

# INDIGENOUS CULTURE AND NASCENT TOURISM IN MUANENGUBA, CAMEROON

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# ABSTRACT

This study is an ethnography of the early stages of tourism development (nascent tourism) in Muanenguba – especially in Mwaam, the tourist destination in the Bakossiland – one of the most celebrated mountain regions of Cameroon. It is a narrative on the emerging relationship between local culture and nascent tourism.

The research was carried out through a fieldwork process that can best be described as *being sensibly native*, through ethnographic interactions with the hosts – indigenes (villagers and elites), developers (councils, hoteliers and hotel staff), regional government department officials and immigrants (nomadic and others) – in order to gain *indigenous knowledge*, and to capture tourism practices via collaborative, access-point-generated research strategies: checkpoint inquiries and registration, destination tours, questionnaire surveys and visitor monitoring.

The study makes an original contribution to knowledge by discovering that Muanenguba has experienced a century of tourism without progress beyond the nascent stage. Consequently, there is a nascent tourism discourse and practice, featuring the coexistence of exploration and local action with the concept of sustainability understood to varying degrees and mobilised rhetorically and symbolically by various actors for different purposes. As part of an indigenous political ecology of nascent tourism, the factors of status and power ascribed to custodians, and achieved by the developers, bias participation in and benefit from the nascent stages of tourism development. The wider local community is oriented towards both tradition and modernity as values. The dominant processes of change (*modernity*) comprise, historically, Westernisation, post-colonial government influence and non-tourism-led immigration, and currently, modernisation and *in situ* shifting conceptions in indigenous culture. Nascent tourism, accommodated by indigenous principles of access, is a marginal but emerging agent of change, exacerbating trivial issues such as access and sanctity, authenticity, ownership, sense of place and aesthetic beauty.

At the early stage of tourism, the visitors are predominantly well-educated, median age professionals and expatriates, travelling as small, short-staying, and male-dominated autonomous groups. They practise – albeit not impeccably – conventional countryside/nature-based tourism, incorporating *responsibilities* and *initiatives* that are somewhat consistent with the principles of ecotourism as well as voluntary pro-poor and community-based tourism – that is, niches of nascent tourism. Varied degrees and modes of generally scarce interaction have led to mixed local perception and delineation of tourists as people-friendly and hedonistic. As a *traditional* outlook of nascent tourism, custodians and hoteliers have formed a symbolic economy by packaging the iconic traditional house both unintentionally and intentionally for tourism. This contributes to symbolising custodianship, asserting indigenous identity and preserving the image of Muanenguba, and leads visitors to experience local mediation between modern convenience and indigenous tradition. If tourism eventually advances beyond the nascent stage, the demographic diversity of tourists, local participation, the agency and local perception of tourism would be greater, while symbolism and sustainability might be challenged.

This study sits within the social science academic disciplines of ethnography and nascent tourism research. By mediating in the dual role of indigene and researcher, the study – a graphic demonstration of indigenous wisdom – is a pioneering attempt at profiling and developing a greater understanding of tourism development in the Bakossiland, and in other volcanic mountain areas of Cameroon. Its approach would be equally valuable for other West African, tropical mountain and nascent tourism destinations.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

ANOVA	Analysis of variance.
ASTOC	Association des Tours-Opérateurs du Cameroun (Association of Cameroon Tourism Operators).
<i>a.r.</i>	Adjusted residual.
BACDA	Bangem Cultural and Development Association.
BNP	Bakossi National Park.
CERUT	Centre for the Environment and Rural Transformation.
CTIC	Cameroon Tourism Information Bureau (Cooperation).
CBT(E)	Community-based tourism (or ecotourism).
CRES	Centre for Reproduction (Conservation and Research) of Endangered Species, San Diego University.
DED	Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst (German Development Service).
DFPA	Department for Direction of Fauna and Protected Areas in MINEF, Cameroon.
FENAC	Fête Nationale des Arts et Cultures (National Festival of Arts and Culture).
GoC	Government of Cameroon.
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Technical Cooperation).
GLOBAL 200	A science-based global ranking of the Earth's most biologically outstanding ecosystems.
HIPIC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries' Initiative.
ICBP	International Council for Bird Preservation (Birdlife International).
IYE	International Year of Ecotourism.
LDCs	Developing countries (actually 'least developed countries': an outdated term, frequently encountered in the literature).
MCEO	Mount Cameroon Ecotourism Organisation.
MIER	Muanenguba Integrated Ecological Reserve (proposed).
MINEF	Ministry of Environment and Forests.



**MINTOUR** Ministry of Tourism.

**MKFP** Mount Kupe Forest Project.

**NEC** National Ecotourism Committee.

**NPMB** National Produce Marketing Board.

**NTC** National Tourism Council.

**OAU** Organisation for African Unity.

**PRGF** Poverty reduction strategy and growth facility.

**SAFAD** Silsoe Aid for Appropriate Development (charity run exclusively by students of Cranfield University).

**SAP** Structural adjustment programme.

**SFF** Special Fauna Fund.

**SNV** Swerishe Normen Veerinigung (Netherlands Development Organisation).

**SNAVT** Société Nationale des Agences de Voyages et Tourisme (National Association of Travel and Tourism Agents), Cameroon.

**SOCATOUR** Société Camerounaise de Tourisme (Cameroon Tourism Society or Organisation).

**SPIHT** National Association of Employers in Hotels and Tourism, Cameroon.

**SPSS** Statistical Package for the Social Sciences.

**TALC** Tourism (destination) Area Life-cycle.

$x^2$  Chi-square.

**VFRs** Visiting friends and relatives.

**WWF** World Wide Fund for Nature and Natural Resources.

The 'topographic diversity, steep ecotones and habitat heterogeneity [of the Muanenguba Massif containing the caldera and unique Twin Lakes i.e. the tourist destination] have resulted in parapatric and allopatric species along altitudinal gradients, forming complex ecological communities and zonation of taxa....[the biodiversity of this Pleistocene refuge] is unparalleled in Africa'  
(Wild *et al.*, 2004: 102, 103).



# Chapter One

## INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND TO THE BAKOSSILAND AND MUANENGUBA

### 1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY, AND STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This investigation is set in a tropical mountain destination called Muanenguba, located in the South-west Province of Cameroon. The study is an indigenous contribution to tourism development carried out by way of both searching for indigenous knowledge and profiling the early stages of tourism development (*nascent tourism*). It is aimed at analysing the links between local, largely indigenous, culture – material culture, social structure, world views and practices – and nascent tourism, with consideration given to practices that can be considered to be consistent with the principles of ecotourism. The study was motivated by the investigator's background in geography and his experiences as a youth in Muanenguba, a place that has arguably the most celebrated volcanic landscape of Cameroon, but whose potential for tourism development was until the early 21st Century unappreciated, both locally and nationally. The idea of experiencing more than a hundred years of tourism – from the late 19th century to the present – without progress beyond the early (nascent) stages makes Muanenguba an interesting destination for survey. The underdeveloped nature of the tourism industry in Cameroon (discussed in Chapter Three), and inadequate guidance in natural and cultural resource management, have led Muanenguba and its communities to miss the benefits of the picturesque volcanic landscape, that is, the tourist destination: Mwaam, especially the Twin Lakes, the Caldera and some unique species of plants and animals. The local issues that relate to this are:

- a peasant local economy, based mainly on low-income agrarian activities, with few options for livelihood, leaving the inhabitants to depend on the mountain's tourism resources, including those around the existing tourist destination;
- a general lack of consideration of tourism as an economic activity by the wider community, apart from a few key actors and beneficiaries, such as councils, hoteliers and tourism employees;

- the gradual abandonment of age-old indigenous traditional customs, some of which simply require guidance in order to conform with the pursuit of sustainable development;
- the immigration of Mbororo settlers to the destination, and their occupation of what is locally considered to be the *cradle* (as discussed in section 5.4.3) by indigenes;
- poor transport development, which limits the tourism season and other economic activities;
- the colonially borne division of the community into the English (i.e. the western) and French (eastern) aspects of Muanenguba, and unsuccessful indigenous community development efforts, owing to inadequate financial capacity.

As an introduction to the natural and social aspects of Muanenguba, this first chapter presents a background to the Bakossiland, part of which is the study area: the Muanenguba mountain and Mwaam (the tourist destination, i.e. the top of Muanenguba). It starts with an outline of the contents of the rest of the thesis. It also outlines the aims and objectives of the study. A key part of the chapter is a description of the diversity of physical features that together make up the *Muanenguba Massif*, especially those that are linked to nascent tourism. The chapter ends with a description of the human component of the local environment, including the material culture (identifying a key product for tourism, the famous *ndab echum*), and guiding notes.

