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Protected Areas and Resettlement: What Scope for Voluntary Relocation?

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Summary. — Concern over the possible impacts of physical and economical displacement from protected areas is widespread and growing. Partly as a consequence of this there is now an increasing tendency to promote only voluntary displacement from protected areas. There are, however, good reasons to be cautious before welcoming this policy shift. In the first instance we should note that the extent of past evictions is far from clear, but that the demand for future displacement is likely to rise. Second, it is not always easy to distinguish voluntary from forced displacement. We discuss the difficulty of determining volition in migration and diverse contemporary conservation cases where different forms of pressure can be brought to bear within the bounds of “voluntary” migration. In the main part of this article we discuss in detail a case study of a particularly well known and apparently successful voluntary resettlement from the Korup National Park in Cameroon. We conclude that the many current attributes of protected areas’ policy and history in poorer parts of the world are likely to preclude the possibility of real voluntary resettlement. © 2007 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

Key words — Africa, Cameroon, Korup, conservation, resettlement, displacement

1. INTRODUCTION

Displacement from protected areas is highly controversial. There is no doubt that this subject sharply divides the conservation community (Wilkie *et al.*, 2006). Advocates of wilderness preservation insist that the presence of people is anathema to their ideals (Nash, 1967; Oelschlaeger, 1991) and therefore human displacement is fundamental to conservation (Terborgh & Peres, 2002). Critics challenge the historical and philosophical adequacy of this conception (Adams & McShane, 1992; Brockington, 2002; Cronon, 1995; Gomez-Pompa & Kaus, 1992; Schmidt-Soltau, 2003). Many ecologists argue that people’s hunting, habitat modification, or stock grazing renders some wildlife more vulnerable to extinction (Bodmer, Eisenberg, & Redford, 1997). Critics argue that local residents are some of the best guardians that

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valuable habitats could have (Schwartzman, Moreira, & Nepstad, 2000a, 2000b). On the ground, human rights and indigenous people's organizations accuse conservation organizations of evicting people from parks (Chapin, 2004; Colchester, 2003; Dowie, 2005; FPP, 2003). These accusations are strenuously denied by the organizations involved, while accepting that this is inherently a difficult terrain (Seligmann *et al.*, 2005). The tensions became particularly apparent in the last World Parks Congress in Durban in 2003 (Sustainable Development, 2003, p. 1; IUCN, 2005, pp. 42–45). Resolutions of the Congress recommended that indigenous people should no longer be displaced from national parks (IUCN, 2003, Resolution 24) and that all social costs of park creation should be fully compensated (IUCN, 2003, Resolution 29).

Some conservation organizations are less inclined to advocate involuntary resettlement from protected areas, but do support voluntary resettlement to protect wildlife and forests from human impacts (Worldwide Fund for Nature [WWF] 2005; Dowie, 2005). This reflects a broader shift in mainstream conservation policy, which favors socially just conservation: the World Parks Congress recommended “that protected area management strives to reduce, and in no way exacerbate, poverty” (IUCN, 2003, Resolution 29), and the 7th Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity called for an assessment of “the economic and socio-cultural costs and impacts arising from the establishment and maintenance of protected areas, particularly for indigenous and local communities, and (an adjustment of) policies to ensure that such costs and impacts—including the cost of livelihood opportunities forgone—are equitably compensated” (CBD, 2004, p. 354).¹

The move away from forced displacement to voluntary resettlement has two obvious advantages for conservation organizations:

- It reduces the critique of their activities.
- It is cheaper: international policy standards for resettlement are only applicable for involuntary resettlements (ADB, 2003; AfDB, 2003; OECD, 1992; World Bank, 2001), while voluntary resettlements do not necessarily need to fulfil these expensive international standards.²

The move away from involuntary resettlement in favor of voluntary resettlement could indicate a significant step toward more equitable conservation, but this will depend on how

the policy shift is actually applied in practice (cf. Jeanrenaud, 2002). The following article discusses the social and conceptual environment for a new “voluntary-resettlement-only” policy. It first summarizes the debate about the nature of voluntary and involuntary displacement and resettlement and examines their relevance to a variety of contemporary conservation problems. It then examines the recent prominence, and potential for growth, of displacement from protected areas and assesses a well known example of a voluntary resettlement. Finally, it discusses the chances and risks embodied in this policy change and what scope these arguments leave for voluntary resettlement from protected areas.

2. VOLUNTARY VERSUS INVOLUNTARY DISPLACEMENT

Displacement refers both to physical removal of people from their homes and restrictions on their resource use and access to places which prevents them from pursuing their livelihoods (economic displacement, Cernea, 2005). Current standards define evictions, forced migration, displacement, and involuntary resettlement “as the compulsory removal processes initiated when a project's need for ‘right of way’ is deemed to override the ‘right to stay’ of the inhabiting populations.” (Cernea & Schmidt-Soltau, 2006, p. 1810).

The right forcibly to move people from their homes at the behest of a higher social good (called eminent domain) is one of the defining powers of states. It is exercised by governments all over the world for diverse purposes. The International Finance Cooperation (IFC) defines involuntary resettlement in the following terms:

“Resettlement is considered involuntary when affected individuals or communities do not have the right to refuse land acquisition that results in displacement. This occurs in cases of: (i) lawful expropriation or restrictions on land use based on eminent domain (Such restriction may include restrictions of access to legally designated nature conservation areas) and (ii) negotiated settlements in which the buyer can resort to expropriation or impose legal restrictions on land use if negotiations with the seller fail.” (IFC, 2006, p. 16).

When conservation organizations are criticized for removing people from protected areas, they usually claim their mandate is justified by domestic conservation laws or policies,

which do not allow human settlement in particular types of protected areas (Schlager & Ostrom, 1992; Veit, Nshala, & Odhiambo, 2006). However this stance is open to criticism for several reasons:

— First, it may ignore the fact that most of the conservation laws have been elaborated under the technical guidance and financial assistance of conservation groups. The WWF especially is active in the policy making domain. The late Steve Gartlan was WWF country director in Cameroon and drafted the country's forest laws in the early 1990s (pers. commun., Gartlan, 1999). He considered this external involvement into national policy making well justified as: "it is unrealistic and irresponsible to hand over the duty for protection of these unique ecosystems to the local communities who have neither the resources nor the biological education necessary to manage them." (Gartlan, 1998, p. 223).

— Second, the possibility of conservation funding post-displacement may strengthen a government's resolve to move residents whose abode has recently, or will shortly, become illegal (Pearce, 2005).

— Third, the right of eminent domain entails the responsibility adequately to compensate evictees. This duty is rarely undertaken by many governments in the developing world, which quite often expropriate with reference to eminent domain land and resources without offering compensation (Herbert & Healey, 2006, see also part 3).

