

Parks, people, and power: the social
effects of protecting the Ngel Nyaki
Forest Reserve in eastern Nigeria

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1. Introduction

Since the end of the 19th century, individuals and groups with a concern for the natural environment and the biodiversity it possesses have gone about establishing protected areas that they deem to be especially important or representative. These protected natural areas have been called forest reserves, game sanctuaries, national parks and so forth. Over the past century, this phenomenon has spread throughout the world, to the point where today nature and wildlife conservation is a global phenomenon: the World Database on Protected Areas states that 11.58% of the earth's surface is currently under protection (<http://sea.unep-wcmc.org/wdbpa/>). The intentions lying behind the efforts of conservationists and environmentalists to protect sections of the planet's surface are generally noble: the protection of rare plant and animal species, the security of national economies as well as the over-arching goal of perpetuating humanity into the long-term future. Indeed, without conservation, many nation-states in particular, and the world in general, would be facing far greater challenges than they are today.

However, whilst usually well-intended, the establishment of protected areas has, historically, been very problematic. This is because where there are areas rich in biodiversity and natural resources there are often humans too. From this situation comes an obvious problem: conservationists, usually using a model of conservation based on 'western' science, wish a particular area to be protected, but there are indigenous people present who often have long historical links with the area and depend on it for their ongoing survival. Both groups have interests in the area that necessarily clash: one wants the area protected; the other wants the area used. What happens, then, when conservation and local people meet? Who benefits and who 'loses'? Any why? Are all local people affected in the same way by conservation? How do local people manage the effects that conservation has on their lives? These are the general questions that underpin this piece of research.

Anthropologists – and social scientists more generally – began to take an interest in these issues, collectively referred to as the 'people and parks' debate, from the 1980s

onwards (Richards, 1985; Anderson and Grove, 1987; Hannah et al, 1992). More specifically, since this time critics of both development and conservation policies have produced a body of literature demonstrating 'both the cultural specificity and inappropriateness of applications of western science in non-western environments, and the locally attuned value of much indigenous knowledge' (Campbell, 2002:274). The main contribution anthropologists have made to this debate has been their ability to bring to light the fact that projects of nature and wildlife conservation are not an inherent good that operate in the best interests of everyone. Rather, their 'success' or 'failure' depends in large measure upon social factors, namely, the extent to which they pay close attention and sensitively adjust to the local social worlds that they encounter. Today, the anthropology of conservation is an increasingly popular topic within the discipline; the recent publication of several ethnographies and edited volumes attests to this (Brockington, 2002; Colchester & Chatty, 2002; Fabricius and De Wet, 2002; Anderson and Berglund, 2003; Mosse, 2005).

The problems that generally characterise the 'people and parks' issue apply directly to sub-Saharan Africa and to Nigeria, in particular. According to the World Database on Protected Areas, in sub-Saharan Africa there are currently 6,664 protected areas covering an area of nearly three million km². The interaction between local indigenous people and externally introduced conservation initiatives in this area is a topic that has been the subject of numerous anthropological studies (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Adams and McShane, 1992; Mohammed Salih, 1999; Brockington, 2002; Thompson and Homewood, 2002; Cernea, 2003).

Roughly one sixth (1,017) of the protected areas in sub-Saharan Africa are in Nigeria (<http://sea.unep-wcmc.org/wdbpa/>). Thus, one would expect a significant anthropological literature on the social impacts of conservation to have accumulated. Surprisingly, case studies on the relationship between 'western' conservation and local indigenous people in Nigeria are sparse. Ite's (2001) study of the Cross River National Park stands out as the main exception to this trend. There have been other studies of the community-conservation dynamic in Nigeria, but these studies often pander to environmentalist arguments and do not offer much insight into how conservation projects

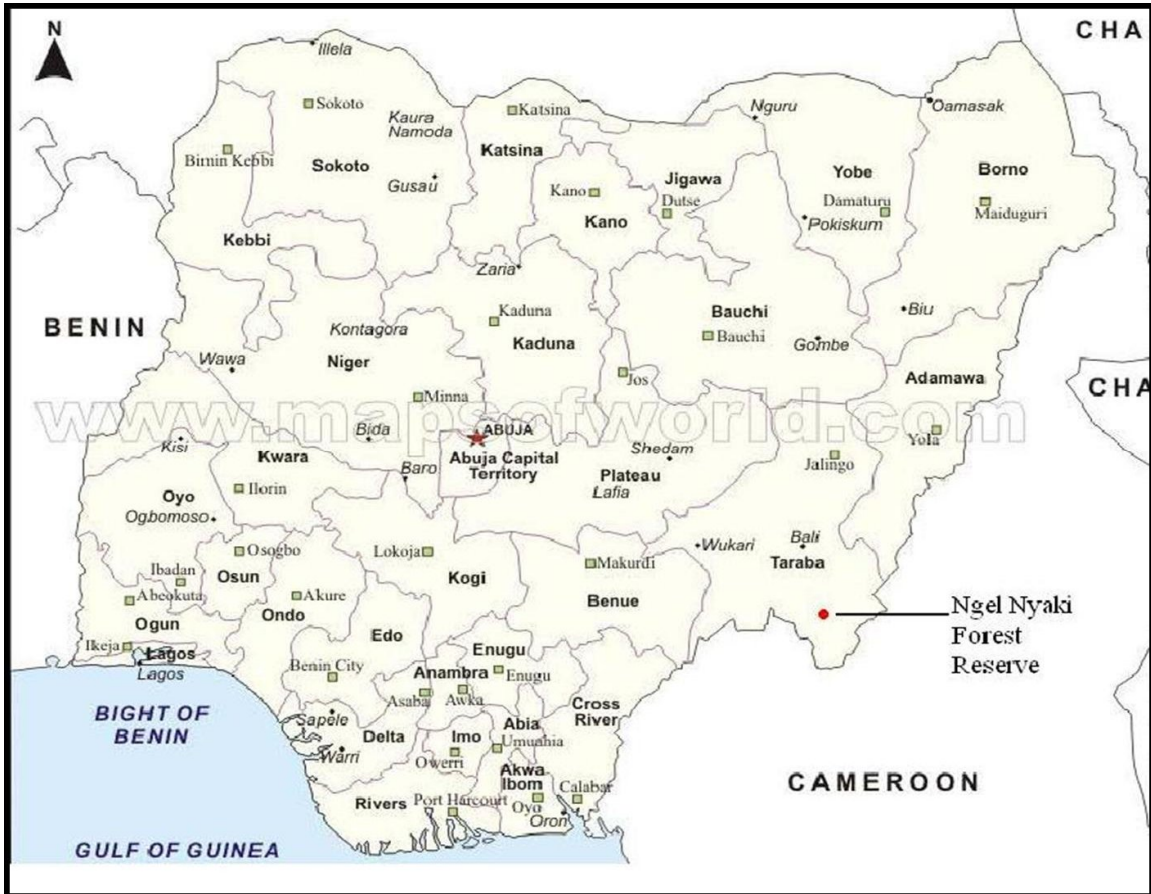
might disrupt the lives of indigenous people (Madu, 1991; James and Nwomonoh, 1994; James, 1996). The 'people and parks' issue, then, is something of importance in Nigeria but has not received much attention from the anthropological community. The study I am presenting here – an anthropological piece of research that deals with these issues in this particular locale – is thus appropriate and timely.

Late in 2005 it was brought to my attention that Dr Hazel Chapman, the head of the Nigerian Montane Forest Project (NMFP), a biological conservation project at the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve, eastern Nigeria, felt that there was potential for a post-graduate student to conduct ethnographic research in the area on the 'people and parks' issue. I was instantly excited at the prospect of going to Africa and became committed to the idea almost immediately. After establishing with my supervisors that the research was feasible and after having obtained funding for fieldwork, I was on my way.

In early 2006 I spent three months at the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve, eastern Nigeria, conducting the fieldwork for this thesis (see map on next page). When I arrived at Ngel Nyaki, I possessed a relatively clear idea about the places where I would conduct my fieldwork, what I would do whilst there, and a general picture of how the final written product would turn out. I believed I was going to Ngel Nyaki to live in a village called Musa Akwole for three months. Whilst there I imagined that I would acquire information from local people – through interviews, observation, and possibly participation – about their lives as they related to the forests within the reserve. More specifically, I thought I was going to find out about how local people's lives were related to the forests, how conservation projects in the area were potentially going to change those relationships, and also about how people thought about such change. These lines of enquiry were predicated on the belief I held at the time that local people had an active social, spiritual and economic relationship with the forests. However, once I had established myself at Musa Akwole and managed to gauge what was going on, my formerly clear ideas about my fieldwork were fundamentally altered.

After having been in Musa Akwole a couple of nights, I became aware that local people's relationship with the forests inside the reserve was nothing like what I had envisaged. Through talking with my assistant, a local man from the village, I found out

that, apart from a small number of people belonging to one ethnic group, local people seldom used the reserve for any purpose, material or otherwise; it appeared that most people hadn't stepped foot inside the reserve for ten years! Therefore, my initial objective of acquiring data about people's current and ongoing relationships with the forests was negated and my general conception of the final written product was dissolved. I had to adapt if I was to salvage both my fieldwork and thesis.



As I couldn't base my fieldwork on how people were currently connected to the forests, I decided instead to gather data on how people had related to them in the past, how that relationship had been affected by the protection of the reserve, and also how people might have negotiated these effects. The objective now became to find people with strong historical links to the reserve and whose lives had been significantly affected by its protection. The people of Musa Akwole, whilst meeting the above 'criteria,' were not ideal for my study. It seemed that in the past they had relied on the reserve for a significant amount of their subsistence needs and they had also been affected by being prohibited

from entering that space. However, as the village is situated at least three kilometres away from the reserve's boundary, both the historical connection and the effects of protection were not going to be as pronounced as they would be at other settlements that I knew to be lying closer to the reserve. Therefore, I organised with my assistant to go and visit these other places to see if they would be appropriate sites to conduct my fieldwork. In the subsequent three or four days I managed to make day trips to a number of settlements. These included the hamlets of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba, both of which lay close to the boundary of the reserve. Due to this proximity I figured that the inhabitants of these places would have had a strong historical relationship with the forests; and, judging by the state of their villages, they had been more seriously affected than any other people in the area as a result of protecting the reserve. I decided that these were the places I needed to be.

After returning, I made it clear, to many people's disappointment (possibly because they thought they might have gained some material or social advantage from my presence), that I would not be staying in Musa Akwole but that I would be moving, firstly, to the hamlet of Mayo Ambak. Whilst not effected with ease, the move was nonetheless accomplished. I stayed at Mayo Ambak for roughly five weeks. Here I conducted around five or six recorded interviews, held many more informal discussions, and also made frequent trips to the farms where people worked. Then I moved to Musa Gamba for the next three weeks. Here I conducted similar activities but in less quantity, conducting probably only one or two recorded interviews and a handful of informal discussions. At these places I lived in a tent, which proved to be, especially at Mayo Ambak, where there was little shade, very uncomfortable. These stints were followed by two weeks in Musa Akwole. Here I conducted several recorded interviews with my assistant and the headman of the village. Observations and trips to the farms of local people were kept to a minimum as this was a time in which I was attempting to recover from the seven or eight tiresome weeks that preceded it. My stay at Musa Akwole was much more comfortable, owing to the fact that (a) I was living in a hut that contained a bed on which to sleep and (b) I had access to certain goods from which I strangely derived a degree of contentment, such as Coke and Fanta and sugary baking. Whilst living at Musa Akwole I conducted a few days fieldwork at

the village of Yabri. Due to my contact with the people of this village being so brief, I did not have the opportunity to engage in much informal conversation, but still managed to hold a couple of recorded interviews with the headman and his close friends and relatives. After leaving Musa Akwole I shifted back up to the NMFP field station in preparation for my journey home. I made a couple of trips to the nearby village of Gidan Kuma during this time, where I managed to record two interviews with its headman. Before leaving the area I made a two day trip to the town of Gembu, where I managed to record an interview with a local government official that knew a good deal about the history and current administration of the forest reserve.

The temporal and spatial structure of my fieldwork is reflected in the content of this thesis. Although I collected data from the people of all of the villages that immediately surround the reserve, including information from all of the parties responsible for protecting the reserve, the majority of the data I collected came from the people of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba. So, while local people in general are the object of study for my thesis, the inhabitants of the respective hamlets receive most of the attention.

The methods I employed in gathering information for this thesis are varied. Most of the data I present has come from my fieldwork around the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve, as described above. Whilst in the area I conducted numerous interviews with men and women from a variety of ethnic groups, ages, and socio-economic positions. These interviews took various forms: sometimes I would be sitting down in a hut or under a tree with an interviewee, asking them specific questions about the reserve, and tape recording their responses; other interviews were much more casual, and here I am referring to the many times I held informal, unrecorded discussions with various people whilst they went about their daily business, writing down the things that I thought were pertinent to my research. Apart from one or two interviews conducted shortly before I left the area, all of these discussions were organised and translated by my assistant, a young man from the village of Musa Akwole, who was employed by the Nigerian Montane Forest Project. He was my primary link with the local people and without him my research would definitely not have been possible. In addition to my fieldwork, I also employed the published and

unpublished reports of conservationists who have worked in area, and the main person I have to thank for access to these is Dr Hazel Chapman.

Lastly, I have gained a considerable amount of information from scholarly publications on my topic. Books, articles, journals, and so forth, were all invaluable in providing me with knowledge of how the relationship between conservation and local people has played out around the world, as well as furnishing analytic and theoretical frameworks through which to interpret my data. The main source of these publications was the library at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand. However, I also obtained material from outside the country. In transit to Nigeria I spent two weeks in London, where I received the welcome and assistance of David Zeitlyn. He provided me with a significant amount of ethnographic material on the area I would be working in and the people that I would be working with, not to mention invaluable pieces of advice about conducting fieldwork.

To this list of methods I would have liked to add archival research, but I was not able to access any forestry records whilst in Nigeria, nor did I manage to access any colonial administrative reports during my stay in London. Whilst in Gembu, the headquarters of the local government area in which I conducted by fieldwork, I hoped to locate relevant historical information on the reserve but it proved much more difficult than I had expected. On my journey out of the country I intended to collect similar data at Jalingo, the capital of Taraba State, but due to significant travel delays, time constraints, and a general difficulty navigating a busy Nigerian city, I was again prevented from doing so. Having more official historical data would have been beneficial for my research, as I would have been able to better contextualise the establishment of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve. Despite this fact, I feel that the official information I obtained on the area from Hazel Chapman as well as other people I interviewed during my fieldwork, will be sufficient.

In addition to being unable to access archival information whilst in Nigeria, I encountered other difficulties during my fieldwork. Many of these problems related to my field assistant but few were entirely his own fault. As stated, shortly after arriving in the area I decided to move from the village of Musa Akwole to the hamlets of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba. This caused problems for my assistant, who lived in Musa Akwole and

who had a farm and family to take care of. As a result, he was not able to make the trip to where I was staying everyday; in fact, I estimate that in any given week I stayed in these places he was present for only three or four days. This had important effects on my fieldwork as well as personally. Firstly, in his absence I could not communicate with anyone. Any questions I wanted to ask, any observation that I needed confirmed, any food that I wanted to buy, indeed, anything that required communication had to wait until my assistant arrived. Personally, the experience of spending a considerable amount of time alone in a dilapidated rural African village was not a comfortable one. The BBC World Service was a lifesaver at this time. I will now outline what I will be examining in this study and also provide an overview of the structure of the thesis.

In this thesis I will be looking at: (1) how the conservation of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve has affected the lives of the local people who live in its vicinity; and (2) how these local people have negotiated the effects of this conservation. As regards the first of these stated aims, in Chapter 4 I will show that the effects of protecting the reserve have been total, embracing every dimension of people's lives. The places where they can live, the activities they engage in to make a living, the traditional institutions through which they maintain a rigorous social life, the way they behave toward their neighbours, as well as the way they think about themselves and the world around them, have all been affected by the conservation of the reserve. Further, not only have these effects been total they have also been largely negative; only in rare instances has anything beneficial to local people been generated out of protecting the reserve. However, as will be seen in Chapter 5, people have not simply felt the effects of conservation; they have negotiated them in various ways. It is a description of these coping mechanisms that constitutes the second aim of the thesis. I will show that people have probably adapted to the effects of conservation through migrating away from their homes to places where they can obtain better access to resources; by becoming increasingly dependent on economic relationships with their better off neighbours; and, lastly, by diversifying their livelihoods, that is, placing more time and energy into alternative income-generating strategies than they had before.

The data I present in support of these two aims will be interpreted using the ideas of Michel Foucault and his followers. In particular, I will be employing Foucault's

understanding of power and how it operates in society. It will be argued, firstly, that the protection of the reserve is an exercise of power. The individuals and groups responsible for protecting the reserve have used and continue to use their actions to influence the actions of local people, namely, in enforcing their exclusion from the reserve. The dominant position conservationists occupy in this power relation hinges on the use of discourse as well as various mechanisms or technologies of control. Forest guards, patrollers, and material coercions such as fines and court orders have been used to maintain local people's exclusion from the forests, and this has been both facilitated and justified by the application of a particular field of knowledge or discourse that constructs local people as environmentally ignorant and dangerous objects. The effects of this exercise of power are those detailed in Chapter 4.

However, whilst this exercise of power has reduced the possibility of acting in ways that relate to the reserve, it has not significantly altered other activities that do not depend on the reserve. As shown above, these activities constitute probable adaptations to the protection of the reserve. On a theoretical level, I will show that these adaptations can be interpreted as indirect and non-confrontational forms of resistance. Through migrating, shifting their economic dependence and diversifying their livelihoods local people have not just dealt with being excluded from the reserve; they have attempted to circumvent, negotiate, and ultimately contest the effects produced by an unequal exercise of power.

In order to provide a framework in which the two main chapters can be understood, I will firstly discuss the literature that pertains to my research and, second, provide a general background of the area and its inhabitants. In my literature review (Chapter 2) I locate my work within three of the main fields of scholarly publication that relate to this study: conservation in sub-Saharan Africa; the anthropology of conservation; and displacement and forced resettlement. I draw out the main problems, themes, and principles underlying each field and show in each instance how they relate to my own research. Immediately after this literature review, in Chapter 3, I begin to 'paint' a picture of the area in which I conducted my research as well as the people who live there. I introduce the various ethnic groups that live on the Mambilla Plateau (the area of land on which the reserve is located) and provide a general overview of their settlement patterns

and ways of life; I provide an overview of the reserve itself, including its ecology as well as its history; and, lastly, I show what relationship local people have had with the reserve, both before and after its establishment as such.

2. Literature review

Overview

In this chapter I will identify and discuss the academic literature that relates to my topic. I have identified the following three fields that are of importance: (1) Conservation in sub-Saharan Africa; this consists of analyses and descriptions of conservation in this part of the world and includes studies of the environment as well as of the interaction between conservationists and local people; (2) The anthropology of conservation; as the title suggests, this is a field concerned with the cultural underpinnings of conservation initiatives in general and also with the impacts that projects of conservation conceived in a particular social context can have when implemented in foreign contexts; and, lastly (3) Displacement and involuntary relocation, which deals with an important and controversial dimension of conservation, namely, the forced relocation of people from their homes in the name of protecting an area for its perceived ecological value. My discussion will extract the main themes, problems, and premises that underpin each of these areas of scholarly production and show how they relate to my thesis.

Conservation in sub-Saharan Africa

Approaches to conserving nature and wildlife in sub-Saharan Africa have changed significantly since the establishment of the first protected natural areas at the end of the 19th century. The evolution of these approaches has been outlined by Dubois in his preface to the Forest Participation Series (1997) and Chatty and Colchester in *Conservation and Mobile Indigenous Peoples* (2002). The model proposed by Dubois overlaps considerably with that of Chatty and Colchester. Both begin by describing the colonial approach to conservation that prevailed from the late 19th century until the middle of the 20th. This model of conservation, which was first implemented at the Yellowstone National Park in North America, simply 'meant the preservation of flora and fauna and the exclusion of

people' (Chatty & Colchester, 2002:5). Local indigenous people, who were seen as backward and ignorant, had their land expropriated, were subject to significant socio-economic disruption and were often displaced or resettled against their will. Dubois (1997:1) summarises the approach as 'management for the forest and against the people,' whilst Ite (2001) calls it the 'fines-and-fences' model of conservation, as people were evicted from protected areas and then fined if they re-entered it. Chatty and Colchester add that this sort of policy underwent important changes when countries began to achieve independence from the 1960s onwards. The most important of these changes was the way in which indigenous people were seen by conservationists. Whilst still construed as backward and primitive, in post-colonial discourse indigenous people also came to be thought of as 'dangerous and uncivilized...as impediments not only to the state's conservation policy, but also to its general desire to modernise and develop' (Chatty & Colchester, 2002:5). However, although the discourse on the stereotypical African 'native' was modified, the procedure and effects of peremptorily removing humanity from nature in line with the establishment of protected areas remained constant.

The next main phase in the evolution of approaches to conservation in Africa was driven by the need to overcome the main flaw of the colonial and post-colonial models, namely, their general neglect of indigenous people. Emerging from the 1970s onwards, these approaches to conservation have been referred to variously as 'participatory forest management,' 'forest management for and by the people' (Dubois, 1997:1), 'conservation with a human face' (Bell, 1987), or 'community-based natural resource management' (Chatty & Colchester, 2002:9). Models of this sort revolve around the concept of 'participation' mainly 'as a means to ensure that local people's interests and needs are taken into account in the decisions concerning the fate of forests' (Dubois, 1997:2). Local people who use the forests are supposed to be participants in all stages of the conservation process, from the planning and demarcation of the protected area to its ongoing management and protection. However, participatory forest management is now recognised as possessing flaws of its own. 'Participation' has proven difficult to implement when it means going beyond mere consultation and achieving active involvement of forest users in decision making, which Dubois believes is due to a number of reasons (1997:1-2). Mosse (2005)

shares this view, and argues that representations of participation are rarely fully realised on the ground. Consequently, the participatory model is beginning to give way to another, more nuanced approach. This next model of conservation Dubois calls 'forest management with the people and other actors' (1997:2). This approach seeks to address the highly political character of conservation. Its core aim is to make the management of protected areas the outcome of negotiation between all stakeholders, especially weaker ones. Local people are thus not just 'participants' in conservation any longer, but become vital voices in the political process itself.

The evolution of approaches to conservation in sub-Saharan Africa, then, can be seen as a process where the needs, wants and interests of local people have gradually been incorporated into conservation discourses; indigenous people have gone from being a nuisance to be got rid of to the holders and users of rights, responsibilities and resources (Dubois, 1997). A last and important point to make before going on is that whilst representations of conservation have undergone change and moved toward a more socially sensitive position, in reality people continue to be evicted from protected areas for the benefit of the natural environment. As Chatty and Colchester state (2002:3): 'Now, more than a century later, most national parks in Latin America, Asia, Africa and the rest of the developing world have been, and to an extent continue to be, created on the model pioneered at Yellowstone.'

Of the approaches I have discussed, the post-colonial is the most relevant to my thesis. Local people living in the vicinity of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve have, historically and contemporaneously, been seen as dangerous and ignorant where the natural environment is concerned and this discursive construction, along with other technologies of control, has led to their exclusion from the protected area. I will discuss these things in more detail later in the thesis. It has only been in the last two years that a participatory approach has been introduced in the area and, therefore, it is too soon to say what the impacts of this latter type of conservation have been. On the other hand, the effects of the post-colonial model are clearly established. Those produced at Ngel Nyaki, which will be outlined in detail in a later chapter, are representative of most conservation projects in the pre-participatory era. Before going on to mention any other examples, however, I will

show why environmentalists feel that the natural environment in Africa should be protected.

Many environmentalists believe that there is an 'ecological crisis' in sub-Saharan Africa. Historically, proponents of this idea have sought a remedy for the 'crisis' in the establishment of protected areas that grant people varying rights of access, ranging from the exclusion entailed by the colonial and post-colonial models to the empowerment granted by approaches oriented around participation and stakeholder negotiation. An example of the environmentalist way of thinking is shown in an article written by Onweluzo and Onyemelukwe (1977:24). They argue both that 'the vast majority of Nigerian wildlife today is in great danger of total extinction' and also that 'the decimation, if not total elimination, of certain wildlife in most parts of the continent has followed especially from man's encroachment on wildlife habitat' (ibid.). This point of view is shared by Madu (1991:103), who claims that in Africa there has been 'mass destruction of wildlife and natural forest.' In a more recent piece of research on conservation policy in West Africa, James (1996), following this environmentalist discourse, states that Africa is confronted with 'a myriad of problems, but the most vivid and probably the worst is the destruction of the environment and the natural resources' (1996:13). Furthermore, not only does James perceive the 'crisis' facing the environment in West Africa to be more important than the disease and poverty currently ravaging the continent but that it must be addressed immediately lest some colossal disaster occur: 'All across Africa there is a race against time. The resources are dwindling and the pressure to continue to use the resources is increasing rapidly as the population of African countries increases geometrically' (1996:19). The solution he proposes is simple: the protection of more of the natural environment. He implores that 'it is important to have policy that allows the addition of more forest lands into protected areas...If it appears that enough areas are not set aside for the protection of forest resources, efforts should be put into establishing protected areas' (1996:37-38). Despite being conceived in the era of participatory forest management, this plan bears all the hallmarks of colonial and post-colonial conservation: it places emphasis on the forest and it nowhere mentions the people who may be happening to live in or around the forests to

be cordoned off and who will in all likelihood be at least partly depending on them to survive.

