Property and Negotiation in Waza National Park

Alice Kelly

LDPI Working Paper 21

Property and Negotiation in Waza National Park

By Alice Kelly

Published by:
The Land Deal Politics Initiative
www.iss.nl/ldpi
landpolitics@gmail.com

in collaboration with:
Institute for Development Studies (IDS)
University of Sussex
Library Road
Brighton, BN1 9RE
United Kingdom
Tel: +44 1273 606261 Fax: +44 1273 621202 E-mail: ids@ids.ac.uk Website: www.ids.ac.uk

Initiatives in Critical Agrarian Studies (ICAS)
International Institute of Social Studies (ISS)
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands
Tel: +31 70 426 0664 Fax: +31 70 426 0799 E-mail: iss.icas@gmail.com Website: www.iss.nl/icas

The Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS)
School of Government, Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences
University of the Western Cape, Private Bag X17
Bellville 7535, Cape Town
South Africa
Tel: +27 21 959 3733 Fax: +27 21 959 3732 E-mail: plaas@uwc.ac.za Website: www.plaas.org.za

The Polson Institute for Global Development
Department of Development Sociology
Cornell University
133 Warren Hall
Ithaca NY 14853
United States of America
Tel: +1 607 255-3163 Fax: +1 607 254-2896 E-mail: ta12@cornell.edu Website: polson.cals.cornell.edu

Published with support from the UK Department for International Development (DfID), Atlantic Philanthropies, Inter-Church Organization for Development Cooperation (ICCO), Ford Foundation and Miserior.

Abstract

This paper uses property as a lens of analysis to examine the transformation of Waza National Park in Northern Cameroon. The paper seeks to understand why local residents called for better guarding of the park, comments which go against much of the literature critical of exclusionary conservation methods. The paper first looks at the creation of this protected area as an example of primitive accumulation. Considering the fact that not all people were excluded from this area in the same way, the paper shows how certain groups of people were able to obtain and/or maintain access to natural resources within this protected area through negotiation, identity and stealth. The paper then traces the 'post-primitive accumulation story,' showing that 1.) wiping away local management and property rights in this space (via acts of primitive accumulation) and by replacing them with a declaration of absolute government ownership which was strictly (and sometimes violently) enforced for over 60 years and then 2.) essentially abandoning management in the park (by government agencies and NGOs), an open access situation was created in this space. The paper then shows the material effects of this open access space and considers the broader implications of this case study arguing that conservation planners must consider both the short- and long-term implications of their actions.

About the Author

Alice Kelly is a PhD candidate in Environmental Science, Policy and Management at the University of California, Berkeley. Originally from Virginia, Alice went to Connecticut College and earned degrees in English Literature and Environmental Studies. After college she joined the United States Peace Corps and was assigned a project in the Extreme North Province of Cameroon where she worked with seven local communities set up Mozogo-Gokoro National Park for ecotourism. She is currently studying Waza National Park in northern Cameroon—looking at the social and ecological effects of changing management strategies in this region. She is committed to finding conservation solutions that leave space for social justice, human well-being and security but at the same time preserve biodiversity and ecosystem function.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Merrill Baker, Clare Gupta and Ann Kelly for their assistance in shaping an early draft of this paper. Thanks to Nancy Lee Peluso, Louise Fortmann, Derek Hall and Ian Scoones for their comments and suggestions on later drafts. My undying gratitude goes to my 4 research assistants in Cameroon—their patience, humor and strength are beyond imagining. Finally, thanks to the John L. Simpson Memorial Research Fellowship in International and Comparative Studies, Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley and The Andrew and Mary Thompson Rocca Dissertation Scholarship for African Studies, Center in African Studies, University of California, Berkeley for funding my research.

Notes from the Author

This paper is based on 12 months of fieldwork from 2008 to 2011 as well as knowledge gained from living nearby to/researching Waza National Park since 2004. The interviews that are quoted here were performed primarily in French, English and Fulfulde. When my Fulfulde knowledge was surpassed, or the people being interviewed felt comfortable in a different language, I called upon one of the 4 fantastic people who helped me with my research in Cameroon. I will not cite their names here because they are involved in professions in Cameroon that might be harmed by their overt connection to my work. In this paper I have changed the names of some of the park managers who are still alive.

Table of Contents

And out of darkness came the hands that reach thro' nature, molding men.

Alfred Lloyd Tennyson

If there was no park here we would leave. Our interest is stealing fish. We want good conservation to protect us in our village.

Musgum Man, January 12, 2011

1 Introduction

The landscape which is now marked on maps as Waza National Park is one which was territorialized, shaped, inhabited, cultivated, fished and hunted by different ethnic and political groups over the course of its history. Ponds, raised village sites, sherds of pottery and old milling stones that lie within the parks' limits are a testament to these shifting uses and territories. The most recent iterations of these territorializations and rights-claiming activities are inscribed on the landscape in the form of crumbling cement boundary markers, rusting signs and an all but invisible road that demarcates the park's limit. Despite these physical residues of territorialization and ownership, according to many of the villagers as well as trashumance and nomadic pastoralists living in/passing through the Waza region that I spoke with, the park has become a place of unchecked resource use and a hideout for thieves, kidnappers and murderers. Going against my understanding of exclusionary conservation methods[1] (which is generally seen as antagonistic towards local people), many of my interviewees on the park's border called for a return of the days when park management was at its most brutal.

This paper uses property as a lens of analysis to examine the transformation of this space (formerly the Zinah-Waza Reserve and then, later, Waza National Park—here I will refer to this space as 'Waza' or 'the protected area') over time. I choose property as an analytical lens because struggles over land and its resources are also struggles over meaning, power and identity (Sikor and Lund 2010). As both social relations and socio-natural relations, access and ownership shape how we see and interact with our environments and each other. Protected areas and the property associated with them are not only bundles of rights (the right to exclude, alienate, or use[2]) but also bundles of relationships (between local people and each other/the environment, insiders/outsiders, international NGOs and the state). As social relations, property and access relations are not static. Instead they are constantly being negotiated by different parties and are always changing (Berry 1993, 133; Juul and Lund 2002; 4). These negotiations alter and are influenced by interpersonal relationships, laws, regulations, social norms/values and practices at multiple levels of society (Sikor and Lund 2010, 3).

The Waza protected area represents a place of shifting property regimes, negotiation and changing socio-natural relations. Taking a historical approach to property and access relations in Waza, I ask who was able to use which resources, when, under whose authority and in what ways. By answering these questions, it becomes possible to understand how Waza residents see former exclusionary protected area management (also called 'fortress conservation') as better than the present alternative of open access resource use, banditry and violence. On a broader scale, this analysis helps us understand not only what the immediate social and ecological impacts of exclusionary conservation may be, but also those which take place within a longer timeframe.

In the first section of this paper I will examine the inception of Waza as a protected area by the French colonial government. I will use Marx's (1906, 431−4) conception of primitive accumulation

[1] Also called "fortress conservation."
[2] For more on property as a "bundle of rights" see Carruthers and Ariovich 2004, 24.

and other's conceptions of ongoing primitive accumulation (also called accumulation by dispossession) as tools of analysis to understand the first in a series of shifts in property rights in relation to this protected area. I will show how and for what reasons exclusionary fortress conservation models came to be used in this space using political economic principles. As an analytical tool, primitive accumulation works to explain the process of expropriating people's means of production via enclosure, the concomitant violence of these acts and the means by which capitalist accumulation is achieved. The concept of primitive accumulation allows us to understand both the political-economic drivers behind shifts in property rights as well as the subsequent social impacts of these shifts. Building on my previous analyses of primitive accumulation in relation to protected area creation (Kelly 2011), this section contributes to the political economic literature by offering a historical, empirical case study of conservation practice as primitive accumulation. In this section I will examine how local people's conceptions of territory, rights and ownership shifted as they were excluded from a space that they had formerly occupied, used, shaped and controlled.

In the second section of this paper I will show that though the acts of expropriation and enclosure of Waza as a protected area were violent and, at times, brutal, not all people were excluded from this space in the same way. In this section I will show how, though local residents may have lost their sense of ownership (the *right* to exclude others[3]) over their former territories, they had not completely lost their access (their *ability* to benefit from things[4]) to the natural resources within the protected area's limits. I argue that this ability was gained via negotiation. Thinking about property and access as a set of social relations, I will use identity as a means by which to explain who was able to negotiate the use of park resources, who wasn't and why. Sara Berry (1993) and Juul and Lund (2002) emphasize the importance of negotiation of rules and relationships in struggles over land and resources in African societies. In the case of Waza, I will show how gender, ethnicity, spatial location and political persuasion were important avenues for negotiating access to natural resources.

In Waza I make the case that negotiations for access and use were based around survival and local people's emphasis on their identities as 'insiders' as opposed to destructive 'outsiders.' As a part of this analysis I will draw on Thompson (1975), Scott (1976), Watts (1983) and Neumann's (1998) conception of a right to subsistence as key to a community's moral economy. By understanding the strength of this 'subsistence ethic' (see Scott 1976) in Waza, I believe it is possible to explain how and in what ways local people were able to open up avenues of negotiation with park officials. Finally, I will use Ribot and Peluso's (2003) concept of illegal access to understand how those who did not have the powers of negotiation were still, in some cases, able to benefit from the park's natural resources. The arguments in this section highlight the fact that though exclusionary conservation is a violent, unfair and socially disruptive act, local people throughout reserve and park history have found ways to gain access to the resources whose ownership was ripped away from them in this process. Building on studies like those of Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau (2006), this section seeks to explain how and in what ways the fortresses of exclusionary conservation are, in fact, more permeable than they may initially seem.

The third section of this paper will explicate what I call the post-primitive accumulation story. Going beyond the analyses of most critics of fortress conservation (e.g. Neumann 1998; Brockington 2002; Igoe 2004; etc.) who primarily focus on what happens after the initial enclosure and dispossession of local people from a protected area, I ask what happens after the limits of these enclosures cease to be enforced and the rights to exclude others from this space are no longer mobilized. Here I argue that just as primitive accumulation can lead to an alteration in social property relations (e.g. Wood 2002, 36), so can its dissolution. In this section I argue that by 1.) wiping away local management and property rights in this space—powers of exclusion (see Hall et al. 2011) (via acts of primitive

[3] See Merrill 1998, 730.
[4] See Ribot and Peluso 2003.

accumulation)—and by replacing them with new exclusionary institutions like local and colonial governments who strictly (and sometimes violently) enforced park limits for over 60 years and then 2.) essentially abandoning management in the park (by government agencies and NGOs), an open access situation was created in this space. Adding to discussions in the political economic and the critical conservation fields, I give an example of what happens to property rights—and their concomitant practices and social relations bound up with these rights—when enclosures collapse. Though the initial creation of Waza may have been a 'land grab' by the French colonial government, here I look at what subsequent 'grabbing' has occurred in this space.