Displacement from protected areas on the basis of the eminent domain will, if undertaken properly, require expensive and complex compensation arrangements. Voluntary resettlement—or soft eviction (Adamson, 2003)—has been introduced as a means of addressing this complex problem, for it allows the affected people to decide whether they want to stay behind or take part in a resettlement process, which might offer them new opportunities. Most donors and governments do not have policies for "voluntary" resettlements. This makes voluntary resettlements, from the operational point of view, much easier, cheaper, and acceptable. But its justice, and the consequent lack of safeguards, hinges upon the volition of those taking part. Indeed, given that voluntary resettlement is not subject to the same controls and policy surveillance as involuntary displacement, it is essential to ask under what circum-

stances resettlement from protected areas can be considered voluntary?

The exact meaning of *voluntary* migration, and the distinction between *volition* and *compulsion*, is an old and central question in migration studies. The official definitions do not, unfortunately, elucidate the issue. The most widely accepted definition of forced displacement might be that established by the United Nations:

"Forced displacement [...] involves policies that have the purpose or the effect of compelling people to leave their home and place of habitual residence, including in some cases relocating them to another area of the country, against their will. The absence of such will or consent implies that there is a certain amount of coercion. [...] If a real choice exists for the persons concerned as to whether to leave or not, in other words, if they could reasonably be expected to choose to remain in their home areas, their movement is voluntary" (UN, 1997a II, IV, Paragraph 3).³

But what is a real choice? Peter Penz (as well as Tony Oliver-Smith, Chuck Geisler, and other theorists of resettlement studies) reminds us that one always has a choice: even at gun point, even when the reservoir fills up, or the house one lives in is set on fire (Penz, 2002). Certainly it is a choice to decide to resist or to resettle, when this is requested by a government, project, company, or non-governmental organization. From this perspective all completed resettlements could be considered voluntary. Or conversely, as Oliver-Smith and Hansen argued some time ago that "all migration implies some degree of prior relative deprivation ... any type of migration therefore expresses a need ... to redress some problem" (Oliver-Smith & Hansen, 1982, p. 3). As we are all constrained by larger structures and circumstances, there is bound to be an involuntary component to all migrations.

As is often the case, it is helpful here to dispense with the bald categories (voluntary–involuntary) and consider a range of possible categorizations or typologies of migrations. Oliver-Smith and Hansen report Petersen's distinction between forced and impelled migrations, where migrants have little real choice in the first instance, but retain some power in the latter (Petersen, 1958). Petersen also distinguished between innovative and conservative migrations. Innovative migrants are seeking to change something about their circumstances, whereas conservative migrants move in order that they might remain unchanged in other respects.

Flight and displacement are examples of conservative movements, for they are characterized by a lack of previous desire to settle elsewhere. Oliver-Smith and Hansen also note that Eichenbaum (1975) and much later and in more details: (Van Hear, 1998) added another dimension by distinguishing between the choice of whether to move, and the choice of where to move to (Tables 1 and 2).

But while we need to be aware of the complicated variety of migrations, and the diversity of forms and the types of compulsion, we also have to be wary of assigning any given migration to one particular category. Consent to movement is not given or withheld simply. Consent is won by diverse mixtures of force, argument, and appeal to self-interest or higher moral values.

For example, consider the far north in Russia (Round, 2005). After the end of the forced settlement schemes of the Tsars and Stalin, this area was settled by enticing migrants with a large number of benefits, including good accommodation, wages, consumer goods, and holidays as well as imbuing the migrants with a powerful sense that they were making a substantial contribution to the economic development of the then Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the subsidies which sustained a reasonable standard of living in the far north, many have left. But many others refuse to move, leaving the region over-populated. Those who insist on remaining persist despite deliberate government neglect, such as failing to repair heating systems in public buildings while winter temperatures fell to -50°C . They reject new government rhetoric urging them to move, feeling their original work has been unjustly abandoned and that they could not easily survive without the social networks that currently sustained them in the far north. Could this sort of government pressure (failure to provide heating) be considered coercion? Are those who reluctantly take up World Bank sponsored relocation packages being compelled into moving by a deliberate ratcheting up of the push factors in their decision-making?

Then there are the politics of collective decisions to move or stay. For example, the secondary school in Tanzania where Dan Brockington conducted research in 1999–2000 was highly praised for the self-help efforts undertaken to build and staff it, but strongly resented by those who lost land, without compensation, that was needed for its sport pitches, building and farm.

In the face of powerful rhetoric or moral goods (in this case development and education), opposition is easily silenced, or else not expressed at all. As Sullivan and others have shown, displacement can work through processes of erasure and expunging, which can leave little space for conventional politics of contestation or affirmation (Sullivan, 2002). Gramsci has famously argued, hegemonic projects can appear to win the support of subaltern groups even if their interests are poorly served by them (Simon, 1982).

Conservationists wield powerful moral goods such as “the environment,” “biodiversity,” “wilderness,” and “indigeneity.” With respect to protected areas, the policies required, and the landscape scale on which they are pursued, demand careful political processes of alliance building to generate the political will to carry them out. This is not a realm where people necessarily simply make decisions to stay or leave. Rather migration and residence are the result of a mixture of physical and rhetorical persuasion and coercion. If migrations appear voluntary it is well to consider how consent for them was won.

The difficulties of applying categories like voluntary and involuntary become particularly difficult when market ideology is powerful. Oliver-Smith observed that “Generally, people displaced by private development are considered to be voluntary migrants, having accepted a sum of money in exchange for their land. In the dominant ideology, market transactions are seen as entered into voluntarily by free economic actors” (Oliver-Smith, 2001, p. 15). But it is not always true, as market transactions frequently mask all manner of forms of coercion and are often anything but voluntary (Oliver-Smith, 2001). Displacement from industrial areas in Central Europe leaves little room for individual dissent, when entire villages disappear to create space for lignite exploitation or other development schemes (Roos, 2005). This is directly relevant to the conservation debate. Consider, for example, the extension of the Addo Elephant National Park and the creation of private wildlife reserves in South Africa, which incorporate farms, which have been bought at market price from their owners (Goenewald & Macleod, 2004). The conservation policy here is that only land from which people have already been moved is acceptable for such developments. One school of thought argued that this is a perfect example of voluntary resettlement, as none of the farmers was

Tables 1&2. *Choices of whether and where to move to*

Decision to move to new place	Influenced by society Determined by society	Decision to move from original place	
		Influenced by society Migrants Allocatees	Determined by society Refugees Slaves
<i>Source: Oliver-Smith and Hansen (1982).</i>			
	Voluntary migration More choices and options	Less choices Fewer options	Involuntary migration Few choices and options
	Proactive migrants		Reactive migrants
Outward	Tourists, visitors, students, professional transients, business travellers	Economic/labor migrants, Rural-urban migrants, anticipatory refugees, people induced to move	Refugees, expellees, internally displaced people, development displacement, disaster displacement
Inward	Primary migrant newcomers, family reunion/formation	Visitors, students, or tourists who seek asylum	Asylum seekers, refugee seekers
Return	Returning migrants and refugees, voluntary repatriates, repatriates long-settled abroad	Returning migrants and refugees, Mixture of compulsion, inducement and choice	Deported or expelled migrants, Refugees subject to <i>refoulement</i> , forced returnees, Repatriates long-settled abroad
Onward	Resettlement, dispersal by strategy	Third country resettlement of refugees	Scattering, forced dispersal
Staying put	Stayers by choice, household dispersal strategy	People confined to safe havens, safe countries, and safe areas	Stayers of necessity containment