The arguments put forward by environmentalists have found favour among the parties who have protected the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve over its history. Like the authors I have cited, the organisations that protected the reserve until a couple of years ago believed the natural environment to be an entity under threat from humans who, if not supervised, would senselessly destroy it, a point of view coextensive with the post-colonial approach to conservation in Africa. The recent introduction of a participatory forest management project will hopefully see this attitude become more socially sensitive and incorporate the interests of local people.

The environmentalist argument is forceful and conveyed unequivocally. Is it irrefutable? Bell (1987) would claim not. Whilst acknowledging that the human population in Africa is increasing, he contends that the environment is capable of handling this rise and, therefore, that the continent is not facing any ecological crisis. It is worth quoting him at length:

'The human population in Africa is increasing rapidly, but the overall population density is still relatively low except in certain localised concentrations. Extensive surveys indicate the availability of considerable areas of useable land. Crop production per area is roughly constant, frequent prediction of soil exhaustion and catchment degradation are rarely fulfilled. Livestock numbers continue to increase, although there have been localised die-offs due to droughts. Undisturbed natural biotic communities remain in considerable quantities both inside and outside protected areas. The protected area system is large and generally representative of Africa's biotic communities. Africa's fauna has been relatively lightly affected by Pleistocene and recent extinctions, and spectacular, large mammal communities exist in many countries. A small number of large mammal species is seriously endangered mainly due to illegal hunting for high cash value products such as rhinoceros horns.

We appear, then, to be faced with a paradox. On the one hand, the human population is increasing very rapidly, but on the other hand the overall ecological situation seems generally satisfactory with considerable room for further human increase without either ecological collapse, elimination of major biotic communities, or extinction of many species' (Bell, 1987:88–89).

Although now twenty years old, this is clearly a far cry from the claims of the 'mass destruction' and 'near extinction' of numerous plant and animal species noted earlier. In place of the fragile and threatened African environment constructed by conservationists in their efforts to establish protected areas, Bell has substituted a stable and robust one capable of supporting a growing population well into the future. If Bell's comments are accurate, this means that the idea that humans and nature in Africa should remain separate, or at least have their relationship weakened, does not gain its force from ecological reality.

The article written by Bell is taken from a volume edited by Anderson and Grove entitled *Conservation in Africa: people, policies and practice* (1987). This book is the foundation stone of critical literature on conservation in Africa. In addition to exposing the sometimes spurious claims of environmentalists about the state of the environment, a more general theoretical aim of the book is to bring to light the socio-cultural origin of these claims. Anderson and Grove argue that the idea of an ecological crisis in Africa 'has as much to do with the development of European perceptions of Africa as it has to do with the undeniable reality of environmental degradation engendered directly and indirectly by the penetration of western economic forces, technology and medicine' (1987:5). These European perceptions are centred on 'the symbol of Africa as a yet unspoilt Eden,' a pristine and exotic paradise filled with wildlife (1987:4). Such images, they continue, find their appeal for conservationists, and 'Western' people in general, in the depiction of an escape from banality, 'a refuge from the technological society of Europe' (1987:5). This argument is like that advanced by Edward Said in his seminal *Orientalism* (1978). In it Said demonstrates how 'the Orient' was constructed by Europeans as the converse of European society, a process that eventually rendered an image of 'the East' that was mysterious, irrational, and sexualised, in short, all the things that Europeans at the time prided themselves on not being. Whilst the European construction of the African environment described by Anderson and Grove is not an effort to extol the virtues of European society (in fact, it appears quite the reverse!) it nonetheless provides insight into how these

societies construct images of far away places in order to appraise their own way of life. This is the only point I wish to make on the similarity.

The European image of a pristine and wild Africa referred to by Anderson and Grove has also received a thorough investigation by Adams and McShane (1992). In *The Myth of Wild Africa: Conservation Without Illusion* the pair argues that this image of 'Africa-as-Eden' is so deeply entrenched in the Western collective psyche and has persisted for such a long time that it warrants being called a 'myth.' This belief in and yearning for a pristine and unspoilt natural paradise leads to the perspective that it should not be endangered by human beings. For the people living in close proximity to, or even within a protected area, this obviously has serious implications: because seen as plunderers of natural riches, they are given little or no consideration when protected areas are demarcated. The mentality is to get people out and to keep them out so that nature is allowed to reassert itself. Humans and the natural environment do not belong together. This notion, Adams and McShane (1992:xviii) point out, 'does not hold in Africa, because man and animals have evolved together in the continent's diverse ecosystems.' Even so, it has been put into practice innumerable times with the same result: 'the simple exclusion of rural people from national parks and reserves in the interests of the protection of large animal species and preservation of habitats' (Anderson & Grove, 1987:7).

Anderson and Grove and Adams and McShane are clearly referring to the attitudes and beliefs that underpin the colonial and post-colonial approaches to conservation in sub-Saharan Africa. The image of 'Africa-as-Eden' is inextricably linked to conservation projects that generally fail to acknowledge their social impacts. Participatory forest management was still in its infancy at the time of their writings and thus preserving nature inviolate from humans was still the received way of thinking about conservation.

Motivated by the belief that natural areas harbouring wildlife or rare plant species are, on the one hand, of immeasurable ecological value and that, on the other, they are in a state of crisis precipitated by ignorant and unthinking humans who hold little regard for preserving their natural resources (both of which premises have been shown to be, at best, precarious), conservationists have set about establishing protected areas in Africa, whether national parks, forest reserves, or game sanctuaries, in order to foster the growth or

regrowth of nature. This approach to forest management has been accompanied by deleterious socio-economic effects, which I will now outline.

Egbe (1997) notes, in his study of conservation in Cameroon, that since the colonial period the organisations responsible for constructing policy on natural resource tenure and access have 'generally ignored the existence of the local population, [and] have done little to strengthen the ability of the peasants and their institutions to cope with the blunt nationalisation of the resources upon which their lives are inextricably linked' (1997:iii). This has resulted in a local population alienated from the resources it needs for its continued survival. Also in Cameroon, Drijver (1992:40), working in the Waza National Park, states that 'the establishment of the Park, rather than improving prospects of most of the population, have made them even worse. They have lost the right to pastures, fields and forests, and their present fields are exposed to the detrimental impact of weaver birds and elephants that are based in the Park but leave it regularly to look for food.' Similarly, Ite (2001:7), in his study of the community-conservation dynamic in the Cross River National Park, southeastern Nigeria, argues that the creation of the park resulted in the 'restriction of access to resources, the disruption of local cultures and economies by tourists, increased depredations on crops by wild animals, and the displacement of people from their traditional lands.' Hagberg (1992) shows that the Toumousséni Forest Reserve, Burkina Faso, has been 'protected with military force by the Forestry Service and people of the surrounding villages learned to completely avoid the forests.' In their book on modern conservation and historical land use in Guinea, Fairhead and Leach (1992) show how the Toma people have been stopped from entering, as well as living inside the Ziama Reserve, an area of land that for generations constituted their main source of livelihood as well as the basis of their cultural identity. They describe (page 24) local people's experience of this expropriation and the difficulty they faced having to daily behold the villages they were forced to desert: 'villagers seem to traverse not an a-social, naturally awesome domain, but one that is ex-social.' These abandoned village sites are to the local population 'constant reminders of social and political downfall.' Elsewhere in Africa, Thompson and Homewood (2002) show how at the Maasai Mara National Reserve, Kenya, many Maasai pastoralists have had their grazing lands reduced in size by government agencies espousing

the ideals of conservation. Also working with the Maasai, yet in Tanzania, Brockington (2001, 2002) shows how considerable numbers of people were evicted from a protected area without due ecological cause, without compensation and causing widespread impoverishment.

The disruptions mentioned above have also been manifested at the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve. There people excluded from the reserve have lost rights of access to resources, been displaced from their homes (a dimension of conservation that will be dealt with in a separate discussion), had their society and culture disrupted and suffered psychological stress. Unlike the experience of the people studied by Hagberg, however, I found no evidence of 'military force' being used to keep people out of the reserve. It seemed as though the possibility of being fined was enough to keep a poor population away from the area. Another important way my thesis departs from the mentioned examples is in its description of the relationship between the establishment of the 'park' and the effects produced upon people's lives. The examples described above seem to exhibit a fixed and final relationship: the park is established then the people negotiate the effects. Yet at Ngel Nyaki this is not the case. The establishment of the reserve did produce social effects: people were displaced from their homes inside the forest and had their access to resources reduced. However, these effects were not final. A few years after the reserve was established, the amount of government protection it received significantly declined. This allowed people to reclaim the forest for farming and general subsistence and thus to mitigate the effects produced by the initial establishment. Then after a couple of decades of inattention the government reasserted its command over the reserve. This then produced a second wave of effects similar to the first: people again had their access to the forests removed and some of the people displaced after the reserve's establishment were again forced to leave their homes and resettle elsewhere. Chapter 4 will deal with all of these effects in detail.

The Anthropology of Conservation

Through my discussion of the anthropology of conservation it will be seen that the post-colonial approach in Nigeria can be understood in a broader framework, as the

manifestation of a more general phenomenon. The image of a precious and fragile natural environment in need of protection from human interference is part of a wider evaluation made by environmentalists of the relationship between nature and culture, and the effects that implementing the approach has had on local people in Africa are just one example of the effects produced by models of conservation that inadequately address local social contexts.

A recent and noteworthy contribution to this field is Anderson and Berglund's *Ethnographies of Conservation: Environmentalism and the Distribution of Privilege* (2003). It presents a number of studies on the politics of conservation in different parts of the developing world and one of its core aims is to make visible 'not only the effects of environmentalism on marginal peoples in a context of economic polarisation, but the lifeworlds of environmentalists themselves' (2003:4). Regarding the lifeworlds of environmentalists, in their introduction the editors claim that conservation projects tend to be based on the assumption that nature and culture are not only separate entities, but mutually exclusive ones that must be kept apart at all costs. This is a crucial point, for it pertains to the case studies within the book, the literary field as a whole, and my thesis in particular. Milton (1996:33) states that environmentalism revolves around the image of an 'irreplaceable nature' that must be preserved inviolate from human intervention. This, she argues, is 'unambiguously part of culture,' insofar as 'it is part of the way in which people understand the world and their place within it. It belongs to the sphere that includes people's feelings, thoughts, interpretations, knowledge, ideology, values, and so on.' The image of 'Africa-as-Eden' advanced by Adams and McShane (1992) can thus be seen as a variation of this fundamental idea. These images and categories are embedded in practice, a point that Anderson and Berglund understand. Conservation, they claim (2003:7), is 'a set of practices which flow out of the everyday life of concrete, committed people, many of whom live in the metropole and not in the hinterlands which they strive to protect.' Milton also suggests that conservationists attach a positive moral value to nature, making the process of establishing protected areas 'the right thing to do.' The converse of this is that anything that threatens nature is wrong, such as local communities who depend on the prospective protected area. This converse idea is a patently ethnocentric judgment, for it

totally neglects how local people themselves conceive of the relationship between humans and the environment.

In the third chapter to Anderson and Berglund's volume, Nygren (2003:40) synthesises these two ideas – that nature is moral and that anything that threatens it is immoral – by showing how conservationists in Rio San Juan, Nicaragua, constructed people as 'reprehensible invaders of a mythic wilderness' and 'rootless perpetrators who mindlessly destroy nature's precious gifts.' Through the lens of environmentalism forest users therefore become criminals. These points connect with the work of Ferguson (1996:258). In his study of 'development' in Lesotho, he argues that local people are constituted through the employment and application of discourses as particular objects of knowledge. This is done in order to facilitate the planned interventions of a 'small, interlocked network of experts.' Indeed, describing local people as a threat to nature and nature as a moral sanctuary provides justification for conservationists to fence off areas that they deem to be of value. What are the consequences of putting this environmentalist discourse into practice?

The immediate consequence of the implementation of a model of conservation that inadequately addresses the local social context is that one finds 'a park surrounded by people who were excluded from the planning of the area, do not understand its purposes, derive little or no benefit from the money poured into its creation, and hence do not support its existence' (Adams & McShane, 1992:xv). The post-colonial approach, as an example of this general phenomenon, has had similar effects at Ngel Nyaki; all efforts to conserve the forest have excluded local people in their planning; many people do not understand why the reserve exists; and only a small number of people have benefited from its existence.

The associated effects that people endure as a result of being excluded from a protected area are diverse. In a recent study, Colchester (2004) enumerates 16 effects that can result from the process, the most important particulars being the denial of rights to land; denial of access to natural resources; forced resettlement; undermining of livelihoods; loss of property; no compensation; poverty; enforced illegality; and cultural identity weakened. Adams (2003:29) shows that local Caiçaras people in Brazil were, based on a

misrepresentation of them as primitive savages, prohibited from exploiting their formerly taken-for-granted resources. This impacted on their livelihoods severely, yet they received no compensation. Further, the establishment of the area perpetuated 'already existing social, political, ecological and economic inequality.' In Nicaragua, Nygren (2003:37) details similar effects. Conservationists that held 'the view that local extractors encroach on the forests with little environmental awareness' ejected people from the protected area and as a result they suffered economic as well as socio-cultural disruption. This series of effects has been reproduced all over the developing world.

The 'failure' of the conservation projects (in their capacity to combine development and biodiversity conservation) mentioned in this chapter, including the post-colonial approach at Ngel Nyaki, is due to a general neglect of the local social context. To environmentalists, nature and people are things to be kept apart, but for many of the contexts in which conservation projects are introduced nature and people are inextricably linked. Many indigenous people rely on the natural environment for land to grow food on, for medicine to help the sick, for building materials and so forth. Thus, the introduction of a model antithetical to this relationship is usually very disruptive, as I have shown. In order for conservation efforts to succeed – to simultaneously protect both the natural environment and people's livelihoods – they must be conceived, implemented and managed in ways that are sensitive to the local social context. This point has now become a precondition of modern conservation efforts.

I have given reference to a number of ethnographic studies that show the social effects of protected areas. The effects, however, are not the entire picture. Once effects are created, people will typically resist them by whatever means possible, a dimension of conservation that can be seen as positive and productive. This resistance is not addressed in most of the studies discussed here, yet some authors do make mention of it. Bryceson (2002) has written on 'multiplex livelihoods' in rural Africa. Whilst her article is not about conservation, her general ideas can be applied to it easily. Her basic argument is that as returns from agriculture decrease, rural Africans 'have experimented with new forms of livelihood, expanding their non-agricultural income sources, while retaining their base in subsistence farming' (2002:1). Thus, where agriculturalists are excluded from areas

protected for the wildlife and nature they possess then they too will resist these effects by turning to alternative, non-agricultural income sources. Agyemang (1990) shows how a local community in Ghana have shifted their economic energies onto the collection and sale of non-timber forest products such as leaves in response to their exclusion from a protected area. Lastly, Brockington (2001) shows how Maasai women in Tanzania have adapted to their eviction from a protected area by relying on alternative livelihood strategies.

My thesis aims to contribute to this area of research. Chapter 5 deals explicitly with the ways in which people have most likely resisted the effects of a post-colonial model of conservation. The resistances I discuss are responses mainly to the effects produced by the reassertion of control of the reserve by the government from the mid-1990s onwards. They include the sorts of livelihood diversification mentioned by Bryceson, but also include shifting economic dependence onto others, and migrating to places with better access to resources, all of which will be discussed in detail in the respective chapter.

So, in this piece of research I will try to show how a post-colonial model of conservation has affected the lives of people and also how those people have probably resisted those effects. Yet, what does this mean on a more general level? At Ngel Nyaki, a model of conservation has been employed without due consideration of the local social context and this has brought with it various consequences, but what are the theoretical issues that need to be acknowledged? In short, what higher level abstractions and interpretations can be made about the phenomena I am describing?

To introduce this argument, it is instructive to think about the case studies that have been mentioned up until this point. Even a desultory glance over them will show that, in the overwhelming majority of cases, governments and conservation organisations have used both knowledge about the environment, plus sanctioned force (forest guards, patrollers etc), to guide and influence the actions of local people vis-a-vis protected areas. Therefore, these types of interactions are in fact power relationships; individuals and groups are using whatever forces they can marshal in order to achieve their interests. This correlates with the work of James Ferguson (1996), who argues in *The Anti-Politics Machine* that agricultural and economic 'development' in Lesotho, despite being represented as

something designed to improve the living conditions of local people, has been 'a machine for reinforcing and expanding the exercise of bureaucratic state power, which incidentally takes 'poverty' as its point of entry – launching an intervention that may have no effect on the poverty but does in fact have other concrete effects' (Ferguson, 1996:255–256). The effects of which he speaks are the establishment of 'anonymous constellations of control' (1996:20), webs of power wherein the intended beneficiaries of development are instead eventually enmeshed in wider and oppressive matrixes of governance. Ferguson's argument is original and insightful, and in this thesis I would like to try to build upon it, if only slightly. This I will attempt to do through employing further of Foucault's ideas, mainly regarding his conception of power as well as how it operates in social networks.

What is power? How does it operate? What supports it? Is it simply a case of oppression or is it able to be resisted? These are questions that I will presently explore in relation to Foucault, in the process tracing connections back to my own work. Foucault (1978:93) defines power as 'a complex strategical situation in a particular society.' I believe that what he means by this is that power refers to the principle underlying a set of ongoing and negotiated social relations in which individuals or groups are attempting to guide or influence each others conduct, trying to get the better of each other. His definition means that power is something that is done or performed by people; it is not action itself but 'only exists in action' (Foucault, 1980:89). Foucauldian power, then, is some kind of meta–social dynamism that animates all those through which it passes. This goes against other definitions that see power as a static and alienable 'thing' that can be possessed, held on to, shared, seized, and so on. So, how is power exercised?

If power is the force that drives ongoing, strategical social interaction then its exercise entails jockeying for position in that situation, struggling to influence its flow and direction. But, Foucault emphasises again, that it is not on individual people, but on action that we need to focus when considering the exercise of power. The exercise of power, as a relational force, is 'a total structure of actions brought to bear on possible actions; it incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes easier or difficult; in the extreme it constrains or forbids absolutely; it is nevertheless always a way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of action. A set of actions upon other actions'

(Foucault, 1982:220). Power does not affect people but their possible actions; to be incited, induced, seduced, allowed or prevented, constrained or forbidden, is to be acted upon by power. In sum, power can be said to be exercised when an individual or group acts on the possible field of action of others, when they narrow their practical repertoire in ways designed to achieve a particular strategical end.

However, power relations are never simply 'imposed' in a top-down fashion by the powerful onto the powerless in a one-way interaction. Rather, there is always potential room for resistance, for struggle and contestation, whether realised or not. Indeed, resistance is central to the Foucauldian concept of power. 'Where there is power there is resistance,' he claims (1978:95). Mills reinforces this notion in saying that 'in order for there to be a relation where power is exercised, there has to be someone who resists' (2003:40). The sites through which power circulates, namely, social practices, are points of potential resistance. This gets right to the heart of the relational character of power relations. It means that people who have their actions structured by the power controlled and directed by others are both (i) not completely powerless, in the sense that the action that conforms could always theoretically be the action that resists and also, because of this, (ii) people who conform do so because they are persuaded of their powerlessness vis-à-vis those who would structure their behavioural field; they are duped to become active participants in their own subjugation. If power only ever said 'Thou shalt not,' Foucault maintains, compliance in unequal relations of power would not be as prevalent as it is. If people do not resist power relations, it is not because they cannot but because they think they cannot.

Although resistance is central to Foucault's notion of power, only rarely does one find in his work a detailed explanation of how it operates in any given social context, something noted by various observers (Mills, 2003; Smart, 2002; Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982). More specifically, it is difficult to find in Foucault's work, especially his earlier books, exactly what sorts of things constitute resistance. Building on Foucault's ideas, James Scott has made important advances in filling this analytic void. In *Weapons of the weak*, Scott (1985:290) defines resistance as 'any act(s) or member(s) of a subordinate class that is or are intended either to mitigate or deny claims (for example, rents, taxes, prestige) made

on that class by superordinate classes (for example, landlords, large farmers, the state) or to advance its own claims (for example, work, land, charity, respect) vis-a-vis those superordinate classes.' In so defining resistance, Scott elucidates both the nature of Foucauldian power relations – the actions of individuals or groups influencing the actions of others – as well as what sorts of things constitute resistance, namely, any actions, real or intended, that negotiate the effects of an exercise of power. In *Weapons of the weak* (1985), Scott also advocates a view of resistance as something that does not necessarily challenge the basic structure of a power relationship and something that is not necessarily confrontational in nature. Acts of resistance, that is, do not always erode the configuration of power in which they are embedded. The fact that resistance can act indirectly on the effects of power (as well as directly on its exercise) and also be non-confrontational is an important theoretical point that I will return to below.

Scott develops a more refined analysis of resistance to power in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990). In particular, Scott argues that in any power relationship there exist both 'public' and 'private' transcripts of power. The public transcript refers to the behaviour that the powerful and the powerless display when in each others company whilst the private transcript refers to the behaviour that the powerful or powerless display when amongst equals. Scott places emphasis on the latter in that it is in the private transcripts or discourses of the powerless that resistance is often found; the private transcript is usually 'a critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant' (1990:ii). This point also has an important bearing on my work that I will outline later.

Foucault argues that power can be productive. It doesn't simply constrain and inhibit behavioural fields (though it does undoubtedly perform that function), it also produces and creates: new behaviours, social categories, gestures, spaces, relationships etc. How is this so? Let us consider an example from Foucault's *History of Sexuality*. In the 19th century, there developed a repression of childhood sexuality, which saw the widespread publication of accounts designed to prevent and discourage young boys from masturbating. However, this technique did not just oppress boys and limit their sexual activities. It also set up a sexual nexus between parents and children that was based on watching, advising, punishing etc. the forbidden act, which in the final instance produced 'the very sexuality

which it was designed to eliminate' (Mills, 2003:37). In *Discipline and Punish* (1977), Foucault also shows how the functioning of the prison produced the category of the 'delinquent' as 'a specific type, a politically or economically less dangerous – and, on occasion, usable – form of illegality' (1977:277). I will pose two further questions in regard to Foucault's work before showing how all of the above theoretical material might relate to my own thesis. Power is exercised through structuring the possible field of action of others, but through what mechanisms does this occur? Finally, do power relations simply develop on their own, or are they supported and legitimated by something?

Firstly, the mechanisms through which power relations are installed and maintained are manifold. Modern power, Foucault ventures (1980:104), is 'constantly exercised by means of surveillance rather than in a discontinuous manner by means of a system of levies or obligations distributed over time. It presupposes a tightly knit grid of material coercions rather than the physical existence of a sovereign.' This is to say that these mechanisms of power – surveillance and material coercions – are able to maintain a grid of power relations even where not present. People will continue to have their field of possible action structured even where there is no person there to perform this function. Foucault developed this idea most clearly in *Discipline and Punish* (1977:170–177), where he argued that surveillance allows disciplinary–penal power to be:

'..both absolutely indiscreet, since it is everywhere and always alert, since by its very principle it leaves no zone or shade and constantly supervises the very individuals who are entrusted with the task of supervising; and absolutely 'discreet,' for it functions permanently and largely in silence' (page 177).

In this passage Foucault was referring to disciplinary power in general and Bentham's panopticon in particular. The panopticon was an ideal surveillance device designed on the principles outlined above. Prisoners would never know whether or not there was someone in the control tower watching over them so they were inclined to err on the side of caution and self-police themselves, thus effectively maintaining the power relations in which they were embedded as prisoners. It is the threat of being seen that compels individuals to

conform. Foucault argued that these types of networks of control permeate modern society and, indeed, I will show how they pertain to the operation of conservation in Nigeria.