Chapter Two explores existing scholarly knowledge in the field of sustainable tourism as it relates to Muanenguba. It addresses the tourism discourse with regard to sustainability (e.g. conceptual and statistical problems and debates). It analyses ecotourism as an aspect of sustainable/nascent tourism in terms of its characteristics – some of which have been identified in Muanenguba – and debates regarding divergence between its theory and its practice. It addresses underdevelopment problems, overriding paradigms and concepts (e.g. modernisation, dependency, alternative development, political ecology, poverty) associated with tourism in developing countries. It also discusses issues regarding indigenous/local people's involvement (participation and community definition issues) and the impacts of tourism development. Finally, it draws out a particular type of impact linked to the early stages of tourism development in destinations such as Muanenguba, that is,



globalisation of culture and change: homogenisation, acculturation, authenticity, destination image.

Chapter Three is the second part of the literature review, looking at the national and regional perspectives. It briefly reviews development in Cameroon, and places Cameroon's tourism industry within Africa. It also describes the development and organisation of tourism in Cameroon. In particular, it includes a background to ecotourism development, as well as the general constraints to tourism development.

The research methodology and the mixed ethnographic and tourism research methods are found in Chapter Four. The chapter is an illustration of 'being sensibly native' – managing the dual role of insider and researcher – in the processes of obtaining local/*indigenous knowledge*, and capturing tourism practices.

Chapter Five validates the idea of being native. It is an explicit analysis of the local communities (largely indigenous-Muanengoe) central to the study. It analyses the local social structure, in terms of clan/lineage communities, hierarchies that influence participation at the nascent stage of tourism development, leadership and institutions, and aspects of it (findings) that are currently linking with nascent tourism. It also analyses the local world views that are embedded in cultural practices, as well as linking the indigenes to the natural (the tourism destination, i.e. Mwaam, their cradle) and the supernatural (religion, sacred sites, custodianship and principles of access).

The next four chapters present other findings of the research. Chapter Six turns the narrative to an introduction to tourism in Muanenguba in terms of a chronology of development actions leading to the ecotourism initiative. It analyses the institutions involved and facilities developed, seasonality and concentrations. It thereby identifies the key attractions (Mwaam and the Ekom Nkam Falls) and the key actors (custodians and developers). Chapter Seven profiles nascent tourism by describing the demographic and trip activities that lead to the thesis that some of the holiday activities are consistent with ecotourism principles. Chapter Eight analyses interaction and the resulting perception of both locals and visitors. It also identifies the benefits of nascent tourism and brings together its negative impacts, as well as

issues that affect the destination and/or impede sustainable tourism development (some of which have been discussed in earlier chapters).

Chapter Nine concludes the thesis with a synthesis of the findings and implications, an identification of the contributions to knowledge, and a reflection on *being native* and its value to the research. It ends with suggestions for future investigations and concluding remarks.

## **1.2 RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES**

### **1.2.1 Aim of the investigation.**

The overall aim of this research is to examine the native Muanengoe/local culture, as it relates to the economic use and exploitation of natural resources, especially in the current and potential development of sustainable tourism in the region, and to develop proposals for future tourism development.

### **1.2.2 Objectives.**

Specific objectives are:

- i. To discuss the natural resources, if any, that are linked to the early stages of tourism development. This involves describing the physical environment and identifying features that have become tourist attractions.
- ii. To analyse the existing material culture of the people of the Bakossiland (local economy, use of natural resources, etc.). This involves consideration of the socio-economic structure, especially as it relates to their livelihoods, and social organisation, including gender roles. It also involves consideration of those customs and values that condition the relationship of the people with the wider physical environment.
- iii. To determine the current involvement of the people in nascent tourism in the region. This includes the identification of modes of participation in tourism development, modes of interaction, and resulting perception.



iv. To identify and discuss – as part of nascent tourism – practices that can be considered to be ‘sustainable tourism development’ and, in particular, ecotourism. This involves assessing the extent to which practices consistent with ecotourism principles (contribution to local well-being, sociocultural stability and physical environment-friendliness) feature in nascent tourism. It also involves determining the factors that are likely to contribute to this.

v. To identify any existing or potential impacts on and constraints to the current and future development of tourism. This includes consideration of potential or existing conflicts of interest.

### 1.3 LOCATION OF THE STUDY AREA: THE BAKOSSILAND AND MUANENGUBA

The Muanenguba Massif – the study area – is located at latitude 4° 40' to 5° 15' north of the Equator and longitude 9° 36' to 9° 70' east of the Greenwich Meridian. Muanenguba straddles the South-west and Littoral Provinces of Cameroon (Figure 1.1). It occupies the northern part of the tribal Bakossiland (2,390 km<sup>2</sup>) Cheek, 2004a: 8) and covers an area of about 25 km<sup>2</sup>, standing 2,411 m above sea level (Cheek, 2004a: 8).

Muanenguba is bordered to the south-east by Mount Nlonako and to the south by Mount Kupe (2,064 m) (Figure 6.1). It is bordered to the west by the Bakossi Trough and the Bakossi Highlands (1,895 m). The Mbo Plain borders Muanenguba to the north-east.

Kupe, Muanenguba and Nlonako form the first inland mountains (Wild, 2004a) of the Cameroon Line – a chain of volcanic mountains along a north-east to south-west axis from Sao Tome and Principe in the Atlantic Ocean, through Bioko (Fernando Po), Mount Cameroon, Kupe-Muanenguba and the Western Highlands, up to the Adamawa Plateau in the central north of Cameroon. Muanenguba is situated about 110 km north-east of the economic capital and main international airport – Douala City. The Bakossi Highlands are part of the Muanenguba Massif (included in the study area). Although Mount Kupe and its environs in the south are part of the



Bakossiland, they are far away and separate, and were therefore excluded from the study (see map, Figure 6.1).

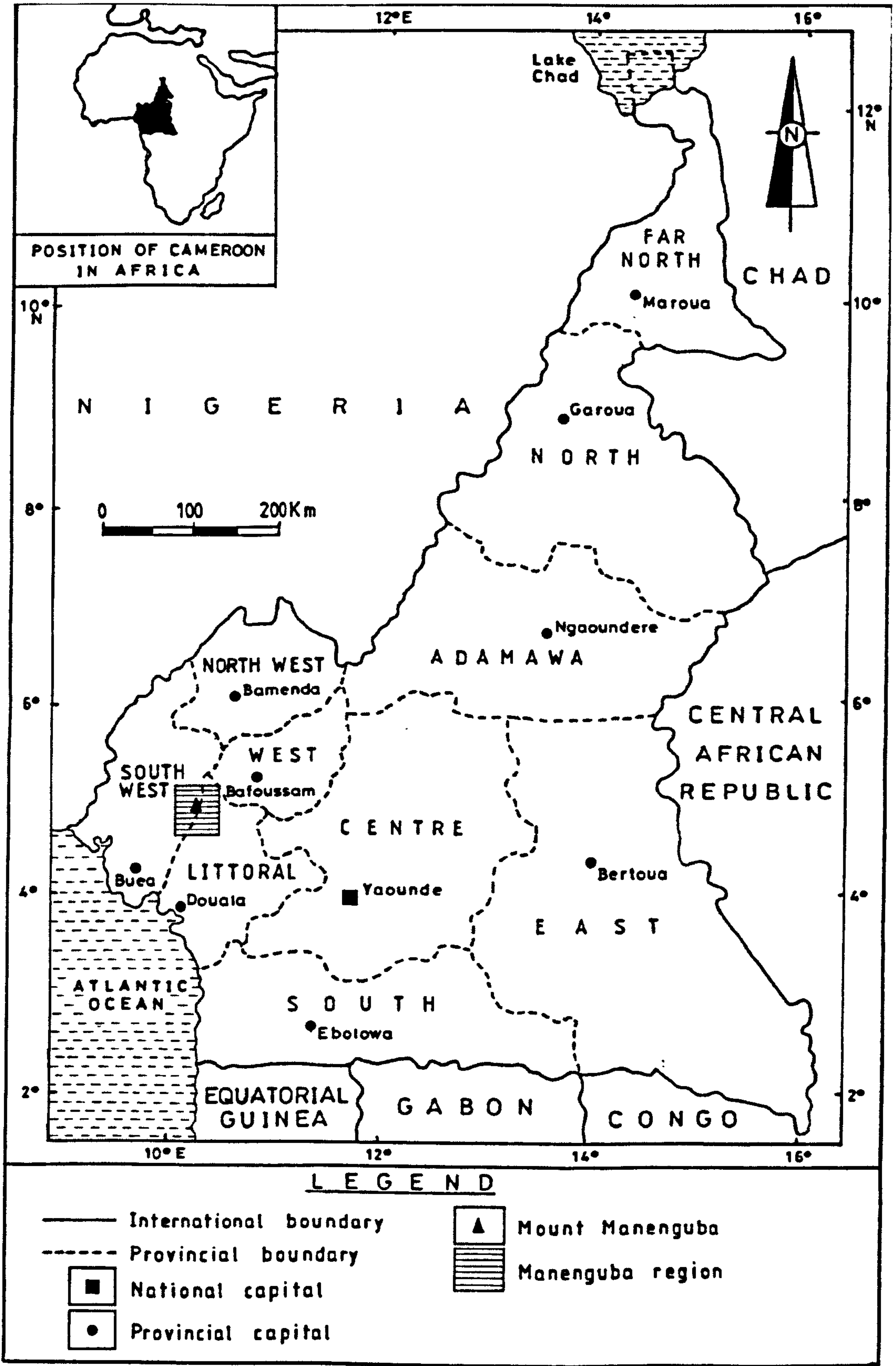


Figure 1.1: Location of Muanenguba. (Map drawn by Cletus Forba.)