The forth section of this paper deals with some of the material effects of an open access situation in the Waza Region on its local residents and users. In this section I argue that once park management collapsed and excluding institutions like government and NGO authorities were no longer present in villages or doing patrols, local resource users began to feel a rising sense of food insecurity.[5] As I have discussed above, though local resource users lost their land and rights to the natural resources within Waza National Park, they were often able to access these things via negotiation and incorporating park authorities into their moral economies. During this time their identities as 'insiders' allowed them access to park resources while 'outsiders' were excluded by park authorities, sometimes in brutal fashion. I argue that local people's rising sense of food insecurity is based on the fact that they no longer have anyone to negotiate with. Their status as 'insiders' no longer matters as this open access situation excludes no one, including 'outsiders' who historically were kept away by park authorities. Local people feel afraid as they watch flocks of people utilize the resources they had formerly felt was protected for their unique use, particularly in times of emergency (drought, e.g.). It is under these circumstances that we begin to understand why local people I interviewed frequently called for the return of fortress conservation. Taking to task the concept that the fortress conservation paradigm is always antagonistic to local needs and desires, I argue that under certain circumstances local resource users may, paradoxically, see exclusionary (fortress) conservation models as their best option when shifting property rights and relations in these spaces have created far more grizzly alternatives.

In the conclusion of this paper I discuss the broader implications of this case study. Though each protected area has a different ecology, history, and property rights regime associated with it, I believe that the case of Waza National Park is a useful example to examine what happens well after the initial acts of enclosure and expropriation for conservation have taken place. I do not argue that fortress conservation is by any means a good idea—quite the contrary. I argue that the creation of these areas is a violent act, but their abandonment may be equally violent. Here I make the call to conservation planners to fully consider the short-term and long-term implications of their actions.

2 Primitive Accumulation

While Derek Hall (2012) astutely points out the myriad ways in which primitive accumulation can be defined based on an author's understanding of capital and what lies inside of and outside of capital, here I will attempt to take the most basic tack possible. I define primitive accumulation as a process that rips people from their means of supporting themselves through acts of enclosure and privatization and creates the possibility for capitalist accumulation. Describing the transition from feudalism to capitalism in Europe, Karl Marx describes such acts by saying: '[t]he so-called primitive accumulation…is nothing else than the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production. It appears as primitive, because it forms the pre-historic stage of capital and of the mode of production corresponding with it' (Marx 1906, 431−4). Though Marx's description of

[5] Elsewhere I explain another set of effects of this open access situation, that of a rise in banditry (kidnapping, theft, murder) in the region due to the creation of this open space.

primitive accumulation makes it seem static and fixed in a particular time period, many scholars argue that primitive accumulation is a continuous process that has been sustained even to present day (e.g. De Angelis 2001, Harvey 2003; Moore 2004, Glassman 2006, Grandia 2007). This ongoing process can also be defined using the politically charged phrase 'land grabbing,' which similarly calls attention to corporations and national governments enclosing commons, dispossessing peasants and indigenous peoples with serious social and environmental consequences (see Boras and Franco 2012 for more on land grabbing). The persistent creation of national parks is a part of this on-going process of enclosure, dispossession and accumulation (Kelly 2011).

Bearing the hallmarks of Marx's and subsequent theorizations of primitive accumulation, protected areas are enclosed using fences, violent enforcement of boundaries by guards, threats of violence or imprisonment and fines. These enclosures almost always lead to the dispossession of local populations of their land and access to natural resources (West, Brockington and Igoe 2006; Fortwangler 2003; Brockington 2002; Chatty and Colchester 2002; Geisler and de Sousa 2001; Neumann 1998). As with other forms of primitive accumulation, conservation practices, like the creation of national parks and forest reserves, create and reproduce the conditions under which capitalist production can expand and sustain itself (e.g. Duffy and Moore 2010; Buscher and Dressler's 2010, 9; Castree 2008; West 2007, 634; Leatherman and Goodman 2005; Foucat 2002; Place 1995). Protected areas expand the reach of the market economy as well as create the necessary conditions for capitalist production by ensuring a supply of cheap wage labor, a pliable workforce and the availability of necessary materials (Kelly 2011; Timms 2011, 1359; Finer et al. 2010; Dressler and Buscher 2008, 454−5; Sodikoff 2007, 13; Grandia 2007; Laird et al. 2004; Ramutsindela 2003, 43). Though it could be argued that national parks do not fit the model of primitive accumulation because, ostensibly, they are taking natural spaces *out* of the market economy, making them part of the public domain rather than private property, I argue that while in theory this is true, in practice a select group of private individuals often benefit from the creation of national parks: namely corrupt politicians and state agents, the captains of international industry and the heads of multinational environmental NGOs (Kelly 2011).

The creation of the Zinah-Waza Reserve (the protected area which preceded the current Waza National Park) by the colonial French government has all of the characteristics of primitive accumulation: violent enclosure, and a goal of expanding the means of capitalist production. Like Marx, Neumann sees the separation of the producer from the means of production as a violent act. Neumann (2001, 308) defines conservation-driven acts of enclosure as forms of violence, even those that may not have overtly used force, because '. . . states have rarely provided equivalent livelihood alternatives or adequate compensation for evictees.' In the Zinah-Waza reserve, this form of violence was perpetrated on as many as 60 villages as the region was transformed into a colonial reserve in the 1930s. Though trade and commerce existed in this area, common areas for fishing, hunting, gathering wild plants and cattle grazing were vital to the survival of its residents. With the creation of the Zinah-Waza Reserve, the French colonial government physically removed villagers from these lands and commonly held resources. One old man, remembering a story told to him by his grandparents said, 'They [grandparents] lived there, inside of the park. They were given three days to leave. If they [government] came and found people still inside of the park they were burned. All the villages were chased out.' Simultaneously, the colonial government criminalized hunting and fishing as poaching, categorized wood, vegetable and other forms of gathering as theft and made grazing livestock inside of reserve limits illegal (Sholte 2005, 75-6). Though most people alive today do not remember the creation of the reserve in the 1930s, some of the oldest still remember the colonial management of this space—'he [Flizot--colonial manager] suspended everything, the fish, grass cutting, no one, no one could go into the park and do this kind of work…Rene [another park manager] was harsh too.' Spaces once used and managed in common, such as village fish ponds or grazing territories, were enclosed by the colonial and later, the independent Cameroonian

government. The Waza region residents who were evicted for the creation of this protected area were not compensated for their lost land or their lost livelihoods.

Beyond the initial violence of separating producers from their means of production, the maintenance of this protected area was achieved through overtly violent action as well. As the reserve changed status to national park in 1968, Zinah (one of the two villages for which the reserve was named) as well as other villages in the region like Zeila (a village whose residents had had not left the interior of the reserve) were burned to the ground. One man remembers that the government 'made a road and chased everyone out [who was living within the park borders]…we could not cross it [the road/park].' The maintenance of the boundaries of this enclosure was violent. Those who crossed into the park and were caught faced arrest, imprisonment, loss of livestock (cows found in the park were shot or confiscated), fines or violence from park guards.

In the early to mid-1990s the violent enforcement of the conservation-created enclosure reached its apex under a park manager named Adojdab. Former park guards describe this time in military terms, one park guard saying that under Adojdab's administration they 'fought a war with Nigerian poachers.' At one point in Adojdab's tenure, he instructed his guards to bring the heads of poachers to him in order to prove their victory over these intruders. Carrying out these heinous orders, one guard remarked, '…their heads were too heavy to carry so we took their ears.' The mutilated bodies of these hunters were buried in unmarked graves inside the park. Women describe being afraid to go inside of this area to forage for firewood or wild plants. Adojdab was known for searching homes adjacent to the park for evidence of hunting, fishing or gathering within the protected area's limits.

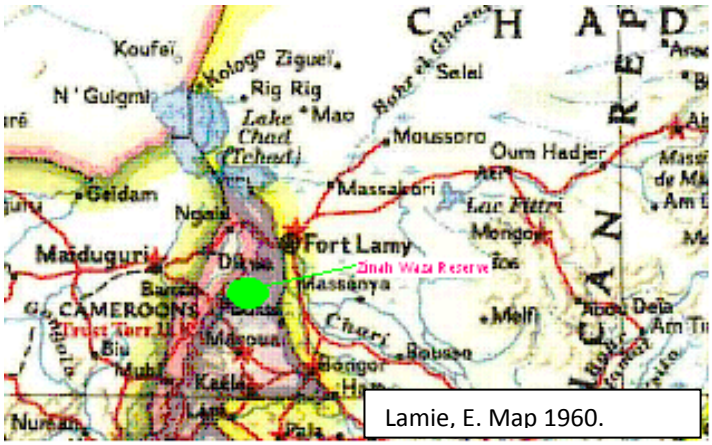
Park managers Flizot—a Frenchman (1957[6]-1968), Rene (1968-1975), Loubou Pierre (1975-1979), Abakoura (1978-1980[7]), and especially Adojdab (1981-1994) were known for their strict maintenance of park boundaries and regular patrols. These managers' physical presence—often doing patrols themselves, as opposed to just sending their guards to do their bidding—and the presence of their guards were so pervasive that almost every person I spoke to during my fieldwork referred to at least Adojdab, if not the other previous managers, by name. Many could describe what these managers looked like. The reason I make a point of noting that the people I interviewed were able to recall the names and faces of park managers from the (sometimes distant) past is that in my line of questioning many could not recall the names of the more recent (or current) managers.[8] The jokes, rumors and myths about the stringency of the well-known past managers were numerous. For example, one woman told me 'if a chicken stuck its beak into the park, Adojdab would know, and that chicken would have to apologize.' The constant patrol and maintenance of this enclosure are apparent in Bauer's (2003, 177) survey of residents adjacent to the park that showed that 73% of respondents knew where the boundary of the park was and could describe its location accurately.