To now address the second question I posed: what does power rest upon? Foucault argued throughout his scholarly career, yet most notably in *Discipline and Punish* (1977) and *The History of Sexuality Volume 1* (1978), that all forms of power relationships are intertwined with forms of knowledge and discourse. He states that:

'...in any society, there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterise and constitute the social body and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse' (1980:93).

Thus, in order for a set of power relations to function effectively, there must be a base of knowledge that lends legitimacy or 'truth' to those relations. Discourses are fields of accepted expression or understanding, frames through which any object is made intelligible. The functioning of the prison described in *Discipline and Punish* depended on the discourses of delinquency and criminality, whilst the interference with infantile sexuality depicted in *The History of Sexuality* was supported by various corrective medico-sexual discourses. So, how might all of these characteristics of power and its operation relate to a conservation initiative in eastern Nigeria?

The establishment of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve marked the beginning of an ongoing and dynamic relation of power between local people and conservationists. As indicated above, Foucault argues that power operates as a set of actions upon other actions; it is exercised when a group or individual acts in a way which structures the possible field of action of others. Thus, I will be arguing that from the establishment of the reserve onwards local people have been enmeshed in a power relation that has fundamentally modified their field of possible action. The effects of this exercise of power have tended toward to the extreme end of the spectrum outlined by Foucault (1982:220); conservation has not induced or seduced but has significantly forbidden and constrained local people's actions. This will be shown in detail in Chapter 4. Power relations, I noted however, are

not simply imposed by a powerful actor or actors onto a passive other; the other has to be capable of acting for there to be a power relation. There is always room for resistance. In my thesis I will show how this is the case, as local people resist, directly and indirectly, materially and discursively, the effects of the power relation. The main attributes of resistance as understood by Foucault and Scott will be developed throughout the thesis, especially in Chapter 5, where I deal with how local people have adapted to their exclusion from the reserve. However, conformity is equally pervasive at Ngel Nyaki and this is, following Foucault, due to the persuasion of the local people of their powerlessness and the legitimacy of the reserve. Foucault states that power produces as well as takes away. Whilst the negative effects of power at Ngel Nyaki are the most numerous and important, there still exist things that power has produced that were not there before. New spaces and places, new categories of people, new social relations, new behaviours, have all been generated out of the exercise of power installed by the establishment of the reserve. In regards to the mechanisms of power talked about earlier, it will be seen that surveillance, chiefly in the form of forest guards, and more recently in the form of strategically located 'control posts,' is the primary way in which the unequal relations of power that exist are maintained. Other material coercions will also be seen to be effective in this respect. Lastly, an aspect of Foucault's work that is of cardinal importance is that of the interrelationship between power and knowledge. New forms of power emerge alongside new forms of knowledge, each reinforcing each other. This link has been loosely sketched out earlier in this section, but I shall restate it. At Ngel Nyaki, the discourse of post-colonial environmentalism has been intimately connected with the justification and establishment of the reserve and thus the instalment of the unequal power relation that obtains between local people and the purveyors of that discourse. I do not possess a great amount of data on the discourse of the parties historically and contemporaneously responsible for protecting the reserve but I feel that what I do know will suffice in conveying my argument. In my thesis I will also make brief mention of local discourse, especially as it relates to the resistance of power. The following chapters will provide clear and detailed examples of these and all other aspects of Foucault's work I have discussed.

Up to this point I have not dealt with one of the main dimensions of conservation, namely, the displacement and forced resettlement of people inside protected areas. This is a crucial aspect of the community–conservation dynamic.

Displacement and Forced Resettlement

The establishment and expansion of protected areas is often predicated on the forced displacement and consequent impoverishment of local people (Cernea and Schmidt–Soltau, 2003). To West et al. (2006:257) this 'is one of the most controversial and contested aspects of protected areas.' Why? Because displacing people from their homes in order to protect an area for the biodiversity it is heralded to possess can have many serious consequences. The move itself is emotionally and physically painful, requiring a change in residence from a place where people may have lived for many generations to a foreign and sometimes unwelcoming new home environment. Further, displaced people may, due to a lack of access to land, jobs, etc., become impoverished, something that Cernea (1997:1569) claims to be 'the central risk in development–caused involuntary population settlement.' The volume of academic work on this phenomenon is quite considerable and is especially rich in studies conducted in Africa. Before looking at examples I will frame the discussion with some general remarks about displacement and resettlement.

Mohammed Salih (1999:37) states that displacement, is 'no longer treated as the mere relocation of population from one region, country or continent to another,' but that it is 'a social phenomenon, with far–reaching economic, political and environmental ramifications emanating from a complex web of issues.' That is, the consequences of displacement are total; they embrace all facets of life for those who are displaced: their livelihood prospects, their social and cultural life, their political status and the natural environment that has to withstand their arrival.

De Wet and Fox (2001) make a distinction between two ideal types of displacement: (1) Development–Induced Displacement and Resettlement (DIDR) and (2) Development–Induced Displacement (DID). The former refers to assisted resettlement 'which is planned at each stage by the authorities and implementing agencies,' whilst the latter refers to resettlement 'where the removal may or may not be planned. In some cases, people may be expelled from the area and left to their own devices' (De Wet & Fox, 2001:8). The latter type of displacement is the most commonly found. Only rarely does one find instances of settlement prudently organised by conservationists in order to effectively minimise the social and economic costs of displacement for those forced to move. Cernea and Schmidt–Soltau show this in their study of nine conservation projects in the Central African region (2003). Only two of the protected areas 'had any explicit resettlement initiatives dealing with resident and mobile people within their borders,' and 'none of the surveyed protected areas had adopted an official strategy to integrate local inhabitants into the park–management' (2003:43). Both types of displacement are found at Ngel Nyaki. As the empirical chapters of my thesis show, there have been two cases of forced resettlement at Ngel Nyaki. One case entailed the assisted removal and resettlement of a village community living inside the forest to a new site five or six kilometres away on the main road. This fits accurately into the category of DIDR. The other case, whereby a village community living inside the forest was twice evicted and then left to fend for itself, fits accurately into the latter category.

Both types of displacement carry certain risks, which can, without thoughtful planning, turn into real life effects. Cernea outlines eight interrelated risks that accompany displacement in his model of 'risk and reconstruction' for resettling displaced people (1997). They are the risks of: (a) landlessness, whereby displacees have the land on which their productive systems, commercial activities and livelihoods were based, expropriated; (b) joblessness, referring to the loss of wage employment incurred by displacees, particularly landless labourers who could lose access to work on land owned by others and the use of assets under common property regimes; (c) homelessness, a sort of liminal state wherein people remain homeless, sometimes long after their initial displacement; (d) marginalisation, which refers to what happens 'when families lose economic power and

slide on a 'downward mobility' path: middle-income farm households do not become landless, they become small landholders; small shopkeepers and craftsmen downsize and slip below poverty thresholds...Marginalisation materialises also in a drop in social status and in a psychological downward slide of resettlers' confidence in society and self, a sense of injustice, a premise of anomic behaviour' (Cernea, 1997:1574); (e) increased morbidity and mortality, a risk that relates to the decline in health standards and life expectancy as a direct correlate of displacement. Displacees' health declines as a result of psychological stress and trauma as well as 'relocation-related illnesses' (ibid.) such as malaria; (f) food insecurity and undernourishment, which refers to what can happen when the diversity of food crops drops as a result of displacement, sometimes leading to a simplified diet lacking essential nutrients; (g) loss of access to common property, another risk of displacement where displacees lose access to resources held in common by a community, such as water bodies, grazing areas, forested land, burial grounds etc.; and, lastly, (h) social disarticulation, a risk that relates to the disintegration of the relationships and groups that provide predictability and stability in people's lives. Cernea (1997:1575) states that displacement often 'tears apart the existing social fabric: it disperses and fragments communities, dismantles patterns of social organisation and interpersonal ties: kinship groups become scattered as well.' Whilst Cernea's model is very helpful in predicting and understanding the side-effects of displacement, it is limited in the sense of not considering how local people may directly or indirectly challenge or resist displacement. This ties back into the work of Foucault and the particular notion that power relations are predicated on the possibility of resistance. The point where power is manifested, namely, people's actions, can be the point where power meets with resistance. So, although it is rare, when people are physically displaced they may turn the move into an act of resistance. Instead of moving to the site where they have been advised to settle by authorities, displaced people may move to a place that is better suited to their own interests. Thus, in such an example, the displaced could be said to be resisting power by determining the structure of their own field of possible action (where they can live) and not relinquishing it to official forces. An example of this nature has taken place at Ngel Nyaki, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

Where resettlement is assisted and provisions are made for those people forced to move many of these risks are prevented from becoming real life effects (De Wet, 2006). The example of assisted resettlement that took place at Ngel Nyaki clearly shows this. Those who were resettled in an assisted manner were moved by authorities to a predetermined site where they were allocated alternative lands on which to farm and build, although far smaller than what they previously had access to. Thus the risks of landlessness and homelessness were never realised. However, whilst their resettlement was assisted, the respective displacees were still negatively affected by the move. They undoubtedly faced a downward economic slide and a degree of related marginalisation, they have lost access to the reserve, which was a large common resource, and probably had their social relationships, dietary patterns and health significantly disrupted.

The main risks of impoverishment outlined by Cernea (1997) have, in varying degrees, become reality in other instances of forced resettlement. Fabricius and De Wet (2002:144) show that conservation-driven displacement in pre-democratic South Africa 'generally left the relocated people worse off in every respect. Often compensated inadequately or not at all, they were further impoverished due to diminished access to natural resources in the areas to which they had been moved.' Implemented by a racist government wanting to impose centralised control on humans and natural resources, forced resettlement saw displacees lose access to land; the land to which they shifted could not sustain their livelihood practices; they developed negative attitudes toward conservation and its agents; and, lastly, they also saw their stock of traditional ecological knowledge eroded. A number of these effects were later alleviated by a program of land restitution which saw displacees given back the land from which they were evicted, a process that the authors show has had positive effects for both people and the natural environment. A similar example of DIDR in South Africa is that of 'betterment' planning. From the 1950s through until the 1980s the Nationalist Government implemented large-scale projects of agricultural rationalisation amongst the indigenous, rural black population, which they termed 'betterment' planning. Inter alia, the projects entailed the classification of all available land into residential, crop or range usage, as well as the consolidation of the scattered population into planned, grid-like village settlements. These

conservation and development projects quickly came to be seen in a very different light by both academics and the local populations themselves; instead of the elixir it was purported to be, through its workings 'betterment' planning revealed itself as a stratagem of the government employed to directly control and manipulate the black population, a goal indivisibly connected with apartheid (Hendricks, 1989). The failure of the stated aims of 'betterment' further exposed this political function.

McAllister has written two articles on the effects of 'betterment' on rural Xhosa people in the Transkei and Ciskei regions (1988, 1989). Conservative ('Red') Xhosa have had their settlements significantly reorganised, which has disrupted their neighbourhoods and their social identities. People have been forced to settle next to strangers, which has created suspicion, arguments and conflict. As well as these social impacts, McAllister also examines the economic effects of 'betterment.' The Xhosa lost control of and access to resources and were forced to build new homesteads without compensation. When first introduced, 'betterment' – as a manifestation of apartheid – was resisted by the Xhosa community. However, as time wore on and the effects of the programme became established, this resistance was broken down. This leads McAllister to conclude that 'betterment' planning 'seriously disrupts the social structure, economy and ability of Red Xhosa to maintain their particular response to apartheid...wherever 'betterment' has been imposed in the Ciskei and Transkei, the Red lifestyle and its associated values have disappeared' (1988:31). De Wet, in his study of 'betterment' in Chatha, a rural village in the Ciskei district, makes similar observations to McAllister. He shows that although the stance of the government was to economically develop the community and protect the environment, in the final instance the planning 'has led to the people of Chatha as well as of countless other similar settlements having been moved against their will, and having experienced social disruption. Although some communities have benefited, many have found themselves economically worse off and with parts of their environment more ecologically vulnerable than before' (De Wet, 1989:345). Whilst not made explicit by either author, it can be assumed that people's health has also been negatively impacted by the turbulence of being displaced in this fashion.

The instance of DIDR that took place at Ngel Nyaki is in some respects different to the resettlements that McAllister, Fabricius and De Wet describe. This concerns the logic and effects of the respective schemes. As advanced by Hendricks (1989), the South African resettlement schemes were essentially tools of apartheid masked under the labels of conservation and development. The logic of the projects was about centralised control, about manipulating and dominating the black rural population. Whilst not fully agreeing with Hendricks in this respect, De Wet nonetheless acknowledges that the effects of these schemes were in line with the logic described (see below). The assisted resettlement at Ngel Nyaki, on the other hand, was essentially a land clearance and was not facilitated around any notions of development. The logic of this removal at Ngel Nyaki was simply to bleach a protected area of humanity and to move those people elsewhere. From this difference in logic have also come some differences in effects. There are important similarities that need to be noted first. The South African examples and the assisted resettlement at Ngel Nyaki significantly disrupted the lives of the people subject to their workings and exposed them to the risks of displacement discussed by Cernea (1997). All of these people lost access to resources and endured socio-economic disruption in some shape or form. However, as shown, the risks of displacement were borne out much more clearly in South Africa than they were at Ngel Nyaki. Even though resettled by authorities, displacees in South Africa seldom received compensation or alternative land and they had the fabric of their communities torn apart. Further, the displaced in the South African examples became deeply embedded in a racist and exploitative political system. Without having been overseen by authorities the projects of resettlement in South Africa would fit comfortably into the category of DID. I would say that the reason why these formal schemes of resettlement disrupted people's lives so significantly was due in large part to how the black rural population was seen by the Nationalist government. At Ngel Nyaki these main risks of impoverishment were prevented from becoming reality by governmental planning.

The example of DID at Ngel Nyaki is different from both the instance of DIDR and the South African examples in a further and fundamental respect. Unlike these examples, the instance of DID was not subject to any formal oversight and was left to run its own course. Why some people living inside the forest were provided for whilst others

were not remains a mystery to me and is a question that could be answered through future research. Like most people subject to DID, these people were not resettled or moved to a predetermined site by authorities, they were not allocated any alternative land on which to farm or build and they did not receive any compensation. They were simply evicted from the forest and left to fend for themselves. Consequently, people have lost nearly all access to land, they have seen some of their traditional social institutions disappear, their kinship and residential structures have been badly disrupted and their health and diets have deteriorated. Like the examples of forced resettlement in South Africa, I contend that this is due to a pronounced lack of planning on the part of the authorities. This difference in exposure to the risks of displacement will become clearer throughout the thesis. As I will now show, these risks have been realised in other examples of DID elsewhere in Africa.

Hitchcock (1999) shows that the relocation of Bushmen in the Kalahari Desert, Botswana, has had significant consequences. In response to the increasing pressure placed on them from environmentalists, the government began to remove Bushmen from their marginal homelands from the 1970s onwards, a top-down process that has continued up to the present day. As Hitchcock shows, development-induced displacement has affected the communities in important ways: 'The resettlement process has had significant effects on [people's] well-being, it reduces their access to natural resources with which they are familiar, restricts the amount of land they have to reside in and use, and puts them in positions where they are impinging on other groups, a process which has sometimes led to social conflicts' (1999: page number unknown). In addition, the groups forced to move have not received compensation and have experienced significant social disruption. In Zimbabwe, Ranger (1989:247) shows that forced relocation and resettlement is intimately linked with socio-economic disruption and goes so far as to call the process of relocating segments of the population inhabiting the Matobo National Park 'a nightmare both for the resettled African and for the Native Department.' Remaining in Africa, Ringo (1999) describes the removal of Maasai from their ancestral grazing lands in Tanzania through government-backed evictions. This is an ongoing process that has operated on the margins of legality; the people have been 'neither compensated nor offered alternative residential or grazing lands, as the law required' (Ringo, 1999: page number unknown). The

displacement also resulted in 'unprecedented loss and suffering to families and property' (Ringo, 1999: page number unknown).

Therefore, one important and controversial implication of conservation projects is that they often force the people living inside protected areas to leave and live somewhere else. Whether organised by authorities or not, it is something invariably connected with impoverishment. Displacees are seldom provided for and in the rare cases where alternative livelihood strategies are put in place for those forced to move they are usually inadequate. Nonetheless, there is a broad correlation between planning and 'successful' resettlement: overall, people subject to DIDR fare better than those of DID. The empirical chapters of my thesis will flesh out these ideas in greater detail. Before discussing that data, however, I will provide background information on the area in which I conducted my fieldwork.

3. The social, ecological and historical aspects of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve

Overview

Having now located my thesis in the relevant academic literature and sketched out a theoretical framework through which my data can be better understood, I will now begin to introduce some concrete information about the reserve and the people who live around it. The current chapter provides background information on the social, ecological and historical aspects of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve. I begin by describing the people that live in area, their general way of life, their modes of subsistence, the places where they live, and the relevance each group has to this study. From there I discuss the anthropological literature on the various ethnic groups that inhabit the Mambila Plateau, in the process locating my own work within it. Following this I provide a brief outline of the geography of the plateau as well as the climate that obtains there. Then I move onto to look at the ecology of the reserve and the history of efforts to protect it. I describe all of the various parties who have protected the reserve over its history and also what their interests have been in this protection. To conclude the chapter I discuss the history of the relationship between local people and the reserve, showing what relationship they have had with the forests as well as how this relationship has fluctuated as a result of changes in the protection of the reserve.

A broad picture of social reality

The people that live in and around the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve belong to a variety of ethnic groups, including the Ndola, Fulani, Mambilla, Kaka, Chamba, Tigon, Wurkun and probably others still. Each group has its own language that is used when speaking to members of the same group. The lingua franca is the Fulani language of Fulfulde, although Hausa is also commonly used. The majority of the people that live in the immediate

vicinity of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve do so in permanent settlements. The only people that live in temporary accommodation are a small subsection of the Fulani population. Villagers are by and large agriculturalists that practice forms of both swidden–agriculture and crop rotation, and whose farming technology consists of the traditional African hoe, a steel machete and sometimes an axe, there being no machinery to speak of. The only exception to the villager–agriculturalist equation is the small number of Fulani who live in villages and who rear cattle. The staple crops cultivated by farmers in all villages are maize and guinea-corn. In addition to these basic crops, farmers in the area also cultivate cassava, coco-yam, groundnut, pepper and coffee. The farming calendar has changed little since Rehfish's description of the Mambilla farming system (1972), and the general pattern that all farmers practice is as follows:

November: Fields are prepared for cultivation, involving either the clearing of regrown grass from the previous season or the felling of bush to create new fields.

December: The clearing of grass and bush continues.

January: Field preparation ceases, and all debris is left to dry. The least amount of labour is expended in this month and it is generally regarded as a time of relaxation.

February: The debris produced by field preparation is burnt, with the resultant ash acting as a natural fertilizer for the forthcoming crops.

March: The rains begin to fall and the planting of crops commences.

April: Planting continues, sometimes accompanied by the first periods of weeding

May: Weeding proper commences as the crops planted in the previous months now begin to germinate; mbangas, or storage houses, are constructed and repaired in anticipation of the maize harvest.

June: Weeding continues.

July: Most crops begin to be harvested.

August: Harvesting.

September: Harvesting.

October: Harvesting; some people even at this early stage will commence field preparation for the next agricultural year.

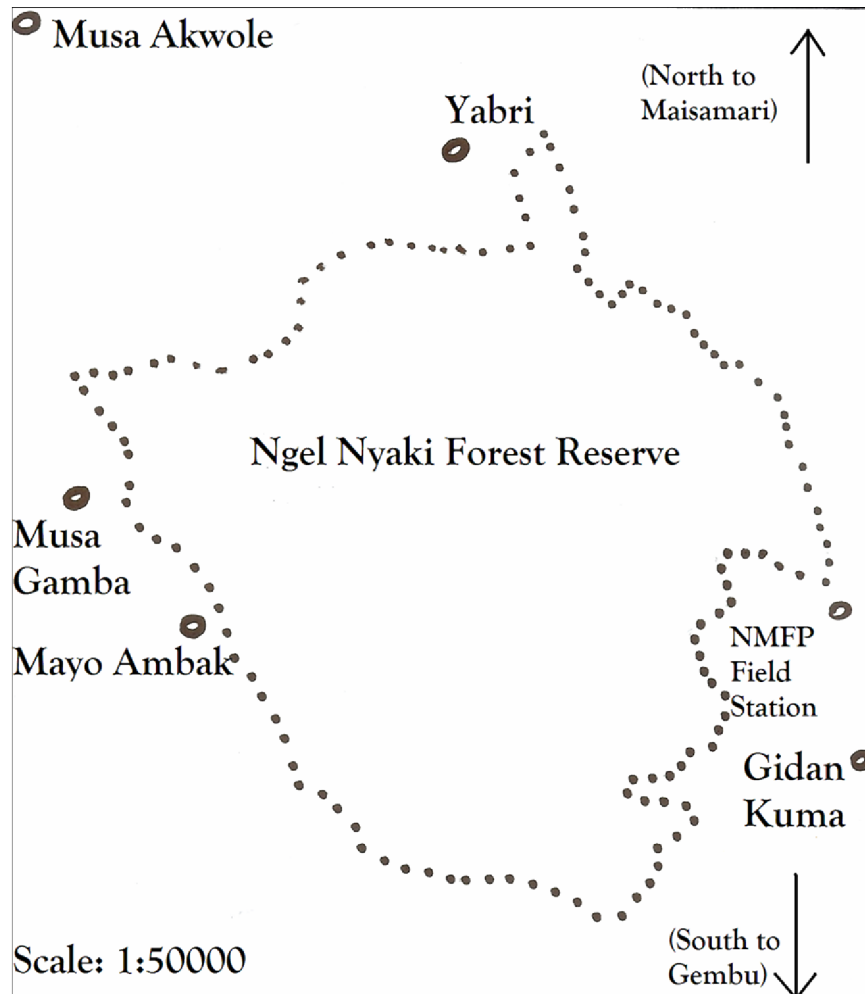
Each village has the following political offices, listed in descending order of status: a jauro, or chief; a waikili, or second chief, who is the jauro's primary advisor; and, lastly, five to ten maingwas, or elders, who provide further advice and moral guidance to the jauro.

There are four main villages that surround the reserve, all of which lie no farther than two to three kilometres from the reserve itself, with some merely a couple of hundred metres from the boundary (see map on page 59). The village of Gidan Kuma sits astride the only sealed road in the region, which runs southeast–northwest over the Mambilla Plateau. According to an unpublished report made by the Nigerian Conservation Foundation (NCF), the village has a population of approximately 15,000 people. This population is ethnically diverse; members of the Kaka, Mambilla, Ndola, Fulani and Chamba ethnic groups all live here. With the exception of a small number of Fulani, most residents of Gidan Kuma are agricultural farmers, with a small number engaged in other occupations such as butchery, petty trading, hospitality, teaching etc.

Living conditions in Gidan Kuma are simple. There is no running water and electricity comes from highly erratic petrol and diesel powered generators that only a few people can afford. People live in mud-brick houses, some of which have roofs made from corrugated iron whilst many still rely on the thatching grass provided by nature. In contrast to many parts of sub-Saharan Africa there are no cellular phones, and perhaps only 20 or 30 people own motorised transport. In terms of the religions that are practiced in Gidan Kuma, Christianity and Islam are the most popular, and there are numerous churches and mosques scattered throughout the village. I was informed that pockets of traditional religion still persisted in places.

The second village is that of Yabri. As this village lies ten kilometres down a very rough dirt track that turns off the main road at the trading town of Maisamari, access to it can be obtained only by foot or an adequate four–wheel drive vehicle or motorbike. If travelling to Yabri from Gidan Kuma the only option is by foot, as there is only a long, winding single–track that eventually joins the wider dirt track approximately two to three kilometres from the village. The population of Yabri is much smaller than Gidan Kuma; the head of the village estimates that it is around 250. The population is also less ethnically

diverse, comprising two ethnic groups, the Mambilla and Tigon. Owing to its small size and isolation, the living conditions here are even more basic than at Gidan Kuma. There are perhaps only a couple of houses in the village that do not have thatched grass roofs, and not once in my travels through the village did I see any evidence of electricity or battery-powered electronics. It appeared that no-one owned any motorised transport. Most people in Yabri are cultivators, and the majority were practicing Muslims, there being little evidence of Christianity.