Source: Van Hear (1998).

forced; in fact they all were happy as the prices offered were higher than the average market value. Others—among them the World Bank and the Global Environment Facility, which contributed funds to the company organizing the extension of Addo National Park—noted that in this process the farm workers are losing their right to free housing and land, which had been offered to them under the Apartheid regime to justify salaries far below the minimum wage (Luck, 2003). Nevertheless, the onus of carrying out the removals properly and justly lay with the farm-owner and it was only through a last minute, and much debated, adjustment that the World Bank contributed funds to ensure that affected farm workers were properly compensated.⁴

Beside the decision to move, the decision on how and where to reconstruct the communities is even more complex. Reconstructing a community means attempting to replace through administrative routine an evolutionary process in which social, cultural, economic, and environmental interactions arrived at through trial and error and deep experiential knowledge develop, enabling a population to achieve a mutually sustaining social coherence and material sustenance over time. The idea that this process could be the outcome of planning is ambitious to say the least (Oliver-Smith, 2005). The same is true for the often overlooked complexity of the relation between resettlers and hosts (Gebre, 2003).

We raise these concerns for two reasons:

— First, having already been well aired, they are not often visible in recent writings. There is a clear risk that when displacement debates incorporate a new moving force (conservation), the old debates will be overlooked by newcomers to the field. Indeed for development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR), the question is resolved to an extent that the most detailed comparison between voluntary and involuntary resettlement (Eriksen, 1999) does not contain a single sentence on this point. Involuntary resettlement describes all cases in which a development project or a new policy requires land owned or used by an individual or group, while voluntary migration is when people decide on their own to move to a different site. The term “voluntary resettlement” is, in that literature, an oxymoron.

— Second, because there is going to be continued pressure to safeguard protected areas, which are perceived to be under threat from

the activities of resident or proximate human populations. The presence of people in many protected areas makes this highly likely. The danger therefore is that people will still continue to be moved, but in ways which are labelled “voluntary” and which become harder to control with good policy.

3. DISPLACEMENTS FROM PROTECTED AREAS

The extent of knowledge about displacement from protected areas is contested (Brockington & Igoe, 2006). Recently two leading authors claimed, in a book devoted to making conservation practice more just and effective, that the literature on evictions from protected areas offers “a massive cataloguing of past, recent and ongoing abuses” (Borgerhoff-Mulder & Coppolillo, 2005, p. 36). In contrast Wilkie and colleagues, when announcing a research project into Gabonese protected areas originally called “Do protected areas hurt local people,” claimed that the “assertion that establishing national parks without recompense compromises the . . . welfare of people who live in these protected landscapes is . . . largely apocryphal . . . because to date little empirical evidence exists to substantiate the contention that parks are bad for local people” (Wilkie *et al.*, 2006, p. 247).

In our view all these authors miss the point. Borgerhoff-Mulder and Coppolillo’s assessment is claiming certainty, where our knowledge base is still weak. The literature is diffuse and often unsystematic, many of the reports are poor quality, a substantial minority merely mention the fact of removal. The literature also covers remarkably few protected areas. There are nearly 5,000 strictly protected areas (IUCN categories 1–4) larger than 100 km² in size, which, by virtue of their size, may well have restrictions on local resource use. Yet a recent literature review of physical displacement by Brockington and Igoe (2006) has found reports on less than 200 protected areas. There is only one study, of which we are aware, which systematically applies a consistent methodology to assess involuntary resettlements and evictions from protected areas at the regional level (Cernea & Schmidt-Soltau, 2003, 2006; Schmidt-Soltau, 2003). No study exists, to our knowledge, that examines the overall nature and extent of evictions and resettlements on

the basis of an appropriately sampled selection of protected areas worldwide and which is based on a comprehensive and systematic methodology (Brockington & Schmidt-Soltau, 2004; Brockington, Igoe, & Schmidt-Soltau, 2006).

But even if there is no substantial catalogue of investigation, we do have some detailed examinations of individual parks and regional case studies. Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau's survey of six Central African Countries consistently found widespread abuses and suffering. Diverse detailed case studies from all over the world support their findings and demonstrate that the displacement of people from parks resulted in the impoverishment of those affected (Brockington, 2002; Burnham, 2000; Catton, 1997; Cernea, 2000; Cernea & Schmidt-Soltau, 2003, 2006; Fabricius & de Wet, 2002; Ganguy, 2004; Galvin *et al.*, 2002; Geisler, 2003; Ghimire, 1994, 1997; Hitchcock, 1995, 2001; Igoe & Brockington, 1999; Ikeya, 2001; Jacoby, 2001; Keller & Turek, 1998; Koch, 1997; Magome & Fabricius, 2004; McLean & Straede, 2003; Nabakov & Lawrence, 2004; Neumann, 1998; Olwig & Olwig, 1979; Overton, 1979; Schmidt-Soltau, 2003, 2005; Shyamsundar & Kramer, 1997; Spence, 1999; Tacconi & Bennett, 1995; Turton, 1987, 2002). Although they are few in number their message does not vary.

Empirically, therefore, *contra* Wilkie *et al.* there are reasons to suspect problems. Indeed the reasoning and logic of Wilkie and his colleagues is hard to follow. If protected areas entail eviction and/or restrictions of access to resources and if this has occurred "without recompense," then how could welfare not be affected? Eviction without recompense needs must be harmful. The position of Wilkie and his colleagues may reflect a predilection to strong conservation strategies. Curiously, even the President of the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS), for whom Wilkie and his colleagues are working, observed that "If the title [Do protected areas hurt people] were part of a questionnaire, it would be thrown out for bias" (Sanderson pers. commun., 2004).

We do not learn much more if we try to establish the extent to which protected areas are lived in and used by people. The World Database of Protected Areas does not provide any information on their social environment and the best surveys on the subject are now substantially dated. The only comprehensive regional surveys are old. Work in India in the

late 1980s on the majority of protected areas then extant found that 56% of national parks and 72% of sanctuaries in India had resident people (Kothari, Pande, Singh, & Variava, 1989) and a survey of 70% of national parks in South America in 1991 found that 85% had people living inside them (Amend & Amend, 1995). More recent studies are not comprehensive, but still suggest that protected areas are characterized by high rates of occupancy. A study of 91 protected areas in well-populated tropical areas found that 70% were occupied by people (Bruner, Gullison, & Rice & da Fonseca, 2001). Individual studies in Mongolia, East Kalimantan, Myanmar, and the Central African Sub-region indicate the use rates of 70–100% (Bedunah & Schmidt, 2004; Jepson, Momberg, & Noord, 2002; Rao, Rabinowitz, & Khaing, 2002; Cernea & Schmidt-Soltau, 2006).

