? How should impact assessment on projects be executed such that the benefits of the project are felt by the needy? Who is right? Is it COTCO for their claims in improving the living conditions of the people or the local people for their claims in the degrading living conditions caused by the project?

To successfully carry out development projects requires a careful impact assessment. Not only carrying out impact assessment but also taking measures to see to it that mitigation strategies are rightfully implemented which can overcome adverse effects of the project and in turn, people will be able to feel the benefits of the development project. If the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project has benefited the local community as claimed, why should the World Bank suspend its funding for the project? Why was COTCO reluctant to grant me an interview? These are questions that are difficult to answer making this study to end with more questions than answers.

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Appendix

Questionnaire - Assessing the Impacts of the Chad-Cameroon pipeline Project on the local community.

The information obtained from the respondents will be used strictly and confidentially

Part one

A) Location

(Give a description of the location of the compound/house/camp, considering :)

Itinerary (How to find the dwelling)

.....
.....

Distance to track/road.....

Compound clustering.....

B) Household Determination

Bantu or Pygmy.....

Marital status: married single

Monogamy polygamy , number of wives

How many people do live in the household.....

Is the household divided into several sections?.....yes/no

If yes, how many and why.....

Are there any absent household member.....yes/no

Why are they absent (seasonal labor migration, education, staying with family elsewhere,
start own family).....

Are they part of household where they usually go.....yes/no.

(If yes, are not considered as part of HH member)

C) Household History

When and how did you start your own household?

Where was that?

What were your main economic activities in that place?

When did you leave that place?

Why did you leave that place?

Have you and your household also lived in any other place?yes/no

Where was that?

What were your main economic activities in that place?

When did you move to that place?

When did you leave that place?

Why did you leave that place?

D) Farm Characteristics

Do you own land?yes/no

Do you farm?yes/no

Do you also farm land that you do not own?yes/no

Under what arrangement do you use this land?

Do you farm all the land you own?yes/no

What do you do with the land you own and do not farm?

Could you tell me the long term changes over time of the product that you farm?

Product changes

1

2

3

4

Quantity and fertility of land

E) Livestock

Do you own animals?yes/no

Did you own animals in the past?yes/no

How did you lose your animals?

F) Animal form

Types	No. of grown animals	No. of young animals	No. of animals 5years ago (incr./decr./eq.)	use
Rabbits				
Chickens				
Guinea fowl				
Ducks				
Goats				
Sheep				
Pigs				
Cattle				
Others				

G) Use of livestock

- 1) Meat (consumption)
- 2) Milk/eggs (consumption)
- 3) Meat (selling)
- 4) Milk/egg (selling)
- 5) Manure
- 6) Saving
- 7) Animal traction
- 8) Social obligation
- 9) Others (specify)

H) Cash-income generating activities

- 1) Crop sales
- 2) Animal sales
- 3) Farm labor
- 4) Labor migration
- 5) Others (specify)

I) Non-cash income generating activities

- 1) Is any household member part of a farming group.....yes/no
- 2) Did any of you work on other people’s farms in exchange for food.....yes/no
- 3) Did other people come to work on your farm just as much.....yes/no
- 4) Did you get any food out of hunting/fishing (specify).....yes/no
- 5) Did you get any food out of gathering (specify).....yes/no
- 6) Did you get any food out of other activities (fruit trees, gardening).....yes/no
- 7) Did you get any goods (incl. foodstuff) by exchanging them for other goods (bartering).....yes/no
- 8) If yes, which goods did you give and which goods did you receive?
- 9) Have you ever received any food aid (specify)?

J) Trends in income generating activities

Has your non-farm income increased, decreased or stayed the same over time (describe the trend).....

Has the number of income sources for your household increased, decreased, or stayed the same over time.....

K) Possessions

Indicate whether the household possesses the following items and how many.							
Car		Lantern		Plough		Others:	
Motorcycle		Radio		Iron-sheet roofing			
Bicycle		Flashlight		Modern furniture			
Cart		Sewing machine		Bank savings			

Are you sometimes forced to sell possessions because you need the cash?yes/no
 Have they been years that you were forced to sell more possessions than usually?yes/no
 Have your possessions increased, decreased or stayed the same over time?

PART TWO:

A) Compensation

Were you affected by the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project?yes/no
 If yes, in what way?

- 1) Farmland.....yes/no
- 2) Unfarmed land.....yes/no
- 3) Property (house).....yes/no
- 4) Gathering ground.....yes/no
- 5) Fruit trees?.....yes/no
- 6) Others (specify).....yes/no

Were you compensated for these properties destroyed.....yes/no

If yes, were you compensated in cash or in kind?

If in kind, why?

What will you say about the value of compensation and the value of property destroyed?

General Questions for Discussions

A) Education

Are there any new educational institutions created during and after the project?

Educational levels of household members and how it has evolved overtime.

B) Health and diseases

The health situation before, during and after the construction phase

What types of diseases were common before, during and after the construction phase?

Are there any new health institutions created during and after the project?

Are there any changes in infant mortality and mortality rates in general due to the presence of these new health institutions?