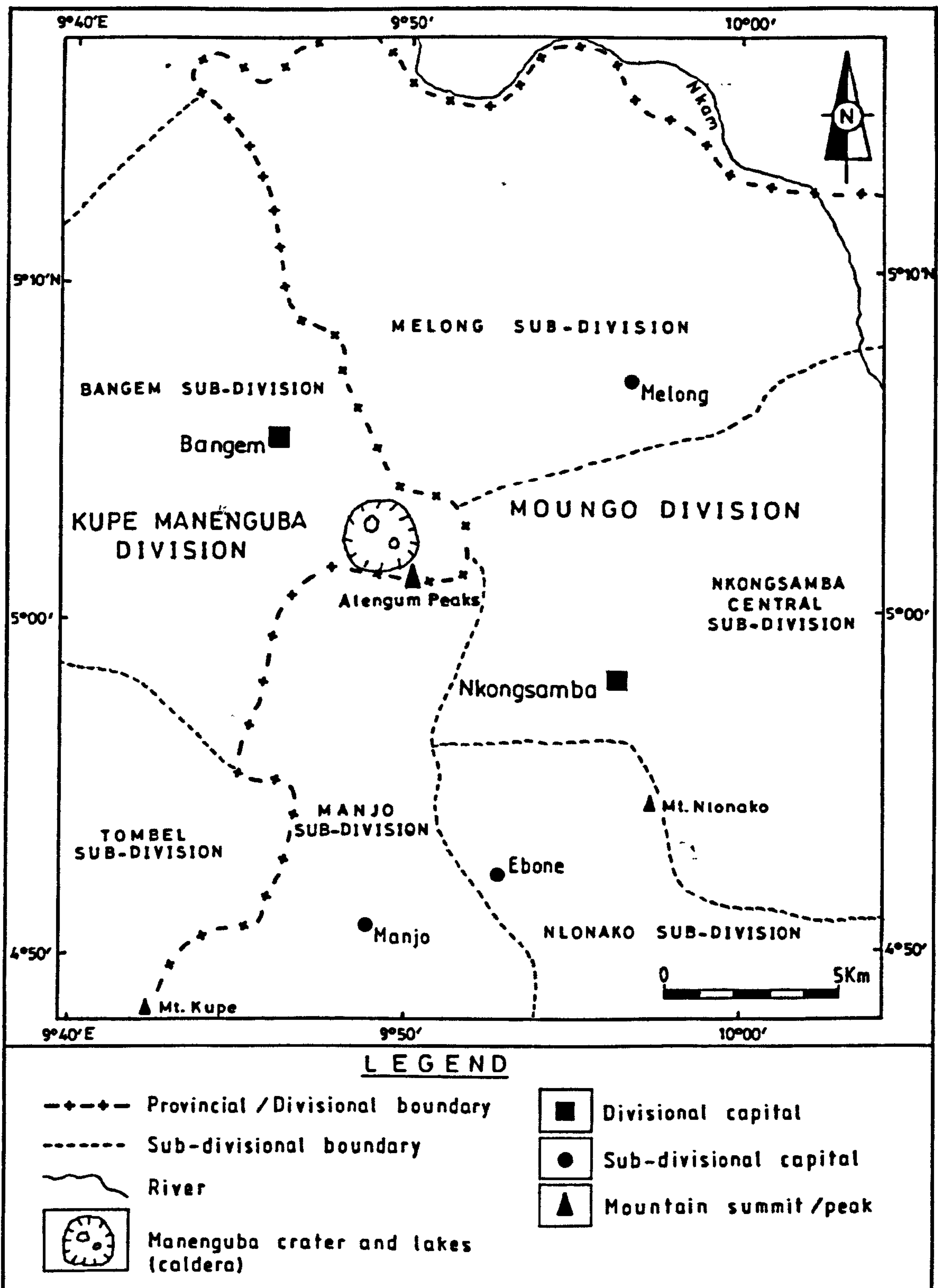


Figure 1.2: Political administrative areas around Muanenguba. (Drawn by Cletus Forba.)

## 1.4 PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE MUANENGUBA MASSIF

The Muanenguba Mountain is an extinct stratovolcano. The upper (1,900 to 2,411 m) slopes are composed of two concentric calderas: the older and undefined Alehngum Caldera (about 156 million years old), and the younger, picturesque Ebwo Caldera contained within it (Dongmo *et al.*, 2001) – the visitor destination, called *Mwaam* (as used in this thesis) by custodian villages. As we shall see in the following sections, the mountain is generally referred to as the ‘Muanenguba Massif’ because of its high and diverse relief, comprising the caldera and Twin Lakes, several peaks (e.g. the Alehngum and Ebwo peaks), rocky cliffs (e.g. the Dua’*mwaam* cascade), inselburgs (e.g. at Muandelengo), crater lakes, and intermontane ridges separated by elongated valley systems caused by stream incision on volcanic basement rocks.

Natural features in Muanenguba are differentially linked to the early stages of tourism development. Currently, Mwaam – the destination, with its scenic splendours comprising the famous Twin Lakes, caldera, Ebwo Peak - and the stop-and-see-on-the-way Ekom Nkam Falls – are by far the principal tourist attractions. However, as we shall see below, a few other features, such as the Muandelengo Inselburg, and pyroclastic cones, are sited *en route* (on the way) to Mwaam, albeit remotely located for reaching via trekking.

### 1.4.1 Mwaam: the caldera, the Twin Lakes and associated scenery.

Mwaam, the caldera summit area (occupying 5° 01’ to 5° 02’ N and 9° 48’ E to 9° 50’ E), is situated at 1,950 m above sea level, and is about 3 km wide. Because of its extraordinary natural scenic splendours, which are in stark contrast to the rest of the Bakossiland, Mwaam is by far the key attraction – that is, *destination* area, for tourism in the Bakossiland (objective i). Mwaam is a destination rich in traditional history (the cradle of the Bakossi people, where ancestral spirits strongly influence life, livelihood and social organisation, as shown in section 5.4.3), intricate volcanic geology, and exceptional tropical scenery. Mwaam is 9.6 km from the nearest town, Bangem, whose council controls tourism development. The caldera floor, called *Ebwo* varies from gentle to flat, accommodating livelihood activities such as non-indigenous Mbororo settler cattle rearing and gendered indigenous livelihood activities (see section 5.4.3). The relief of Ebwo also facilitates trekking, visitor



sightseeing over a good distance from any point, and photography. These three are among the most popular visitor activities in Mwaam (see section 7.7.5).