Violently removing the occupants of the land, creating an enclosure and maintaining its borders helped the French expand the means of capitalist production in their colonies. During this period French colonists used the Zinah-Waza Reserve as a kind of barrier to protect cattle investments in the southern half of country from disease by controlling the unauthorized movement of unvaccinated herds of cows from the north to the south (Mbenkum 1997). Aside from this practical application, this protected area may have also helped the early colonial state to establish itself and

[6] Possibly earlier—records are sketchy.
[7] Killed by poachers while on patrol in 1980.
[8] Even when I would mention the names of the most recent managers, people would shake their heads and declare that they had not heard these names. People would often comment that they might know the names of the new managers, but they did not know them physically, meaning that they had never actually seen them in their village or in the field.

expand. Mackenzie (1987, 40-42) argues that during the early colonial period in southern and central Africa, trophy hunting was used to help finance colonization. In Zinah-Waza this may have been the case as it drew in Europeans from places like Italy, Spain, Belgium, Germany and France benefiting hunting guides and tour operators[9] as well as the colonial state. In the latter period of colonialism, tourism in northern Cameroon and Chad became a major industry—Air France offered flights from Paris to Fort-Lamy (see map below) four times a week—marketed as only 'a weekend' away from Paris (Freed 2011).

Capital accumulation, contingent on the existence and maintenance of this enclosure, continued into the post-colonial era. Post independence in 1961 up until the mid-1990s, the large numbers of charismatic elephants, lions, antelope and bird species concentrated in Waza National Park, as well as the country's relative national security, [10] allowed tourism to thrive (Djarma 2002, 62). During this time a grand hotel was constructed next to the park which included a swimming pool and 42 rooms (Djarma 2002, 77). International and national tour operators profited from the ecological conditions of the park. Tour operators who were working in the park between the late 1960s and mid-1990s remember this as an extremely profitable period.



Lamie, E. Map 1960.

The sixty years of strict management of the Zinah-Waza Reserve/Waza National Park were not without serious social consequences. Ellen Meiksins Wood (2002, 36) argues in *The Origin of Capitalism* that 'the ''primitive accumulation'' of classical political economy is ''so-called' because capital, as Marx defines it, is a social relation and not just any kind of wealth or profit . . . what transformed wealth into capital was a transformation of social property relations.' These changes in social property relations are evident as people's traditional livelihood strategies were made unavailable to them and their presence in the park criminalized. Prior to the park's establishment, village territories in this space were guarded and outsiders excluded by local residents. With the creation of the park, surveillance and enforcement of the laws in this space were jobs left to park guards and managers. The institutional base (Hall et al. 2011) of exclusion had shifted from a local level to a national level. Today, local people's understanding, however bitter, that the park's land and resources are state property has become widespread. Many residents now think themselves intruders when they enter the park. During my interviews, park users often called themselves 'thieves' and their taking from the park 'stealing,' ascribing ownership to the state. For example one woman, representative of many others, said bluntly, 'that area [the park] is for the state. We don't go in there.'

[9] There are few data to confirm the revenues from the tourist industry in Maroua, the Provincial Capital (perhaps because many records were recently destroyed in a flood) or in Garoua, the colonial capital of northern Cameroon.

[10] As opposed to the neighboring countries of Chad, Central African, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, which have been rife with civil war, military coups, genocides and other forms of violence almost non-stop for much of the last century. Of these neighbors, Gabon has the most peaceful history, but Cameroon is not called "an island of peace" without cause.

The removal of villages from the park and strict enforcement of park boundaries for many years dramatically altered local people's interactions with and surveillance of the now protected landscape. The government's forced removal of villages from Waza changed human-nature interactions in a spatial sense. By moving villages to the park's periphery, an interior empty of human habitation was created.[11] Historically adjacent to each other, fishing communities and fish ponds are now distant from one another. Even if local residents enter the park, they generally only seek out natural resources at the periphery whereas before there were villages scattered across the whole landscape. This new set of social property relations and the alteration of human/environment interactions played a large role in setting the scene for the creation of the current open access situation that has led to environmental degradation as well as heightened food and physical insecurity for the populations adjacent to Waza National Park.

3 A Permeable Fortress: Negotiated Access to Natural Resources

Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau's (2006) study of protected areas shows that despite exclusionary laws, 70-100% of national parks are being used by local people for a variety of practices and resources in central sub-Saharan Africa. This was certainly the case for the former residents of Waza. The fortress conservation area, built and maintained by the colonial and post-colonial Cameroonian governments, was not airtight. Though use of the park may have been drastically altered, according to one woman, '…people were not stopped from doing their work[12] in the park.' Indeed, though resource users may have lost a sense of *ownership* over the land and resources within Waza National Park's boundaries—through forced removals, threats of violence, fines and imprisonment—this did not mean that they had lost *access* to these things entirely. While property (ownership) is the *right* to benefit from something, access is the *ability* to benefit from something. I lay out how certain groups of people were able to attain access in different ways through an analysis that takes into account power, moral economy, identity, space and risk.

3.1 Moral Economy, Identity and Negotiation

The Waza region has always been a site of negotiation. Before the institution of the Waza protected area, negotiations for natural resources were made between local and/or habitual users of this place. Historical accounts by colonial administrators and explorers describe complex negotiation rules and procedures between agro-pastoralists and nomadic herdsmen in the Sahel for access to water, cereals and grazing lands (Thebaud 2002, 158-163; Moritz et al. 2002). With the establishment of the protected area, such negotiations necessitated the inclusion of colonial and then post-independence state authorities. As the institutions of exclusion shifted from local to state, these acts of bargaining and struggle were not just over how to gain access to natural resources through a standard set of rules, but over the rules themselves (Benjaminsen and Lund 2001, 12-13).

Sara Berry (1993) cites the fluidity and negotiability of relationships and rules in African societies as one of their fundamental features (cited in Sikor and Lund 2010, 5). Such negotiations fit into what Scott (1976, 7) refers to as the 'subsistence ethic.' In his conception of the subsistence ethic, or the 'safety first principle,' Scott (1976, 5) explains that in pre-capitalist societies peasants in a village context used a wide array of social arrangements to insure a minimum level of subsistence for all inhabitants. As such, social pressures (gossip, fear of abandoned poor, etc.) pushed rich peasants to be charitable to those who were indigent in the community (Scott 1976, 5). Eric Wolf (1969, 279) points out that subsistence insurance was not only occurring at the village level, but extended to outside elites as well as peasants working to reduce the risks to their subsistence through ties with

[11] Other than the village of Baram which was able to remain inside of the park's limits, though it is not at the center of the park, but near the north eastern border. (see map, page 2)

[12] The "work" this woman refers to could include everything from gathering legumes and leafy greens in the parks' boundaries to fishing.

powerful patrons (cited in Scott 1976, 6). Maintaining these ties amongst each other and between themselves and elites to ensure their survival, peasants had to constantly practice negotiation. Ribot and Peluso (2003, 159) describe how village-level actors can negotiate access to natural resources, showing these subordinate actors 'often transfer some benefits to those who control it [natural resources]. They expend resources to cultivate relations or transfer benefits to those who control access in order to derive their own benefit.'

Scott (1976, 7) argues that it was against standards of subsistence, rather than surplus value, that peasants evaluated the claims of the state and of landlords. Neumann (1998) applies this concept of a subsistence ethic or a 'landed moral economy' to Arusha National Park in Tanzania. In this context, Neumann (1998, 196-99) finds that that local villagers see their exclusion from the park resources that they once used to sustain themselves as a violation of this subsistence ethic, and thus bitterly condemn the state and its authorities for the creation of this national park. Despite an antagonistic relationship with local people, Neumann (1998, 200-1) notes that park rangers play into the village moral economy somewhat by negotiating with local people—allowing natural resource use in exchange for food, for example. Ribot and Peluso (2003, 156) remark that 'the rights associated with law, custom and convention are not always equivalent. Some actions may be illegal under state law while maintaining a socially sanctioned base in customary or conventional realms of legitimacy, or vice versa.' Here, while technically breaking the law, by negotiating with villagers these park guards were upholding socially sanctioned rights to natural resources for subsistence.

Drawing on Scott's concept of the moral economy, Watts (1983, 16-17) argues that risk aversion, particularly limiting the fluctuations in consumption streams over time, is an important part of the subsistence ethic. Negotiation in Waza is a risk aversion strategy that is essential to some local people's everyday survival and others' survival in an emergency. Located in the arid Sudano-Sahel, Waza's rainfall is unpredictable in quantity, length, time of year and spatiality. The area is known for periodic droughts which affect both agricultural and pastoral activities and may lead to food shortages (limiting fodder for cattle, drying up fish ponds and destroying crops) and loss of human lives. In his analysis of northern Nigeria, Michael Watts (1983, 113) cites crop mixing, differing cropping strategies, storage and household diversification as risk averse behavior for agricultural communities and mobility, herd diversity, dispersal and maximization for pastoral communities. In adjacent Cameroon, Waza's local resource users practice similar risk-aversion strategies. They too engaged in a constellation of livelihood strategies—fishing, livestock husbandry, agriculture (with intercropping) and petty trade. With the enclosure of their former village sites and natural resources, these strategies did not shift entirely. Many people were still dependent on the resources within the nearby fortress conservation area for survival. Bauer's (2003, 177) survey of Waza-Logone residents found that many local people illegally used resources in Waza National Park, particularly water and grasses for cattle, as well as fish and game for subsistence. Similarly, Sholte (2009, 16) points out that 'were the park really closed for exploitation, villages would not be able to stay where they were.' A woman I spoke to reflects the continued importance of this space—the first woman saying, 'If there were no advantages we would not stay here [next to the park]. We live because of the park. We search the gum, the fruits from the park and the wood. All of this we live on. It is because of this that we are able to live. I am able so sell these things here [in the village] and then I have money for my needs.'

While almost no one was averse to using the park's resources based on what Hall et al. (2011, 15) cite as 'regulatory' ('its not allowed') or 'legitimate' ('it is wrong') grounds, villagers and pastoralists negotiated to circumvent 'economic' ('I can't afford it') and 'force-based' ('I'll get hurt if I try') disincentives. As a means of maintaining their access to the park as a safeguard in times of need, as well as a means of livelihood diversification, local resource users who lived inside of and around the park worked to negotiate terms of access with park officials. Local resource users found themselves

able to negotiate with the guards for several reasons—by taking advantage of personal relationships, their incorporation of these guards into the village moral economy, and their reliance on different pieces of their identities to gain favors and bargain in times of need. Though these local people's identities and membership status as 'local' did not automatically entail rights to natural resources in the park, they did help legitimate their claims to use them (Lund 2011, 74). These strategies of negotiation were another mode of risk aversion—working to limit fines, imprisonment and restrictions of access (economic and force-based disincentives) (Hall 2011, 15).