Research using remote sensing to investigate agriculture in protected areas hardly elucidates the problem. The only global survey concluded that it is practiced in 29% of the known area of protected areas (McNeely & Scherr, 2003; Molnar, Scherr, & Khare, 2004). But there are a number of problems with this analysis. The satellite data cannot detect crops under tree cover, and so underestimates agroforestry, nor distinguish between fallowed land growing trees, and unused land. Moreover since agricultural activity was defined as areas with at least 30% of land under crops it omits less intensive cultivation. Even on its own terms the 29% figure is a bald statistic, raising as many questions as it answers. It does not break down the extent of agricultural activity according to geographic region, category of protected area, or ecological potential. It is difficult to say, therefore, how many protected areas are not cultivated because they are cold and unproductive, or how much of the cultivation is an integral part of the conserved landscape (as in many European protected areas). Since the original research, which went into this survey, has now been lost it is impossible to address these issues (Sebastian, pers. commun., 2005). Finally, the research was conducted on an old version of the World Database of Protected Areas in which only 44,000 protected areas with adequate Geographical Information Systems (GIS) data were available. Exact outlines or center points are now available for more than 75,000 sites (Chape, Harrison, Spalding, & Lysenko, 2005). This is clearly an area ripe for reanalysis.

In the absence of sound data, the question of whether a park is inhabited or not often becomes hotly disputed. In many cases, conservation organizations convey information that a certain area is a pristine wilderness until proven otherwise. For example, the Mkomazi Game Reserve in Tanzania is commonly represented as a “restored wilderness” following the eviction of its pastoral residents, despite these residents’ presence there for generations before the Reserve was established (in 1951). At one stage conservation the literature even claimed that the moved herders were “not indigenous” to the area (Brockington, 2002). The case of Gabon is similar. While the WCS and National Geographic claim that none of the 13 new national parks in Gabon is inhabited by humans (Mackenzie & White, 2004; Maisels et al., 2007; Mayell, 2002; WCS, 2005; Quammen, 2003); researchers (Angoué, Kogou, Mebiame, Memiaghé, & Moussirou, 2002; Blaney & Thibault, 2001 & Mboulou, 2005), the government of the country, and the World Bank policy advisors clearly contradicted this, finding that all the parks were and continue to be inhabited by people—many of them indigenous—and that the natural resources of the parks constitute one of the main sources of livelihood for more than 15,000 people (MEFEPEPN, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c). Erasing people from popular knowledge of the landscape facilitates their physical and economic displacement on the ground.

Protecting over 10% of the surface area of the world must affect a significant amount of people. If we accept that at least 50% of protected areas in poorer parts of the world are occupied, then the implications for residents’ livelihoods are potentially momentous. If one just takes the stricter category of one to four protected areas, which, in countries classified by the World Bank as low or lower middle income, now number over 21,000 (WDPA, 2005), then one can assume that over 10,000 are inhabited by people or contain natural resources, which are one of the main sources of livelihood for local people.

We must state at this juncture that we are not opposed in principle to displacement from protected areas. It has been and will be necessary to maintain their ecological integrity and is a necessary part of states’ eminent domain. Indeed it is precisely because the right of eminent domain will be exercised that we have written this paper.

As more and more instruments are put in place to enforce existing conservation legislation

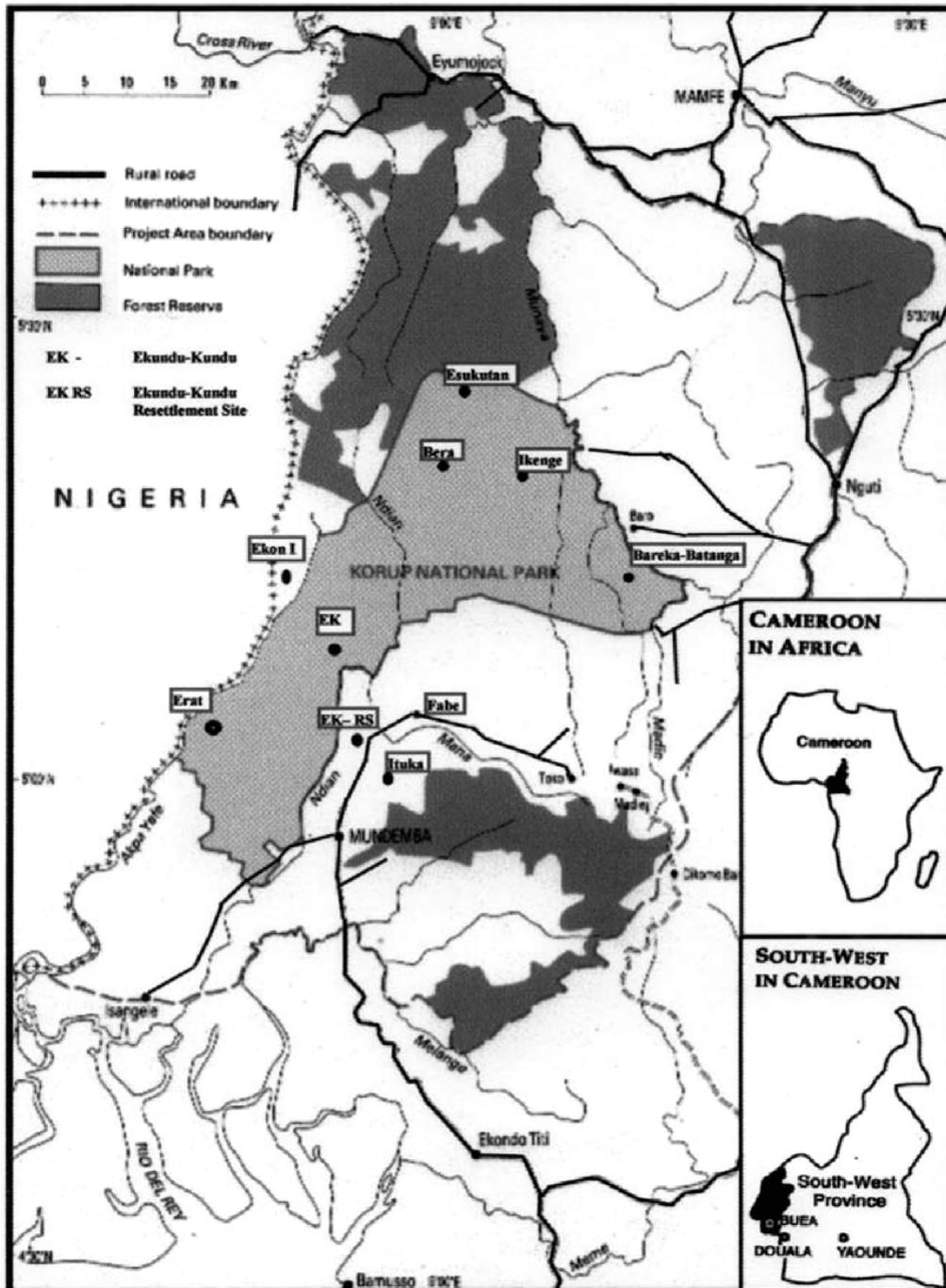
(FLEG [Forest Law and Governance Processes], CITES [Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species], ITTO [International Timber Trade Organization], WSSD [World Summit on Sustainable Development—Plan of Implementation], UNFF [United Nations Forum for Forests] etc.), we may see substantial evictions. Recent reports, for example, from India suggest that nearly four million people face eviction following amendments to protected area policy (Kothari, 2004). Geisler estimates that up to 16 million people in Africa could become environmental refugees from protected areas (Geisler & de Sousa, 2001) and he fears that the global rate might be as high as 130 million people (Geisler, 2003).