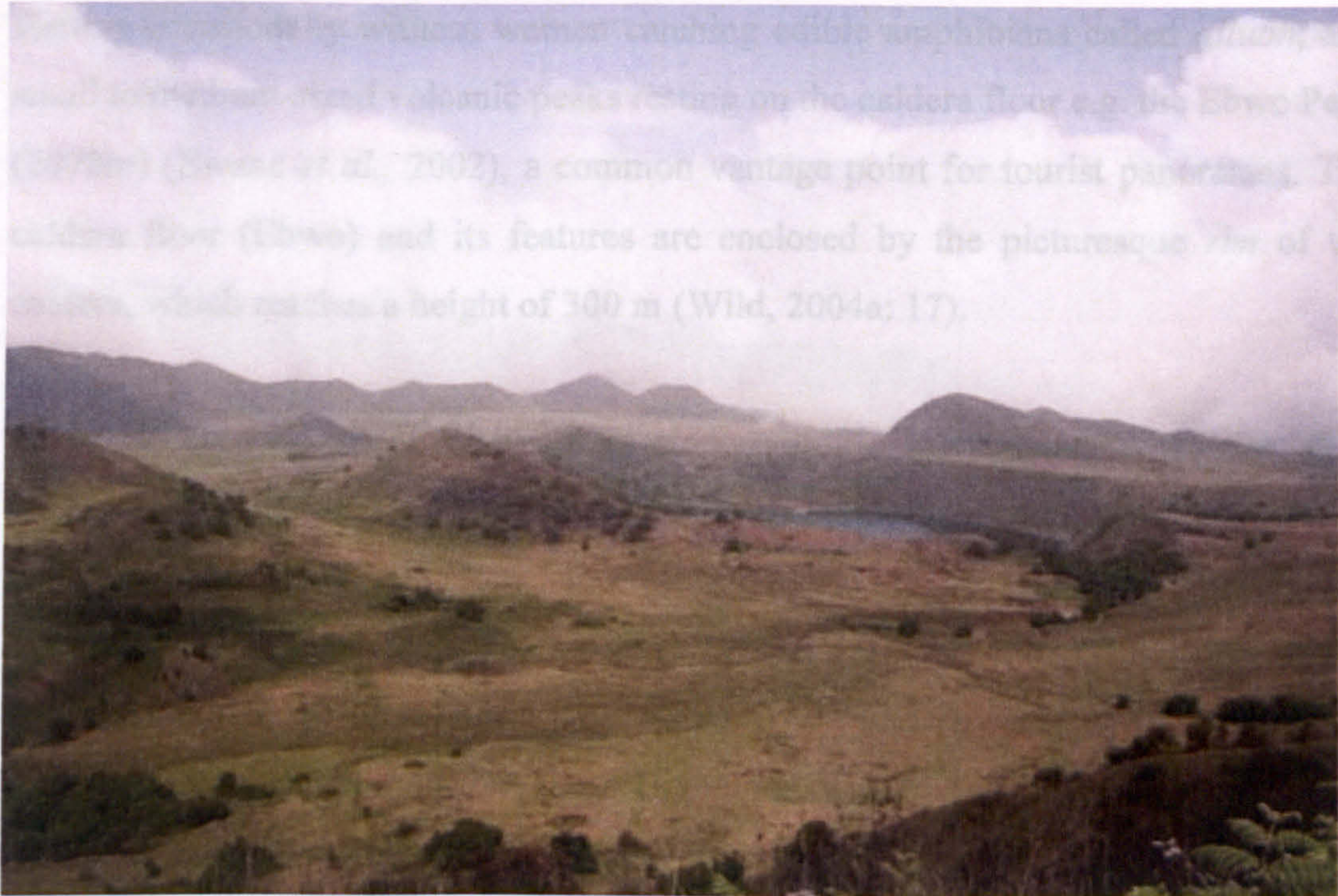


Photo 1.1: A portion of the destination, Mwaam (south-east to north-west), showing Ebwo (the caldera floor), and Edep (the Female Lake). Notice the Ebwo peak, *Nzeng'ekwa*, in the right centre, and part of the rim in the left. The smaller Male Lake, *Njumue*, is obscured by the two small peaks to the left of the barely visible Female Lake, Edep. (Photo by Patrick Laperre)

Mwaam contains two permanent crater lakes known as the Twin Lakes of Muanenguba: the Male and Female lakes (Photo 1.2). Natives call the Male Lake *Njumue*, meaning 'male friend', and the Female Lake *Edep*, meaning 'female water'. The Twin Lakes are the chief individual attractions that encourage visitors to Muanenguba. The lakes are situated in steep-sided, rocky, circular craters that measure about 500 m in depth. The bean-shaped Edep is just about accessible from the northern aspect of its crater, whereas the *Njumue* is almost inaccessible.



Photo 1.2: The 'glorious views' of the Twin Lakes of Muanenguba in Mwaam: Female (Edep) northern shores, east direction, and Male (Njumue), north-west direction. (Photos by Ivo Ngwese.)



Besides the caldera and Twin Lakes, there are other features in Mwaam. These comprise: a swampy area in the south-west section of Ebwo known as *Jeborh*, where visitors occasionally witness women catching edible amphibians called *alluoh*; and small to medium-sized volcanic peaks resting on the caldera floor e.g. the Ebwo Peak (2078m) (Ewane *et al.*, 2002), a common vantage point for tourist panoramas. The caldera floor (Ebwo) and its features are enclosed by the picturesque *rim* of the caldera, which reaches a height of 300 m (Wild, 2004a: 17).

However, because of the diversity of slope conditions *en route* to Mwaam, they always have panoramic views of certain volcanic features that appear more remote in the sense of trekking, but are viewable *en route*. These attractions include the Ebamut Fall, the Muandelengo Inselburg (Photo 1.3), the colossal expanse of the Bakossi Highlands (forest) north of Bangem Town, and volcanic pyroclastic cones. Visitors drive through the Muanjikom Highlands, pass by the Mbila Volcanic Neck, and cross the rivers Dibombe and Mbwe as well as tributaries at various places. Most of the remote attractions are rarely visited, owing to problems of accessibility.

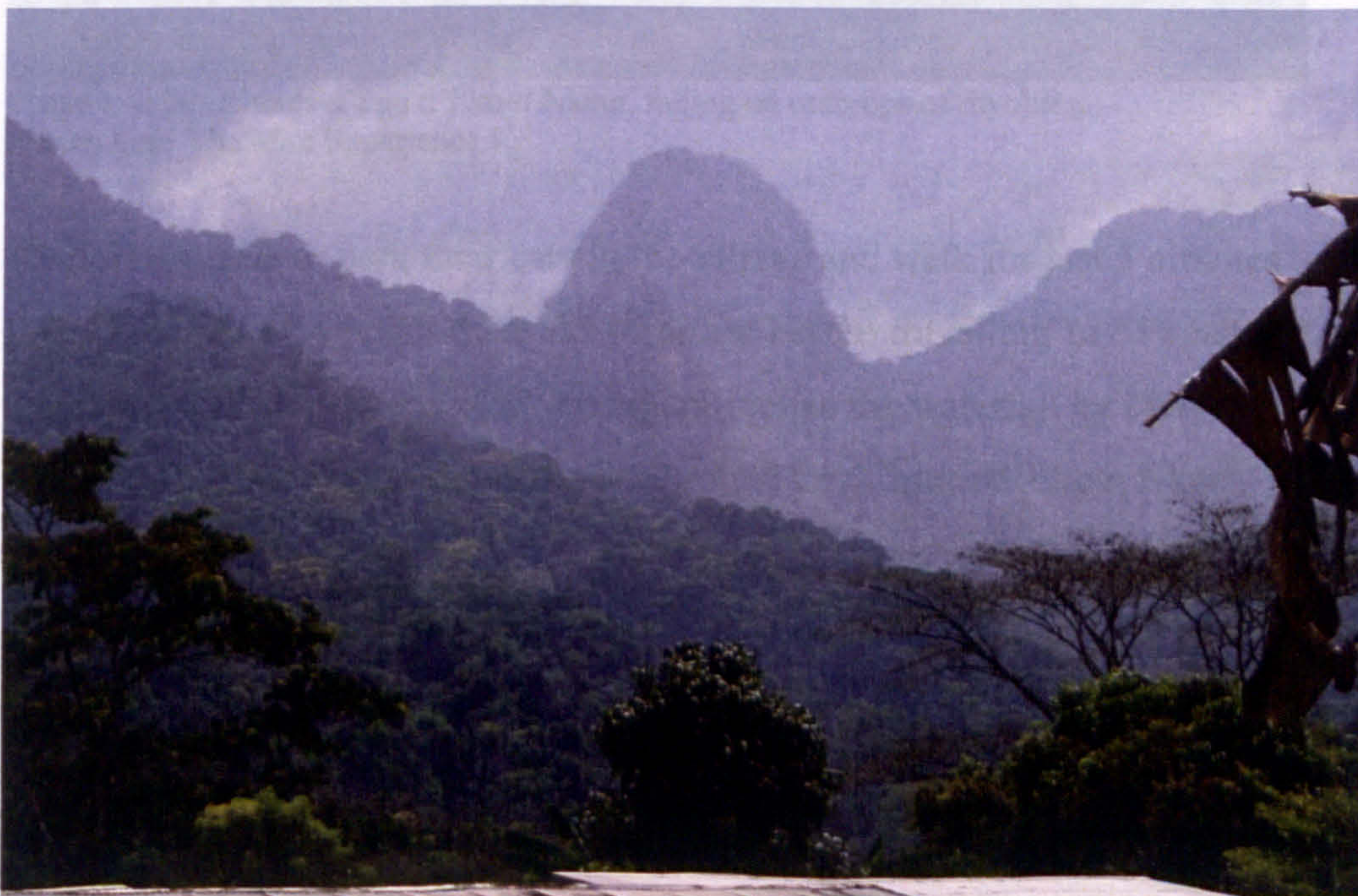


Photo 1.3: The Muandelengo granite inselburg, Eleh'muandelengo: always viewed by visitors over Ndibse Village and Bangem Town. (Photo by Ivo Ngwese.)