Moving further north toward the 'bottom' of the reserve, one then encounters the village of Musa Akwole. Musa Akwole lies at the northern tip of the reserve and is accessed either via the same dirt road as Yabri or, if coming from the western side of the reserve, from a single-track of the same nature that runs from Gidan Kuma down toward Yabri. The population of the village, which the unpublished NCF report puts at approximately 2,000 people, is dominated mainly by the Ndola ethnic group, although there are a number of Fulani, Kaka and Mambilla living there, as well as one Wurkun family. The population of Musa Akwole are mainly farmers. Like the farming groups in Gidan Kuma, small numbers also participate in other occupations such as butchery, trading, etc. The living conditions that obtain here present an intermediate stage between Gidan Kuma and Yabri; there are a handful of people, mainly Fulani, who own motorised transport; perhaps a quarter or a fifth of all houses have corrugated iron roofs; and young men can often be seen carrying around portable radios and cassette players listening to a quite astonishing array of broadcasts and recordings, ranging from the BBC World Service, to modern American popular music, to dance music from neighbouring Cameroon. The village has roughly the same religious composition as Gidan Kuma: there are significant numbers of both Muslims and Christians and a smaller amount of people practicing traditional religions. The last village that I will provide an account of is that of Gidan Elom, in particular, two of its five constituent hamlets.

The village of Gidan Elom is situated on the western side of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve and is by far the most isolated and poorest of all the settlements that lie around the reserve's perimeter. Access to the settlement is gained from the western side only by means of a vague track cut through often dense bush, and from the north and Musa Akwole by means of a similarly vague pathway. The population of Gidan Elom would not exceed 150 people and is ethnically homogenous; all people belong to the Ndola ethnic group. Its people are all farmers who practice a small amount of additional trading. The village consists of five hamlets – Mayo Ambak, Musa Gamba, Andaka, Berabera and Ako Fonja – separated from each other by distances of no more than one to two kilometres.¹

¹ Whilst this distance would seem to suggest that the hamlets would be better conceptualised as individual villages it is not how the people themselves understand it.

The living conditions here are harsh; the people are very poor, there are no iron-roofed houses, there is no electricity in any of the hamlets, no running water and in one of the hamlets there are no trees to provide respite from the powerful sun. The majority of the population are Christian and a handful of people practice traditional religion.

There are a small number of people that live in and around the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve that do not live permanently in any one place. I am referring specifically to a small subsection of the Fulani population, namely, the cattle herders known locally and in the anthropological literature as the M'bororo (Frantz, 1981). The M'bororo are engaged in basically the same livelihood strategies as their permanently settled fellow citizens, that is, the supervision of widely roaming herds of cattle, yet are marked out as different due to their impermanent residence. These usually young, male shepherds live in temporary one or two-man huts known to the Fulani as bukas, and traverse the landscape as they keep watch of the cattle usually owned by those Fulani living in the larger trading towns such as Maisamari or Nguroje. I presume that once of a mature age these men become more sedentary and the next generation of young men fill their place.

Unfortunately, however, I was effectively prohibited from studying any of the Fulani people, transient or permanently settled. As I was told by my main informant, most Fulani were deeply suspicious of my motives; many of them misconstrued me as a government official who wanted to arrest them and take them to court. This made them particularly difficult to approach, and even when I did manage to put myself in their immediate physical presence they either gave me a very frosty reception or simply ran away. This was a disappointment for me, as I would have liked to include them in the study for the important reason that they are the only people continuing to enter the reserve and exploit its resources on a day-to-day basis. Ironically, the reason why I found them analytically exciting was the same reason that underlies why the Fulani were evasive; they understood that by entering the reserve with their herds they were breaking the law and thus they sought to avoid anyone who could punish them for it.

In light of these comments it will come as no surprise that the Fulani play only a background role in my thesis hereafter, as I was unable to obtain any primary data concerning their interactions with the people involved in protecting the Ngel Nyaki Forest

Reserve or with the land on which they base their livelihood strategies. The result of this is that the thesis will focus on the ethnic groups that live in permanent villages and practice agriculture.

The social anthropology of the Mambilla Plateau

The social anthropology of the Mambilla Plateau, that is, the ethnographic accounts of the various ethnic groups that live in this locale, is a body of scholarly work that, whilst slowly growing, is quite small. This is due mainly to the fact that very few social anthropologists have worked on the Plateau. Further, not only is the amount of published research scant but the issues and groups studied by their authors are disparate, meaning that there is no real degree of consistency or overlap between them. Notwithstanding these two main problems, I will proceed to discuss the literature and to locate my own research within it.

Some of the earliest accounts of social life on the Mambilla Plateau were produced in the 1930s by C.K. Meek, an official in the British colonial administration. Meek's main report on the area, published in 1931, was entitled *Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria*, and was an amateur description of the customs and habits of the farming groups then inhabiting the Plateau, in particular, the Mambilla. This was followed by another short article on the Mambilla by Schneider (1955), published in the long-standing *Nigerian Field* magazine. However, the first genuinely anthropological studies of social life on the plateau did not begin to appear in print until the 1960s, starting with a couple of articles about Mambilla kinship and descent written by Farnham Rehfish (1960, 1966). Then, in 1972, he published the first comprehensive ethnographic account of the Mambilla, *The Social Structure of a Mambilla Village*, essentially a reworking of his M.A. thesis submitted in 1955. The ethnography is based on information collected during a one year stint of fieldwork in

the village of Warwar² and like the articles that preceded it the book consists of a dense, fine-grained description of the kinship and descent groups that organise social life amongst the Mambilla. Also in that year, Charles Frantz published one of his first articles on the Fulani. This article was the first of many that Frantz wrote on the pastoral, nomadic Fulani dwelling in the montane grasslands of the Mambilla Plateau, an environment he claims is among the most peculiar that the geographically diffuse Fulani inhabit.³ As Frantz's work is based solely on this group it possesses limited relevance to my own thesis, which is concerned with the ethnic groups that mainly practice cultivation and live in permanent villages. However, some of his work is still applicable, and here I am referring to the information he provides on the historical relationship of domination by the Fulani over their sedentary neighbours on the Mambilla Plateau (1981). In the second empirical chapter of my thesis I deal with the strategies employed by cultivator groups in their attempt to cope with the impacts produced upon their lives by the establishment and maintenance of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve. One of these coping mechanisms was to enter into relations of economic dependence with the neighbouring Fulani. Frantz's work allows me to place this within a broader historical context, and not treat it as a practice that was created ad hoc.

The early 1980s saw, for the first time since Rehfish, the production of more ethnographic accounts of social life amongst the sedentary groups living on the plateau. These were again mainly focussed on the Mambilla. Blench (1984) provides a disappointingly superficial account of interactions between Fulani pastoralists and their agricultural neighbours, the Mambilla and Samba. Whilst emphasising the history of Fulani domination and oppression and how this has contributed to the current status of the groups, there is no significant discussion of how this power-dynamic structures the practical economic interactions that take place between them on a daily basis. He simply states that the 'Fulani and the agriculturalists among whom they move have an interdependent relationship, based on the exchange of dairy products for grain, and a

² Warwar is a settlement which I believe lies somewhere around 10–20 kilometres south of Gembu, in the Sardauna Local Government Area (then Sardauna Province).

³ Gausset (2006) has also made similar observations to this in his article on agro-pastoral conflict in the Cameroon.

market for the animals that must be periodically sold to provide cash for domestic purposes, such as cloth or marriage payments' (Blench, 1984:5). Unfortunately, the author does not describe these practices in detail or explain them in terms of the historical relationship of oppression. I will try to fill this gap in the ethnography through discussing the adaptations made by the agriculturalist groups in the area to the impacts of conservation on their lives.

The other anthropologist to commence, in the 1980s, the publication of anthropological research on the people living on the plateau was David Zeitlyn. In the nearly two decades since his first published article on the Mambilla people of Somie, a village located on the Cameroon side of the Mambilla Plateau, Zeitlyn has amassed probably the most extensive publication record of any anthropologist to work in the area. Unfortunately, however, the bulk of Zeitlyn's work is concerned with the traditional religion practiced in Somie and is therefore only of minor import from the perspective of my thesis. I am aware that in the last few years he has given some of his energies to the study of Mambilla language, yet this too is only of minor relevance to my thesis, which is concerned with matters of the natural environment and how various people who have a stake in that environment have interacted with each other. In addition to these specific discrepancies between my work and the other anthropologists who work and have worked on the plateau, a more general one exists, namely, that nearly all of the ethnographic accounts of farming peoples have as their object of study the Mambilla ethnic group. As I clarify later, whilst I did engage with a small number of Mambilla men and women during my fieldwork, the majority of people included in this thesis belong to the Ndola ethnic group. To the best of my knowledge, the Ndola have not been the subject of any serious anthropological studies, and thus my thesis, whilst only peripherally connected to matters of cultural and social distinctiveness, will hopefully be able to shed some light on the lives of people that belong to this ethnic group. Now that the people that inhabit the area have been introduced, as well as the attention they have received from ethnographers, I can bring into the picture the reserve itself.

Geography and Climate

The Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve is situated near the western escarpment of the Mambilla Plateau, which itself lies in the southeastern corner of Taraba State, eastern Nigeria. The plateau is approximately 3100km² in area and its surface consists mainly of open, rolling grasslands, with this grassland being interspersed with fragments of forest, of which the forest within the boundaries of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve is one. Although known and referred to in all areas of discourse as a 'plateau,' it is quite apparent after having seen it that the Mambilla Plateau is far from the stereotypical image of a flat area of raised land. Other authors (Chapman and Chapman, 2001; Hurault, 1998; Rehfisch, 1972) have made this same observation. In many places the topography is uneven and angular, whether this is in the form of sharply rising hills or deep, trench-like valleys that have been carved out of the landscape. The plateau is drained by numerous water courses, ranging from small streams to powerful rivers, all of which discharge into the Benue River, the second largest river in the country after the Niger. The climate on the Mambilla Plateau is relatively moderate when compared with the rest of Nigeria. The Reverend G. Schneider captured it well when he described the climate as 'delightful and exhilarating' (Schneider, 1955:113). The mean maximum daily temperature is around or just above 30°C, dropping to around 15°C at night, but it can sometimes get much colder than this. These figures vary with the seasonal changes on the Plateau. The dry season, an uninterrupted period of hot, dry weather, usually lasts for three months, starting in November and continuing until February. The wet season has various gradations. From the beginning of March until the end of May the first rains begin to fall, but these are light and intermittent, especially in the earlier months of March and April, and are not thought of locally as 'the rains' but as a sign that they are on their way. From the beginning of June the rainy season proper commences, and persists until the middle of November, when the dry season starts the seasonal cycle over again. It is in this period that the bulk of the annual 1780mm of rainfall is recorded (Chapman and Chapman, 2001).

However, rainfall is everywhere unpredictable, and this pattern occasionally errs; during my stay in the villages that surround the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve, which lasted from early February to early May, the rains were late in arriving, much to the concern of all

people living in the area. Jokes were bandied around that 'this year there is going to be two dry seasons,' but I knew that people were seriously alarmed. By the middle of April, by which time there had been no substantial rainfall, prayer meetings were beginning to be held that assembled people from various faiths in a collective effort to mystically combat the forces of nature. Much to the relief of all people, by the opening of May the early rains had come, and were starting to strengthen at a remarkable rate.

The Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve: ecology and history

The Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve is a state-governed area of protected land comprised mainly of two montane/sub-montane forest stands: Kurmin Ngel Nyaki and Kurmin Danko.⁴ One of three main forested areas on the Mambilla Plateau, the reserve covers an area of 46km². Called 'the most diverse forest on the Mambilla Plateau,' by Chapman and Chapman (2001:19), the forests of Ngel Nyaki and Danko are rich in biodiversity; they house a wide range of globally rare plant and animal species, at least 24 IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources) endangered tree species, African wild dogs, the Nigerian chimpanzee, buffalo, klipspringer, and Tantalus, Putty-nosed and Mona monkeys. Furthermore, the whole area is an RSPB (Royal Society for the Protection of Birds) Important Bird Area. The reserve also possesses a wide range of natural resources used by people, such as fruits, building materials, natural medicines and honey, as well as the land itself. The fact that the name Ngel Nyaki actually means 'forest of honey' reveals this close nexus between the natural environment and people's livelihoods. The reserve is drained by numerous streams as well as one main river, known locally as the River Ngishi, which eventually discharges into the River Kam, itself a direct tributary of the Benue.

The first formal written proposal to protect the forests of Ngel Nyaki and Danko was submitted on the 11th of March, 1961, and was signed by the then Government Forest Guard of the Mambilla District, M. Bukar Gaji (later Alhaji) and approved by the District Head and the District Officer. Although less than 100 words in length, the proposal, under

⁴ The word 'Kurmin' is used locally to denote forest, especially forest that surrounds villages. I am unsure about which language it comes from, however.

the subheading of 'Situation and Boundaries,' enumerates a large array of animals that at that time inhabited the forests:

Crossing the forest can be frightfully dangerous, because of the big game, such as Lion, Tiger, Bush-Cow, Hunting Leopard, Gorilla, Baboon, White Collared Mangabey, Colobus [monkey], Chimpanzee, also, you can see such as Red Pig, Bay Duiker, Ogilvy's Duiker, Yellow backed Duiker, Red Flanked Duiker. There is one big snake called by the Villagers (The owners of the forest) 'Maijedi'; the snake is with a horn, I think a Python? (Gaji, 1961)

Eight years later, in April 1969, the reserve came into existence, gazetted as the Gashaka Mambilla Native Authority Kurmin Ngel Nyaki/Kurmin Danko Forest Reserve. A new space born out of and reinforcing exercise of power was born. The key motivation for gazetted the area was to protect the biodiversity within the forests of Ngel Nyaki and Danko that had been outlined in the proposal of 1961 (Hazel Chapman pers. comm.). In 1973, a visit was made to the forest reserve by one Dr I. Colquhoun, the senior wildlife officer in the district at the time, who, after making some detailed observations, was so impressed with the rich biodiversity within the forest that he recommended to the relevant authorities that the status of the reserve be upgraded (Chapman and Chapman, 2001). A report made in the same year by the Forestry Division of the Ministry of Natural Resources precisely mirrors this sentiment, and thus one can presume that Colquhoun was involved in its writing. The report states that 'Ngel Nyaki must have great significance, both phytogeographical and biological. One would like to see it constituted a strict nature reserve.' As a result of Colquhoun's visit and the report, in 1975 the forest reserve was regazetted as the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve. This reclassification theoretically (but not necessarily in practice, as I will show below) afforded the area a higher degree of protection from local people than it had previously. At the time of writing, the area still bears the same name and status.

In addition to viewing the biodiversity within the forests of Ngel Nyaki and Danko as irreplaceable and unique, the authorities who brought the reserve into being also had certain views of local people. I am alluding to the discourse of post-colonial conservation

mentioned in my review of the literature. It will be remembered that within this particular field of knowledge indigenous people are seen as dangerous and ignorant vis-à-vis their natural environment and that they must be completely kept out of protected areas lest they senselessly destroy them. It is possible to discern these conceptions of local people in a report made shortly after the reserve's demarcation. Regarding Ngel Nyaki, the anonymous author writes that 'even though it is a Forest Reserve, farmers have cast covetous eyes on it and any relaxation of control could be disastrous' (Ministry of Natural Resources, 1973:4). These discourses have persisted up until the present day. Chapman and Chapman state (2001:8) that in the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve 'many taxa are specifically targeted by humans for destruction' and that other plant and animal species are also 'targeted by humans,' statements that paint the local people as intentional exterminators of plants and animals, which they are not. Further, a government official that I interviewed in Gembu stated that:

'Farmers...they are ignorant. They do not understand the importance of the reserve.'

Therefore, local people have, historically and contemporaneously, been construed as both dangerous and ignorant concerning their use and appreciation of the reserve, evaluations that can be located within the discourse of post-colonial conservation and which justify the establishment of protected areas.

Until quite recently, the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve has been the administrative concern of state and local government alone (but predominantly the former), who have employed and continue to employ forest guards to enforce the legal sanctions preventing local communities from entering the reserve. However, the reserve has not been protected at all times over its history. According to Chapman's knowledge, during the 1970s – the period immediately after it had been gazetted – the reserve was frequently patrolled. Judging by interviews I conducted with some of the older people in the area, it appears that one individual was particularly important during this time: M. Bukar Gaji, the Government Forest Guard of the Mambilla District. Whenever I asked who it was that first told them that they could no longer enter the forests, the name invariably stated was

Bukar's. It seems that he played an instrumental role in both patrolling the area and attempting to enforce the community's exclusion, at least until the mid-1970s. In the 1980s active protection of the forest lapsed. However, the 1990s, especially around the year 1995, saw a return of official presence. A number of the villagers I spoke with remember this as the year that a government official came and took a number of people to court for entering the reserve. Today the reserve is still under the jurisdiction of the state, which continues (albeit highly irregularly) to employ forest guards. However, how the reserve is protected has changed significantly; today there are two other parties – a Nigerian non-governmental organisation (NGO) and a foreign research project – operating under contractual agreement with the state government to protect the reserve.

The contemporary picture

During a visit to the montane forests of Taraba State in May 2003, Dr Hazel Chapman, the daughter of a former forest officer in the area during the 1970s, initiated the Nigerian Montane Forest Project (NMFP) in the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve. The project is a small scale scientific enterprise oriented toward achieving three interrelated goals. The project's first aim is to conduct biological research on the forests. The second aim is that of education; education of the students conducting biological research and also the education of local communities who live in the area about the importance of the reserve to the continuity of their livelihoods. Lastly, and closely interwoven with the two previous aims is that of conservation, i.e., to protect the reserve from the people who live in and around it (NMFP, n.d.). Thus, the main interest the NMFP has in the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve is preserving its biodiversity for biological research. The NMFP has as its base a field station that is located roughly an hour's walk from the village of Gidan Kuma. The project currently employs 18 staff, all of whom are men that live in the villages that lie close to the perimeter of the reserve. This can definitely be seen as one of the 'productive' effects of the exercise of power I am dealing with in this thesis. One is employed as a full-time project manager who oversees the operation in Chapman's absence; one is employed as a part-time cook, providing meals for any guests that may happen to be staying at the field station; two

are employed as part-time watchmen, who work in shifts around the clock, ensuring that the field station is exempt from harm; six are employed as full-time field assistants, all of whom are trained to collect biological data from the forest on Chapman's behalf as well as to assist any visiting scientists in their research; and, lastly, eight are employed as part-time patrollers, all of which make frequent journeys into and around the reserve in an attempt to keep out hunters, farmers, herders and any other persons who may want to enter the forbidden space. This last occupational category is of special interest to me because it is local men, and not others from outside the area, who are employed as patrollers. The implication of this is that whereas in the past the mechanisms of power installed to maintain the unequal power relation were largely exogenous, with the establishment of the NMFP today they have been localised; the agents of surveillance and control, the people who direct the flow of power onto the actions of local people, are local people themselves. These patrollers are thus co-opted by the powerful and charged with the responsibility of enforcing the exclusion of their neighbours, their own communities, and even their own kin. What sort of dynamic must exist between the patrollers, as nodes of dominant power relations, and the communities of which they are a part, I can only speculate, yet I wish that I had focussed more on this when in the area. Are they spurned by their communities for supposedly siding with the powerful? Or, do the patrollers have both a public and private transcript of power, sometimes keeping their neighbours out and sometimes turning a blind eye to illegality? This is very interesting and something I hope to look more into in the future.

In terms of development, the NMFP was previously engaged in supporting one economic activity in the village of Gidan Kuma, namely, basket making, whereby the baskets made by women in the village would be transported to Lagos (where they would fetch a much higher price than if marketed locally) and sold by the NMFP on the women's behalf, with all profits accruing from the sales going directly back to the community. This activity was supported for only a year or so, with the result being that today the NMFP is not engaged in any developmental activity. I will now consider the other main group involved in the conservation of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve, the Nigerian Conservation Foundation (NCF).

According to their website (<http://www.africanconservation.org>), NCF is 'Nigeria's foremost non-governmental organisation dedicated to the promotion of nature conservation.' Established in 1982, NCF has three main goals: to conserve biodiversity; to facilitate sustainable natural resource use; and to help realise a goal of reducing pollution and wasteful consumption. Therefore, in contrast to the NMFP, NCF seem to be more interested in conserving the natural environment for the Nigerian population and not for the biological information it can yield to scientific analysis.

Although NCF is nearly 25 years old, its formal involvement in the conservation of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve dates from only recent times. Its current director, Professor E. A. Obot, made a biodiversity survey of Kurmin Ngel Nyaki sometime in the latter part of the 1990s, and during the first few years of the second millennium they started a 'participatory forest management' project with the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB) and the UK branch of the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF–UK) elsewhere on the plateau, but until 2003 NCF did not have any specific interest in the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve. In 2005 they became more significantly involved, as it was in this year that they received financial assistance from Taraba State Forestry (TSF) in order to protect the reserve. The balance of this grant was then counter-funded by two British organisations, RSPB and the Department for Foreign International Development (DFID) funded Darwin Initiative. All three parties then implemented another 'participatory forest management' programme at the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve, which was to be run by NCF. This conservation project was just starting to gain momentum as I conducted my fieldwork in the area from February to May 2006. However, although TSF is an official partner in the project, it seems that they have played the most insignificant role of all in both the development of the villages that surround the reserve as well as the protection of the reserve itself. They have officially sanctioned the activities of foreign-funded conservation and scientific projects but have practically, in the sense of making physically real the ideologies they support, done nothing. This fact harmonizes with the point made by Areola in his article on the political aspects of conservation in Nigeria that:

'...Nigeria's government continues to adopt indirect measures in the field of conservation and environmental management, preferring to use surrogate agencies to undertake research and analysis, without showing any commitment to action' (1987:289).

During the early stages of the participatory conservation project, NCF were starting to construct 'control posts' at strategic points around the reserve's perimeter, sites where guards will enforce, through surveillance, the exclusion of local people from the forests. They had also begun building a main project office on the outskirts of Gidan Kuma on land provided by the jauro, or headman of the village. Although at the time of writing NCF does not officially employ any patrollers, it seemed as though they may have been providing financial or domestic support to the erratically employed state forest guards, but I cannot confirm this. In addition to having commenced the construction of these buildings, NCF have also begun the more ideological task of what they call 'the enlightenment of the community.' Basically, NCF take 'enlightening the community' to mean providing villagers with information about the indispensability of the reserve to their continued survival. The one example of 'enlightenment' I heard of was teaching the young, primary-school children of Gidan Kuma a song about conservation and biodiversity. I expect that in the coming months this process of inculcating the local communities with conservationist ideologies will increase in depth (reaching more age groups) and breadth (penetrating a wider range of villages). This process of 'enlightenment,' whereby general environmentalist values are circulated around the community, can be seen as a vital mechanism in the persuasion of local people of the legitimacy of the reserve.

NCF also employ an officer who intermittently visits the villages around the reserve making surveys of demographics, religion, social structure etc. I had organised to interview this man in the last days of my fieldwork but, having been delayed from an official conference in the local government headquarters of Gembu, he could not fulfil our arrangement. This new system of knowledge acquisition is emerging alongside the new power relations inherent in the new project and the interrelationship between the two could make for interesting future research.

The people and the reserve: the history and dynamics of a relationship

Although the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve has been protected by legal sanctions since 1969, over the area's history the local population have at various times successfully resisted these sanctions and entered the reserve to exploit its resources. Obtaining information concerning the historical interaction between the reserve and these communities has proven extremely difficult. However, I feel I have gathered enough data through my fieldwork and other research to present a basic skeleton of the relationship, which will form the baseline of the subsequent empirical chapters.

Before the area of land that today constitutes the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve was gazetted and made forbidden for anyone except scientists and government officials to enter, it seems that all people living in the area had relatively easy access to the land and that they depended on it significantly for their subsistence. Although at this time there most likely would have existed customary rules that regulated any individual's access to the forests, it can be presumed that the majority of people had no serious problems obtaining the full range of resources that the forests possessed. As one Mambilla man, a farmer from the village of Gidan Kuma who works for the NMFP put it:

By that time [before the reserve was gazetted] the people used to hunt there, farm there, get honey, get everything.

Similarly, my main informant, when relaying the thoughts of the headman of the hamlet of Mayo Ambak, stated that:

Before the reserve they was farming inside...they have plenty of food, they do hunting. Formerly there was a hunter in the village and they was getting something, like meat, in the reserve. They used to hunt chimpanzee, monkey.

As soon as the reserve was gazetted people's lives began to change. The establishment of the reserve marked the advent of a power relation between local people and all those who

wanted the reserve to be protected. Through the operation of forest guards, patrollers, and material coercions such as fines, this power relation constrained the field of possible action of local people. They could no longer physically enter the reserve for nearly all practical purposes, and this brought with it a wide range of effects. However, as well as 'taking away,' the new power relation also produced and 'made happen.' In the first instance, a new type of space was created out of the newly established power relation: a forest reserve. The creation of this new type of space produced new legal categories: forest-related practices became illegal activities; local people who entered the reserve were transformed into poachers; and people living inside the reserve were thus trespassers who had to be evicted.