Knowledge of individual park guards opened up avenues for direct negotiation for access to local natural resources and limited the risk of paying the full price of a fine or being imprisoned. Instead, local resource users often paid an illegal 'tax'[13] or negotiated their way around punishment entirely. This intimate understanding of local park guards is reflected in the words of a woman who said confidently, '…even if you catch me, so what? I know how to get around them [park guards]. If they catch me I know how to get out of it.' Probably starting at the point at which the park was enclosed, these interpersonal relationships were forged over long periods of time in remote areas. For example, during the time of the conservator Adojdab's administration, park guards were stationed in each village around the park. While some of these villages were easily accessible by road to larger markets or towns, many were very isolated. Because several of these villages were located in the floodplain, many of them were only accessible by canoe for several months of the year. I posit that due to the remoteness of some of these villages a feeling of careful mutual dependence and obligation formed between some park guards and villagers. For example one villager told me, 'when there are guards we sometimes share fish with them, but never meat.' Some park guards formed close personal connections with the villages they stayed in. One retired park guard, originally from one of Cameroon's southern provinces, decided to move back to the village he had been posted in during Adojdab's administration for his retirement years rather than returning to his extended family in his home village. Though these feelings of attachment and dependence incorporated some guards into the village moral economy and created the circumstances under which negotiation was possible, it did not mean that park staff and local people were always on friendly terms. Sholte's 1995 survey shows that local communities cited 'intimidation by the Waza NP authorities' as among the ten main problems they faced (Sholte 2009, 15). The violence of ongoing primitive accumulation was very much present.

Aside from on-the-spot negotiations or payment of 'illegal taxes,' local resource users were able to gain access to certain park resources through a variety of other means. Natural resource management is not a neutral activity (Benjaminsen and Lund 2001, 12). Instead, long-term access was a matter of negotiation, which seems to have been dependent on local resource users' identities (gender, ethnic, political, spatial) and their perceived[14] need. In some cases villagers obtained 'authorizations' to enter the park from park guards even though these 'authorizations' were/are mostly extra-legal, not recognized by park management or conservation law.[15] In other cases whole villages were allowed to remain within park limits despite the national park policy against inhabitants.

[13] Also noted by Sholte (2009, 16).

[14] As perceived by park guards.

[15] Based on information gleaned from a survey performed amongst populations local to the Waza National Park area in which most communities described where fishing and grazing exploitation areas accurately within park limits, Paul Sholte (2009, 16) notes that 'although formally prohibited, [exploitation within the park] was being tolerated by local park personnel in exchange for an illegal "tax."' Authorizations to enter the park were illegal with the exception of a short period of time in the late 1990s and early 2000s when a co-management regime was attempted and it was proposed that certain communities could enter the park for certain natural resources.

Gender seems to have played a role in who was allowed into the park and who was not. Women were not deemed to be as large threats to the natural resources in the park as men because guards did not think they would go as far into the park's interior or do as much damage. For example, one woman told me, 'At our level here, we always get authorization. Women only. Men don't get the authorization because they can actually ruin the things there [the park]. But us, the women, we get the authorization because they know we won't go far, we are afraid.' Some women believed that they were allowed into the park over men because men traditionally hunt and fish while women traditionally used the park to seek out plants to use for thatch, brooms, food and fodder for small livestock.

Ethnicity also seems to have played a role in who was able to negotiate access to park's natural resources and who was not. For example, some people living next to the park make the claim that those people who were of the same ethnic group as the park manger of the moment benefited the most from the park. The benefits of access are not static. They exist in the context of changing social relations and legal frameworks (Ribot and Peluso 2003, 160). Indeed, acquired rights and benefits are often only provisory—the result of constant negotiations and claims that can be unmade or replaced (Lund 2011, 74). As such, the ability to access natural resources in Waza often shifted with the ethnicity and/or identity of the park manager. According to non-Fulbe people I spoke to, the Fulbe (the same ethnic group as Adojdab) were treated more leniently than other people violating park law during his tenure as park manager. This sentiment was confirmed by Fulbe herders themselves, one telling me 'We would sometimes pasture our cattle with his cattle. We liked the time of [Adojdab] ten times how we like now. Things were good. The cows were favored by [Adojdab].' Similarly, one park guard described catching some Kotoko fishermen in the park but being forced by the Kotoko park manager to return the fishing gear to these people because these fisher people and the park manager were of the same ethnic group. At yet another point in park history, a Kotoko park manager was accused by many people of allowing Kotoko fishermen to use park ponds for their livelihoods.[16] A Muzgum man (another group of fisher-people) told me that because both of these park managers were Kotoko, 'the Kotoko thought the whole park was for them so people from Tchede [a Kotoko village] went up to the Tchikam Pond [used by the Muzgum people] and began fishing there.'

Political identity (aside from the ethnic politics discussed above) played an important role in local people's maintenance of access to the park's natural resources as well. For example, the residents of Baram (in particular their chief) supported Ahidjo in his bid to be the first president of Cameroon as the country transitioned from colonial rule. Unlike Baram's residents, neighboring villages like Zeila supported Ahidjo's opponent. When Ahidjo was elected president, Baram's recalcitrant neighbors were burned to the ground and their inhabitants forced to move while Baram was able to remain in place and continue to take advantage of the park's natural resources from within (Sholte 2005, 77; Drijver 1991, 133).[17]

Spatial identity seems to have made a difference in how villagers were treated by park managers and guards as well. For example, Adojdab married a woman from one of the villages on the park's boundary. Due to this, people from other villages and ethnic groups claimed that the people of that particular village were able to benefit more readily from park resources than they were. Though some of these reports may be exaggerated and spoken out of jealousy/hatred, there is physical

[16] People blame this favoritism for starting an ethnic war between the Kotoko and the Muzgum people, resulting in the deaths of over 300 people—see discussion below.

[17] Why Baram has been allowed to remain inside of the park, even post-Ahidjo, is up for debate. Some villagers I spoke to said that Baram had a magical power which made park managers forget about it and not come after them.

evidence of Adojdab's leniency with the natal village of one of his wives.[18] According to villagers, Adojdab built the mosque which still rests within the park limits. This favoritism is also apparent in the testimony of a woman Adojdab's village who told me that the park guards favored those people of her village over others. She said, 'they knew us, they knew we were from XXX[19] and we wouldn't go deeply into the park, we wouldn't go far. We would just go right here next to us. They would catch the strangers.'

Identity played a role in the ability for villagers to negotiate access to the resources they needed or wanted within the park, but the types of access they requested mattered as well. Scott (1976, 7) argues that in a moral economy the right to subsistence 'as a moral principal...forms the standard against which [other's] claims to the surplus are evaluated' (cited in Neumann 1998, 39). As such, it also seems as though the 'authorizations' mentioned above were partially predicated on the park guard's perception of a villager's need. In Waza, local resource users would comment that guards or park officials would recognize when they were in urgent need and help them. One man told me the park warden 'would see that you had nothing and let you use the grasses in the park.' Villagers I spoke to were quick to make distinctions between subsistence and commercial uses of park resources, situating their actions in the context of a moral economy focused on survival rather than profit. For example, one woman described her use of the park (having received a 1-day a week authorization by park guards during one period of the park's history) by saying, 'We also fish, for the fish we only take a little bit to eat. It is not for commercialization, if we did that we would be stopped. Also the wood, we gather just enough to cook.' These findings align with research that focuses on poaching and illegal natural resource harvest in Europe and the United States which has shown that wardens and conservationists may treat those who illegally harvest natural resources for subsistence more leniently than those who harvest for large scale profits (Hampshire et al. 2004, 307; Forsyth et al. 1998; Pendleton 1998; Forsyth 1993; Eliason 2003).

3.2 Stealthy Access and Differing Forms of Negotiation

Stealth, a means of gaining illegal access noted by Ribot and Peluso (2003, 164), along with negotiation, was/is another a key element in villager use of park resources. Using the pressures of moral economy and drawing on gendered, ethnic, political and village affiliations was not possible, or useful, for all of the natural resource users living in and around Waza National Park. Some resource users were the wrong gender or ethnicity to garner sway with park staff. Also, while some people may have been able to gain 'authorizations' for certain park uses, they may have wanted or needed other natural resources from this area. For example, while some park staff readily claimed to give people authorizations for collecting grasses, they would never admit to allowing people to pasture their cattle in the park, hunt or fish. In other cases local people may not have wanted to negotiate (and/or pay) for authorizations to use natural resources within the park's boundaries. These cases of unauthorized use of the park were not the exception. In fact many people living around the park admitted to 'stealing' from the park by gathering wood and other plant products, fishing and pasturing cattle. One man told me that 'a person could make the decision to go steal, and he would go steal unless he was seen, it was a possibility.' Many people described entering the park at night or hiding themselves if they saw park guards. Other local resource users noted that they knew when park guards would come and thus, could plan their forays into the park accordingly.

Interestingly, though these people were not able to/did not negotiate their uses of the park with park guards, many still made the point of remarking that what they were taking was for their personal use rather than commercial use. For example, one woman discussing the theft of wood from the park said, 'That is just-for-cooking wood. We do not sell the wood.' I argue that these protestations of 'small theft'' are a form of negotiation at a different level—amongst their peers in

[18] He has several.

[19] I have blanked out the name of this village to protect the privacy of my interviewees.

their village or group. Stressing that their theft was necessary to their survival is a way local resource users are able to reinforce and participate in their local moral economy. These claims of 'small theft' may have been driven by a fear of violating this moral economy. Some people I spoke to implied that large-scale harvest or harvest of the wrong kind (poaching of certain species, e.g.) in the park would not be tolerated by the village or the chief.

3.3 Risk and Use

People will not take on the risk of an illegal act unless the expected rewards of this act outweigh the expected costs (Piliavin et al. 1986, 102). Though entering the park to 'steal' resources was not an uncommon occurrence, it was not without risk. Referring to themselves as 'thieves' or their actions as 'theft,' resource users surrounding Waza National Park were acknowledging this risk. If they were caught, these people faced harassment, fines, loss of property (particularly shot/confiscated cattle or confiscated axes) or imprisonment. Further, resource users who entered the park invested their time and energy in pasturing their cattle, gathering, fishing and hunting—time and energy that could be lost if caught by park guards and the fruits of their labors (or cattle) confiscated. At the same time, however, these resource users took on these risks. I think that these resource users took on these risks in part because they were confident in their powers of negotiation because of their identities as 'insiders,' or as members of a certain ethnic and/or political group—able to talk their way out of prison by paying a small fine, for example. The chief of one village told me that 'Adojdab might send people to prison, but mainly he would just fine them.'