The challenge therefore facing conservation today is not only to reconcile errors of past evictions but also to shape future displacements in a way that combines conservation, human rights, and poverty reduction (Brockington et al., 2006). It is vital in this context to examine the role that voluntary resettlement can play for conservation. To find out whether the recent policy change toward “voluntary resettlement” is a sufficient response to the outlined problems and the call for pro-poor conservation, we analyze a concrete example of “voluntary resettlement” to see to what extent the people had a real choice to move.

4. AN ASSESSMENT OF “A VERY SUCCESSFUL VOLUNTARY RESETTLEMENT”

The resettlement scheme of Korup National Park in Cameroon’s Southwest Province was one of the first organized “voluntary” resettlements from a protected area. It is used as a positive example for voluntary resettlement by conservation organizations (Adiahen, per. comm. 2005; Maisels et al., 2007; Wilungula pers. commun., 2006), perceived as “a very successful example of voluntary resettlement” (WWF, 2004a, p. 12) and “the greatest achievements of the project” (Inyang, 2003, p. 13) and, as a result, it was recommended as a blue print for other resettlement schemes (WWF & MIN-EF, 2003, p. 40/41 & 117). So let us have a look at the blue-print.

Historically, the first recorded European visitors to the extreme southwest of Cameroon in 1894 named the forest “Korup,” after the people living there (Bessem, 1898). In 1937 the forest was protected as the “Korup Native



Administration Forest Reserve.” The Reserve surrounded the villages of Bera, Esukutan, and Bakumba,⁵ for which enclaves for agricultural production were demarcated and which received, through a written contract, the exclusive rights to fish, hunt, gather, and log within the Reserve for private use and even for trading within certain limits. These enclaves were controlled by the local Native Authorities (*Korup Report, 1936*). The boundaries of the Reserve were regularly cleared from 1937 until the mid-1960s (*Synnott, 1988*). Six hundred square

miles of Korup and Kembong (north of Korup) Forest Reserves were made available for exploitation from 1960. During the late 1950s to the late 1970s, timber companies explored the area, however no logging was carried out within the Korup Forest Reserve itself. In 1962, Order No. 25 of 1937, which established the Korup Native Administration Forest Reserve, was modified and the Reserve was renamed Korup Forest Reserve.

The idea of creating Korup National Park was conceived in the early 1970s by Thomas

Struhsaker and the late Steve Gartlan who were both studying forest primates in southwest Cameroon at that time. They were drawn to the area because they had been told that the rare Preuss's red colobus monkey was present in the Korup Forest Reserve. After seeing red colobus in the Reserve, they made a proposal to the Cameroon Government to make Korup a national park in 1981 (Oates, 1999). Growing international concerns over tropical forest degradation and loss of biodiversity, the rising awareness of conservation, the lobbying of conservation organizations, and the willingness of international donors to support the conservation of tropical rainforests resulted in the creation of Korup National Park in 1986.

Once Korup was decreed a national park, the original reserve boundaries were extended eastwards to include the villages of Ekundu Kundu, Ikenge, and Bareka Batanga. The enclaves around the villages originally situated inside the Korup Forest Reserve were annulled and the villages included within the new park boundaries had no new enclaves demarcated for them. This meant that the inhabitants of settlements inside the Park had no legal right to hunt, fish, farm, or collect forest products from the forests surrounding their settlements (Malleson, 2000).

Gazettement of the Korup National Park marked the start of the flow of major funding for the Korup Project, an internationally funded project set up to conserve the park and develop the areas surrounding it. The basic tenets of the Korup Project can be summarized as follows: The long term conservation of the planned Korup National Park would only be achieved through the cooperation and support of local people. This would only be possible if living standards of the people were improved and tangible benefits created which are directly linked with the conservation of the Park (Devitt, 1988a). Another underlying tenet of the Korup Project was that the successful conservation of Korup National Park would only be achieved by eliminating the land-use conflicts within the Park. It was assumed that this, in turn, could only be achieved through the resettlement of villages inside the Park, and within the immediate vicinity of it, to areas outside it (Gartlan, 1984). The main reason given by project planners for the need for resettlement was that once the Park was created, most of the economic activities of the people living within the Park would be prohibited by law (Schmidt-Soltau, 2000).

Resettlement was also justified, it was argued, because if the villages inside the Park remained where they were, economic development would be constrained largely by the physical limitations of poor soils and remoteness. Social and economic conditions in the areas around the proposed park would be improved through the construction of roads, public amenities, agricultural interventions, and the development of tourism and plant pharmaceuticals (Gartlan, 1984). Resettlement of villages inside the proposed park into these areas would then enable the inhabitants of these villages to benefit from the Project's planned "development" initiatives. So the idea of resettling these villages in areas outside the Park and assisting them to improve their socio-economic status became a key factor in the Project's rural development component.

But the idea of resettling villages was discussed even before the creation of the National Park. In December 1981, the Senior Divisional Officer of Ndian Division wrote a letter to the villages situated inside the Forest Reserve, to inform them that "it is envisaged that you be moved for resettlement elsewhere so that you can enjoy better facilities in future" (Forestry Department, 1981). At the end of January 1982, a public notice was released by the General Delegate of Tourism, Yaoundé informing the public of a project for the creation of Korup National Park and describing its boundaries, which included the proposed extension to the existing Korup Forest Reserve. In 1982, project planners held a series of meetings with government officials in Mundemba and representatives of the villages that lay within and around the proposed National Park, which raised hopes that the Park would bring substantial improvements to the area. At one of these meetings Park inhabitants were told that resettlement was inevitable and imminent, but that it would offer better amenities and opportunities than those currently available. It was said that the establishment of the National Park would attract development and tourism to the area and that many jobs would be created (Forestry Department, 1982). Also in 1982, the first governmental delegation visited the area since independence, together with the European promoters of the Korup National Park. They informed the inhabitants "that the villages inside the prospected (*sic*) Korup National Park were to be resettled" (Mission Report, 1982). The villagers were told that if they "resettled voluntarily, they would receive

compensation, but if they cause trouble, the armed forces would drive them out" (Gartlan, 1982). It should be noted that the late Steve Gartlan, who supported the government in this mission, was one of the most prominent WWF representatives in the region and for many years the WWF regional director.