In 1969, the presence of forest guards patrolling the reserve (such as M. Bukar Gaji) was high, and as a result people had their lives and livelihoods seriously impacted. To frame this in a Foucauldian manner, one could say that such surveillance was a mechanism of power that coerced by means of observation, whereby 'the techniques that make it possible to see induce effects of power' (Foucault, 1977:170–171). Simply put, people feared being seen and caught and thus involuntarily subjected themselves to an unequal exercise of power, they succumbed to a structuring of their field of possible action. Their main source of cultivable land, game, fruit, medicine, building materials etc., was in one motion taken away. The sudden upheaval was also felt domestically. The people living in villages within the newly forbidden space were permanently relocated at the hands of local and state governments. The current villages of Gidan Kuma and Gidan Elom are, in fact, products of such forced relocation. I will discuss these moves in more detail later in the thesis. The implementation of the reserve also brought about socio-cultural and psychological impacts.

It is safe to say that the majority of these initial impacts were not as keenly felt by the Fulani population; the exercise of power was directly resisted by this segment of the local population. This is because, owing to the wealth derived from their cattle, the Fulani had much more political power than their agricultural neighbours and were thus able to negotiate their way out of any legal quagmire they found themselves in, something they continue to do today. As documented by the two ethnographers who have worked on the Mambilla Plateau, Charles Frantz and Farnham Rehfisch, the Fulani have a long history of

political domination in the area, whereby they have systematically subordinated and exploited their neighbours for at least the last two centuries (Frantz, 1981; Rehfish, 1972). The court system in the area has historically consisted mainly of Fulani men who have looked favourably upon any Fulani case brought before them or, failing this, due to their wealth Fulani cattle owners have always had recourse to bribery, or 'dashing,' an institutionalised medium of exchange in Nigeria.

The first wave of effects produced by the gazettelement of the reserve in 1969 did not last. The network of power that drove a wedge between local people and their natural environment was disrupted. According to some personal communication I have had with Dr Hazel Chapman of the NMFP, although the forest reserve was accorded a significant degree of protection in the few years immediately following its gazettelement, in the late 1970s the official attention it was receiving rapidly declined, a lapse that was presumably due to a lack of financial resources. Consequently, people promptly resumed their more or less unrestricted exploitation of the forests of Ngel Nyaki and Danko; without the instruments of coercion the power relation was quickly eroded. An Ndola man had this to say on the matter:

After they came out from the forest [referring to the period of time immediately following the removal of the villages within Ngel Nyaki] they left everything. There was no patrollers, no anyone taking care of the forest...there was hunting, trapping, and all other things, and slashing in the forest to make farm.

Local people's use of the reserve persisted into the mid-1990s, at which point things changed irrevocably: the once erratic and unstable relation of power became firmly entrenched.

Around 1995, a state or local government-employed forest guard descended upon the reserve and took a number of people who were farming inside its boundaries to court, wherein they were meted out serious fines. The abovementioned Mambilla man working for the NMFP proved to be a reliable source of information on this topic. He told me that:

He [the forest guard] asked everyone to be out from the forest and he carried them to court. He told them that the forest was a reserve and then he took 30 men who were farming in the reserve to court. After that people started to leave the forest.

This reestablishment of power significantly influenced how people related to the reserve. They realized that it was no longer possible to enter the reserve and exploit its resources with impunity; there was now a risk that serious punishment could be and sometimes was attached to such actions. Up until this point, although there had been important points of disjuncture in their access to the forests of Ngel Nyaki and Danko, people had enjoyed a consistent historical–economic relationship with the reserve. But now, fearing reprisal from the government, people began to permanently change their livelihood strategies. The respective mechanisms of power – surveillance and material coercion – thus functioned successfully to consolidate the structuring of the local field of possible action. The power relation was re–achieved as the actions of others guided the actions of the local people.

Because of the infrequency of patrolling, a very small number of villagers openly resisted the official legal framework and continued to farm and hunt in the reserve. These illegalities persisted until Chapman's NMFP was established near Gidan Kuma. At some places within the reserve one can see sections of bush regenerating, evidence that some people were continuing to farm inside the reserve until quite recently.

With Chapman's arrival and her employment of forest patrollers, local peoples' perspectives on putting the reserve to economic use underwent further modification. Eight patrollers daily moving about the perimeter of the reserve, checking for evidence of farming, hunting, and any human influence further deepened the domination by conservationists of local people. Where they had previously been somewhat tentative to enter the reserve, they were now totally dissuaded; the risk of being caught farming in the reserve and being taken to court was too high to take any chances. Then, in 2005, as part of the new participatory conservation project, NCF began the construction of their control posts, material sites for further surveillance of the local population. Surprisingly, however, although local people are now nearly completely excluded from the reserve, TSF has granted the local population a degree, albeit very insignificant, of access to the reserve.

They are currently allowed to obtain a limited range of resources from the forests, including fruits, medicine and rope, yet they are not permitted to enter the reserve at their leisure; they must first obtain the permission of NCF, as the jauro of Gidan Kuma, using an ad hoc interpreter, informed me:

They [the people of Gidan Kuma] must ask first. The NCF, they put a guard and they have to ask the guard. They must go to NCF to ask the guard if they can enter the reserve and he says yes or no.

Although the majority of the local population has stringently avoided entering the area from the mid-1990s onwards, a considerable amount of Fulani have continued to graze their cattle on the hillsides within the reserve. At the time I was in the area conducting my fieldwork, evidence of the Fulani occupation of the reserve was ubiquitous; indeed, only a quick glance over the terrain showed hillsides burnt in order to spur the regeneration of fresh grasses, bukas, the temporary living quarters of the M'bororo herdsmen and, of course, the Fulani herdsmen and their cattle.

After having now provided an overview of the historical-economic nexus that has obtained between the people that live in and around the reserve and the reserve itself, this section is now complete and, in turn, so is the chapter of which it is a part. With this knowledge of how people have been economically engaged with the reserve from the period preceding its gazettelement up until the present day now in place, I will now look at how the local population living in and around the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve have been affected as a result of being excluded from the reserve, that is, of being inserted at a subordinate level into an oppressive relation of power.

4. The effects of protecting the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve

Overview

The effects produced on local people by the power relations installed and maintained by conservationists have been manifold. Through the deployment of post-colonial environmentalist discourse and the two power-instruments of surveillance and material coercions, people have had their field of possible action fundamentally modified. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the effects that have stemmed from this exercise of power. I will show that excluding people from the reserve has produced disruptions that have been felt domestically, economically, culturally and socially, as well as psychologically. This dovetails with the point made by Ite (2001:7) when commenting on the situation in Nigeria that 'the negative consequences of the imposition of National Parks on rural communities are diverse...The results are evident in social and cultural disruption, enforced poverty and even death. These adverse effects generate resentment and hostility against protected area management.' I will show in this chapter that many of the things Ite writes of find their expression at Ngel Nyaki.

Displacement and forced resettlement

The authorities who in 1969 brought into existence the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve based their actions on the double premise that indigenous people are dangerous where the natural environment is concerned and also that nature is something possessing inherent moral value. As I detailed in the previous chapter, local people, even though they had lived in and used the forests for decades, perhaps even a century, were seen by the authorities as

casting covetous eyes on the reserve and targeting certain species for destruction. In my review of the literature that pertains to my topic, I showed this way of thinking to be coextensive with a body of knowledge referred to as post-colonial environmentalist discourse (Chatty and Colchester, 2002). If the forests of Ngel Nyaki and Danko were to be effectively protected, all people within the area had to be removed. Foucault said that discourse and power relations are interwoven, and in this case it is no different: this particular discourse provided justification for the relocation of people who at the time were living inside the boundaries of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve. As will be shown throughout the rest of my thesis, the displacement of people from their homes has given rise to a wide range of other related complications. It will be seen in this chapter and in greater detail throughout the rest of the thesis that people forced to relocate where they live, especially where such relocation has been formally unassisted, have been dangerously exposed to the risks of displacement outlined by Cernea (1997), which I discussed in Chapter 2.

Before 1969 there existed inside the forests of Ngel Nyaki and Danko two main villages: Gari Mando and Gidan Elom. The establishment of the reserve revoked the right of both villages' to live in the forest, and at the behest of the government they were permanently displaced from their homes. No longer could people live in the places where they and their kin had chosen to live for generations; they were forced by the actions of others to move. An exercise of power was taking place, that is, a set of actions upon other actions. The occupants of the village of Gari Mando were resettled at a site along the main highway on the plateau, a move that brought into being the village of Gidan Kuma. The population of this village were not supplied with much information concerning the reasons for their removal from the forest. Concerning this matter, one of my assistants told me during an interview we jointly conducted with the jauru of Gidan Kuma that 'the government come and ask them to leave Ngel Nyaki because they have important thing to do.' Nonetheless, this act of relocation appears to have been well planned; the resettled families were allocated land on which to farm as well as to build a new home. As outlined in my literature review, this example falls within the boundary of what De Wet and Fox (2001) call 'development-induced displacement and resettlement,' or DIDR. The more organised nature of this relocation is shown also by the fact that the first move was final;

people were moved from Gari Mando to Gidan Kuma and they have, in general, remained there. However, the other instance of displacement caused by the creation of the reserve was more problematic.

When ordered to leave their home in the forest of Ngel Nyaki in 1969, the inhabitants of the village of Gidan Elom were not relocated by the government to any predetermined site, they did not receive any compensation to re-establish themselves at a new site, and they were not allocated any land on which to farm or build. They were simply told to leave and then left to fend for themselves. This latter example thus falls within the conceptual boundaries of 'development-induced displacement,' or DID (De Wet and Fox, 2001). As a result of not being organised by the government, the displacement of these people has been a much more chaotic and also problematic process. Instead of following a direct path as it did with the village of Gari Mando, the flow of people out of Gidan Elom was splintered in numerous directions. From the interpreted accounts of the current headman of the hamlet of Mayo Ambak, a now elderly man who was a small child at the time of the initial removal, one segment of the people resettled at a site six or seven kilometres away that was out of the forest yet was still within the boundaries of the reserve.⁵

If, following Foucault, an exercise of power consists of the structuring of others' fields of possible action, then resistance, the 'irreducible opposite' (1978:96) of power, consists in the structuring of one's own field of possible action in a way that either subtly or overtly runs against the structure of action envisaged by those driving the power relation. Therefore, presuming that, among the meagre amount of information they received regarding their removal from the forest, these people were given a clear idea of the boundary of the reserve, this act of moving to a place away from their previous home yet still within the reserve itself could be construed as an act of resistance, an act that occurred at the precise place where the power harnessed by the government could have circulated and been exercised, namely, in people's actions. These people could be seen as performing an alternative reality to that imagined by the government. This performance of an alternative reality persisted insofar as the mechanisms of power employed by the government to keep people out of the reserve were absent, which, as I show below, was not

⁵ As will be shown, this fact was brought forcefully to their attention decades later.

for long. Another portion of the population evicted from the original village of Gidan Elom travelled three or four kilometres further than their kinsmen to a site where they established the hamlet of Musa Gamba. Others travelled even further to go on and establish the hamlets of Andaka, Berabera and Ako Fonja.

Several decades later in the mid–1990s – an important period in the history of the reserve, when the government re–established its control over the reserve and the people living in its vicinity after a lapse in the 1980s – the people inhabiting the village site out of the forest yet inside the boundary of the reserve were again forced by the government to move elsewhere. This second wave of forced and unplanned displacement brought into existence the current hamlet of Mayo Ambak and sent other members of the disrupted settlement's population to the hamlets created as a result of the initial move in 1969. Thus, all of the five hamlets that today constitute the village of Gidan Elom were created out of an exercise of power. But, in spite of this discrepancy in the flows of people out of Gari Mando and Gidan Elom, there exists one similarity between the two cases: the lack of information supplied to the people regarding their removal. Even today some people who I talked with did not know why it was that they were expelled from the forest. One woman from the hamlet of Musa Gamba told me:

We lived there [at the former Gidan Elom] and had to leave. We do not understand how this happen or why this had to happen.

Another man from the same hamlet simply expressed incredulity at the decision to force people to leave their homes when he said 'how can people say to get out when it is their home?'

In addition to the speculative example I dealt with earlier, I am unsure as to whether or not the forced displacements I have described were met with any local resistance. Although I managed to gain some important information about the resettlements that took place, I did not focus my fieldwork on this area and, in any case, obtaining information from villagers on events that reach back in some cases nearly 40 years into the past would not have been easy. Nonetheless, I assume that surely not all

people simply acquiesced to the government's plans unless, that is, they were physically forced.

The displacement of people from their villages in the name of preserving the forests of Ngel Nyaki and Danko was an uneven process that affected different people in different ways. How it played out depended largely on whether or not the displacement was planned. Where it was planned, as in the case of the village of Gari Mando, displacement followed a direct and more or less 'successful' path (De Wet, 2006); where it was simply a matter of ejecting people from their homes and leaving them to fend for themselves, as at Gidan Elom, displacement was far more problematic. An important implication of this is that the latter group of people today live in less favourable conditions than those people whose resettlement was well organised as well as, of course, people who did not have to move at all. To put this in terms of the literature, in contrast to those of DIDR, the subjects of DID were much more exposed to the inherent risks of displacement (Cernea, 1997). This point will emerge with greater clarity throughout the rest of my thesis, but it is important that I at least briefly outline this argument here.

As shown in my review of the literature, Cernea (1997) proposes eight main risks inherent in any project of displacement. These are the risks of landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity and malnourishment, loss of access to common property, and social disarticulation. The people of Gari Mando received a good deal of protection from these risks through the careful planning of the government (moving people to a predetermined site and allocating them land on which to farm and build). However, whilst nearly wholly safeguarded by the provisions of the government from the risks of landlessness and homelessness, these people have surely still had to experience certain of the other risks. Whilst I cannot state with any precision exactly how and to what extent these risks have been borne out at Gidan Kuma (the village produced by this instance of displacement), it is safe to presume, based on what I do know, that they have in some way or other been manifested. Firstly, the land allocated to them by the government was smaller in size and, they claim, poorer in quality, than the land that they previously had access to as inhabitants of the forest. Consequently, people would not have been able to produce as much food and income as they formerly had and

thus would have been, to some degree, marginalized. This reduction in land size and quality would have forced a simplification of food crops. In turn, people's diets could have lost essential nutrients that their former way of life afforded and a degree of malnourishment and perhaps increased morbidity and mortality could well have resulted. Through their displacement the people of Gari Mando also lost access to the reserve, which was, of course, a large and important common resource. Whilst the land provided by the government was and continues to be held in common and distributed by the jaura of Gidan Kuma, it can not be said to be an equivalent substitute, due to the vast decrease in area. Lastly, the process of displacement probably disrupted 'the relationships and groups that provide predictability and stability in people's lives' (Cernea, 1997:1575). As I have been careful to point out, due to a lack of data on this example, the above remarks are mainly inferential; I have not been able to put forward with much certainty exactly how potently the risks of displacement outlined by Cernea have been realised at Gidan Kuma. With the displacement of the people of Gidan Elom I thankfully have much more concrete evidence.

The people of Gidan Elom were not safeguarded through the planning of the government from any of the risks of displacement. When people first dispersed from the forest in 1969, however, it is difficult to know if many of the risks of displacement, such as landlessness, marginalisation, food insecurity and malnourishment, loss of access to common property, or increased mortality and morbidity were realised. This is because, as stated in the background chapter, obtaining data on the removal was difficult; I managed to speak with only one person, an elderly man from the hamlet of Mayo Ambak, who experienced the shift first-hand, yet due to being only a young boy at the time of the event his recollection was understandably hazy. Thus one cannot know for sure whether the land to which people had access to after their first removal was an adequate substitute for that which they had relinquished, whether they had experienced a downward slide in their economic fortunes, and so forth. In the event that the mentioned risks had become reality, people would not have had to endure them for long however, as throughout the 1970s and 1980s the government's control over the area was erratic and presented no real obstacle to obtaining free access to the reserve.

Nonetheless, from the data I listed earlier one can confidently claim that one particular risk was realised as a result of the initial removal. The displacement of 1969 fragmented the village of Gidan Elom into five geographically separate sections. This would have eroded or dismantled relationships that people would have depended on for social, economic and political purposes. Close interpersonal ties, and perhaps even links of kinship, would have been disrupted. The risk of social disarticulation inherent in displacement would thus have been realised. But what of the subsequent displacement that occurred? Did those people who moved to a second site away from their original village yet still inside the reserve, an act that could be construed as resistance, bear any of the risks outlined by Cernea when told to get out?

When removed from their secondary place of residence inside the reserve some time in the mid-1990s, the people who would eventually come to establish the current hamlet of Mayo Ambak (as well as augment the populations of the other constituent hamlets of today's Gidan Elom) had their lives fundamentally altered. The exercise of power that the government re-established at this time forced them to again relocate where they lived as well as totally cutting off their access to the reserve. All but one of the risks that accompanied this particular act of displacement were realised in some shape or form.

To begin with, due to their exclusion from the reserve being made much more complete, the amount of land that people had recourse to in the wake of this second displacement was far less than what they previously had access to. I outline this in greater detail in the following section. So while not completely landless, these people were still dangerously exposed to this risk. Homelessness was the one risk that people largely managed to avoid, as they were able to locate a site on which to build their new village reasonably quickly. However, it is possible that there may have been an interval, perhaps a couple of weeks or so, where they were betwixt and between their old and prospective places of residence. The serious economic disruption that resulted from their ejection and debarment from the forest caused these people to be pushed right to very margins of the local socio-economic system; in terms of outward indicators of wealth (land, property, etc), today the people of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba are the poorest in the area. With the increased surveillance of their lives and the looming threat of fines hovering over them

these people have also now lost all access to the reserve, which was previously a fundamental common resource. Compared to pre-displacement, the number of crops grown by people in these settlements has been dramatically reduced, and the accompanying risk of malnourishment has become a reality; in Mayo Ambak, the distended stomachs of children whose diet is lacking in essential nutrients is testament to this. Lastly, the people forced out of their homes in the mid-1990s have been subjected to further social disarticulation; as will be shown in greater detail later, the social fabric of the community forced to relocate has been seriously eroded. Pre-existing religious practices, social institutions, kinship links and so on, have all been disintegrated. As alluded to, all of these points will be given closer attention later in the thesis. Now I can move on to look at how all people living in the area have had their livelihoods affected by the establishment and protection of the reserve.

Economic effects

The local economic effects that the establishment and protection of protected areas produce are something that has taken the interest of many anthropologists. The general argument underlying most work in this field is that when conservationists establish a protected area they tend to disrupt the economic life of the people who previously depended on that area for their subsistence. This is the case at the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve today. In addition to the general economic disruption that people in this area have faced, a very limited number of them have been presented with economic opportunities. Following Foucault, these can be seen as the products of the enactment of the power relations between the government and local people. Whilst the equation is obviously lopsided, it can still be said that the exercise of power has given as well as taken away. Before discussing my findings I will outline precisely what I will be focussing on in this subsection.

Although from 1969 onwards the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve it was illegal for them to do so, the local population still entered the reserve whenever they could. People's relationship with the protected area had little to do with abstract law and relied much

more upon the actual or potential presence of people enforcing those laws such as forest guards and domestic and international conservation agencies. In conjunction with this, the loss of livelihood produced in the years immediately following the establishment of the area would have been offset by the lapse in protection the reserve received from the late 1970s until the 1990s, a period of time when people had easy access to the reserve. Therefore, it can be presumed that by the 1990s the local population had probably recovered from the loss of livelihood generated by the initial gazettement of the reserve. This means that the economic effects I will be discussing below – those that are evident today – are those that were set in motion by the government in the mid–1990s and later consolidated by the activities of those organisations whose presence in the area is relatively recent, that is, the TSF, NCF, and the NMFP.

Prior to the 1990s, people had a plentiful supply of land on which to farm; they had hunted a wide range of animals that lived in the forest, such as chimpanzee and monkey, and presumably other game that then inhabited the forests, for example, duiker; they had grown considerable amounts of fruit inside the boundaries of the reserve, such as avocado, mango, and banana; they had unrestricted access to the natural medicines that they knew to occur in particular places; they presumably collected honey in considerable quantities; they were free to fell trees in order to obtain building products; and they were free to enter the forest for any other subsistence activity that they might have participated in. This is not to say that people's use of the forests was uncontrolled, for it would have most likely been regulated by custom, but only to say that their access prior to their exclusion was far less restrained.

The protection of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve from the mid–1990s onwards has seriously disrupted the state of affairs described above. The state government, later joined by their environmentalist associates, has expropriated the area of land that local people depended on for farming, hunting, fruit and medicine collection, building materials and any other income–generating activities. As I am arguing in this thesis, this has been achieved through the simultaneous operation of post–colonial environmentalist discourse, the employment of forest guards and patrollers, as well as threatening local people with fines and court orders if they transgress the laws debarring them from the reserve. With the

exception of the people of Gidan Kuma (who were given a small area of land on which to build and farm when first relocated from the village of Gari Mando in 1969) this loss of livelihood has not been offset by any form of compensation, whether in the form of land or money. As noted in the literature review, this has, historically, been a common occurrence in conservation and development projects. The economic disruption caused by this ongoing exercise of power has been clearly manifested at the hamlets of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba, the locations at which I conducted the majority of my fieldwork.

Upon being excluded from the reserve in the mid-1990s, the current residents of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba had their modes of subsistence seriously disrupted. Both hamlets had their total area of arable land dramatically reduced. In order to properly appreciate these impacts it is important to understand what life was like for these people prior to this event and the ongoing exercise of power that it signified. Before their exclusion, the residents of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba (some of whom were still living in a settlement still inside the boundary of the reserve) had access to much larger areas of arable land (the exact dimensions of which I do not know), and the quality of this land was, in their eyes, also much higher. This meant that less time had to be invested in maintaining the farm in order for it to produce a sufficient yield. Regarding food production, the headman of Musa Gamba informed me that prior to being excluded from the reserve each household within the hamlet was annually harvesting approximately 30 bags (weighing 50kgs each) of maize from their farms, a significant proportion of which they would sell at local markets. The social organisation of farming was also different prior to the 1990s. Access to a large amount of land meant that people had a good deal of control over where they would like to work and, consequently, people often chose to farm side by side with their neighbours. This system possessed certain benefits. Firstly, the social interaction that it facilitated would have lightened the burden of work. One is presumably happier when working together with one's neighbours than alone and thus work would have been much more enjoyable than otherwise, not to mention more productive. It also possessed other, technical benefits. Monkeys, 'bush' or wild fowl, and a variety of other birds are known to feed on, and generally ruin the crops of farmers. Working contiguously with one's neighbours was a means of reducing this danger. This is because if a farmer, due

to either wanting to relax or suffering from sickness, did not work on any given day his crops remained safe from pests as his neighbours were there to guard them in his absence. Like most others in the region at the time, these people also hunted game, grew a considerable amount of fruit in the area, collected honey, and also natural medicines where necessary, felled trees for purposes of domestic construction, and generally enjoyed a relatively unrestrained relationship with the forests. How has this picture of the economic life of the current inhabitants of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba been affected by the exercise of power implemented and sustained by the government and its conservationist affiliates?

As a point of entry into this discussion, let me first give some insight into what exclusion meant for those people who had to undergo it and endure its effects first-hand. The headman of Mayo Ambak, an elderly man who had experienced both displacements from the reserve, said this to me during my first ever meeting with him:

You see this man? [points to an elderly blind man who lives in the hamlet] You see that mango tree? [points to the site, roughly 2–3 kilometres away, to where they initially moved after the initial relocation of 1969 and where they were subsequently displaced from sometime in the mid–1990s] There used to be farms right over there and now there is nothing. How is a man like this going to manage? How are any of us going to manage? We have no place to farm; we have nothing to do [meaning no paid employment options] and no education for our children and their children.