#### **1.4.2 Les Chutes d'Eau d'Ekam Nkam (the Ekam Nkam Falls).**

Before reaching Mwaam and its environs, visitors stop to see the Ekam Nkam Falls. The falls are situated at 5°04' N and 10°01' E near Ekam village in the Bare-Bakem



Clan, along the river Nkam (see [traveljournals.net](http://traveljournals.net)). They are at the outskirts of Melong, to the west of Mwaam, just 10 km off the Douala–Nkongsamba–Baffoussam Highway, which marks the eastern margin of the study area (Photo 1.4). The falls constitute the second most important attraction after Mwaam – that is, the single most visited on-the-way stop-and-see attraction (see map; Figure 6.1), by virtue of their accessibility.



Photo 1.4: Les Chutes d'Eau d'Ekoum Nkam, falling on outcrops of rhyolites. (Photo from The Max Experience.)

Visitors are able to park their cars in the village and walk for just 5 minutes to see the falls. Tourists who reach there do so either before travelling to Mwaam or on their way back. Local villagers of Ekoum Nkam idolise the waterfall by carrying out sacred practices, e.g. sacrifices to forefathers, around Les Chutes d'Ekoum Nkam.

#### 1.4.3 Other lakes and water features.

In addition to Mwaam, its Twin Lakes, the Muandelengo inselburg and Ekoum Nkam Falls, there are other natural features in Muanenguba. These comprise: *Lake Edib* (2004a: 18); *Lake Bermin* and the *Muandon Lakes*, (*ibid*: 18). But these other features are barely linked to nascent tourism because of their limited accessibility. Visitors cross local rivers, and are able to view waterfalls (*ahoof*) at distances from the routes from time to time. According to Ewane *et al.* (2002: 11), such rivers comprise the river Chede, river Dibombe, river Mbwe and river Nkam.



#### **1.4.4 Soils.**

In general, soils in the Muanenguba region are formed from volcanic parent material (Wild, 2004a: 18). In general, soils in the study area are fertile, support farming, and have attracted immigration from the Western Highlands since the colonial period. Immigration – not generated by tourism – contributes to tourism development in that such immigrants are dominant in areas of potential interaction with tourists, i.e. transit *carrefours*, as discussed in section 8.2.2.

#### **1.4.5 Climate: tropical montane conditions.**

Because of Muanenguba's near-equatorial location and altitudinal modification of meso-scale atmospheric conditions, it is a *tropical montane* environment. The relief of Muanenguba modifies the local climate. There are minor seasonal fluctuations in temperature, which range from 20°C to 25°C (Ewane *et al.*, 2002: 3), and higher altitudes maintain lower temperatures throughout the year.

Generally, the average rainfall varies between 515 and 2,762 mm of rainfall per year (Hedinger, 1987: 17; Ewane *et al.*, 2002: 4). There are marked differences between the wet and dry seasons (Wild, 2004a: 19). The dry/tourism season runs from November to April (Wild, 2004a: 18–19). Unlike the neighbouring mountains, Muanenguba is comparatively less rainy but has more water bodies which lead to a more picturesque landscape. The wet season runs from April and peaks in August. This coincides with the low season for tourism – due to travelling problems – and the start of the wet season.

#### **1.4.6 Vegetation (tropical rainforest of the Bakossi Highlands) and fauna.**

There is a rich assemblage of biodiversity around Muanenguba. The Bakossiland, including Muanenguba, has the 'largest pristine blocks of submontane forests in tropical Africa' (Cheek, 2004b: 32, 37). Muanenguba has some similarities in biodiversity with other mountains of West Cameroon (Mounts Kupe, Nlonako and Fako. But as observed by Wild *et al.* (2004: 102), greater 'topographic diversity, steep ecotones and habitat heterogeneity' in the study area have resulted in '...complex ecological communities and zonation of taxa'. The faunal communities are characterised by high levels of endemism, especially among amphibians, crater lake fish and montane lizards, and this is 'unparalleled in Africa' (*ibid*: 103). Palaeo-environmental scholars (e.g. Moreau, in Verdcourt, 1969; Hamilton, 1972, 1982:

229; Maley, 1987, 1994; Goudie, 1992: 111; Cheek *et al.*, 2004c; Tchouto, 2004) commonly credit – besides the geology – Pleistocene forest ‘refuges’, i.e. small, isolated patches of rainforest that survived in the tropics during the Pleistocene.

## 1.5 THE HUMAN SETTING

### 1.5.1 Mythology and historical background.

It is alleged by Cheek *et al.* (2004) that Neolithic caves exist in Muanjikom (Elungmung). This suggests that Neolithic culture existed in the Bakossiland. According to local oral history, the earliest known person or founding ancestor of the Bakossiland – a wanderer, hunter-gatherer called *Ngoe* – settled in the Bakossiland in south-west Cameroon. A common legend told by locals is that the destination area of Muanenguba, i.e. Mwaam (see section 1.4.1), became a safe haven for Ngoe, who met a wandering lady named Sumediang, who came from Muabi village. Field evidence shows that topographic and pristine characteristics of Mwaam (Photo 1.1) would have enhanced such a coincidence of early persons. They formed a family called *ngotenkauh*, and migrated to a village called Muekan on the north-western shoulders of the caldera. In time, they had a number of children who migrated further afield, giving rise to the various clans that make up the Bakossiland.

Once formed by Ngoe and his children, the Bakossiland or *Muanengoe* (*Muan’ngoe*) society remained undivided until the Westernisation period. Today, the indigenes who claim common ancestry from Mwaam (see section 5.4.3), and depend on the natural resources of Muanenguba and the Bakossiland, constitute family clusters of hamlets and villages, as well as a few towns located within 12 indigenous clan communities (see Appendix 2 and Figure 1.1) in two regions or provinces/divisions of Cameroon: the English South-west Province (Bakossi people; western aspects of Muanenguba) and the French Littoral Province (Mbo people; eastern aspects or Bakossi East Cameroon). Geographically, these communities are constituted in four district areas or subdivisions within two divisions, shared by two provinces of Cameroon (as shown in Figure 1.2 and Table 4.1). Bangem is the capital of Kupe-Muanenguba Division (Bakossi) in the South-West Province, and Nkongsamba is the capital of Mungo Division, which also includes Melong, Barre, Ebone and Manjo (Mbo) in the Littoral Province (see Figure 1.2 and Appendix 2). Bangem (west aspect) is the administrative centre for Mwaam. Nkongsamba is the administrative centre for the stop-and-see Ekom Nkam Falls. As we shall see in Chapter Five (see



sections 5.2 and 5.3), Judaeo-Christianity and colonial and post-colonial state governance came to influence all levels of society from the late 19th century. Table 1.1 shows the resulting tiers of social organisation.

Indigenous tiers	Church tiers	Government tiers
Tribe/tribu	Presbytery/diocese	Division/département
Clan/canton	Parish/paroisse	Sub-division/arrondissement
Village/hamlet	Village church	Village/hamlet

Table 1.1: Indigenous and non-indigenous levels of organisation in the Bakossiland. Note English and French words – the influence of colonialism. (Source: village interviews.)

Because of discontinuities and overlaps, these are not perfect analogies: for example, some parishes cover a group of clans rather than just one clan. Whilst the two external or modernising forces – the church and government – recognise cultural differences within the communities but influence local society, all three types of social organisation operate together as the local communities struggle to safeguard *mbuog* (indigenous communities and cultural values) against globalising and modernising influences through native religious practices, sacred societies and the revitalisation of symbolic assets such as the traditional house (see sections 6.4.2 and 6.4.6).

The native dialects of the English-Bakossi (*akosse*) and the French-Mbo (*eho'mboh*) are mutually intelligible. Other languages spoken comprise(d) German (in the colonial times), Duala (spoken by some elders), Pidgin English, currently spoken in the whole of southern Cameroon and the two official languages English and French. As a consequence of these modifications, introduced by colonialists in Bakossiland society, it is common to find a mix of words from the local dialect and national languages during conversations.