Further, living in close proximity to the park for these villagers (as opposed to people in more distant towns) meant that even if they were caught and their harvest (be it fish, wood, fodder, vegetables, etc) confiscated, it would not have constituted a great loss of time or effort (a day's walk as opposed to several days). When I asked a woman if there were any advantages in living next to Waza National Park she said yes, 'For example, they cannot stop us from collecting gum Arabic rather than those people who live further from the park. That is our advantage.' Local natural resource users ('insiders') were at an advantage due to their proximity and intimate knowledge of park staff while 'outsiders' (e.g. foreigners or large-scale harvesters--commercial poachers, etc.) were at a disadvantage. The presence of these guards also made the risks too high for most outsiders to tackle, allowing local people the ability to take the resources they needed relatively exclusively, even if it was without the guard's permission.

While local resource users frequently and adamantly referred to 'outsiders,' 'foreigners' or 'people from far away' coming to the park to collect resources for their subsistence or profit in present day, very few local people mentioned these groups of 'outsiders' during the period of strict park management. Instead, it seems as though those who did come from far away during this period were engaged in commercial, large-scale harvesting operations (especially of wildlife carcasses, skins and tusks). Drawing on Piliavin et al.'s (1986, 102) calculus of risk, perhaps these foreigners, faced with longer distances to travel, less intimate knowledge of the park's landscape and outsider status (i.e. inability to negotiate in the same ways as local resource users), came only when the rewards would be high enough to be worth the risk. In Waza these 'big operators'[20] drew the focus (and violence) of guards and park managers more than villagers and local users. Mirroring the findings of scholars like Bell et al. (2004), Forsyth et al. (1998) and Pendleton (1998) which show that park management tends to take a much stricter stance with commercially oriented poachers and illegal harvesters than subsistence harvesters, it was these commercially oriented people who were fought, shot, mutilated, beheaded and buried in mass unmarked graves within the park's boundaries by Adojdab's guards in Waza National Park. Though occasionally villagers or local herdsmen I spoke with described the park guards being violent with them, this was rather rare. Further, no one ever mentioned a member of their group (pastoralists) or village being killed by park staff. In this case,

[20] A local appellation of large-scale poachers/natural resource harvesters.

the maintenance of ongoing primitive accumulation involved violent acts, but this violence was structured by identity, belonging and negotiation.

4 Post-Primitive Accumulation Story

4.1 The Crumbling Fortress: Waza National Park is de-enclosed

I argue that just as primitive accumulation can lead to an alteration in social property relations (e.g. Wood 2002, 36), so can its dissolution. As I have mentioned above, shifting the local population away from the park interior, taking their land and territories from them and criminalizing all extractive activities within its boundaries caused local people to lose the power of exclusion over the park's landscape and resources.[21] In short, local institutions of exclusion lost out to state institutions. Some property theorists have observed that in such situations multiple institutions compete to validate claims and enforce rights in order to affirm their authority (e.g. de Sousa Santos 2006; Lund 2011). Other scholars have found that open access can be the result of local control over land use being undermined by colonial and independent governments (e.g. Woodhouse 1997; Swift 1991; Moorehead 1989). This set of scholars makes the claim that state interventions interfered enough to disrupt local land management while still being so lax they resulted in an influx of outsiders and an overuse of the resources in question (Woodhouse 1997, 538). Here, I show that it was not just lax management that led to an open access situation in Waza National Park, but the combination of a.) A shift in exclusionary institutions from local to national, b.) A long history of intense exclusion of outsiders by colonial and state governments (and later NGOs) and, finally, c.) An almost complete dissolution of these excluding institutions that led to a situation in which no exclusion or negotiations were taking place (open access).

A convergence of economic crisis, changing conservation laws, a lack of political will and shifting NGO/parastatal monies led to the abandonment of management in Waza National Park in the mid-1990s. The walls of this figurative fortress crumbled. Though according to Sholte (2009, 8) and surviving park staff of that period, the park had strong conservation policies, was well staffed and had relatively good working conditions in the 1980s, these attributes were quickly eroded as economic crisis in the country deepened. The U.S. Ambassador to Cameroon (1989-1993) staved off crisis for a while by finding funds to buy the park guards a vehicle and camping equipment for patrols,[22] but as the economic crisis in the country worsened, these interventions were not enough. As the park guards who were hired in the 1970s and 1980s died, retired or were reassigned to posts closer to their home villages, they were not replaced. At the end of the 1990s there were fewer than ten guards for 170,000ha (1700km^2) of land (Sholte 2005, 83).[23] These guards had no functional vehicle, no radios and weapons from World War I (Interview May 24, 2011).

Economic pressures were not the only forces cracking Waza National Park's fortress during this period. In 1994 and 1995 the forestry and wildlife laws changed (driven by energy from the Rio Summit and pressure from development organizations) to facilitate a more participatory mode of conservation (Sholte 2009, 8). To counter the effects of dwindling government support and to fulfill new mandates for participatory conservation, in 1997 Project Waza Logone, sponsored by World Wildlife Fund, World Conservation Union, Netherlands Development Organization, The Center of Environmental Science-Leyden University and the Cameroonian Government, experimented with co-

[21] Particularly residents who were 2nd or 3rd generations of those people who actually lived inside of Waza National Park.

[22] This project was not funded by the U.S. government but by an oil company in Cameroon whose CEO the ambassador convinced to help the park (personal communication July 19, 2012).

[23] The peak number of guards in Waza National Park was over 30 between the years of 1982-1988 (Sholte 2005, 77).

management in Waza National Park. This experiment consisted of allowing local people 'limited and regulated harvesting of vegetative resources' inside of the park (Bauer 2003, 176). The new park and natural resource management laws and decrees were fragmented, full of loopholes and inconsistencies and lacked clear definitions on the meaning of important concepts like 'community' (Sholte 2009, 11). Though this venture had the best of intentions (seeking to foster participation and in conservation with local communities), these ambiguous conservation laws and decrees took their toll. The 'limiting and regulating' of harvest of protected area resources did not occur and use of the park began to rise by local accounts.

Park guards were unable to halt people from using the park's natural resources because, as one local researcher at the Center for Environmental and Developmental Studies in Cameroon[24] (CEDC) told me, the Waza Logone co-management project told local people too early on that they could use some resources in the park without being clear about which resources and what the limits on these resources were. This researcher said that the co-management program made it so that 'the guards in the park did not have any power. If the [local] people went into the park and were caught they could say "no no, the project said we could come in here."'

Not only did this project make it unclear to park guards who were allowed to use the park and who was not, it also drew more natural resource users to the area. The Waza-Logone co-management project was coupled with an attempt to re-flood the Waza-Logone Floodplain[25] (which takes up about half of the park and extends well beyond park limits) in order to restore water to this fragile ecology and prevent herdsmen from taking their cattle into the park (Sholte 2005, 55). Though water has been partially restored to the floodplain,[26] the re-flooding seems to have actually had exactly the opposite of its intended effect on local resource users. Sholte (2005, 193) observes that after the Waza-Logone Floodplain was re-flooded in 1994 there was a 25% increase in the numbers of sedentary fishermen near the park, and in the first three years after flooding the numbers of pastoral camps in the area rose from 47 to 106. As management capacity dwindled and nearby populations rose—attracted by the improved resources of the floodplain—the use of the natural resources in Waza National Park began to rise by all accounts. In the course of my interviews it was the arrival of co-management that many villagers, guards, herdsmen and ecologists pointed at as the moment that the park's management and natural resources began to decline rapidly.

In a kind of vicious cycle, as the park staff's ability to protect park resources declined (as per the problems above), and the wildlife in the park became scarce, tourism declined, further de-incentivizing government investment in the park. As a high-placed official in the Ministry of Forests told me, 'without tourists there is no money to support eco-guards. Co-management is difficult.' Park infrastructure like roads and waterholes decayed. Even as the Netherlands World Conservation Union Committee found money for 16 additional 'eco-rangers' for Waza National Park in 2005, persistent corruption, bad leadership and lack of oversight caused the park management to remain impotent and many of these men were never put to work.

The Cameroonian government was not the only group to give up on Waza National Park, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) did as well. Scholars such as Abouassi (2012) have analyzed how NGOs abandon various projects in favor of more fundable ones. My research shows that Waza National Park was not immune to this phenomenon. Funding from the foreign community is key to the preservation of nature in sub-Saharan Africa (Peh 2008, 670). As much of the money for conservation from this foreign community is funneled through NGOs, NGOs must kowtow to the whims of their donors—developing new catch phrases and sites for intervention (e.g. Neba 2008,

[24] Centre d'Etude de l'Environnement et du Développement au Cameroun.
[25] Pilot reflooding occurred in 1994 and in 1997 another watercourse was established (Sholte 2005, 82).
[26] The plains' floods had stopped due to the Maga Dam Project in 1979 (Sholte 2005, 68).

186; Abouassi 2012). Recently, there has been a global re-ordering of conservation agendas to focus on climate change (Hagerman et al. 2010, 192). Hagerman et al.'s (2010) findings reveal that conservation experts believe that conservation strategies need to shift to accommodate climate change scenarios, often espousing ideas that involve creating new conservation areas for species migrations due to changing global temperatures. As conservation strategies and priorities shift, so do sinks for funding. I found that in Cameroon, NGO focus and expenditure seem to have shifted away from northern parks like Waza towards the southern, more forested, regions in the country as global concerns over climate change began to rise in the late 1990s/early 2000s. An NGO official, echoing the voices of several others, told me, 'Waza doesn't represent too much now, politically speaking and internationally it is not important because it is not forested. Global warming is the most important thing now. The large themes are the most important, they want places that have the most impact…Waza is not very important anymore.' A researcher in the northern regions of Cameroon corroborated this observation saying, 'there are very few funds for dry areas. Carbon has now changed the focus of funding.'

Thus, the institutions historically responsible for enclosing Waza National Park—local village heads, the colonial and independent government and NGOs—are no longer functional. The walls of this fortress are crumbling as the mechanisms of enclosure disappear. The roads that once clearly demarcated the boundaries of the park are now almost invisible and most are impassable. Guarding seems to have fallen to an absolute minimum as well. At the same time that this enclosure has been opened up, legal forms of accumulation have all but halted. With the diminishment of tourism, park entry fees, hotel, guide and restaurant profits have almost vanished. The only accumulation that occurs now is extra-legal. Recent park managers and other government officials have been accused of the sale of fish illegally harvested from the park, the illegal sale of permits to fish and graze cattle in the park and the theft of what little money did go to the park for guard salaries and infrastructure maintenance. In the section below I will trace what I call the 'post-primitive accumulation story,' which examines the social and environmental effects of an enclosure that has become an open access space.