As this man clearly expresses, for the people of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba exclusion from the reserve has had important economic consequences. To begin with, the total area of arable land which they continued to have access to was much smaller than before. Today each hamlet possesses only four or five approximately 50m² blocks and the equivalent in bush yet to be converted, land that is not only small in size but also poor in quality, being situated on hillsides and at high elevation. Due to its continuous use over the past decade the soil is now becoming exhausted and yields are said to be at an all-time low: the same man from Mayo Ambak informed me that people had now been reduced to a hand-to-mouth existence, taking whatever they could off their farms in order to survive, a situation

that seemed to prevail in the hamlet of Musa Gamba as well. This has meant for both groups that the storage of surplus crops, as well as their market sale for cash, has become a thing of the past. This last fact was further confirmed by the sight of the mbanga's, or corn storage houses, within both hamlets, falling apart. The social organisation of farming has also been profoundly altered as a result of being excluded from the reserve. Before people had worked side by side with their neighbours in a socially and technically beneficial system of labour, yet now many people are forced to work isolated plots of land individually. This has negated the advantages that the prior system had attached to it; people are forced to work away from their neighbours in isolation, thus not having any social interaction to make the day pass more enjoyably, and no longer is there any safeguard against pests ravaging crops in one's absence, which means that people are having to spend much more time on their farms, some even having constructed huts to sleep overnight. Another facet of food production that has been affected is hunting. Prior to the 1990s hunting was a lucrative income-generating activity, but since exclusion it seems to have nearly disappeared. All of the other facets of economic production have also been impacted: no longer can people collect honey (or natural medicines) from the forests; they have been forbidden to fell trees for domestic housing purposes, now having to obtain wood from the small areas of bush immediately surrounding their hamlets; and they are not allowed to plant and harvest fruit inside the forest either.

The loss in food production has reduced the diversity of what people eat; today in Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba the range of foods that people eat has been reduced from a wide array of grown crops, fruit and meat down to simply maize and whatever fruit happens to be growing on the scarce amount of land that they still possess, such as banana, avocado and mango. This is manifested in the people's physical appearance, especially children; in the hamlets of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba it was not unusual to notice crying children whose stomachs were enlarged due to a lack protein. Other signs that suggest an economic downslide are the dilapidated houses in which people live (their roofs in need of repair, their brickwork beginning to disintegrate) as well as the fact that the clothes that people wore in either settlement were usually torn and ragged. I am not arguing that prior to exclusion all of these people would have lived a life of plenty and that

no-one would have been malnourished, poorly clothed or living in houses in need of repair; rather, I am simply saying that life for these people has surely not always been so hard. That is, the control of the local possible field of action by the government and its environmental associates has made life worse.

The facts elicited above provide evidence to suggest that the protection of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve, especially since the 1990s, has affected the livelihoods of the population that currently inhabit the villages and hamlets that fringe its boundary. However, these specific facts, being drawn from only two hamlets, do not give insight into how this process has played out elsewhere in the area.

The negative effects on each village's economy as a result of being excluded from the reserve have not been consistent. While all groups have borne significant costs as a result of being prohibited from entering the reserve, the process has been uneven, affecting different groups in different ways. Village groups that had reserves of unused land to employ for subsistence activities when the reserve was reclaimed by the government in the 1990s were not as negatively affected as those without such options. For example, the inhabitants of the village of Gidan Kuma, who had an area of land provided for them upon their initial removal from the forest, or those of Musa Akwole, who had to their south a reasonably large area of unused bush, have not have felt the negative economic effects of exclusion as acutely as those groups that did not have recourse to these options, such as the residents of Mayo Ambak, Musa Gamba and Yabri. The former two residential groups had only a meagre amount of spare land to fall back on after being debarred (and in the case of Mayo Ambak relocated) from the reserve in the 1990s, whilst the residents of Yabri, although not subject to any involuntary resettlement, similarly had inadequate reserves of land to use in the wake of their exclusion. Thus, the economic disruption that has taken place within the hamlets of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba is, relative to the other settlements in the area, particularly serious. This is especially so at Mayo Ambak, where the inhabitants were also having to deal with being displaced for a second time. I do not want to understate the negative impacts that have been experienced by the other villages; the exclusion of people from the reserve has affected the economies of all people in the area, it is just that there has been considerable variation in how people have been

affected. So, these are the negative economic consequences of excluding people from the reserve, but were there any positive economic consequences? Did the exercise of power produce any economic opportunities for local people?

The positive economic consequences produced by the re-establishment of government control over the reserve since the 1990s have been, whilst well-intended, insignificant. All of the economic opportunities created for local people have been done so by the NMFP. Firstly, since establishing her project at Ngel Nyaki in 2003, Dr Hazel Chapman now employs 18 local people in various capacities. The NMFP was also previously engaged in supporting women's basket making in Gidan Kuma, transporting these local products to Lagos and selling them on the community's behalf, an economic service that has now ceased. Whilst Chapman's employment and assistance of local people is laudable, especially when one considers the fact that other organisations operating in the area, such as NCF, RSPB, and TSF, have at their disposal generous amounts of money specifically earmarked for the economic development of local people that they have not used to local people's benefit, it is a positive economic consequence belittled by the magnitude of the negative impacts people have been subjected to; regrettably, it has not come close to even beginning to repair the damage caused to local people's economic life by excluding them from the reserve. It is important to note that, like the negative economic effects I have described, the positive economic effects have also been distributed unevenly. This can be seen in relation to the social cleavages of gender, age and settlement location. Firstly, all of the people currently employed by the NMFP are men. Further, they are predominantly young, aged between 20–40. Lastly, although Chapman has made a conscious effort to employ people from all of the villages surrounding the reserve, the majority of those employed by the NMFP come from Gidan Kuma, owing mainly to its proximity to the project's field station and base. Therefore, women, children and the aged, as well as the residents of other villages around the reserve, have had unequal access to the positive economic effects produced by the exercise of power implemented and maintained by the government and its environmental associates.

Social and cultural effects

The establishment and protection of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve has seriously affected the society and culture of local people. This argument will be demonstrated with reference to data I collected at the Ndola hamlets of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba. The discussion will focus on the disturbance of one particular social institution – that of the communal cooking, distribution and consumption of food – and the attitude of generosity and sharing that existed alongside it. As seen in my literature review, how the creation of protected areas has affected how people behave toward one another has received considerable attention in studies of the conservation–community dynamic (Brockington, 2002; Thompson and Homewood, 2002; Fabricius and De Wet, 2002; Anderson and Berglund, 2003).

As clearly established in the previous section, prior to the 1990s the inhabitants of the hamlets of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba were economically better off than today. They had more land, harvested more food, hunted wild game, and generally had open access to the forests within the reserve. Within this context of socio–economic stability there existed in both hamlets, and perhaps in all Ndola settlements, a social institution known locally as 'contribution.' This institution is a series of interwoven practices whereby people would gather at a specially constructed communal shelter to collectively cook, distribute and consume food amidst a casual and lively atmosphere. Due to the seasonal variations in food production, one would presume that this type of event would have taken place some time shortly after the harvest, probably in December or January. A man from Musa Gamba provided this short account of 'contribution':

With contribution everyone come together to cook and eat, and even if you did not have something you will still get food...People used to keep on into the night and they would sing and dance too.

After the government reasserted its control over the reserve from the 1990s onward, this institution was significantly eroded. Exclusion from the reserve meant a decrease in the amount of food each household could produce and therefore a decrease in any surplus

food that could be shared in 'contribution.' According to my assistant, because people possessed less food they became increasingly selfish when considering its distribution. This parallels Turnbull's controversial work on the Ik of Uganda, *The Mountain People* (1972). Pushed to the brink of starvation as a result of forced relocation out of their traditional hunting grounds, the Ik became not only selfish, but in Turnbull's descriptions, dehumanised. At Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba, the reduction in food surpluses meant that people chose not to participate in 'contribution' as this, of course, entailed giving food generously to others. Over time the institution thus began to erode to the point where today 'contribution' seems to be rarely, if ever, practiced. It must be remembered that this institution would have undoubtedly given to all those people who participated in it a good deal of enjoyment and with its demise, therefore, this happiness has also been taken from people's lives.

At Mayo Ambak, the erosion of 'contribution' has resulted in the decline of the building designed to house it; today, the former eating house is just a skeleton used to hang washing. Yet, when I went and stayed in the hamlet of Musa Gamba, I saw something different: a communal eating house in good repair and with fresh roofing, looking not over a couple of months old. How could this anomaly possibly be explained? Were the inhabitants of this hamlet really not in such a bad socio-economic state after all? Had they somehow managed to avoid the economic disruption so apparent at Mayo Ambak? If my data on their economy was correct, then I had to find a way of explaining the discrepancy between their lack of resources and this symbol of economic stability. I asked my assistant numerous questions about why it was that the communal eating house in Musa Gamba was in good repair whilst the people seemed to lack access to the resources they needed to survive. His answers showed me some important things about the customs of the Ndola ethnic group in particular and about anthropological inquiry in general.

The principle reason why the eating house at Musa Gamba was in good condition was not that the group was actually better off than what I had been led to believe. Rather, the answer was intimately related to the ongoing process of social life within the hamlet, and its members' connections to other Ndola villages. About two months before I arrived in Musa Gamba, the elderly headman of the hamlet had passed away. This had resulted in

relatives and friends belonging to other villages in the area coming to Musa Gamba to pay their respects and offer their condolences. The offerings they made were material as well as emotional and included, most notably, food. The death of the headman, as a public figure, was the concern of the entire hamlet. Therefore, this food was dealt with in a similarly public manner: it was cooked, distributed and consumed socially, a set of practices that necessitated the reconstruction of the communal eating house.

The facts I have presented show that the communal eating house at Musa Gamba was in good repair because of the Ndola custom to bring food to bereaved friends and relatives and not because of a generally improved or improving socio-economic situation within the hamlet. The appearance of the structure masked the actual poverty lying beneath, a mask that was betrayed by an enquiry into the process of social life within the hamlet and the customs of the wider ethnic group to which its inhabitants belong. Therefore, although the inter-group custom of 'contribution' is still observed by these two hamlets the intra-group variation of the custom has nearly disappeared.

Psychological effects

How people think about themselves and the world around them has been significantly affected by the protection of the reserve. In this final segment of the chapter I will be supplying data that suggests the exercise of power implemented and maintained by the government and the other environmentalist organisations in the area since the 1990s has, on the one hand, convinced local people that they have no control over their lives and, on the other hand, also made them distrustful of the people who have played important roles in protecting the reserve. I am not here deliberately emphasising the negative things people had to say about the reserve and its protection; they simply have very little positive to say about the reserve. Although a few individuals issued favourable statements about the protection of the reserve, these were either answers designed to protect a group from suspicion or attempts to satisfy personal and collective wants and needs and not, as would demonstrate bona fide support, spontaneous expressions of positive feeling.

Over the history of the reserve, yet especially since the 1990s, local people have been informed by forest guards, patrollers and other local agents of conservation, that their traditional modes of subsistence as they related to the forest reserve are illegitimate, destructive and, ultimately, wrong. In conjunction with the dissemination of this post-colonial environmentalist discourse, the government and its conservationist associates have, through the deployment of the instruments of surveillance and material coercions (fines and court orders) structured some of the most basic aspects of people's lives: where they can live and farm, what activities they are allowed to pursue in order to make a living, and so forth. This has had serious psychological consequences.

Through the exercise of power mentioned above, people have been convinced of their powerlessness. In reality, resistance is still technically possible; there exist many real opportunities for people to enter the reserve. However, people have been persuaded that they are in the wrong and that open resistance to the relations of power tipped against their favour is futile. People believe that the path that their lives will take is now totally at the mercy of the external organisations in the area such as NCF, TSF as well as the NMFP,⁶ and they also believe that they have no power to improve their current trajectories. As one man from the hamlet of Musa Gamba said when talking with me about this administrative-community dynamic:

He feel like the government controls them and that they cannot make things better.

When thinking about the future of his village the headman of Yabri stated that:

They feel that [the] government is supposed to do something for them...The future, since the government have not given them anything, now they just think, they will just suffer.

A group of men from the village of Musa Akwole, one of which was the headman, informed me during an interview that:

⁶ These individual organisations are collapsed by most people into the category of 'government,' a fact that most likely represents the lack of information the people have been given about the groups operating in the area.

...they say that they will do what the government tells them to do. If the government tells them to work they will work.

All of these statements support the argument that the protection of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve has not only structured people's possible field of action but also their possible field of mental activity. What I mean is that this exercise of power has not just guided people's practices, but has also exerted a strong influence over what people can and cannot think. As well as not being able to physically enter the reserve, it seems, through these statements, that people are now encountering externally implemented psychological barriers to thinking about a better state of affairs. The attitude of powerlessness in the first comment, the anticipation of a bleak future in the second, and the submissiveness and fatalism expressed in the third all attest to this.

Existing alongside these sentiments of disempowerment are the doubts and misgivings of the local people. Local people express unhappiness with the organisations that protect the reserve and they rightfully expect the harmful effects of this protection to be redressed. Regarding the failed promises of the organisations protecting the reserve to better the local population's standard of living, the headman of the hamlet of Mayo Ambak had this to say:

He [the headman] says that even though they talk, their talk will not matter anything. What they say they will do they never do.

A statement made by the headman of Musa Gamba reveals the resentment that people feel about having the power to make basic decisions about their life taken away from them:

How can people say to get out [of the reserve] when it is their home?

Connected to these responses about the imbalanced interaction between people protecting the reserve and people living around it have been statements that express the desire of the

people to be compensated for their losses. The headman of Yabri felt 'that [the] government is supposed to do something for them,' whilst the group of men interviewed in the village of Musa Akwole stated that they wanted 'the government to give them forest, to show them another place to work.' The headman of the hamlet of Mayo Ambak also expressed his interest in being compensated for the losses he and his community have incurred as a result of being excluded from the reserve, which included being given two million naira (which is roughly equivalent to \$20,000 NZD).⁷ As well as these examples that I managed to record in the course of interviews, I was told on numerous informal occasions by people from every village that I worked in that their exclusion from the reserve was unfair.

It can clearly be seen that the creation and protection of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve has had very significant effects upon how people conceive of themselves and their living circumstances. From considering the statements of the people who have experienced the events first-hand I think their general attitude can be described as follows: people lament the current situation and feel resentment towards the people responsible for creating the reserve, but they have been convinced they cannot do anything about it.

From a theoretical perspective, I would suggest, following Foucault (1978; 1982) and Scott (1985; 1990), that the remarks showing both local people's perception of having been let down by the government as well as their desire to be 'looked after' by the government, are acts of resistance. I make this argument based on Foucault's (1978) notion that resistance is inherent in the operation of power and secondly, on Scott's proposition that resistance constitutes, *inter alia*, any act that challenges the claims made on the subordinate by the superordinate or any act by the subordinate group that advances its own claims *vis-a-vis* the powerful. The comments that describe local frustration at the supposedly empty promises of the government and the incredulity of having been ejected from the forests can be seen as ways in which people contest, on a discursive level, an exercise of power; they are statements that challenge the legitimacy of being excluded and displaced from the reserve. Secondly, the statement made regarding the desire of people to be compensated in some manner by the government exemplifies Scott's second criteria of

⁷ Due to his intoxication I am unsure if his suggestion was realistic.

resistance. Local people are advancing their own claims vis-a-vis the dominant group in this particular field of power. They want the government to compensate them for the losses they have incurred by being excluded and displaced from the reserve.

Despite the negative remarks cited above, some individuals had good things to say about the protection of the reserve and the exclusion of the local people from it. But as I will show not only were these comments infrequent and isolated but they did not represent an honest affinity with the aims and ideas of the organisations currently protecting the reserve; rather, they were attempts to either avoid suspicion or to manipulate the presence of the mentioned parties for personal and collective wants and needs.

Joined by my assistant, one morning I made my way from the village of Musa Akwole to that of Yabri, where I was to conduct an interview with the head of the village and whoever else wished to participate in the conference. The interview, the first I had conducted at this village, commenced and all was going well until I asked (unbeknownst to me) a rather sensitive question: Did they think it was of benefit to have the land inside the reserve protected? By posing this question I hoped that they would openly express to me that no, they felt that there was no reason for the land to be protected and that they were frustrated at having been prohibited from using it for subsistence purposes. Therefore, what happened next was both surprising and disconcerting. In response to my query the group first laughed to each other. What was so funny? I wondered. Then they entered into an intense discussion which lasted for two or three minutes. When my assistant relayed their final answer to me I was baffled: they had said that having a reserve was of benefit and that they did not wish to use the land inside the boundaries of the reserve. How could this group of men possibly think, in the face of the undeniable hardship they were experiencing, that having a reserve was a positive thing and that they had no desire to use the land within its boundaries? I couldn't comprehend it!

As is often the case when a piece of information so blatantly contradicts all ones assumptions, I did not accept this statement; I was sure that this line they had taken with me was not how they honestly felt, and I endeavoured to expose the hidden truth that their answer cloaked. This process of investigation commenced with a thorough re-examination of the recording of the interview, something I did with my assistant back at my residence in

Musa Akwole. I focussed on the period of time immediately following the posing of the question, when the assembled group first laughed in response to my question and then entered into a protracted discussion of their answer. By combing through the audio with my assistant I discovered that their answer was not a spontaneous expression of thought that all in attendance happened to share. No, quite the contrary; I found out that immediately after the short stint of laughter, the headman of the village clearly instructed the other men to think very carefully before answering my question. I took this to mean that the group of men felt apprehensive about openly expressing their real feelings to me. I now knew that during the interview they were maintaining a front, but what lay beneath I was still yet to find out. To get to the bottom of the issue I went back to Yabri the following morning with my assistant and asked the headman if he wouldn't mind showing me around the farms in the area and pointing out what crops were currently being grown. A number of people from the village showed some interest in coming along with the three of us, but I made it clear to my assistant that I did not want any other people to join us, as I thought that this may stymie my plan to extract the headman's real feelings during our walk. Whilst on the walk, after explaining clearly what my purpose in the area was and assuring him that he could express himself openly without fear of punishment, I raised the question that the previous morning had given rise to the guarded opinions; I was greatly relieved when in response to my question this time the headman stated:

He [the headman] say that if they can get land inside the reserve they would be very happy. The village would have a big dance.

The appreciative remark made about the existence of the reserve was, therefore, a front presented to me in order to maintain a particular impression of reality beneath which lay a critique of power. Following Scott (1990), then, I would argue that what is actually going on here is the interplay of a public and private transcript of power. The initial remark was the 'official' stance taken by the powerless when in the company of others deemed to be powerful; I was initially seen as a conservationist by these people and their statement was a way of indicating this, of recognising and paying 'lip service' to the interests of the parties

responsible for protecting the reserve. However, through the investigation described above, I discovered that there was also a private transcript of resistance in operation, 'a critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant' (Scott, 1990:ii). Of course, their discourse was not literally spoken behind my back; indeed, it was done in my presence, but because it was performed in a language I could not comprehend it was done without my knowing. The public transcript denoted support for the reserve, whilst the private transcript intimated that local people do not support the reserve at all and that they, in fact, resist it. Thus, this example shows that both public discourse and private counter-discourse need to be taken into account in order to gain any insight into the dynamics of the power relationship that exists between local people and the parties responsible for protecting the reserve.

Another positive statement about the reserve was made when conducting an interview with the jairo of Gidan Kuma at his compound. I was again confronted by statements that seemed to indicate that the psychological effects caused by the creation and protection of the reserve were not all bad. In response to my enquiries the jairo said that he was happy to have both the NCF and NMFP conducting their various activities in the area and that the reserve was, all in all, a positive thing. Again I was confounded; yet, due to the jairo's more forthright nature, I thankfully didn't have to ply any deeper in order to uncover the motivation behind these statements. Shortly after the jairo stated, through my assistant:

He feels like the project [NCF and NMFP] have not helped them enough. He wants them to build a new house for him. He says he has seen the houses built for jairo's at Kakara by tea [Highland Tea] and he wants this also.

He continued later in the interview that:

He wants the project to build the village a school and to give the village money. He want them to build him a big house and give him and his family money. He also want them to give loan to other

people to start business and buy land...[He also wants the project to] build hospital and get education.

These statements demonstrate that the jairo accepts the presence of the NCF and NMFP insofar as they satisfy his personal predilections (acquiring wealth in the form of money and material commodities such as houses) as well as services he feels are important for the community which he represents (schools, hospitals, and general economic advancement). Like other people I talked with during my fieldwork, the jairo cares less for the conservation of the reserve as a site of biodiversity than for the material resources that he and his village can acquire as a result of having fiscally endowed external organisations protecting the reserve.

I have shown in this sub-section that establishing and protecting the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve has affected the psychology of local people: they harbour doubt and misgiving about the people responsible for protecting the reserve and the disruptions that they have brought, but have been persuaded through the total exercise of power that they are powerless to change the situation. Further, it was seen that even where people did make favourable statements regarding the reserve and the organisations in charge of its management no bona fide support existed. Although on the surface it appeared that some people had an affinity with the activities and beliefs of the government and their environmental associates, beneath lay a fear of retribution as well as a wish to acquire personal and collective goods and services.

More generally, in this chapter I have examined how the power relations implemented and maintained by the state and their environmentalist associates since the 1990s have affected the lives of the local people who live in the vicinity of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve. It has been seen that a power apparatus comprised of post-colonial environmentalist discourse and the technologies of surveillance and material coercion has functioned to keep local people from entering the reserve, and that this exclusion has brought with it significant residential, economic, social and cultural, as well as psychological disruption. As outlined in the introduction to this study, however, local people have not simply felt the effects of being excluded from the forests on which they

depended, but they have attempted to adapt to and resist these effects. I briefly outlined a couple of examples of resistance in this chapter, showing how what people say acts to challenge the legitimacy of the reserve and the disruption it has produced. The next chapter deals with these coping mechanisms in greater detail.

5. Negotiating the effects of conservation

Overview

Beginning in 1969, yet especially apparent since the 1990s, various organisations have implemented and maintained an exercise of power that has effectively controlled local people's behaviour as it relates to the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve. Through constructing them as both ecologically ignorant and dangerous objects and then enforcing this notion by displacing and maintaining surveillance of them, local people can now no longer enter the reserve in pursuit of their livelihoods. The preceding chapter showed exactly what effects this has had on the lives of local people. In this chapter I suggest how these effects have likely been practically negotiated. I say 'suggest' advisedly, because apart from the data listed in the previous chapter I do not know exactly what life was like for people prior to their exclusion from the reserve. Thus the arguments that I am presenting in this chapter are, in the main, based on logical and not empirical grounds.

In this chapter I will argue that although people's field of possible action was significantly constrained by the protection of the reserve from the 1990s onwards, it still contained a number of alternative economic practices and techniques that continue to be put to use, and which might well now be put to greater use than before, in order to make a living. Whilst the exercise of power reduced the possibility of engaging in certain kinds of economic activity, other kinds of economic activities were not curtailed. Further, I suggest that these strategies are being employed in order to adapt to the effects of protecting the reserve. As the possibility of engaging in the livelihood activities that depended in large part on the reserve, such as farming, hunting, and so forth, has decreased, local reliance on the alternative economic strategies has increased. I will be focussing on three probable modes of adaptation: in response to their exclusion from the reserve local people may have (a) chosen to relocate where they live, whether temporarily or permanently; (b) shifted their economic dependence from themselves onto wealthier 'others' for their livelihood; or (c) reconfigured their economic systems by shifting their energies onto income-generating

activities formerly under-utilised. Ideally, to this list should be added a fourth point: that people have adapted to their situation with the assistance of compensation, both monetary and material. With the exception of the land given to the people of Gidan Kuma when first removed from the forest in 1969, however, this has not happened. Consequently, local people have had to adapt to the effects on their own.

The more general, theoretical aim of this chapter is to treat these adaptations to conservation as resistance to power. But, one might ask: can these adaptations really be thought of as resistance? This is an important question that needs to be discussed before progressing any further. When I first started thinking about resistance to the reserve, my mind turned to the rare instances of direct resistance that take place. According to patrollers employed by the NMFP, a very small number of local villagers resist their exclusion from the reserve by illegally hunting inside the reserve using traps as well as collecting fruit from secretly planted trees. However, because of the surreptitious nature of these activities it was nearly impossible to obtain any first-hand information about them and therefore include them in anyway in this thesis. Could I look for resistance somewhere else? Might there be other acts of resistance that were less overt in their challenges to power? My supervisors goaded me on with such questioning. I looked to the work of Foucault and Scott for possible leads.

Do all manifestations of resistance have to be direct challenges to power? Do they all have to in some way alter the structure of a power relationship? Does resistance have to always operate at the point where power is exercised or can it contest the effects of power? From my reading I was reminded that Foucault understands resistance to power as not only possible but mandatory; resistance is deeply embedded in any power relationship as an 'irreducible opposite' (1978:96). Yet I also discovered that Foucault maintains that resistance often takes the form of an 'opposition to the effects of power' (1982:212, emphasis added). Therefore, to Foucault, resistance does not always have to confront the exercise of power head-on but can operate more subtly, responding to the effects that power produces. This notion articulates with the work of Scott, who claims that resistance does not always have to pose a threat to the basic structure of a power relationship but represents, in its essence, 'a constant process of testing and negotiation' (1985:255). Scott

synthesises these two ideas – that (a) actions negotiating the effects of power count as resistance and (b) resistance is not always efficacious – in defining resistance as 'any act(s)... of a subordinate class that is or are intended either to mitigate or deny claims...made on that class by superordinate classes' (1985:290). In light of what I learnt from reading these two observers of power, I reached the conclusion that the adaptations of local people to their exclusion from the reserve could indeed be interpreted as indirect, non-confrontational forms of resistance to the effects of power. The three modes of adaptation I have identified are ways that local people have negotiated the effects of conservation; people have not simply accepted the fate that has befallen them but have actively tried to circumvent and challenge those effects through adapting. As such, following Foucault and Scott, they constitute resistance.