Generally speaking, the slopes of Muanenguba, and particularly the French-speaking urban communities of the east, have become more cosmopolitan or demographically diverse as a result of regional immigration of other tribal groups from the western highlands (Bantu English and French speakers attracted by the rich soils for agriculture and other economic opportunities) and international immigration of Ibo peoples from south-east Nigeria. In addition, there is a nomadic/Muslim ethnic group locally called the *Mbororo* people who have settled at the secluded destination for



tourism, Mwaam. They are part of a migrant ethnic group called the Fulbes, who according to Commonwealth sources initially arrived in Northern Cameroon – from where they re-migrated – in the 19th century (see section 6.2). The presence of a diversity of ethnic groups in Muanenguba – with different livelihood and survival strategies – presents visitors with a ‘Cameroon in miniature’. As part of change and cosmopolitanism, East–west/French–English divisions (Table 1.1) cut across clan boundaries, separating former relatives who have now been partly shaped by official languages and by associated administrative, legal, educational and political traditions. This inheritance from westernisation has reduced cohesion at clan and tribal levels.

Notwithstanding such diversity and modification to the local society indigenes and indigenous communities – villages and clans – in all areas of the Bakossiland still dominate the population and customary practices, and recognise a common ancestry (identity). This is reflected in a community spirit locally referred to as ‘*Muanya-ah*: the feeling of oneness’ or the idea of every indigene, whether located in the English western or French eastern aspects of Muanenguba, claiming to be ‘*Muanengoe*’ (‘*Muan’ngoe*’) – progeny of Ngoe – a term that is used in this thesis and which unites the people and languages in the Bakossiland. The communities still have some common identifiable value systems (institutions, world views such as *the belief that Mwaam is their cradle*, and practices such as ancestor worship), which are currently affected mainly by modernisation and imperceptibly by nascent tourism development.

### 1.5.2 Population and settlement.

Local habitation in the Muanenguba comprises family clusters varying in size from hamlets to big villages. Although Bangem (an English town) is a divisional headquarters, it is still very rural, but currently experiencing rapid growth, whereas Nkongsamba, Barre, Melong and Manjo (French towns) have sizeable urban populations. According to oral information from the council, Nkongsamba – the only city in the study area, with an estimated population of about 115,000 people – is among the top ten cities in Cameroon. In all, the human population of Muanenguba, including immigrants, is estimated to be about 800,000 (Ewane *et al.*, 2002: 14).

Most villages and hamlets are arranged in a linear pattern along motorable seasonal roads graded by the National Highways Department from time to time, country lanes or footpaths. In the more remote villages and hamlets, the surviving iconic traditional round huts (*Ndab echum*- a key tourism product) contribute to the rich and diverse landscape of tourism (see section 1.5.4 and Photo 1.5). *Ndab echum* are photographed by passing visitors in villages located *en route* to Mwaam.

### **1.5.3 Social amenities.**

Basic social amenities such as schools, electricity, roads and water are inadequate, and generally in a bad condition. In the eastern part of Muanenguba, the French urban centres Manjo, Nkongsamba, Barre and Melong are linked by a tarred road: the Douala–Nkongsamba–Bafoussam–Bamenda Highway, N5. They are also supplied with telephone, piped water, etc. Bangem (English western aspect) is linked to the east (Melong) by a seasonal earth road, and to the south (Manjo) by a seasonal country lane (see map - Figure 6.1). Whereas the French towns have been favoured with electricity for more than a generation, electricity came to Bangem only in the 1990s. Similarly, at present there are no landline telephone facilities. Mobile telephone antennae came to Bangem in 2005, a few years after supply to the French-speaking towns. Until the economic crisis of the 1980s, Nkongsamba, the main city of Muanenguba, was linked to Douala, the economic capital town at the coast, by rail. The demise of rail services has reduced economic opportunities in the Nkongsamba area. Development of social amenities – including tourism facilities – has in general been very slow.

The larger villages in the area have primary schools, and the towns have secondary and high schools. Also, only the towns have post offices and district hospitals. Health centres are gradually being constructed in the larger villages, such as Mbat and Ebamut. Some have used local initiatives and foreign aid to get it. Examples include piped water projects carried out by SAFAD in the early 1990s and NCUDA Ltd from 2005 to 2008. SAFAD and NCUDA are UK-based charities partly owned, and run, by indigenes (elites) from the Nhia area of Muanenguba.

### **1.5.4 Local economies and traditional sources of livelihood.**

Field visits, participant observations, ethnographic themed interviews, triangulation, and extraction of scarce village records indicate that the towns around Muanenguba

contain some secondary economies (e.g. timber processing) and some tertiary economies (e.g. the civil service). But the local economies are predominantly agrarian and peasantry. During fieldwork, typical villagers in Muanenguba described themselves as *ntuku'mbah* (peasants), who depend on the natural resources of their surroundings, e.g. forest and soil, exploited via the use of rudimentary methods largely for subsistence, and who are always poor by Western standards. Emically speaking, the idea of poverty is due to Westernisation and the emergence of the periodic market economy. The absence of hunger, and the non-existence of a strict daily dependence on money for survival, imply that the peoples in the Bakossiland do not need to be classed as poor. The local socio-economic structure of the Bakossiland can be seen through the following activities.

*a) Agriculture: peasant cash and food cropping, and animal husbandry.*

The predominant human activity is agriculture: subsistence food cropping, commercial cash cropping and animal husbandry. According to the mayor of the Nkongsamba Council, farmers make up more than 70% of the host population of Muanenguba. Indigenous farming is characterised by family-owned farm plots as properties with traditional land rights and gendered ownership of crops and farms. Farming also features the application of traditional methods such as slash and burn, planting, periodic weeding using hands, grass cutting using hands, machetes and hoes, bush fallowing (food crop farms), mixed cropping on both foodcrop and cash crop i.e. coffee, cocoa (sedentary/non-fallow) and, currently, plantain farms. There is monocropping for sugar cane and groundnuts, and small farm sizes on average (1–3 ha). In order of popularity, the main crops cultivated are: tubers such as cocoyams, colocasia, cassava, sweet yams and yams; tubers such as sweet potatoes and Irish potatoes; grain crops such as maize; and legumes such as beans, soya beans and groundnuts. Vegetables are also cultivated. They include – according to village sources – traditional types, such as garden eggs (*ngalerh*) and huckleberry (*esesau*); popular types, such as peppers; and those introduced in modern times, mainly cabbages and tomatoes. Two key traditional items cultivated are calabash and kola nut. Calabash is used for traditional palm wine drinking. Men use the kola nut fruit and palm wine to entertain each other and visitors (potentially including tourists), as well as during the libations that form the climax of most ceremonies and rituals (see Photo 8.2).



Animal husbandry is also practised. Cattle and a small number of horses are reared. Cattle and horse rearing are currently non-native practices carried out by the Mbororo pastoralists (immigrants). Pets – cats and dogs – are also kept for guarding (both) and hunting (dogs). Animal disease and low productivity have reduced animal husbandry, particularly for the Mbororo immigrants. Farm size and herd size are linked to status.

Because of the agrarian nature of the economy, the problems of underdevelopment frequently cited by locals are largely related to farming, and include (in decreasing order of gravity) a lack of good farm-to-market roads, reducing farm inputs, soil erosion, a lack of adequate access to foreign donors for development resources, and limited financial capital. Therefore, as part of a survival strategy, locals carry out supplementary primary activities for both cash income and subsistence. Such ancillary activities comprise: bush meat hunting (*mpal*); fishing, and amphibian catching by young men and women in Mwaam (tourist destination) and local rivers; palm wine tapping; forestry; craft production; and traditional medicine processing and healing using non-timber materials, organs of mega-fauna, and kernel oil. Hunting customs stipulate (according to hunters) that the dried skins of megafauna and all carnivores be removed, kept and used for decoration and to dignify notables during traditional celebrations (see Photo 5.2). Hunting has had profound effects on biodiversity. There is unambiguous evidence that pottery and ironwork were carried out by indigenes in the past.

**b) *Participation in the market economy: periodic marketing, petit trading and incomes.***

While periodic markets (*dua*) and transit *carrefours* (see Appendix 1) have enhanced the participation of people in the Bakossiland in the global market economy, marketing is not restricted to cash crops. Village females and male youths trek to periodic markets carrying surpluses from the main food crops – notably cocoyam, colocasia, cassava, potatoes, plantains, maize, beans and pepper. Females use baskets strapped to their backs. The activity of women hoisting baskets onto their backs constitutes a key tourism experience. Village women commonly mentioned that all Western visitors who see them with the baskets often stop and watch them. A tourist who saw women in a number of villages *en route* to Mwaam remarked that ‘carrying the unfeasibly heavy basket is a common sight around Muanenguba’. Young men

carry the items on their heads. These key participants in marketing – women and young men – get between 500 and 2,000 CFAfrancs (£0.5–£2) for crops per visit to periodic markets. This reflects the price range for, say, a basket of cocoyams or a bunch of plantains, depending on size. Some native men are involved in selling hunted and tended animals. The money is used to buy other requisites for the families. Locals reported that agents reach some villages to buy cash crops (coffee and cocoa), whose prices vary from 3,000 to 25,000 CFAfrancs (£3 to £25) per bag, depending on prevailing international market conditions. The average annual income of the villagers is about 350,000 CFAfrancs (£350). Low average incomes reinforce the local notion of a ‘peasant’ (*ntuku’mut*).