During the late 1980s, after the Park was gazetted, three separate attempts were made by the Korup Project to resettle villages located in Korup National Park, all of which failed (see Malleson, 2000, pp. 210–244 for details). As a result of the impasse over resettlement the Korup Project organized a further stakeholder workshop in 1991 to discuss the concrete resettlement process. In his opening speech the Senior Divisional Officer (SDO) for Ndian Division stated: "It is true that a forest reserve cannot be said to be conserved if it is inhabited by people who, in their effort to eke out a living, are bound to carry out activities that destroy what we want to preserve. That is therefore the reason why it has been found necessary to displace the population of the villages presently situated within the Park" (Agoons & Malleson, 1991, p. 2). Steve Gartlan informed the participants that "WWF would like to see the villages from inside the park resettled to a site where benefits can be brought to them" (Agoons & Malleson, 1991, p. 5), but "WWF can do nothing unless there is quick choice of a site; there is a real danger that funding agencies seeing the discussions, debates and arguments will decide not to fund any site or any resettlement programme" (Agoons & Malleson, 1991, p. 6). The first activities for the resettlement (road construction and clearing to the proposed resettlement area) of Ekundu Kundu started in 1992, but neither an action plan was elaborated nor a detailed agreement signed. It was only after nearly five years of resettlement work that the first and only agreement letter was signed by the village chief of Ekundu-Kundu and the SDO of Ndian Division on December 9, 1997: "The facilitator (Government of Cameroon) had requested the resettling village to voluntarily (sic) identify a viable relocation site outside the Korup National Park and resettle there. The resettling village is willing and has accepted voluntarily to relocate" (Anonymous, 1997). On February 25, 2000, the Ekundu Kundu resettlement site was officially inaugurated by the Cameroonian Minister of Environment and Forest. The WWF Regional Director called it a "successful example of voluntary resettlement, which should be copied in all other national

parks in Cameroon and the region" and made clear that WWF was very satisfied with its outcomes (Gartlan in Schmidt-Soltau, Nijborg, Roeschenthaler, & Fombad, 2000).

It was therefore surprising when a European Union (EU) evaluation called the resettlement of Ekundu-Kundu "involuntary" (Schmidt-Soltau *et al.*, 2000, p. 37) and "a failure" (Schmidt-Soltau *et al.*, 2000, pp. 16, 40 & 69). The evaluation came to the conclusion that the "resettlement has been carried out solely as a technical exercise" (Schmidt-Soltau *et al.*, 2000, p. 5),⁶ did not find any commitment of improving the resettlement process and questioned the environmental reasoning behind the decision to resettle people from the park (Schmidt-Soltau *et al.*, 2000, p. 9 & 11):

"While it is obvious that the unskilled performance of the facilitators of the resettlement of Ekundu-Kundu increased the failure and tragedy of the process, it is also obvious that an involuntary resettlement due to uncertain conservation premises cannot be managed as with a displacement for a dam, a pipeline or a road. As long as the local population does not see the need for the conservation of their forest and their wildlife, they will always find a way to continue hunting and gathering. If they take note of the destruction of their environment, there will no longer be a need for resettlement. The involuntary resettlement of villages in national parks has to be stopped and replaced by a participatory management of their natural resources" (Schmidt-Soltau *et al.*, 2000, p. 16).

This recommendation was implemented by the EU in the same year. The Korup Project closed due to the reduction of EU funding in January 2004 and by June 2004, most villagers of Ekundu-Kundu had returned to their old site, which they had "voluntarily" abandoned some years before.⁷

The EU evaluation has been contested. A second study was commissioned by WWF-Cameroon with the aim of "describing and assessing 'all the options' available to the Korup Project and to policy-makers for managing the five villages still located inside the Korup National Park" (Diaw, Tiani, Jum, Milo, & Wandji, 2003, p. 3). The consultants took into account the critique outlined in the EU evaluation, but considered it as an operational problem and not—as the EU evaluation—as a conceptual problem, which most likely will occur in all resettlements from parks. They also argued that the affected people were agriculturalists not hunter-gatherers and so were less likely to be so disturbed by the move. The study

stressed the risks related to alternative scenarios and concluded, that “under the original environmental and economic assumptions of the Korup project, resettling all or most of the villages remains a preferred option for long term economic benefits” (Diaw *et al.*, 2003, p. 11).

This report was much more in line with the thinking of the conservation organizations. It has been used in Gabon and the DR Congo to urge governments to commission “voluntary” resettlement villages from parks (Adiahe-no, pers. commun., 2005; Wilungula, pers. commun., 2006). But this report has not had much impact on the main donor of Korup Project, the EU, which followed the recommendations of the evaluation commissioned by them and stopped all financial support for resettlements from parks in Cameroon.

Even in view of these failings and criticism of its work, the WWF continues to advocate further resettlements from national parks in Cameroon and other countries in the region. They do so in “support” of forest and environmental laws and management plans they earlier advised on or elaborated themselves. In the elaboration of the management plan of the Campo-Ma’an National Park WWF maintained the view that the Ekundu-Kundu resettlement was voluntary and a good example of how protected area management should be done (WWF & MINEF, 2005). The management plan was evaluated positively by government, but not approved by the World Bank (Topa, pers. commun., 2005), which is funding the Campo-Ma’an Park as an environmental compensation measure for the Chad-Cameroon Oil pipeline (World Bank, 1999). The Bank urged the government to disassociate itself from any resettlement—whether it is called voluntary or involuntary—from national parks due to their previous experience of its problems. It recommended a change in the laws to allow people to remain in national parks and other protected areas, offer them full compensation for any reduced access to natural resources, and provide them with a comprehensive development program to enhance their social infrastructure (Topa Mission report, 5/2005).

It is important to recall at this point that the removal of people was arguably not necessarily fundamental to the successful conservation of biodiversity conservation of Korup National Park. Concerns, doubts, and uncertainties over the issue of resettlement of villages inside Korup National Park were raised and expressed by

local people, Cameroon government officials, Project staff, and visiting European consultants from the Project’s conceptualization phase and throughout the life of the Project (Devitt, 1988b; Hayter, 1989; Malleson, 2000; Ruitenbeek, 1988). In 1987, WWF invited Mark Infield to carry out a hunting, trapping, and fishing survey in settlements within and around Korup National Park, to analyze the socio-economic and biological impact of human utilization and to elaborate conservation strategies for Korup National Park. He recommended conservation of key species in co-management with the rural population in exchange for their right to use all other natural resources. He openly warned against any form of resettlement in his draft report, but WWF-UK insisted that this passage had to be taken out and replaced by a paragraph which recommended the voluntary resettlement of the villages from the Park (Infield, per. comm, 2004). In 1988, Paul Devitt, employed as a socio-economic consultant to the Korup Project since 1986, tried to clarify the project policy and to establish a coherent, pro-poor framework for the project’s rural development component, which included resettlement (Devitt, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c). But his reports were not received well by most project management and WWF planning staff, his contract not prolonged and the majority of its recommendation largely ignored (Malleson, 2000).