4.2 The Ability to Exclude

Like Hall et al. (2011) I do not take exclusion as a necessarily negative thing. Taking exclusion as an inevitable and important part of land use and property relations (Hall et al. 2011), here I focus on what losing the ability to exclude means for local communities. Here I show that after local communities lost the ability to exclude 'outsiders' from Waza National Park, they came to depend on the exclusionary institutions that replaced them (the state and NGOs)—a dependence that became problematic once those institutions stopped doing their work.

When talking about village space (outside the park), most people felt capable of defending it—chasing unwanted people away, or stopping undesirable people from remaining in the village—but when I would ask the same people if they felt capable or willing to stop unwanted people from entering the park, many said no. Because of a lack of a sense of ownership, many people said that they felt unable or unwilling to exclude outsiders or other people from using park resources because 'thieves leave other thieves alone,' or because 'that is the state's job.' In another village, I spoke with a man who explained that his village was unable to stop people from entering the park and made clear his anger that the state, who owned the park, did nothing to protect it. He said,

> *'The state has the guards. We are occupied[27] with the park, but what can we do? If we find people who are destroying the park, what can we do? We cannot stop them. Because we can't stop them, we can tell the authorities that they should stop them. If they don't do anything, if they don't stop them, we don't have the ability to do anything. If the*

[27] Here by "occupied" he means interested in/cares about.

authorities can't do anything, how can we? If the authorities don't have the ability, nor do we. How can we stop people and how can we do anything?'

Though some local residents claim that if they saw people entering the park they would stop them, one woman told me 'frankly, they [villagers who say they guard the park] are just guarding their village. They cannot go into the park bare handed. They don't have guns, they don't have things to protect themselves with. They cannot protect things outside of the village.' Many villagers expressed the desire for park guards to keep 'people from far away' from coming to use the resources inside of the park. One man explained this reasoning to me by saying,

'The poachers know that when they come to hunt, if the park is not well guarded, it is not just one poacher who is coming, it is many, so they hunt before the resource is finished. But if the park is well guarded, if four or five go and hunt, others won't come. If he [a poacher] is caught he will suffer, if he isn't caught, there is more food for everyone. It is the same with troops of cows. If five go for the park and four are caught, one will eat well. But if there are no guards, the five troops will enter and they don't know how long there will be grass, so they leave their animals to eat as much as they can. Everything depends on the guards of the forest and the conservator.'

This man's explanation lays bare local understandings of the utility of park guards. To him, park guards limited resource use in the park, protecting these resources for future use. Without these acts of exclusion, the park becomes an open access space that is useful to no one. For this man (and many others), park management is the only barrier to the overuse of park resources.

Though most village level institutions for management of resources inside of the park were wiped away by state institutions, there are a few groups of fisher-people on the eastern side of the park who work to exclude 'outsiders' from resources in the park. Though these people still describe their actions in the park as 'stealing'—ascribing ownership of the resources they take to the state—they also refer to the ponds built by their ancestors within the park's limits as 'their ponds.' Further, some feel the right to exclude others from the use of these ponds, at points engaging in vicious fighting to protect their resources. Though some fisher-people feel able/willing to fight for their territories inside of Waza National Park, this does not mean that all fisher-people feel as though their resources are safe from 'outsiders' in the absence of effective park management. One fisherman said, 'before [in Adojdab's and earlier times] it was good because people [from far away] would stay away. Now we cannot chase them away from the canals and ponds. We can chase them from the village but not from the bush.' Even though these fishermen are trying to protect 'their' resources in the park, their spatial reorganization—shifting all villages to the park's periphery at the moment of Waza's enclosure—still leaves the interior of this vast park without the constant surveillance and management that are present in the villages.

Gatherers, herders and even hunters of wildlife do not feel the same ability to exclude people from the park as some of these fisher people do. The fisher people described above may feel the ability to exclude others from their ponds because they are physical, obvious marks in the landscape. They are also features in the floodplains' geography that were crafted through the cruelly hard labor of their ancestors. In contrast, herdsmen, by the very codes of their cultures, do not have specific and permanent territories. Further, though hunters and gatherers may have had territories inside of the park, activities can happen in more places (rather than a single pond) and did not involve so much visible manual labor to construct and maintain over the years.

4.3 Losing the Powers of Negotiation

Negotiation is a fundamental condition to natural resource management (Benjaminsen and Lund 2001, 13). As we have seen in this paper, negotiation amongst themselves and between themselves

and park guards was critical to the survival and security of many Waza residents who depended on park resources. Now, however, the collapse of the institutions responsible for excluding people from Waza National Park has left local people without avenues of negotiation. Without park staff in villages or on patrol, villagers and pastoralists have no one to convince to let them use the natural resources of the park.

When I spoke to local people about the current state of collapse of park management, they often said that they were afraid that they were losing the resources the park had been protected by park guards for them over generations. Local people's distress over the collapse of park management seems to be distress over a lack of authorities and a cohesive group of peers with whom to negotiate. Without park guards on patrol, or in villages, local people no longer have the advantage of their peasant moral economies, identities or strategies of negotiation. The relative advantage of local resource users over 'outsiders' seems to have largely been lost with the management collapse of the park. Access to park resources is no longer exclusive. Not only are local natural resource users unable to negotiate terms of access with park management, they also were unable to negotiate the terms of use of the park with the 'outsiders' that began using the park. These 'outsiders' are not bound by the codes of village/group moral economies. Losing the ability to exclude and then losing the ability to negotiate has put local resource users in a tenuous position, making them feel as though their access to food and other important natural resources is insecure. Here we see how the violence of primitive accumulation continues, even after the dissolution of its enclosures.

5 Material Effects

Land grabs, what some might call an updated version of primitive accumulation (e.g. Sassen 2010), are known to threaten local food security as land of the rural poor is sold out from under them to foreign corporations looking to produce biofuels, palm oil, and other crops for export. So-called "green-grabs," the taking of land for conservation purposes, are not immune from this critique. Critical conservation literature shows that national parks (examples of "green-grabbing") can threaten food security.[28] For example, Naughton-Treves (1997) discusses the impact of crop predation due to wildlife from Kibale National Park, Uganda on food security for people living on the edges the protected area. In the same vein, Skonhoft (1998, 68) points out that protected areas threaten food security not only by denying people the ability to hunt for subsistence, but also by disallowing them to kill animals that threaten the crops upon which they depend for food. More generally, Neumann (1998, 43) and Dowie (2009, 229) note that denying people their access to resources via fortress conservation is a denial of their ability to subsist. In similar fashion, Brockington (2002, 141) describes the forces of impoverishment, livelihood change and marginalization that occur in the wake of conservation seizures of pastoralist lands in Tanzania.

Adding a new twist to our understandings of "green grabbing" in relation to food security, I argue that it is not simply the creation of national parks which can cause this form of insecurity, but also their dissolution. In Waza National Park, the failure of the government to protect the property it gained and maintained in such a brutal fashion for over 60 years has opened this region up to a new kind of 'grabbing.' Here, I will discuss how the open access situation in Waza National Park has led

[28] According to the World Health Organization, food security is built on three pillars: 1.) Food availability which is defined as households or individuals "being able to have sufficient quantities of food available on a consistent basis," 2.) Food access which consists of a household or individual "having sufficient resources to obtain appropriate foods for a nutritious diet," and 3.) Food use: which is predicated on households' and/or individuals' "appropriate use based on knowledge of basic nutrition and care, as well as adequate water and sanitation" (WHO website accessed May 21, 2012: http://www.who.int/trade/glossary/story028/en/). In this section I am mainly focusing on food availability.

to food insecurity[29] in the form of lost natural resources for subsistence and resources to be used in cases of emergency.

The creation of an open access situation in the Waza region has had a severe impact on food security for local villagers, nomads and transhumance pastoralists. As I described above, in the past foreigners and 'people from far away' came to the park primarily for brief, large-scale hunting operations and faced grave danger while doing so. Michael Watts, (1983, 105) notes that, 'in practice, peasant households prefer…to minimize the probability of having a disaster rather than maximize a particular profit.' While strict park management was in place, the probability of a disaster striking an outsider without the same ability to negotiate access with park guards as an 'insider' seems to have been high enough to keep most 'outsiders' from using the park. The collapse of park management has changed that probability. With the advent of the collapse of management in Waza National Park, the risk of detection and subsequently death, violence, fines or arrest dropped significantly, attracting people (it seems more subsistence users) who before would have seen these potential risks as too costly to be worth the trip for mere subsistence needs.[30] This influx of 'outsiders' using the park's natural resources—be they Nigerians, Chadians, Sudanese, people from Niger, or other parts of Cameroon—has led to local perceptions that their food security is being threatened. Fears of losing the valuable resources in the park were pervasive. Though some of the people I interviewed were reluctant to speak about their use of the park,[31] many people were very blunt about the park's utility to them, particularly as a safety net in an emergency. For example, one man told me, 'If the pond over there [outside the park] has no more fish we will start working to do our little stealing [inside the park].'

As we have seen above, many local people have depended on this park not just for food in a time of emergency, but as a place that has historically excluded 'outsiders' from using natural resources critical for these their everyday needs. People from the full gamut of livelihood activities complained about threats to their food security. Vehement about the importance of guarding the park, one woman told me, 'before there were many more vegetables [in the park] than now, but they [park staff] don't guard now and the Nigerians come here…looking for vegetables and gum.' A fisherman told me that he was frightened, saying that without park management 'everyone will die. We cannot survive.' He said this because he felt that if the park was not well protected—'people go steal fish in the park and then there are no fish for us.' Pastoralists also wanted the area to be well guarded to protect their animals' pasture. One herdsman told me, 'if I go there and graze my cows, and then other people come and stay there and use the grasses then it will become degraded. It is better to protect the park.'

Though most people complained of threats to their food security caused by other people using up natural resources like grasses, vegetables and fish in the park, some pastoralists felt as though their food security was threatened in a different way. A good number of these pastoralists complained of a rise in cattle theft due to the lack of management in Waza National Park. One pastoralist claimed that the fines he paid if he was caught by park guards were worth the protection the presence of

[29] The creation of this open access situation has also created the conditions under which bandits have been able to use the national park as a base of operations for kidnappings, thefts and murder, but space does not allow me to discuss these matters here.

[30] This influx of people may also be partially attributed to the re-flooding of the Waza-Logone Floodplain. As noted above, Sholte (2005, 193) observes that after the Waza-Logone Floodplain was re-flooded in 1994 there was a 25% increase in the numbers of sedentary fishermen near the park, and in the first three years after flooding the numbers of pastoral camps in the area rose from 47 to 106.