Various locals reported that, of all local products, firewood in Mbat and Mbouassum and fruits, mainly bananas (see map – Figure 6.1) are purchased in minute quantities. In general, apart from the traditional house, as will be shown in section 8.4, local produce is rarely used by tourism. However, tourism expansion will unsustainably increase the demand for and supply of traditional items.

**c) *Traditional house (ndab echum) construction, maintenance and use.***

Indigenous men construct traditional houses for families in the villages. These comprise the *ndab echum*, the traditional conical/round house – a key cultural product for tourism – which in principle is the property of women, and is used mainly for cooking family food, and as a living/discussion area for the family; and the *ekwelerh* – the rectangular, more ventilated bungalow – the property of men in principle, used mainly for sleeping by the whole family (see Photo 1.5). These houses are constructed with locally sourced, non-timber and timber forest materials. Because the building of *ndab echum* needs technical skill, its construction is by way of community work, whereas the rectangular bungalow is more individually fabricated.





Photo 1.5: Local accommodation seen by visitors on the way to Mwaam: the iconic *ndab echum*, *ekwelerh* and the more modern timber and corrugated iron sheet bungalow in Ekambeng village. Notice the drying of coffee, a cash crop, in the courtyard. (Photo by Ivo Ngwese.)

Indigenes do not consider *ndab echum* in the villages as sacred property, but sacred items are stored within the *ndab echum*. Because of its sheer height, its unique cone shape, its technical design and its vital role in family life, the *ndab echum* has become an authentic symbol of cultural identity in the Bakossiland. Indigenes call it the epitome of the strength of their culture, and of their otherness from other cultures. As a symbolic asset, it is commonly used as a logo – an emblem on a letterhead – on the legal documents of most village, clan and tribal groupings. This idea of traditional self-consciousness became common during the post-colonial period, but especially from the 1980s, apparently as a response to the growing influence of the state and of modernisation, which was associated with economic crisis.

One of the WTO's (2004b: 282) indicators of sustainability for ecotourism destinations is the presence of vernacular architecture such as *ndab echum*, which complement natural attractions. In Muanenguba, *ndab echum* are disappearing in villages *en route* to Mwaam. Locals remarked that this is due to the desire for convenience, better ventilation and durability. The reduction in the number of these cultural icons, which together with the Twin Lakes are top among visitors' photographic preferences, was discovered to be an issue in the landscape of tourism. By motorcycling and counting the remaining traditional houses on the routes to Mwaam, the results listed in Table 1.2 were obtained.



Area	Clan and link with destination	Type of route to destination	Number of <i>ndab echum</i>	Number of other houses	Proportion of <i>ndab echum</i> remaining (%)
Bangem (Kupe-Muanenguba)/English	Nhia (custodian)	Existing	25	55	31.3
	Nninong (custodian)	Potential (used scarcely)	119	161	42.3
Melon (Moungo)/French	Mboh ( <i>en route</i> )	Existing	36	330	9.1
	Elung ( <i>en route</i> )	Existing	25	235	9.6

Table 1.2: *Ndab echum* remaining and observable by tourists *en route* to Mwaam. (Source: field counting.)

It is clear from the table that the French areas of Muanenguba have a greater ratio of modern traditional houses to ancient traditional houses: that is, a smaller proportion of *ndab echum* remains. The English areas – that is, villages in the western to north-western slopes, called *custodian communities* because of their guardianship, exhibited through participation in sacrifices in Mwaam (see Figure 6.1 and sections 5.4.1 and 8.5.2) – appear to be more indigenous. They possess a greater percentage of surviving traditional structures (Table 1.2), offering more authenticity, and photographed by almost every first-time foreign visitor. Regrettably, it was discovered that tourism makes little current use of *ndab echum* – the key cultural symbol/product for now. Visitors scarcely use the Tombel–Bangem route, which offers them a greater experience of the Muanengoe culture by virtue of having the highest percentage of traditional houses surviving (42.3%). This is because visitors avoid the far greater distance from the end of the tarred road in the town of Loum, associated with a more difficult and time-consuming journey.

### 1.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY AND NOTES ON STYLE

Only two places in Muanenguba and the Bakossiland – Mwaam and Ekom Nkam – are clearly linked to nascent tourism. The principal destination of the study area is Mwaam. Mwaam includes a number of attractions, such as the caldera, the Twin Lakes and Ebwo Peak. Discussions on tourism refer primarily to Mwaam, and to visitors who reached it during the study period, but also to the whole mountain (the wider study area: Muanenguba). Discussions on culture make reference both to those living within 10 km of Mwaam – the more local or custodian communities (discussed



in section 5.4.1) – and to the wider community or tribal Bakossiland: that is, all native or Muanengoe communities, of which Muanenguba and the custodian community are a part.

The material culture of the villages around Muanenguba is principally agrarian, based mainly on peasant (*ntuku'mbad*) farming and ancillary floral and faunal exploitation, but also on participation in the global – periodic – market economy (objective ii). Because of its limited use of local products, nascent tourism is not relied upon as a source of livelihood. However, a symbolic asset, the traditional house (*ndab echum*), is used to link their material culture gradually to nascent tourism (see sections 6.4.2 and 6.4.6). Because the study area is still largely indigenous, and because the key actors of the nascent tourism industry – tourism employees, councils and hoteliers – are indigenes, the narrative on the hosts centres largely on indigenes. The word 'local' is used where the 'indigene' label is irrelevant, for example where immigrants are included.

Real names of places, items, features have been used as allowed by indigenous customs. Similarly, native Muanengoe terms (e.g. *mbuog*, i.e. culture, cultural values, traditional norms, community and customs) and regional English/French (e.g. *carrefour*) have been used. Direct quotes from respondents have been used where necessary in order to give context to aspects of the study.

It is important to identify some terms central to this narrative on culture. The term *mbuog* refers to Muanengoe culture generally. It is used interchangeably with allied terms such as 'tradition', 'norm(s)', 'cultural values', 'custom(s)', and 'community'. When it comes to issues of protecting *mbuog* against modernising and globalising influences, *mbuog* is applied to refer to society described locally as 'the community, norms, customs and values bound together' in this process of protection (see section 5.4.5). 'Indigene' or 'native' (*mua'mbuog*) is used to refer to people who have lineage from the pre-colonial Bakossiland society, or before the inception of current generators of change, i.e. Westernisation, urbanisation, immigration and now tourism. This is distinct from those who indigenes currently refer to as settlers, non-native(s) or immigrant(s). The term 'local' is used where both *mua'mbuog* and 'immigrants' apply.



The term 'ecotourism' is adapted according to principles and indicators suggested in the literature by Honey (1999: 22–24), Wood (2002: 2) and, especially, WTO (2004b: 260, 268, 278, 282 – defined in section 2.5). This study suggests that some visitors who reach Muanenguba incorporate features considered to be *somewhat consistent with ecotourism principles* in their conventional/usual holiday activities. Such features – ethical responsibilities and/or initiatives – also appear to be in sync with requirements of pro-poor tourism i.e voluntary initiatives providing 'fair and sustainable net benefits for the poor' (Goodwin and Robson, 2004:3), community-based tourism i.e. carried out within the host villages communities with their control, involvement and retention of benefits (Wood, 2002:41), although socio-cultural stability may not be guaranteed in some cases. The features are also in line with the principles of responsible tourism, i.e. taking responsibility to make sure that tourism is ethical and sustainable (Goodwin, 2007:4). Thus ecotourism shares standards/principles with these other forms of forms of sustainable tourism. These comparisons and distinctions are discussed in Section 2.4.4. The term '(eco)tourism' is used in a few cases where both conventional tourism practices and ecotourism practices apply. While it is considered that tourism is leisure travel involving freedom from paid work (Sharpley and Telfer, 2002: 23), exploration activities of scientific researchers (paid workers) in Muanenguba and the Bakossiland create impacts that cannot be distinguished from those of holiday travel: hence the use of the term 'trip activities' in some cases. The term *nascent tourism* is adopted because tourism is a promise (at the early or underdeveloped stages) rather than a mature industry. Some statistical tables contain categories of tourism data that are inclusive, because responses fell in more than one category. Ideas have been cross-referenced where necessary using section numbers

‘C’est un site superbe qui mérite la visite d’un maximum de touristes. Il faut respecter de la nature et de la culture. Le tourisme en masse est une catastrophe. L’écotourisme doit être le tourisme de l’avenir, pour le respect de tous’  
(Visitor - Medicin from France).