In sum, the above case study documents some disturbing practices behind “successful” voluntarily resettlement. The rural populations were persuaded to sign agreements to resettle “voluntary” lest “armed forces drive them out,” concerns by local people and many of those involved with working on the Korup Project were ignored and consultants were asked to change their findings and recommend resettlement against their better knowledge. The moves visited unwelcome change to the detriment of local livelihoods on an unwilling population who were given little real choice as to where to live. The WWF has claimed that this sort of activity constitutes voluntary resettlement.

This case study highlights some dangers with respect to conservation practice which look set to become more serious in the future:

- (a) In the current policy climate many conservation policies still favor the removal of people from strictly protected areas. The bias toward resettlement undermines approaches which have less negative impacts for people living in and around protected areas.

(b) Written statements and agreements, which seem to document that people are willing to resettle voluntarily, have to be investigated carefully so that the context behind this volition is clear.

(c) In the name of conservation, diverse means may be used to camouflage involuntary resettlements and instead suggest that the people had a real choice and that they decided on prior, free, and informed consent to resettle voluntarily.

(d) Voluntary resettlement may not be the free choice it appears to be. The options are either the people decide to remain at their present site, and suffer, with little or no compensation, restricted access to natural resources, little or no opportunities to benefit from forest products, or from any development projects, due to their remoteness and the uncertain legal status of the settlement, or they decide to listen and agree with a long list of promises of what might change if they resettle voluntarily. Stated thus, even well-intentioned plans to provide people with development opportunities and better lives in more prosperous environments outside of national parks acquire an element of extortion. For the discouragements against staying are likely to figure as strongly as the encouragements to move.

5. CONCLUSION: WHAT SCOPE FOR VOLUNTARY RELOCATION FROM PARKS?

Our case study shows that a well known case of voluntary resettlement was arguably in fact involuntary. Although it is a single case others suggest it is not atypical. Some studies (Morris & Roth, forthcoming; Bhatia & Gubbi, 2002; Karanth, 2003 & Margolius *et al.*, Margolius, Beavers, & Paz, 2002) have assessed the “voluntary” resettlement from national parks in Asia and South America and all suggest that resettlement is voluntary because the affected people were consulted by the government in the resettlement process. We do not think that this is a sufficient reason to characterize the process as voluntary, because it does not consider whether the people had a genuine and realistic opportunity to stay in their original settlements. According to these studies, villagers were neither consulted when parks were created nor compensated for the negative impacts resulting from their creation. In many of these parks, the

people did not have a legal right to stay and/or earn their living. It is not surprising that people in such a situation, which restricts their access to resources, agree that they are ready to move, when the government requests them to.⁸

There is also an increasing recognition of the problem inside the conservation community. A recent evaluation of the performance of over 200 protected areas around the world notes: “One depressingly consistent problem is a failure to manage relations with people. Problems are evident in terms of effectively channeling the input of local communities and indigenous peoples and securing their voice and participation in management decisions” (WWF, 2004b, p. 4). An evaluation of the ways in which protected areas have been created in the ten COMIFAC countries (Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Rwanda, Republic of Congo, and Sao Tome and Principe) has documented that in none of these ten countries any single protected area or national park has been created according to the best practice, which recommends the prior, free, and informed consent of the affected people (Schmidt-Soltau, 2006). As rural populations have been forced to accept the creation of protected areas without a chance to say no, any further decision, such as the decision to resettle, cannot be considered as a real choice because the affected people are facing enormous disadvantages, which they have not, in most cases, been compensated for. Only in four countries (Cameroon, Gabon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya) and only very recently have the government started to consider this as an error and put in place measures to provide compensations for reduced or lost access to resources at replacement costs (MEFE-PEPN, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c; MINEF, 2003; ICCN, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d). The present government in Kenya even went a step further and committed itself to rehabilitate the livelihoods of all those forest dwellers, which have been evicted from forests after the new government has been sworn in on 30.12.2002 (Government of Kenya, 2006). In the other countries, the people inhabiting parks are still facing a significant economic burden (Schmidt-Soltau, forthcoming). They have to carry the lion’s share of the social costs resulting from the creation of protected areas, without any support/compensation from the governments and/or the international community who benefit from the parks.

We argue therefore that all protected areas,
 (a) which have been created without the prior, free, and informed consent of the affected people and/or,
 (b) which restrict the access of people to resources without compensating these losses with full replacement costs and/or,
 (c) which have not provided the affected people with legal binding titles to remain at their present location,

do not provide an environment in which anybody has a real choice to say no to any proposal from the government and/or the conservation organizations. We suggest that these conditions are in fact likely to prevail in the large majority of the protected areas in developing countries. It follows that any resettlement from such protected areas under present circumstances should be described as “involuntary.”

In turn, resettlement can only be voluntary, if it is based on the free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) of the affected people. FPIC is a concept that is enjoying widespread acceptance in many processes as an effort to provide an opportunity for people to participate in decisions which affect them—that is, enabling rights bearers to assert their rights. For duty-bearers, the responsibility lies in ensuring that the criteria for “free,” “prior,” and “informed” are indeed met by educating the NGOs and government agencies facilitating the decisions, preventing sloppy or coercive implementation of FPIC, upholding the right to say “no,” and putting in place a comprehensive and independent monitoring and evaluation system (UN, 2005a). FPIC is included in the ILO 169, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), the UN Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), the Guideline on mining and biodiversity of the International Council on Mining and Metals (ICMM) and has been recognized by the Organization of American States (OAS), the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), the Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (CESCR), the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR), the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR), Commentary on the Norms on the Responsibilities of Transnational Corporations and Other Business Enterprises with Regard to Human Rights, the World Bank’s Extractive Industries Review, and World Wildlife Fund’s Indigenous

Peoples Policy. FPIC has also been incorporated into the domestic law of the Philippines, Malaysia, Australia, Venezuela, Peru, and Colombia (UN, 2005b).

It is helpful to examine practices in the logging and mining sector, which have invited independent structures such as the Forest Stewardship Council to certify whether their natural resource use is carried out according to internationally accepted standards (Blowfield, 1999; Kirton & Trebilcock, 2002). In turn we propose that independent, specialized structures, such as IUCN-CEESP, assess and verify whether the management of a protected area is complying with international social standards such as the FPIC, the UNDRIP, the World Bank policies on indigenous people, and involuntary resettlement.