[31] This reluctance might have stemmed from the fact that some people actually didn't use park resources or because it was illegal and they feared the repercussions of these admissions of use.

these guards offered both himself and his cattle. While showing me a place on his leg where he was shot by armed bandits in 2009, this man told me,

> *'With more park guards these bandits would not be able to use the park to hide and come steal from us. With many patrols this problem would diminish…if they [park guards] were numerous, this would keep us safe. We were born with fines, we have always had to deal with this problem [fines], but this problem with security, this came only in the last 2-3 years. Security is more important. 100,000 or 50,000CFA is cheaper than losing half of your cows or all of them.'*

The rise in banditry due to the open access situation in Waza National Park has also had more indirect impacts on people's livelihoods. For example, people on the park's edge complain that due to the banditry in the park,[32] herders have begun avoiding their villages, leading to increased difficulty in obtaining meat and other products cheaply.

6 Conclusion

There have been extensive critiques of land- or green-grabbing in the form of fortress conservation that stress the social and political marginalization of people living on land slated to be 'conserved' or 'preserved' (e.g. Neumann 1998, Brockington 2002; Hughes 2008). Other scholars have thought through the violence related to processes of primitive accumulation in action (e.g. Sylvia Federici 2004). Few people, however, have addressed the outcomes of these two processes further down the road. Here, by looking at the residues of primitive accumulation in the form of conservation, I hope I have expanded the scope of both of these analyses.

In this paper I have shown that the creation Waza National Park was a form of primitive accumulation. I have pointed out, however, that the walls of this fortress were permeable through the incorporation of park staff into local peasant moral economies, negotiations and by stealth. I have also shown that while park staff-villager relationships were not always friendly, they did serve the purpose of excluding most 'outsiders' from using resources that villagers depended upon for their survival. By laying out the 'post-primitive accumulation story' in which the walls of this violently constructed fortress began to crumble, I show how a shift from local institutions of exclusion to state and NGO institutions has paved the way to an open access situation in Waza National Park. Showing that violence not only accompanies acts of accumulation by dispossession and primitive accumulation, but can also follow them when they are abandoned, I point out that the open access situation in Waza has caused severe feelings of food insecurity on the part of local resource users.

Politics, economics and human rights aside, the post-primitive accumulation story in Waza is a frightening one for conservation as well. According to the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the primary objective of a national park is to protect 'natural biodiversity along with its underlying ecological structure and supporting environmental processes, and to promote education and recreation.' This primary objective is not being fulfilled in Waza National Park. The open access situation that exists now places few, if any, checks on hunters, harvesters and fishers. At the same time, well-intentioned attempts to help local communities and park resources and the re-flooding the Waza-Logone floodplain led to an influx of people to the area. By all accounts, the lack of exclusion of natural resource users in this national park has led to ecological decline.

[32] The main form of banditry involves outlaws taking the children of herdsmen and holding them hostage inside of the park for ransom. The bandits threaten that if the herdsmen do not pay they will kill their children. These are not empty threats. I spoke to one man who watched his brother shot in front of him by these bandits inside of Waza National Park.

Scientific researchers have recorded that only 14-21 lions of the park's former population of 60 remain today (Tumenta et al. 2009; De longh 2010, 110; Interview May 1, 2011). The same researchers also believe that the drop in elephant numbers (falling from 1,200 recorded in 1996 to 507 about ten years later) in the park may be 'a direct result of the collapse in management of Waza N.P' (De longh et al. 2009; Tchamba 2010, 153; de longh et al. 2010, 109). Antelope populations have fallen as well. In 1960 there were estimated to be around 20,000 Kob de Buffon antelope in the national park, but in 2001 there were fewer than 2,500 counted (Sholte 2005, 153). Echoing the sentiments of many local people I spoke to, one Fulani nomad told me, 'the park is dead.' Tour guides constantly complained to me about the lack of animals in the park. One former tour guide showed me a spot in the park near the Vo waterhole saying, 'here you couldn't even see the ground there were so many animals [in the 1980s and early 1990s], now there is nothing but a few birds.'

Wildlife populations are resilient as are human beings. I do not think that it is too late to find conservation solutions for Waza National Park that will actually conserve nature while at the same time taking into account local people's rights and needs. I do however insist that in light of the Waza story, the creators, funders and designers of protected areas not only think about the implications of their actions in the present, but also in the future. These actors, whether they are state, NGO or development agencies, must consider that drastically shifting property rights for the sake of conservation does not happen in a vacuum. With those property rights, social relations, economic/food security and ecologies shift, merge and transform as well. Without careful consideration of these changes and their implications far down the line after the shine and publicity of a new protected area wears off, conservationists may be creating the conditions under which ecologies are destroyed, rather than protected and the food security of local communities are threatened, not enhanced.

References

1. Abouassi, K. 2012. *Hands in the Pockets of Mercurial Donors: How Three Theories Explain NGO Responses to Shifting Funding Priorities.* Dissertation in Public Administration, Syracuse University. Syracuse, NY.
2. Bauer, H. 2003. Lion Conservation in West and Central Africa: The Case of Waza National Park, Cameroon. Thesis, Leiden University, Leiden.
3. Bell, S., Hampshire, K. and S. Toplidou. 2007. The political culture of poaching: a case study from northern Greece. Biodiversity and Conservation. 16: 2 :399-418.
4. Benjaminsen, T.A. and C. Lund. 2001. Formalisation and Informalisation of Land and Water Rights in Africa: An Introduction. The European Journal of Development Research 14: 2: 1-10.
5. Berry, S. 1993. No Condition is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Sub-Saharan Africa. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
6. Brockington, D. 2002. Fortress conservation: the preservation of the Mkomazi Game Reserve, Tanzania. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
7. Borras Jr, S. M., & Franco, J. C. 2012. Global land grabbing and trajectories of agrarian change: A preliminary analysis. Journal of Agrarian Change, 12(1), 34-59.
8. Buscher, B. and Dresser, W. 2010. "Commodity conservation. The restructuring of community conservation in South Africa and the Philippines". Geoforum: In Press.
9. Carruthers B.G. and L. Ariovich 2004.The Sociology of Property Rights. Annual Review of Sociology 30: 23-60.
10. Castree, N. 2008. Neoliberalising nature I: the logics of de- and re-regulation. Environment and Planning, 40(1): 131–52.

11. Cernea, M. M. and K. Schmidt-Soltau. 2006. Poverty Risks and national parks: Policy issues in conservation and resettlement. World Development Vol. 34: 1808-1830. cited in Brockington, and Igoe, 2006.
12. Chatty, D. and M. Colchester. 2002. Conservation and Mobile Indigenous Peoples: Displacement, Forced Settlement and Sustainable Development. London: Berghahn Books.
13. De Angelis, M. 2001. Marx and primitive accumulation: the continuous character of capital's enclosures. The Commoner, 2. Available from: http://www.commoner.org.uk/02deangelis.pdf.
14. de Longh, H.H., Tumenta, P., Croes, B.M., Funston, P., Bauer, H. And H.A. Udo de Haes. 2009. Threat of a lion population extinction in Waza National Park, North Cameroon. Cat News: 50: 26-27.
15. de Longh, H.H., Tchamba, M. And R. Buij. 2010. Waza National Park, a park in peril. In: Savanna Landscapes for the Future: Celebrating 20 Years of Environmental Research and Education in Northern Cameroon. De Long, H.H., Persoon, G.A., Buji, R., Mvondo-Awano, J.P., Croes, B. and P. Tumenta Fobuzie [ed.s] Maroua: Centre for Environment and Development Studies in Cameroon.
16. de Sousa Santos, B. 2006. The Heterogeneous State and Legal Pluralism in Mozambique. Law & Society Review, 40: 39–76.
17. Djarma, M. 2002. Le Parc National de Waza: Histoire de la Faune et du Tourisme de 1962 a 2000. Memoire presente et soutenu en vue de l'obtention du diplome de Maitrise en Historie. Universite de Ngoundere, Departement d'Histoire.
18. Dowie, M. 2009. Conservation refugees: the hundred-year conflict between global conservation and native peoples, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
19. Dressler, W. and Buscher, B. 2008. Market triumphalism and the CBNRM 'crises' at the South African section of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park. Geoforum, 39(1): 452–65.
20. Drijver, C.A. 1991. People's participation in environmental projects in developing countries. Landscape and Urban Planning : 20: 1–3 : 129–139.
21. Duffy, R. and Moore, L. 2010. Neoliberalising nature? Elephant-back tourism in Thailand and Botswana. Antipode, 42(3): 742–66.
22. Federici, S. 2004. Caliban and the witch: women, the body and primitive accumulation. New York: Autonomedia.
23. Finer, M., Moncel, R. and Jenkins, C. N. 2010. Leaving the oil under the Amazon: Ecuador's Yasuní-ITT initiative. Biotropica, 42(1): 63–66.
24. Forsyth C.J., Gramling R. and G. Wooddell. 1998. The game of poaching: folk crimes in Southwest California. Society and Natural Resources. 11:1: 25–38.
25. Fortwangler, C. 2007. Friends with Money: Private Support for National Parks in the US Virgin Islands. Conservation and Society: 5: 504–533.
26. Foucat, V.S.A. 2002. Community-based ecotourism management moving towards sustainability, in Ventanilla, Oaxaca, Mexico. Ocean Coastal Management, 45(8), 511–29.
27. Freed, L. 2011. "Every European Becomes a Chief": Travel Guides to Colonial Equatorial Africa, 1900-1958. Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History: 12: 2.
28. Geisler, C. and de Sousa, R. 2001. From refuge to refugee: the African case. Public Administration and Development, 21(2): 159–70.
29. Glassman, J. 2006. Primitive accumulation, accumulation by dispossession, accumulation by 'extra-economic' means. Progress in Human Geography, 30(5), 608–25.