Migration

I have been arguing that the unequal relationship of power implemented and maintained by the government and the other parties responsible for protecting the reserve has imposed severe constraints on local people's 'field of possible action' (Foucault, 1982:220–221). Now I will show that one potential way people have practically negotiated the economic effects of constraining what they can and cannot do and, more importantly, where they can and cannot go, is to migrate. In so doing, local people circumvent the effects of an exercise of power. As I do not have data on the rates of migration prior to and since people's exclusion from the reserve in the 1990s I cannot unequivocally prove that reliance on it has increased, but I am still strongly inclined to think, based on my experiences in the field living with people and talking with them about their lives, that this is the case.

When people migrate, they move from their home villages to places with better access to the resources they need to survive. Thus migration is driven primarily by economic forces. According to data I collected during my fieldwork, migration in the environs of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve takes two main forms: (a) what I term 'polar'

migration and (b) permanent migration. 'Polar' migration typically entails an individual (invariably a young man) or a household shifting their place of residence between their home village and another one, usually within close proximity, for various periods of time; thus, I have called it 'polar,' in the sense that each of the two villages act as migratory poles around which the individual or household revolves. This temporary residential oscillation appears to be regulated by various ecological–seasonal, economic and social factors. This first type of local migration exists particularly at the hamlet of Mayo Ambak and the village of Gidan Kuma.

The economic disruption caused by excluding local people from the reserve has probably been an important factor behind many young men from Mayo Ambak and Gidan Kuma moving elsewhere in order to make a living. That is, by migrating certain local people are resisting the effects of this particular exercise of power. Usually alone, sometimes as a family unit, they move away to villages where there is better access to resources and then return home at various times during the year for varying lengths of time. I was unable to find out the exact numbers of people temporarily leaving their home villages, yet through my observations and discussions with local people in both settlements I was able to deduce that a large portion of the young adult male population participated in it. In Gidan Kuma, temporary migration by young men is undertaken in such large numbers that it has a marked influence on the appearance of the village. After having walked many times between the NMFP research station and the village of Gidan Kuma, I had occasion to survey the farms that were located around the village. Something which struck me as strange was that the only people I ever saw working on these farms were women and young children. During a walk to the village one day I asked my companion, a young Kaka man who worked for the NMFP, why this was the case. He replied that the farms were empty of men because many of them had made temporary residence in other villages where there was a greater availability of land. I also noticed a lack of young men around the hamlet of Mayo Ambak. I propose that the prominence of migration is in some way due to local people being unable to maintain their livelihoods on the resources they have been left with since their exclusion from the reserve.

Individuals and families migrate for economic reasons; they are looking for resources, food, and money. There are various reasons why they return to their home village. First, there are the social and cultural factors. If the migration is made by an individual man who has left a dependent family (including a wife, children, and possibly elderly parents) at home, his return visits are frequent, occurring perhaps once every week or every other week. During these times he will provide food, cash and other necessities for his family. I saw this happening at the hamlet of Mayo Ambak. During the four weeks I spent there two or three young men twice returned to the hamlet for around two days. If the migration is made by a household (typically involving a man, his wife, and their dependent children) the return visits are less frequent than those made by a young man with a dependent family. However, the link of kinship bonding the household to any significant others in the home village is strong enough to compel them to return home regularly. In addition to the habitual visits they make, temporary migrants (individual and household) return for special occasions such as religious holidays and the end of harvest. When returning at the end of harvest the family will be bearing a considerable amount of food, which valuably augments the food supply of the home village. As one of the wives of the headman of Mayo Ambak told me in an interview with my assistant:

It is very good when our sons come back to the village after harvest...they bring us things that we need...if they did not then we would only suffer with no food.

This comment supports the argument that I am making here, namely, that migration has become an increasingly important source of food for local people since being expelled from the forest. Returning shortly after the harvest is important also because the migrant may stay at their home village for up to three months, usually between the end of October and the beginning of February. This time at home allows friends and kin to refresh their social bonds after sometimes long periods spent apart.

The other type of migration that I will discuss is permanent. Permanent migration has been the subject of many anthropological enquiries. However, many of these studies fail to mention the secondary processes of migration engaged in by local people as they

negotiate the effects produced by the power relations implemented by conservationists and it is this that I am focussed on currently.

Permanent migration is final; once people decide to migrate permanently away from their home village they rarely return. Like the people who migrate temporarily, I propose that permanent migrants move away in order to mitigate the loss in livelihood caused by being excluded from the reserve; they are resisting the effects of an exercise of power. The limits placed on their field of possible action presumably compel people to move away to villages with better access to resources and where they are likely to be near relatives and friends, social resources that they can utilise in order to construct new lives. Permanent migration is nearly always done as a household and is seldom undertaken alone. Although during my brief stay in the area I was unable to observe any permanent migration, I was able to establish that it did exist. The physical signs of permanent migration were obvious in some of the villages I visited. For example, when I entered the hamlets of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba, I saw that nearly half of the huts in both places were falling apart, their structures being abraded by sun, wind and rain, their inhabitants since moved away from the hardship they would inevitably have faced if they remained. These observable signs of migration were supported by statements made by the headmen of each respective hamlet in informal conversations that were not tape-recorded; both men stated that people were continuing to leave their villages in search of resources, food, and money.

Economic forces drive the choice to migrate, but what are the factors that determine whether or not migrants choose to return to their home village after they have made this move? Kinship appears to be the main factor influencing this decision. I am not arguing that it is the only factor that influences the decision to return or not, but it is undoubtedly one of the most important. Where family members remain in the home village there is a strong motive for migrants to make regular return visits and where there is no family tie then migrants are more inclined to stay away after leaving. I will attempt to show this through making some comparisons between the two small hamlets currently mentioned. At the hamlet of Musa Gamba it is the permanent form of migration that dominates. According to the headman, in earlier times most people who chose to migrate

made frequent return visits; they were 'polar' migrants. Now, however, the majority of people who chose to leave the hamlet did not return. This trend, he said, was especially apparent over the two months preceding my arrival. On the other hand, at the hamlet of Mayo Ambak it is the 'polar' form of migration that dominates. I propose that kinship helps to explain why migrants, driven by economic forces, return to Mayo Ambak and not to Musa Gamba.

I think that one of the main reasons why migrants from Mayo Ambak return to their home settlement after migrating is because they are linked through kinship to either of the two senior men of the village, the one being the current headman and the other being the former headman (who had to cede his position due to blindness), both of which are fathers to the various returning migrants. Conversely, I suggest that the reason why more and more people from Musa Gamba choose to stay after migrating can in some part be explained by the severing of the link of kinship that encouraged 'polar' migrants to return.

The death of the former headman of Musa Gamba coincided with the jump in the rate of people who previously maintained links with the settlement choosing to permanently live abroad. The headman, whilst not the only senior man in the hamlet, did have the highest number of offspring. Therefore, the death of the headman disrupted the link that connected his children and their families, residentially and socially, to the settlement. His death would have weakened the link that temporary migrants had to the hamlet and it would have in some way obviated the reason that some potential permanent migrants would have had of remaining in their home settlement.

Despite being one of the main reasons drawing migrants back to their home villages as well as, alternatively, making them stay away, kinship is perhaps not the only factor influencing this process. Migrants may encounter social or economic difficulty in their adopted place of residence, which may compel them to return home. So, if these factors might determine why a migrant chooses to return, then the converse could be true of migrants who choose not to. If a hostile social environment in the host village can be responsible for making people return, then a stable and welcoming environment might provide a reason why people may choose to stay. Further, if economic difficulty has

motivated migrants to return then it may be the case that economic stability may have caused them to stay in their new place of residence. The area and quality of land available to them in the host village may be superior to that which they formerly had access to and thus they may opt to remain in the new place in the hope of improving their standard of living. So, while kinship is one of the primary factors determining whether or not migrants return to their home villages, there are a number of other factors which need to be considered.

In my discussion of migration, nowhere have I mentioned the village of Musa Akwole. This is because the people of Musa Akwole did not have to migrate after being told to stop entering the reserve. Like all people in the area, the inhabitants of this village had their behaviour vis-a-vis the reserve altered by the exercise of power implemented and maintained by the government and its associates through the use of various technologies of power. However, this put no pressure on them to migrate. This was because the total area of arable land controlled by the village following the re-establishment of governmental control over the reserve from the mid-1990s onwards was an adequate substitute for whatever land they lost. People did not have to look elsewhere for the resources they needed; they could simply begin farming a formerly unused piece of land allocated by the jauru. In terms of the general thesis being presented here, despite having their behaviour as it related to the reserve controlled, the people of Musa Akwole did not have their field of possible action fundamentally altered. Of course they would have had their access to resources reduced, but this would not have prevented them from continuing in a similar manner the livelihood practices they had engaged in prior to being excluded from the reserve.

Compare this to the other villages and hamlets of Gidan Kuma, Yabri, Musa Gamba and Mayo Ambak, all of which, after the mid-1990s, had small amounts of spare land and all of which, consequently, had high rates of migration. The crux of what I am saying is that the rate of migration in any settlement depends on where the settlement is located and the amount of spare land belonging to its people following their debarment from the reserve during the 1990s. Through the data and analysis provided it should have

emerged, after Turton (2006:21) that 'most migrants make their decision to migrate in response to a complex set of external constraints and predisposing events.'

Shifting economic dependence

The power relation into which local people have been incorporated since the 1990s has altered what they could and could not do. This exercise of power barred people from the reserve, a restriction in practice that for most people has meant a large reduction in the resources they have access to and a consequent decrease in livelihood. However, as noted in the introduction to this chapter, whilst their field of possible action has been importantly constrained by the operation of power, it has not been completely suffocated by it; there still exist for local people economic options through which they can deal with the effects of being excluded from the reserve, practices through which they can acquire the food and money they need to live. These activities, I am suggesting, insofar as they aim to mitigate the power effects of conservation, can be seen as acts of resistance; they challenge the state of affairs created by the protection of the reserve. Where a loss of livelihood has been incurred people do not simply accept the situation but try to change it, they try to regain what was lost through alternative means. As seen above, one of these modes of resistance has been to migrate away to areas believed to have better access to resources. In this section I will show that the economic effects of being excluded from the reserve have also probably been negotiated through working on their neighbours' land for food or money.

I think that the economic linkages that obtain between local people and their neighbours may have been an important way that local people have dealt with their exclusion from the reserve and thus an important way they have resisted the power effects of conservation. The economic relationship between local people and their neighbours takes either of two forms: sharecropping, whereby a landless farmer works on the farm of

his neighbour for a percentage of the food harvested off the farm; or a wage paid in cash by the land owner for the same farming tasks. People engage in these activities with two main local groups: firstly, some of the people that I worked with have entered into relations of dependence with other cultivators that live in villages not significantly affected by the protection of the reserve; secondly, considerable numbers of people have entered into relations of economic dependence with the mainly pastoralist Fulani. Both of these types of economic relationships have surely existed for a long time and I do not claim that they were brought into existence in the last decade. I am suggesting here that their importance would have increased as a result of being excluded from the reserve; people can now rely less and less on their own resources to survive, and thus they turn increasingly to their better off neighbours for economic survival. It is impossible for me to verify this empirically as I have no information about these activities as they existed prior to people's exclusion from the reserve. Thus the arguments that follow are based on strong logical grounds.

Today many people from Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba – both settlements created out of forced resettlement, the former being created after the 1990s, the latter after the first displacements of 1969 – work for their neighbours who live in outer lying villages not affected by the protection of the reserve. Some assist people from these places for up to a week in one particular activity, such as field preparation, planting, or weeding, whilst others are party to more binding and durable relations, such as working a piece of borrowed land year after year. These types of interaction are more or less balanced. The labourer receives either a cash payment or a percentage of the farm yield in return for his work and the land owner receives either assistance with preparing and weeding the land, or food in return for providing work or land to the labourer. I think that as a result of having their independent farming activities curtailed by their debarment from the reserve, more and more people must have been forced to enter into and depend on such alternative economic strategies.

Other people from these settlements have resisted the effects of conservation through the generous donations of their neighbours. Seeing the difficulty their neighbours were having growing food on their small, exhausted farms, around five years ago the people of Lumu Batu gave to those at Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba a large piece of land. The

land was given without the expectation of the returns accruing to the donors mentioned above. As my assistant relayed to me:

This piece of land [that given to them by the people of Lumu Batu] was to help them...they do not have to give food because of getting it.

I am aware, following the Maussian tradition, that no gift is truly free; all gifts establish obligations of reciprocity. Therefore, by receiving the land offered to them, the inhabitants of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba are implicitly obliged to return the gift at some undetermined time and in some undetermined form (e.g., in political support) in the future.

However, whilst large, this piece of land is not well suited for farming. Being draped over the side of a steep valley, the nutrients that would typically accumulate on a level piece of land are washed downhill by rain. Nonetheless, the land is cultivated and people obtain a proportion of their food from it. As well as being poorly suited for farming, the land is very difficult to access. During my stay in Mayo Ambak I asked to be shown the farms on which people worked. The journey to most farms was undemanding, yet when it came to the parcel of land referred to above it was quite another story. To get to the farm one must firstly walk along a cattle track a number of kilometres through undulating grassland. After this the going gets slightly more arduous; one leaves the track and has to traverse across many very steep hillsides, fight through often dense bush and, finally, slide down on ones posterior another sharply inclined slope to reach the destination. I consider myself a fit and healthy person, yet after having made the trip I was exhausted and in pain, my footwear, a pair of thongs, in tatters. Perhaps the only redeeming feature of this piece of land is the considerable number of palm trees growing on it. The inhabitants of both hamlets extract palm wine from these trees nearly every day, and thoroughly enjoy consuming it.

As well as utilising existing economic links with their agricultural neighbours, some villagers in the area have probably resisted the controls placed on their action by creating, or becoming increasingly dependent on existing, economic relationships with the local

Fulani, relations which are tilted very much in the latter's favour. Oppressive political–economic relations between the Fulani and their agricultural neighbours antedate the creation of the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve by over a century. Frantz (1981:212–214) notes that since the 19th century the Mambilla and other agriculturalists on the plateau have been subjugated by the Fulani who 'regularly raided the highlands for slaves and tribute.' He also notes (ibid.) that due to the increased amount of Fulani sedentarization on the Mambilla Plateau since the 1930s, many people have worked for their cattle–herding neighbours as gardeners and builders. The protection of the reserve, especially since the 1990s, has most likely intensified this trend.

The people I will be referring to who have created or become more dependent on economic relations with their Fulani neighbours come from the villages of Yabri and Gidan Kuma. Following their exclusion from the reserve in the 1990s, the people living in these settlements had their access to arable land reduced and thus quickly exhausted the small amount of land that they did have access to, two important power effects of protecting the reserve. People have probably adapted to this economic disruption, that is, they have probably resisted the effects of this power relationship, by relying for land and work on others who had better access to resources, namely, the Fulani. As one Mambilla farmer from Gidan Kuma put it:

A lot of people have to look outside the village [for land on which to farm]...They shall farm and share with the Fulani person...because of the exhausted land, that is why they look Fulani to give them more.

The number of people engaged in these inter–ethnic economic relations is high. At Yabri – a village that has always been situated outside the reserve and has not been impacted by resettlement – for instance, nearly all able–bodied people work for the Fulani in some capacity for ten months a year. The people from Yabri and Gidan Kuma who work for the Fulani are engaged in a system of sharecropping similar to that mentioned in relation to the residents of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba, whereby farmers cultivate land in return for either a cash payment or a portion of the annual yield of the farm.

The tasks are similar to those engaged in by the people of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba with their better off neighbours, but the conditions under which they are established, sustained and performed are markedly different. The process whereby the inhabitants of Yabri and Gidan Kuma create or maintain economic relations with their Fulani neighbours appears to be fraught with tension. According to the Mambilla man from Gidan Kuma cited above, the Fulani are stubborn and unwilling to give any of their land to others, even if they stand to gain a share of the food taken from the farm. This led him to make the following evaluation, which I, having not spent any significant amount of time with the Fulani, can not verify:

The Fulani, they are not like us...they are not good people.

The process of borrowing land from the Fulani was described by many people as 'begging.' Maintaining access to land acquired through 'begging' can also pose important obstacles. This is a problem currently faced by a number of people from Yabri. In response to a shortage of land, two to three years ago the headman of Yabri approached a group of neighbouring Fulani and asked them if his people might use some of their spare land for farming, in return for which, he stipulated, the Fulani would receive a percentage of the food harvested each year. The Fulani agreed to this system of sharecropping, and since that time people from Yabri have had access to more land on which to farm, that is, more than the small amount that they previously had access to. This arrangement is now under threat, however; the Fulani are now revoking the farmers' right to use the land, claiming that they require it for pasture.

Paid work is performed for the Fulani under exploitative conditions. When speaking with a group of men and women from Yabri I was told that the Fulani were slow in paying workers and that sometimes they failed to remunerate them at all, despite it being part of the contract into which both parties had entered. Further, when the farmers were paid it was often less than the agreed amount. The people with whom I spoke were unhappy with this state of affairs and expressed that they would prefer not to work for the Fulani and work only for themselves. It is probable that these labour relations also prevail

at the village of Gidan Kuma, where the pressure on land is equal to, if not higher than at Yabri.

I did not manage to talk to the Fulani about this phenomenon, and so I think it would be injudicious to label them as villains and the inhabitants of Yabri and Gidan Kuma as innocent targets of exploitation. I think it is wiser to treat the comments cited above simply as indicators of an unequal political–economic dynamic that exists between the two groups, regardless of its exact dimensions.

I have suggested in this chapter that in order to adapt to their debarment from the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve it is likely that many people have shifted their economic dependence onto certain of their neighbours. From a theoretical point of view I have interpreted these acts as resistance to the effects of an exercise of power, as survival strategies that attempt to mitigate the restrictions placed on the local field of possible action. Becoming dependent on others has saved the people excluded and relocated from the reserve from economic and social collapse, but it has also brought with it substantial social, economic and psychological costs. The costs involved in the adaptations of people from Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba are, on the one hand, the economic cost of having to work extremely hard in order to make an infertile piece of land produce food and, on the other, the social cost of remaining beholden to the donors of that land until such time as they can return the gift, which, judging by their current circumstances, will not be any time soon. The costs involved in the adaptations of the people from Yabri and Gidan Kuma are much more obvious. These people have to plead, yet not in order to get a fair deal, but in order to enter into exploitative economic relations with the Fulani. In the context of these relations the payment they receive for their work is either disproportionate to the effort they have invested, withheld, or nullified. As I noted earlier, these imbalanced relations are the most recent manifestations of a long process of political subjugation of the Mambilla and their agricultural neighbours by the Fulani. There have also been psychological consequences of these adaptations. People have become demoralised as a result of no longer having resources of their own and of having to ask and sometimes plead with others to gain access to them. People are unhappy that they have lost control of their lives.

Livelihood Diversification

I am arguing in this thesis is that an exercise of power implemented and perpetuated by the parties responsible for protecting the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve has established a barrier between local people and the reserve. This has most significantly affected the livelihood practices that presupposed significant use of the land inside the reserve, such as farming. But while the operation of power has placed limits on such activities, it has not stymied other economic practices that depended less on the land inside the reserve or did not depend on land at all. As I have shown above, subsequent to the 1990s the local field of possible action still contained within it alternative options able to be utilised in order to make a living, options that the operation of power failed to significantly effect. People have also adapted to their exclusion from the reserve, I suggest, by diversifying their livelihoods, that is, by diverting more of their time and energy into alternative income-generating strategies in an attempt to offset the losses incurred from the protection of the reserve. Again, following Foucault and Scott, I think this set of practices can be seen as acts of resistance, mainly in the sense that they are attempts to mitigate the power effects of protecting the reserve; people have not passively accepted the circumstances that conservation has created but have tried to move past or dodge those effects by various means. Like the other modes of resistance discussed earlier, all of the activities to be mentioned below probably existed prior to the 1990s and are therefore not new economic practices. Due to a paucity of data, however, it has been very difficult to understand how much importance any of these alternative revenue-generating activities had pre-exclusion. Consequently, the discussion of each strategy is mainly unaccompanied by historical information. Nonetheless, I still strongly advance the idea that people's reliance on these practices has increased significantly since having been excluded from the reserve from the 1990s onwards.

The phenomenon of livelihood diversification has been given due attention in the literature. Agyemang (1996), Thompson and Homewood (2002) and Bryceson (2002), all agree that as people's access to agricultural land declines they will begin to employ alternative, usually non-agricultural means of making money. It will be seen that this equation between land decrease and income diversification becomes problematic where the alternative strategies are not sufficient to compensate for the initial economic losses. Where people's access to land remains inadequate and their alternative strategies cannot counterbalance this, the equation begins to break down and eventually rupture.

What alternative strategies people have turned to in order to adapt to their exclusion from the reserve has depended on ecological, geographical as well as socio-economic factors. When the government re-established its control over the reserve in the 1990s, where a person lived, the resources which naturally occurred around that place, as well as the position they occupied in the local socio-economic hierarchy all weighed importantly on the decision to choose this or that activity in order to supplement their existing incomes. I will show this to be the case by discussing how livelihood diversification has played out in three settlements in the area: the hamlets of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba and the village of Yabri.

It is likely that the people of Mayo Ambak have managed the effects of their exclusion from the reserve by, *inter alia*, diversifying their livelihoods. These strategies appear to orient around a single resource: the palm tree. The small amount of land the inhabitants of Mayo Ambak have control over, whilst not rich in much, does happen to have a lot of palm trees growing on it. Owing to this fact, I think that people must have invested a good deal of their time and energy into this resource in order to adapt to the disruption of their livelihoods. The people of Mayo Ambak employ the palm tree for manifold income-generating ends. The tree is made to yield palm fruit, alcoholic palm wine, and palm oil. Palm wine, an alcoholic beverage derived from the sap of the palm tree, is obtained through a process known as 'tapping.' Using a machete, the 'tapper' cuts the flower of the tree to collect the sap in a container or gourd that is fastened to the flower stump. The initial liquid that comes from the flower is very sweet and is not alcoholic. This liquid begins to ferment immediately after collection, however, and within two hours

fermentation yields a wine 4% in alcoholic content, mildly intoxicating and sweet. The men of the hamlet usually tap palm wine three times a day – immediately after sunrise, in the middle of the day, and before they leave their farms in the evening – and in the process drink a good deal themselves. Once collected in containers the liquid is taken and sold either at local markets (usually the weekly market held at the village of Musa Akwole each Monday) or at neighbouring hamlets such as Musa Gamba. The prices asked of neighbours are much less than those asked at market.

From my observations it appeared that the sale of palm wine currently constituted a significant percentage of most people's income and presumably a much higher percentage than it did prior to exclusion, although, as alluded to earlier, I was not able to acquire solid data on this. Its importance as a revenue-generating activity was corroborated by the fact that the bulk of the palm wine sold at Musa Akwole was done so by people from Mayo Ambak. At market, people also sell palm fruit and palm oil, the latter of which is used for cooking and in the production of so-called 'traditional' soap. Both of these items fetch high prices and can also be considered vital streams of revenue. As to whether or not people make soap with the oil and then sell it I was unable to gather.

The sale of products extracted from the palm tree has thus probably been the main way in which people from Mayo Ambak have diversified their livelihoods after being told to stop using the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve in the 1990s. Their livelihood practices that depended on land within the reserve were constrained by an exercise of power and thus they have probably shifted a significant amount of time and energy onto this alternative activity that did not rely on land inside the reserve. I am also arguing here that such alternative practices can be seen as acts of resistance in that they are attempts to lessen or circumvent the effects generated by an exercise of power. Interestingly, people may have put certain of their animals into use as well.