Our long term vision is that protected areas’ creators would need to document that they have assessed options which avoid the physical and economical resettlement of people and to integrate them and their land use zones into the management of the protected areas. Where such cohabitation is not possible, else precautionary principles suggest it might not be, protected area planners would need to document that they have established in free, prior, and informed consultations resettlement action plans in line with international standards (such as the World Bank policy of involuntary resettlement) and implemented them in a timely and comprehensive manner. If the well documented and closely monitored compliance with international standards (“certified protected area”) would become a key requirement to qualify for financial assistance from public sources, examples from the extractive industry sector suggest that within a short period the quality of protected area management would be significantly enhanced and the conservation groups forced to put international principles into practice.

This would mean that the protection status of some areas might be reduced from national parks to some other category, but it does not necessarily mean that conservation objectives would be compromised, for anthropogenic environments are useful for biodiversity conservation. It would also mean that the costs of establishing and managing protected areas will rise. This is unwelcome, but has to be more preferable than the alternative. If the costs did not rise, if eviction and exclusion, and if effectively compulsory physical displacement and economic resettlement were carried out on the

cheap, this would mean that the costs of conservation were being born by disadvantaged rural groups in poor parts of the world. This would be iniquitous.

To come back finally to our starting question, one could conclude that only under such a new and comprehensive policy framework resettlement has the chance to be voluntary. There might be cases of voluntary relocation from highly lucrative protected areas, where the protected area managers are able to offer a considerable rent to the people in exchange for reduced natural resource use and management options in which the affected people are able to gain significant direct benefits such as increased hunting yield at the periphery of wildlife sanctuaries. Such an approach could learn from the experiences in Europe, where farmers, following the call of the European Union let land lie fallow in order to reduce grain surpluses, receive annual compensations in the value of the lost average harvest. But it should also learn

from the experiences of development-induced resettlements, which documents clearly that cash compensation does not result in sustainable results especially in developing countries and often further impoverish the beneficiaries of such a compensation (UNEP-DDP, 2006; WCD, 2000). In sum the call is now for the international community and the conservation organizations fully to engage with the proposed policy change (Cernea & Schmidt-Soltau, 2006; Seymour, submitted for publication). If they fail to do so donors, governments, and the civil society need to apply to claimed "voluntary" resettlements the same scrutiny and policy standards as for "involuntary" resettlements. This is the bottom line. Although it will not prevent the misfortunes that resettlement entails (Scudder, 2005), it would at least make sure that a claimed "voluntarism" is not used to free ride on the poorest and most marginalized segment of the global community.

NOTES

1. The changing rhetoric is contested by some conservationists who fear that the poverty agenda could divert valuable resources away from conservation's core activities (Sanderson & Redford, 2003). Some observers have noted a hardening of conservation stances and a movement back to a fences and fines approach (Hutton, Adams, & Murombedzi, 2005).

2. Schmidt-Soltau (2005) has estimated that a resettlement in line with international standards from national parks in Central Africa would cost around US\$20,000 per person. As voluntary resettlements do not need to provide livelihood restoration and full compensation, but whatever is agreed between the unequal partners, which do not have equal access to information and knowledge on the value of the resources, it seems likely that they do not provide the same kind of resettlement packages as involuntary resettlement programs in which international standards are ensured by the donors and international guidelines such as the World Bank's policy on involuntary resettlement.

3. WCS holds a contrary view and indicates that "voluntary mean(s) that people move to a site of their own choice and at their own time" (Maisels et al., 2007, p. 78), which does not require that the people have the option to stay.

4. Connor's research into the process shows that not all evictees have been properly compensated and that monetary compensation is anyway a poor way of

dealing with the strong personal ties which people had developed to the land over generations (Connor, 2006).

5. Bakumba village no longer exists, its population was drastically reduced, like many other villages in the area, by forced relocation and recruitment by plantation owners during the colonial era, and later by a measles epidemic (Malleon, 2000, p. 58). The survivors moved to live in the neighboring village of Ikenge during the 1970s (Devitt, 1988c, p. 20).

6. "Little attention has been paid to the possible negative social impacts on lifestyle and attitude as a result of this. . . . Nobody really assessed the property of the villagers and made calculations on what could be a due compensation to them, and what costs were needed to survive the first year. . . . The new site offers new economic opportunities but the exploration of this opportunities has not been accompanied by guidance and training to prepare the villagers for realistic and responsible actions toward their own development. . . . The social and economic risks resulting from the displacement of a hunting/gathering-based society from dense forest ecosystems to agriculture land has not been discussed or addressed. . . . The maintenance and functioning of community buildings, water system and roads is not secured. The village layout of the new village differs from the one in the old village and has resulted in social disharmony and conflicts. . . . The transfer of villages is not only the transfer of property and rights,

like land ownership, but also the transfer of culture and traditions. Resettlement has psychological implications for the villagers which have not been considered. Most important is that a sense of belonging has not been created toward the new village. (...) Most of these failures are a result of the lack of a proper action plan and the lack of agreements made in time” (Schmidt-Soltau *et al.*, 2000, p. 5–7).

7. As a main reason for the fact that a good majority of the resettlers returned after the end of the Korup Project to their original settlement in the national park two reasons were given: (a) Their new land (48 km²) was never legalized or accepted by their hosts (the “former” owner of this land) as the promised compensations for them never materialized. After the end of the project the host villages started to request tribute from the resettlers and royalties for all natural resources extracted from the forest and crops produced on this soil; and (b) The resettlement site faces a significant shortage of drinking water during the dry season. That the streams and springs in the area are insufficient for the resettlement village had been known for long, but instead of drilling boreholes, WWF had considered it more cost effective to transport drinking water in the dry season by truck to the area. This might have been more cost effective, but certainly it was not sustainable. In the year after the end

of Korup Project and its transport of portable water, the mortality and morbidity increased due to waterborne diseases. In the following dry season most pregnant women and younger children moved back to the old settlement as this is surrounded by several springs. There they started to plant their food crops and consequently started to live permanently at the old site inside the national park, whose rules and regulations are after the end of funding from the European Union no longer enforced or respected (Field data Schmidt-Soltau, 2004 (unpublished), 2005 (unpublished); Schmidt-Soltau, 2005). A group of younger researchers are following up this case: Awoh Innocentia—a lecturer at the Department of Sociology/Anthropology at the University of Yaounde I (Cameroon), Charles Takoyoh Eyong—a PhD student from the Center for Development Research at the University of Bonn (Germany) and Yufanyi Mbolo—a Master student in Forestry and Ecology at the University of Göttingen (Germany).

8. The same conclusion has been drawn from a case study in Thailand: “As the legal ground for their eviction is still rather shaky, the state authorities use strategies of exclusion and ethnicism together with restrictions and terror to convince the Karen to resettle ‘voluntarily’” (Buergin, 2003, p. 375).

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