30. Grandia, L. 2007. The tragedy of enclosures: rethinking primitive accumulation from the Guatemalan Hinterland. Paper presented to the Spring Colloquium, Program in Agrarian Studies, Yale University, 27, April.
31. Hagerman, S., Dowlatabadi, H., Satterfield, T., and T. McDaniels. 2010. Expert views on biodiversity conservation in an era of climate change. Global Environmental Change: 20: 192-207.
32. Hall D., Hirsch, P., and T.M. Li. 2011. Powers of Exclusion: Land Dilemmas in Southeast Asia. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
33. Hall, D. 2012. Rethinking Primitive Accumulation: Theoretical Tensions and Rural Southeast Asian Complexities. Antipode, 44: 1188–1208.
34. Harvey, D. 2003. *The New Imperialism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
35. Hughes, D. M. 2008. Third nature: making space and time in the Great Limpopo Conservation Area. Cultural Anthropology, 20(2), 157-184.
36. Igoe, J. 2004. *Conservation and globalization: A study of national parks and indigenous communities from East Africa to South Dakota.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Thompson Learning.
37. IUCN Website: http://www.iucn.org/about/work/programmes/pa/pa_products/wcpa_categories/pa_categoryii/ Accessed July 22, 2012
38. Juul, K. and C.Lund (ed.s) 2002. Negotiating Property in Africa. Portsmouth , NH : Heinemann.
39. Kelly, A.B. 2011. Conservation practice as primitive accumulation, Journal of Peasant Studies, 38:4, 683-701.
40. Laird, S., Johnston, S., Wynberg, R., Lisinge, E. and Lohan, D. 2004. Access and benefit sharing perspectives in protected area management. In: Biodiversity Issues for Consideration in the Planning, Establishment and Management of Protected Area Sites and Networks. Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity.
41. Lamie, E. 1960. Map of Ft. Lamy. Available at: http://www.cs.csustan.edu/~lamie/reunion/ Accessed July 30, 2012.
42. Leatherman, T. L. and Goodman, A. 2005. Coca-colonization of diets in the Yucatan. Social Science of Medicine, 61(4): 833–46.
43. Lund, C. 2002. Negotiating Property Institutions: On the Symbiosis of Property and Authority in Africa*, in* K.Juul and C.Lund *(eds) Negotiating Property in Africa, pp.* 11–43. Portsmouth , NH : Heinemann.
44. Lund, C. 2011. Property and Citizenship: Conceptually Connecting Land Rights and Belonging in Africa. Africa Spectrum: 46: 3: 71-75.
45. MacKenzie, J. 1989. Chivalry, social Darwinism and ritualised killing: The hunting ethos in Central Africa up to 1914. in D. Anderson and R. Grove (eds), Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Practice, pp. 41-62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
46. Marx, K. 1906. Capital: a critique of political economy, New York: Random House, Inc.
47. Mbenkum, F.T. 1997. Background and Technical Information for Proposal to Classify Waza National Park Cameroon as a RAMSAR Site and Presentation of Other Wetlands for Addition into the List at a Later Stage. Ministry of Environment and Forestry, Cameroon.
48. Merrill, T.W. 1998. Property and the Right to Exclude. Nebraska Law Review. 77: 730-55.
49. Moore, D. 2004. The second age of the third world: from primitive accumulation to global public goods? Third World Quarterly, 25(1), 89–109.
50. Moorhead, R. 1989. Changes Taking Place in Common Property Resource Management in the Inland Delta of Mali, in F Berkes (ed.), Common Property Resources: Ecology and

51. Community-based Sustainable Development, London: IUCN/Belhaven Press.
52. Moritz, M., Scholte, P., & Kari, S. 2002. The demise of the nomadic contract: arrangements and rangelands under pressure in the Far North of Cameroon. Nomadic Peoples, 6(1), 124-143.
53. Naughton-Treves, L. 1997. Farming the forest edge: Vulnerable places and people around Kibale National Park, Uganda. Geographical Review, 87: 27–46.
54. Neba, N.E. 2008. NGO Involvement in Environmental Protection in the North West Province. In: Civil Society and the Search for Development Alternatives in Cameroon. Vubo, E.Y. [ed.] Dakar, Senegal: Imprimerie Graphiplus.
55. Neumann, R.P. 1998. Imposing wilderness: struggles of livelihood and nature preservation in Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press.
56. Peh, K.S.H. 2008. Cameroon's Lessons in Conservation for Sub-Saharan Africa. BioScience, 58(8):678-679.
57. Pendleton M.R. 1998. Taking the forest: the shared meaning of tree theft. Society and Natural Resources. 11:1: 39–50.
58. Piliavin, I. Gartner, R., Thornton C. and R.L. Matsueda. 1986. Crime, Deterrence, and Rational Choice. American Sociological Review: 51: 101-119.
59. Place, S. 1995. Ecotourism for sustainable development: oxymoron or plausible strategy? GeoJournal, 35(2), 161–73.
60. Ramutsindela, M. 2003. Land reform in South Africa's national parks: a catalyst for the human–nature nexus. Land Use Policy, 20: 41–49.
61. Ribot, J. and N. Peluso 2003. A Theory of Access, Rural Sociology 68:2: 153–81.
62. Sassen, S. 2010. A savage sorting of winners and losers: contemporary versions of primitive accumulation. Globalizations, 7(1-2), 23-50.
63. Scott, J.C. 1976. The moral economy of the peasant: rebellion and subsistence in Southeast Asia. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
64. Sholte, P. 2005. Floodplain Rehabilitation and the Future of Conservation and Development: Adaptive Management of Success in Waza-Logone, Cameroon. Tropical Resource Management Papers, 67.
65. Sholte, P. 2009. At the Interface of Legislation and Wildlife Management: A Decade of Experience with Consensual Protected Area Management Planning in Cameroon, Journal of International Wildlife Law & Policy,12:1,1-32.
66. Sikor, T. and C. Lund. 2010. The Politics of Possession: Property, Authority, and Access to Natural Resources. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
67. Skonhoft, A. 1998. Resource Utilization, Property Rights and Welfare—Wildlife and the Local People. Ecological Economics Vol. 26: 67-80.
68. Sodikoff, G. 2007. An exceptional strike: a micro-history of 'people versus park' in Madagascar. Journal of Political Ecology 14: 10-33.
69. Swift, J. 1991. 'Local Customary Institutions as the Basis for Natural Resource Management among Boran Pastoralists in Northern Kenya', IDS Bulletin 22 (4), IDS: Brighton; (1994), 'Dynamic Ecological Systems and the Administration of Pastoral Development' in I Scoones (ed.), Living with Uncertainty: New Directions in
70. Pastoral Development in Africa, London: IT Publications.
71. Tchamba, M., Foguekem, D. and H.H. De Longh. 2010. Human Elephant Conflict in the Waza-Logone Region. In: Savanna Landscapes for the Future: Celebrating 20 Years of Environmental Research and Education in Northern Cameroon. De Long, H.H., Persoon, G.A., Buji, R., Mvondo-

Awano, J.P., Croes, B. and P. Tumenta Fobuzie [ed.s] Maroua: Centre for Environment and Development Studies in Cameroon.

72. Thompson, E. P. 1975. Whigs and hunters: the origin of the Black Act, London: Allen Lane.
73. Thebaud, B. 2002. "The Management of Pastoral Resources in West African Sahel: Negotiating Water and Pastures in Eastern Niger and Northern Burkina Faso" in Juul, K. and C.Lund (eds) (2002) Negotiating Property in Africa. Portsmouth , NH : Heinemann.
74. Timms, B.F. 2011. The (Mis)Use of Disaster as Opportunity: Coerced Relocation from Celaque National Park, Honduras. Antipode: 43:4: 1357-1379.
75. Tumenta, P.N., Kok, J.S., Rijssel van, J.C., Buji, R., Croes, B.M., Funston, P.J., Longh de, H.H. and H.A. Udo de Haes. 2009. Threat of Rapid Extermination of the Lion (Pathera leo leo) in Waza National Park, North Cameroon. African Journal of Ecology: 47:3:17-25.
76. Watts, M. 1983. Silent Violence: Food, Famine and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria. Berkeley: University of California Press.
77. Wood, E. M. 2002. The origin of capitalism: a longer view, London: Verso.
78. Woodhouse, P. 1997. Governance & local environmental management in Africa. Review of African Political Economy, 24(74), 537-547.
79. West, P., Igoe, J. and Brockington, D. 2006. Parks and peoples: the social impact of protected areas. Annual Review of Anthropology, 3
80. WWF 2010: "Decade-old dream comes true for Lake Chad" http://wwf.panda.org/about_our_earth/biodiversity/news_events_updates/?187941/Decade-old-dream-comes-true-for-Lake-Chad (Accessed November 28, 2012).

LDPI Working Paper Series

A convergence of factors has been driving a revaluation of land by powerful economic and political actors. This is occurring across the world, but especially in the global South. As a result, we see unfolding worldwide a dramatic rise in the extent of cross-border, transnational corporation-driven and, in some cases, foreign government-driven, large-scale land deals. The phrase 'global land grab' has become a catch-all phrase to describe this explosion of (trans)national commercial land transactions revolving around the production and sale of food and biofuels, conservation and mining activities.

The Land Deal Politics Initiative launched in 2010 as an 'engaged research' initiative, taking the side of the rural poor, but based on solid evidence and detailed, field-based research. The LDPI promotes in-depth and systematic enquiry to inform deeper, meaningful and productive debates about the global trends and local manifestations. The LDPI aims for a broad framework encompassing the political economy, political ecology and political sociology of land deals centred on food, biofuels, minerals and conservation. Working within the broad analytical lenses of these three fields, the LDPI uses as a general framework the four key questions in agrarian political economy: (i) who owns what? (ii) who does what? (iii) who gets what? and (iv) what do they do with the surplus wealth created? Two additional key questions highlight political dynamics between groups and social classes: 'what do they do to each other?', and 'how do changes in politics get shaped by dynamic ecologies, and vice versa?' The LDPI network explores a range of big picture questions through detailed in-depth case studies in several sites globally, focusing on the politics of land deals.

Property and Negotiation in Waza National Park

This paper uses property as a lens of analysis to examine the transformation of Waza National Park in Northern Cameroon. The paper seeks to understand why local residents called for better guarding of the park, comments which go against much of the literature critical of exclusionary conservation methods. The paper first looks at the creation of this protected area as an example of primitive accumulation. Considering the fact that not all people were excluded from this area in the same way, the paper shows how certain groups of people were able to obtain and/or maintain access to natural resources within this protected area through negotiation, identity and stealth. The paper then traces the 'post-primitive accumulation story,' showing that 1.) wiping away local management and property rights in this space (via acts of primitive accumulation) and by replacing them with a declaration of absolute government ownership which was strictly (and sometimes violently) enforced for over 60 years and then 2.) essentially abandoning management in the park (by government agencies and NGOs), an open access situation was created in this space. The paper then shows the material effects of this open access space and considers the broader implications of this case study arguing that conservation planners must consider both the short- and long-term implications of their actions.

Land Deal Politics Initiative LDPI

landpolitics@gmail.com

www.iss.nl/ldpi