The inhabitants of Mayo Ambak depend for a small part of their incomes on using their donkeys to ferry maize. This practice entails the donkey owner transporting for a client an amount of maize to a specified destination, which is usually the market, a service for which they receive either a cash payment or a share of the food that is being carried. I do not know for certain (a) whether this practice was a means of making money prior to

the 1990s and (b) whether dependence on this activity has increased since that time. It could be stated after Bryceson (2002), Agyemang (1996) and Thompson and Homewood (2002), that because access to agricultural land has decreased, people's dependence on this non-agricultural source of income has probably increased and that it, therefore, probably constitutes a way in which this community has adapted to the effects of an exercise of power that deprived them of access to essential resources. However, this may not be the case. It will be remembered from the previous chapter that local maize production has decreased since people have been kept out of the reserve. Consequently, the prominence of this activity, which hinges on the level of maize production, may have actually declined. On the other hand, however, it is possible that people from this settlement are transporting maize produced outside their immediate vicinity, that is, from places where food production has not been as badly affected by the protection of the reserve, such as the villages mentioned earlier. In this case, access to transportable maize would not be a great problem and ferrying maize by donkey could well have become increasingly relied upon in the face of decreasing agricultural returns.

A point worthy of mention is that this practice is one that brings the Ndola people of Mayo Ambak into social contact with members of other ethnic groups, most notably, the Fulani. According to my assistant, the Fulani and other ethnic groups do not usually get on very well. However, the Fulani are willing participants in this interaction and as a result of the exchange friendships between themselves and the Ndola are often forged. Have these economic adaptations possibly been used by other people in the area? If not, then why not?

The inhabitants of Musa Gamba have, like the people of Mayo Ambak, probably diversified their livelihoods as a way of adapting to their exclusion from the reserve. Yet, although the two settlements are alike in this respect, they differ in others. The area of land the inhabitants of Musa Gamba have control over does not have many palm trees growing on it and not once during my stay in the hamlet did I see any pack animals such as the donkey. Owing to these conditions, how the process of economic reconfiguration has played out in Musa Gamba has probably been different from Mayo Ambak.

The land controlled by Musa Gamba has a wide range of fruits growing on it. Scattered around and inside the village are mango, avocado and banana trees, which

typically occur in small groves of perhaps three or four trees each. These fruit trees are the only economically viable resource that people have had recourse to in order to adapt to the effects of their removal from the reserve. Consequently, I expect that people of this hamlet have shifted a good deal of their time and energy onto them. The headman of Musa Gamba had this to say:

These fruits: the banana, the avocado and the mango. Selling this is how we get [sustain a livelihood]...we have only small–small land and so we have to sell these.

Once collected from the tree the fruit is taken to local markets and neighbouring settlements and sold for cash or exchanged for food. This economic activity constitutes a significant percentage of most people's income and would rank alongside farming in terms of the revenue it generates. I did not spend a long period of time inquiring into this dimension of economic life of Musa Gamba, and therefore I was unable to collect any more detailed data on this activity, such as information relating to the amount of each fruit sold, the price for which it was sold, and so forth.

I stated earlier that the range of alternative economic strategies that people have had recourse to after having their actions vis–a–vis the reserve constrained is influenced by various factors. Those discussed so far have been ecological and geographical; what alternative livelihood options people at Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba have probably used depend largely on naturally occurring resources and the location of the settlements. But, I am not positing an ecologically deterministic argument. There are surely other factors at work. I will show this by looking at how people from the village of Yabri have adapted to the protection of the reserve since the 1990s. The questions I pose to guide this discussion is as follows: have the inhabitants of Yabri adapted to their exclusion from the reserve differently than the residents of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba? If so, then why?

As well as increasing their reliance on economic relationships with their Fulani neighbours, the Tigon and Mambilla residents of Yabri have probably adapted to the disruption of their economy by diversifying their livelihoods. The land belonging to the village has a range of fruits growing on it, which are taken and sold at local markets and

neighbouring villages. Therefore, because their agricultural activities were significantly impacted by the protection of the reserve, all of the three settlements examined in this part of the chapter would have relied more and more on selling fruit and fruit products.

In order to cope with being excluded from the reserve, the people of Yabri have also increasingly relied upon selling cattle, a practice that would most likely have previously existed. Prior to their exclusion from the reserve, a number of people owned cattle, with some individuals owning up to 30 head. I was able to establish that since the mid-1990s, these people have had to sell their cattle in order to sustain their livelihoods. But, unlike the strategies mentioned up to this point, this practice is not determined by ecological-geographic factors. Cattle are today (and I assume in the past) among the most expensive commodities in the area (today one head of cattle costs 100,000 Naira, which is roughly equivalent to 1,000 NZD). Therefore, the possession of cattle reflects the possession of a certain amount of wealth and social prestige, that is, a socio-economic status. One need only consider the Fulani as evidence of this point. The fact that people from Yabri had the option of selling cattle whilst the people of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba did not, then, is due to socio-economic factors; people from Yabri had the wealth to buy and breed (and then eventually sell) cattle whilst those from Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba did not.

So, the alternative livelihood strategies people have likely employed to adapt to their exclusion from the reserve from the 1990s onwards have hinged on various factors: the natural resources occurring in an area, the geographical proximity of a settlement to those resources, and the position that local people occupy in the local socio-economic system.

This chapter has shown that local people have managed to achieve a degree of economic stability in spite of great difficulties. However, these people still face tremendous challenges. All of the people I have referred to, yet especially the people of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba, do not have a reliable diet, cannot buy new clothes when needed or purchase medicine for the sick, and they do not have access to other amenities and resources that they need. The income-generating capacity of the alternative livelihood strategies has not been sufficient to counterbalance the economic disruption they have

endured as a result of being debarred from the reserve. The economic status of these places thus continues to decline.

The reassertion of external control over the reserve in the 1990s placed important limits of people's field of possible action, which, in turn, produced a series of effects upon local people's lives. All of the practices that depended significantly on the reserve – such as farming, hunting, and so forth – were either drastically curtailed or nullified altogether. However, whilst the exercise of power acted to constrain people's economic repertoire, it did not stifle it. Those practices that did not depend in large part on the land inside the reserve or did not depend on land at all were seemingly 'beyond the reach' of power. In this chapter I have described three such options: migration, relationships of economic dependence, and non-agricultural livelihood practices. The possibility of engaging in these activities was not seriously impacted by the exercise of power and in this chapter I have suggested that they were probably increasingly relied upon to manage the economic disruption caused by the protection of the reserve. Throughout this chapter I have also maintained that these adaptations can be understood as acts of resistance, insofar as they constitute ways in which local people have tried to overcome and negotiate the effects of an exercise of power, namely, the ongoing protection of the reserve. Now that I have discussed both the definite effects of protecting the reserve as well as the potential modes of resistance, I can go on to conclude the thesis as a whole.

6. Conclusion

A useful way of beginning this conclusion is to readdress certain of the questions that I posed in the introduction. It will be recalled that I identified several key problems that surrounded the interaction between conservation and local indigenous people. Perhaps the most central question I presented was: what happens when conservation and local people meet? This general query has informed the entire thesis and nearly all of the data I have provided has, in some respect, been a reply to it. I can begin to fashion an answer to this question through, firstly, reiterating what form the relationship between the parties responsible for protecting the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve and the local people who live in its vicinity has taken.

Throughout this thesis I have adopted a theoretical approach based on the ideas of Michel Foucault. I have employed his understanding of power and how it functions in the social body to interpret the relationship between conservation and local people in a particular geographical setting. Thus, my work can be seen not so much as a development but as a complement to the work of Ferguson (1996), who applied Foucault's ideas explicitly when analysing development in Lesotho. I say that my work is more of a complement to than a development of Ferguson because his approach was centred on Foucault's concept of power and its effects as formulated in *Discipline and Punish* (1977). In this text, Foucault, like Ferguson after him, looks at how an intentional exercise of power can have other, unintended, yet still concrete side-effects, such as the creation of categories of people (the creation of the 'delinquent' by the prison) or the deepening of matrixes of governance (the extension of bureaucratic state power by projects of 'development'). In this thesis, on the other hand, I have applied Foucault's understanding of power in its most general, abstract sense. Indeed, I don't think that it would have been useful to tread the same path as Ferguson. Disciplinary power is all about the production of practiced, individualised, and ultimately docile bodies and, although certain aspects of this form of power find expression at Ngel Nyaki, I do not think that this is really what is going on. Rather, the relationship between conservationists and local people in this setting has taken

the form of a general exercise of power: the actions of the people protecting the reserve have influenced the possible actions of the local people who live in its vicinity. For local people, the conservation of the reserve has meant it is no longer possible to physically enter a space they formerly had unrestricted access to. Following Foucault, it was seen that this exercise of power has been predicated on the operation of various material and ideological instruments of power. Firstly, I showed that local people's exclusion from the reserve has been made possible by surveillance and material coercions. Over the reserve's history, forest guards and patrollers have been used to enforce the legal sanctions protecting the reserve. Upon identifying any local people that have been exploiting the reserve, such agents have meted out fines and in some instances taken people to the local court for prosecution. The threat of these consequences has been highly effective in controlling the actions of local people. I also showed that this exercise of power has depended for its legitimacy and implementation on 'post-colonial' environmentalist discourse. Since the establishment of the reserve, conservationists and officials in the area have viewed the forests inside the reserve as irreplaceable sanctuaries of nature and represented the people who live beside them as destructive and ignorant. It has been seen that the functioning of this discourse, together with the mechanisms of surveillance and material coercions, facilitated the exercise of power I have described. So, this has been the basic form that the relationship between the parties responsible for protecting the reserve and the local people who live in its vicinity has taken. From here it is possible to more directly orient myself to the question of what happens when the two meet.

As stated above, in this thesis I have shown that the relationship between conservationists and local people has taken the form of an exercise of power; the former has stopped the latter from entering the reserve for any purpose. In Chapter 4, I discussed in detail the main effects of this power relationship. The first main effect of protecting the reserve has been the displacement and forced resettlement of the people living inside it; the actions of others forced local people to change where they lived. When the reserve was demarcated, the inhabitants of the two villages located inside the boundary of the reserve were evicted. The people of Gari Mando were subject to development-induced displacement and resettlement, or DIDR, whilst the people of Gidan Elom were subject to

development-induced displacement, or DID (De Wet and Fox, 2001). The former group's displacement was direct and final, whilst the displacement of the latter group was not; in 1969, the population of Gidan Elom was split into numerous segments, and one of those groups of people were displaced for a second time in 1995.

This difference in formal oversight had important ramifications, which I explained in terms of Cernea's model of the risks of displacement (1997). As I demonstrated, the people subject to DIDR were probably exposed, in some degree, to a number of the risks of displacement, such as marginalisation, loss of access to common resources, social disarticulation, food insecurity and malnourishment, increased morbidity and mortality. However, through the provisions of the government they were protected from the fundamental risks of landlessness and homelessness. The people subject to DID were not protected from any of these risks; they were simply ordered to leave and left to their own devices. The initial act of displacement that occurred in 1969 exposed this group of people to the risk of social disarticulation. Those people forced to relocate for a second time in 1995 (the move that brought into being the hamlet of Mayo Ambak) were dangerously exposed to becoming landless; they experienced a sharp decrease in livelihood and resultant marginalisation; they lost access to common resources; they had the range of foods they consumed significantly reduced, which created dietary problems; and, lastly, they saw their social and kinship networks partially disintegrate. So, while noting that all forms of displacement usually cause some degree of disruption to the lives of those forced to move, it was nonetheless seen, after De Wet (2006), that planning is an important precondition for 'successful' resettlement; like many of the examples I cited in my literature review, people subject to DIDR have fared better than those subject to DID.

After this, I went on to consider what economic effects the protection of the reserve produced. Protecting the reserve meant not only that people could not live within its boundary but also that people could no longer enter the reserve for economic purposes. However, before examining the economic effects in detail I firstly clarified that the economic effects that I would be focussing on were those caused by the re-establishment of governmental control from the 1990s onwards. The focus of my discussion rested on the inhabitants of Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba. It was seen that as a result of being

excluded (and for many people displaced) from the reserve from the 1990s onwards, people from these hamlets have had their livelihoods seriously disrupted. The total area of land that people have access to, as well as the quality of the land they have access to, has been dramatically reduced, which has caused a decrease in food production as well as a significant decline in income. Exclusion from the reserve has impacted the former social organisation of farming and the psychological and technical benefits that were attached to it. The economic practices of hunting, as well as the collection of various timber and non-timber forest products have all been impacted heavily and, in some instances, disappeared altogether. Lastly, the significant decrease in food production has been accompanied by a reduction in the diversity of what people eat. Therefore, the exclusion of local people from the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve has produced economic disruption similar to that observed in other parts of the world (Adams and McShane, 1992; Nygren, 2003; Colchester, 2004). Further, following these authors, it has been seen that the cause of this disruption has been a general neglect of the local social context. As with the many projects of nature and wildlife conservation I referred to in my review of the literature, local people were either minimally consulted or not consulted at all in the reserve's planning, its demarcation, or its management and have thus derived little or no benefit from its existence. A 'western' conservation model has been applied to a non-western social context with harmful economic results.

However, I did not hastily generalise this specific data. Whilst acknowledging that all local people have been subject to some degree of economic disruption, I emphasised that how the protection of the reserve affected their livelihoods was an inherently uneven process. It was seen that the main variable influencing this process was the amount of unused land the inhabitants of any given settlement had access to subsequent to their final exclusion from the reserve after the 1990s. At Musa Akwole and Gidan Kuma, economic disruption was not pronounced, while at Mayo Ambak, Musa Gamba, and Yabri, it was more serious. This was especially the case at Mayo Ambak and Musa Gamba, where many people also had to manage being displaced for a second time.

I then went on to discuss the positive economic effects the protection of the reserve has had. I brought attention to the fact that the principle source of these has been the

Nigerian Montane Forest Project managed by Dr Hazel Chapman. However, I noted that these economic benefits were insignificant when compared to the economic disruption caused by the protection of the reserve. As well as being relatively insignificant, it was seen that they were also distributed unevenly. Variables influencing this process were gender, age and the proximity of any settlement to the NMFP field station. The fact that both the negative and positive economic effects of protected areas are often distributed unevenly is something also noted by Thompson and Homewood (2002).

Following this discussion I went on to examine the social and cultural impacts of protecting the reserve. This section of the thesis took the form of a case study, wherein I looked at how the conservation of the reserve has disrupted one particular social institution, namely, 'contribution.' I showed that significant decreases in food production gave rise to selfishness and the consequent erosion of this series of institutionalised food sharing practices, a chain of events similar to that described by Turnbull in his study of the Ik (1972). This social erosion has continued to the point where today intra-village 'contribution' is rarely practiced. I concluded this section by bringing to attention the fact that inter-village food sharing was still prevalent and that its existence was the principle reason underlying why the structure that housed 'contribution' at Musa Gamba was in good repair, whilst that at Mayo Ambak was dilapidated. Thus, in this section it was seen that conservation and protected areas impact strongly on learned and habitual patterns of behaviour (Brockington, 2002; Fabricius and De Wet, 2002; Anderson and Berglund, 2003).

I also demonstrated in this chapter that how people think has also been affected by the protection of the reserve. Many local people feel that they are powerless to change the circumstances created by conservation and that the trajectory their lives will take is at the mercy of exogenous forces. This sort of demoralisation is an important dimension of how local people are impacted by protected areas (Hagberg, 1992; Egbe, 1997). As well as feeling disempowered, local people feel resent towards the parties responsible for protecting the reserve for not fulfilling certain promises and it was seen that many local people appear to not fully support the existence of the reserve. Following Scott (1985; 1990) and Foucault (1978; 1982), I suggested that the resentful statements I was told are

acts of resistance, insofar as they both challenge the claims made on local people by conservationists as well as advance the claims of local people vis-à-vis that superordinate group. As well as openly critiquing the exercise of power in which they are embedded as subordinates, I provided two examples of where local people issued favourable remarks to me regarding the reserve and its continued protection. Both of these outward signs of affinity with the actions and ideals of environmentalism were revealed to be specious. In one case I demonstrated, after Scott (1990), that the positive comments were a 'public transcript' of power beneath which lay a 'private transcript' that secretly critiqued the avowed support. In the other case it was seen that the positive remarks had less to do with any genuine affinity with conservation and more to do with the acquisition of personal and collective goods and services. So, in some instances, while local people may appear to approve of, or even espouse conservation, beneath the surface they may be either secretly critiquing it or attempting to use it as a conduit through which to acquire wealth.

After having shown in Chapter 4 how the protection of the reserve, as an exercise of power, affected the lives of local people, I then went on to discuss in Chapter 5 how these effects might have been negotiated. It was seen that although the exercise of power implemented and maintained by the external organisations responsible for protecting the reserve had imposed serious limits on the local field of possible action, it had not completely stifled it. Despite being unable to enter or use the reserve for any purpose, local people still had available to them alternative economic practices that continued to be put to use, and which might well have been put to greater use than before, in order to make a living. At this point I emphasised the limitations of the data that I possessed and made clear that I could not establish with any certainty the 'before' picture for many of these activities. The corollary of this was that I would argue, mainly on logical grounds, that because their access to the reserve had been prohibited, local people would have probably come to depend increasingly on the alternative livelihood strategies that remained in their possible field of action. From here, I went on to argue that these possible adaptations could be understood, after Scott and Foucault, as indirect and non-confrontational acts of resistance. It was seen that whilst they were not open and direct attacks on the ongoing exercise of power they could, nonetheless, be construed as resistance, insofar as they

constituted attempts by local people to mitigate the effects of an exercise of power. That is, my argument centred on the fact that local people had not simply accepted the circumstances generated by the protection of the reserve but had actively tried to circumvent, negotiate, and ultimately resist them. As Foucault argued about power relations in general, I showed that when local people and conservation meet the relationship is never unidirectional.

The first mode of resistance that I detailed was migration. It was seen that all migrants are driven by economic forces; they are moving away from sites of economic disruption to places that they hope will afford better access to the resources that they need in order to survive. I showed that migration takes two main forms: 'polar' and permanent migration. The main reason why some migrants chose to return to their home villages after leaving, whilst others chose not to, was kinship and family. I finished this section with a brief discussion of the prominence of migration within the various settlements that surround the reserve. Where settlements possessed an inadequate amount of land after being excluded from the reserve in the 1990s migration tended to be prominent, and at the one village that had recourse to significant amounts of spare land, migration appeared to be slight.

I demonstrated in this chapter that local people have probably also resisted the effects of protecting the reserve by increasing the amount they work on their neighbours' land for either food or money. These were further practices that lay beyond the reach of power. I showed that these economic linkages usually take either of two forms, namely, sharecropping or paid work, and that they obtain between local people and either of two groups: other cultivators that live in nearby villages not significantly affected by the protection of the reserve or the mainly pastoralist Fulani. I argued that since the 1990s reliance on these linkages has probably increased and that more and more people would have been forced into and made to depend on them.

Lastly, it was seen that, in adapting to their exclusion from the reserve, certain local people have probably shifted their economic dependence onto the Fulani. Considerable numbers of people are currently employed by local Fulani, with some people engaged in these relations for up to ten months a year. They work as gardeners and farmers on Fulani

land, in return for which they are supposed to receive either food or money. However, I showed that local people claim that the conditions under which labour relations are established, maintained and performed are unfair and exploitative. I ended this section by making some brief remarks regarding the various costs 'paid' by local people for shifting their economic dependence onto their better off neighbours. It was seen that all people have had to bear significant socio-economic costs as a consequence of working for their various neighbours, and I showed how these costs are the product of the different relations of dependence in which local people engage.

The final segment of this chapter focussed on livelihood diversification as a potential mode of resistance to the effects of protecting the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve. I reiterated that my data on the pre-exclusion status of the practices to be described was sparse and that, again, my argument was based more on strong logical grounds than on empirical data. Following Bryceson (2002), my argument was that in response to their exclusion from the reserve, many local people had, in addition to the two adaptations mentioned above, probably placed greater time and energy than they had before into alternative, non-agricultural livelihood strategies. These included: selling products derived from the versatile palm tree, using pack animals to ferry maize to markets selling various fruits, and selling cattle. It was assumed that local people had not always relied on these practices so significantly and that their current prominence could be in some way be explained by the economic disruption caused by the protection of the reserve. I showed that the range of non-agricultural livelihood strategies that people had recourse to after their exclusion from the reserve depended significantly on various ecological-geographical, as well as socio-economic factors.

I think that my analysis of local people's adaptation to conservation is one of the main things this research has contributed to the academic literature. As noted in Chapter 2, there exist very few studies on how the effects of nature and wildlife conservation are negotiated by indigenous populations. While it was noted that my data was limited in certain respects, I feel that I have shed light onto this important dimension of the local experience of protected areas. Most studies of the 'people and parks' issue have tended to focus on the effects of conservation and therefore usually treat local people as passive, inert

entities unable to help themselves. I hope that in this thesis I have, mainly through my use of a Foucauldian theoretical perspective, overcome this epistemological barrier and shown that people strategise and negotiate by virtue of the fact that power is exercised over them; resistance is built into power. It should have been seen that for there to be power there must be resistance and for there to be resistance there must be power.

The foregoing review of my thesis has shed some light on the main question I posed at the beginning of this conclusion, as well as the other problems that I identified in my introduction. In this thesis I have shown what happened when conservation and local people met at the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve in eastern Nigeria. Although a process marked with notable punctuations, the protection of the reserve has caused serious disruption to the lives of the local people who live in its vicinity. However, as I noted, this exercise of power has been a social phenomenon; it has not simply involved the aggressive imposition of a superordinate group's interests onto another, subordinate group. The disruption caused by restricting the local field of possible action has probably been negotiated through indirect and non-confrontational forms of resistance. Despite these attempts to mitigate the claims made on them by conservationists, however, it has been seen that local people have undoubtedly experienced a significant drop in living standards as a result of being excluded from the reserve, especially since the 1990s. Thus, local people have been the 'losers' in this relationship whilst the parties behind the protection of the reserve have been the 'winners.' It has been seen that conservationists have 'won' not due to their successful integration of the preservation of both biodiversity and people's livelihoods (the current definition of a 'successful' conservation project) but because they have had access to and employed an apparatus of power in order to achieve their goal of establishing and maintaining a protected natural area free from human intrusion.

As a way of bringing the thesis to a close, I would like to offer some parting thoughts about my research as well as potential directions for future projects. Firstly, the near total absence of the Fulani in this thesis is something that has vexed me from the time I commenced writing up until the present. As expressed in my background chapter, there are a significant number of Fulani pastoralists that openly and directly resist the exercise of power that has maintained the exclusion of the villagers focussed on in this thesis. They are

the only local group that continues to live temporarily in the reserve as well as exploit it for livelihood purposes on a day to day basis. Therefore, the Fulani are to me a highly interesting object of study and I think that any future research I conduct in the area could possibly be focussed on them. How have they managed to directly resist the exercise of power that has so severely reduced other local people's field of possible action? Is this resistance dependent on the wealth and political power of the Fulani? Are their livelihood practices the cause of any serious ecological degradation? When studying the Fulani it is these sorts of questions that I would pose. I am confident that the main obstacle I encountered in incorporating them into this thesis, namely, their distrust of my motives to be in the area, could be overcome provided I could spend a longer period of time in the field than I did in 2006. As I stated, I decided early on in my fieldwork that three months was not long enough for me to dedicate any time to establishing rapport with a group that held serious doubts about me.

Another aspect of my work which has slightly disappointed me was my inability to provide much verifiable data on the pre-exclusion status of the practices probably employed by local people to negotiate the effects of protecting the reserve. It was not the main thrust of my data collection in the field, and it was only after I had returned to New Zealand that I realised that I would encounter difficulty making an argument about resistance based only on empirical grounds. From my own experiences at Ngel Nyaki I am confident that the practices described in Chapter 5 have been important ways in which local people have mitigated the disruption caused by conservation, but without hard evidence to back up my inclinations, however strong, I fear that the reader may have been left feeling a little doubtful. If I could somehow have the fieldwork over again, this is definitely an aspect of people's lives that I would have focussed on much more closely. This empirical gap could also be filled by any future research that I conduct in the area. I would also have liked to explore in greater detail local people's direct resistance to the reserve, namely, through illegal hunting, farming, fruit cultivation etc. During my stay I was able to establish that practices of this kind did exist in some shape or form, but I was prevented from discovering their prevalence and frequency. It would be interesting to look into how many people participate in illegal livelihood activities, how they are able to 'get away' with

them in the context of increased surveillance, and also if the local people employed by the various organisations responsible for protecting the reserve collude in these activities in any way.

To conclude, in this thesis it has been seen what happened when a group of local indigenous people met with conservation; who 'won' and who 'lost' in this relationship; as well as why this was the end result. It is apparent that the organisations currently responsible for protecting the reserve are presented with a significant problem as they face the future: a local population that has had their lives seriously disrupted by nature and wildlife conservation. This is a problem that cannot be ignored but must be acknowledged and acted upon immediately. Local people's livelihoods, psychological well-being, and their society and culture, need protection just as much as the biodiversity harboured within the Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve. The 'double sustainability' of both must now be the objective (Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau, 2006). The main question is now how this can be achieved.

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