## Chapter Two

### LITERATURE REVIEW: SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to review bodies of literature and thus provide a conceptual framework for the guiding problematic, a study of a tropical mountain destination – Muanenguba – and the local culture, contexts in which the early stages of tourism (i.e. nascent tourism) have operated for more than a century without significant progress. The *sustainable development philosophy* is used as a starting point because it is widely accepted and applied to influence policy, and to guide the explanation and establishment of tools and methods of human interaction with and impact on physical and social environments (Hall and Lew, 1998) in such emerging destinations in the developing world, as well as mature destinations in all societies. The chapter also discusses sustainable tourism, a subset of sustainable development, together with conceptual and theoretical debates. Ecotourism is identified and analysed as a subset of sustainable tourism and a feature of the nascent stages of tourism in Muanenguba. Development theories and other discourses concerning tourism and ecotourism, issues regarding indigenous/local community participation and impacts of tourism in developing-country destinations (including Muanenguba) are discussed. Towards the end, the chapter draws out cultural impacts, i.e. sociocultural changes and allied patrimonial discussions brought about by nascent tourism in such places.

#### 2.2 BACKGROUND TO SUSTAINABLE TOURISM: SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Tourism trends in the late 20th and early 21st centuries have overwhelmed the planning and management efforts of tourist destinations for local ecological and cultural areas (Lindberg and Hawkins, 1993). Looking at key concerns in current tourism research i.e. spatial concepts (space, place and environment) and the attributes of indigenous peoples, some of whom inhabit nascent tourism destinations (history, heritage and ethnicity), Lew *et al.* (2004: 14–15) and Mercer (2004: 426) observe that the sustainable development rhetoric has directed the operation of



tourism over time. The centrality that tourism gives to places and spatial relationships (physical and cognitive), the reaction of destination communities to existing tourism practices, and the changing attitudes of developers and tour operators (Prosser, 1994) have contributed to give tourism 'a higher profile in public consciousness than ever before' (Lew *et al.*, 2004: xvii). A tourism discourse addressing concerns has emerged through increasing academic interest, high-level conferences (e.g. Stockholm in 1972, Rio de Janeiro-UNCED in 1992, and South Africa-WSSD in 2002), and the setting up of new government and non-government agencies (Goodwin, 1998) in order to guide human–environment interaction for tourism destinations (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1993; Hall and Lew, 1998). Such a discourse exists in Muanenguba, albeit unsubstantiated, owing to the nascent nature of tourism. This suggests that the literature needs a theory or an examination of issues at the nascent stages of tourism.

Sustainable development, the principles of which are now being applied to tourism, began to gain impetus in the late 19th century through the *environmentalist vision* of George Perkins Marsh (Butler, 1998). This perception, recognised by later writers (Hall, 1998; Middleton and Hawkins, 1998; Holden, 2000: 163; Gossling, 2003a: 10, 11; Mercer, 2004) stipulates that human-induced environmental crises are a result of irrational natural resource exploitation following from unprecedented population explosion, from 1.6 billion in 1900 to 6 billion in 2000; rising global temperatures (climate change), social inequalities, poverty, loss of biodiversity, etc. These crises are threatening human well-being in all destinations, and require mitigation. However, it was the Brundtland Report, produced after the World Conference on Environment and Development in 1987, that really popularised the concept of sustainability. This report – now considered a classic – defined sustainable development as development that 'meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED, 1987: 43).

As set out in the Brundtland Report, and as subsequently reviewed (e.g. Glasbergen, 1995; Goodall and Stabler, 1997: 282; Hall and Lew, 1998; Aronsson, 2000; Holden, 2000: 161), sustainable development is intended to express the aspirations of modern societies, to initiate a process of social change that improves economic methodology to include the environment as part of the economic system, and to apply a series of



holistic planning and management techniques to aid conservation and mitigate the negative effects of development upon the environment. Thus in the opinion of Carter (undated) the core principles of sustainable development are equity, democracy, precaution, policy integration and planning in the exploitation and management of the biosphere and of human resources. It is promoted within the framework of ecological modernisation (Gossling, 2003a: 17). However, Milne (1998: 35) criticises sustainable development as a neutral ideology or 'slippery concept', with no clear vision of the ideal end state or set of political economic arrangements. The World Bank observes that while local knowledge '*a priori* provides a productive context ... for problem-solving for local [or indigenous] communities' (World Bank, 1998: i, 6), sustainable development is unable to find ways of adapting its 'global best practices' (*ibid*: 3) or modern techniques to local situations for solutions to underdevelopment. The belief that technology can solve human problems – technocentrism, and the application of the alternative deep ecology – ecocentrism (Holden, 2000: 168–171), have not worked for developing countries and for tourism destinations such as Muanenguba, owing to the difficulty of dealing with indigenous and local attitudes (CERUT, 1997; 2000). The tourism literature seems to overlook the possibility that actors challenged by underdevelopment problems will favour development ahead of sustainability in the early stages of tourism development. Fairness (equality and democracy), required in order to achieve sustainable development, is still a fantasy in many societies. Yet sustainable development is universally appealing, in that the core components of society, including resource use, investment, technology, institutions and consumption patterns, are aimed to be in harmony with ecosystems (Holden, 2000: 165). It is thus 'intensely synthetic and adaptive' (Harrison, 2001: 7), and also applicable to tourism.

### 2.3 SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

With an exponential growth in the number of people travelling since 1945, tourism had become the world's largest industry with the fastest growth by the mid 1980s (Prosser, 1994; Middleton and Hawkins, 1998; Wood, 2002): travelling became 'a lifestyle for many people' (Timothy and Boyd, 2003: 9). It is beginning to integrate underdeveloped destinations such as Muanenguba into the global economy. According to UNWTO (2008: 1), there were about 25 million tourist arrivals in 1950. International tourism receipts were growing at 7% in the 1990s (TIES, 2005: 1), and the global number of visitors stood well over 10% of the world's population



(Wood, 2002: 7). By 2007, tourist arrivals had increased to an all-time record of 903 million (UNWTO, 2008: 1, 3), having grown at about 11% per annum since 2003 (Banskota, 2007: 22). The number of visitors is expected to reach 1.6 billion by 2020 (UNWTO, 2008: 1). These projection is suspect when one considers that the global economic crisis of 2008–2009 led to a 4.2% decline in tourism arrivals in 2009 (UNWTO, 2010: 2–3).

Central to the debate on tourism arrivals and development are the issues of how local benefits can be maximised and negative impacts minimised for destination areas (Goodwin, 1998). The civilisation in which travel and tourism is increasingly practised relies on resources provided by the natural and cultural environments. However, as many would agree (e.g. Stabler, 1997; Hall and Lew, 1998; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Aronsson, 2000), misuse of the environment has negative impacts on biodiversity and on local communities. Sustainable development, adopted to solve the problems caused by economic development (e.g. the impact on Florida tourism of the BP oil leak in the Gulf of Mexico, April to August 2010), is a ‘new paradigm for all forms of development’ (Holden 2000: 161), including tourism development. Tourism development – part of the problem – has negative impacts on destinations, and sustainable tourism development is an ideology whose principles can be applied in order to lessen those impacts. Sustainable tourism is a generic term covering all forms of tourism that have ‘essential criteria’ or principles of sustainability (Aronsson, 2000: 21, 37; Cater, 2004: 485). It has become the ‘orthodoxy for those studying travel and tourism’ (Butcher, 1997: 37). Hughes (2004: 500) defines sustainable tourism as ‘tourist use of natural environments where long-term benefits, continuous environmental protection and local community development are inherent’. The principles of sustainable tourism contained in this definition underpin ‘the tourism biodiversity nexus’ (Aronsson, 2000: 37; Holden, 2000: 175–176). This definition apparently pays little attention to issues of sociocultural sustainability. The heritage assets of land and culture are foundations of civilisation. Because tourism is linked to natural ecosystems, and to indigenous traditions such as artistic heritage, craftsmanship, gastronomic traditions and local culture (Foglia, 2000: 155), Zeppel (1998: 65), suggests that ‘the nexus between land and culture defines sustainable tourism’ in the context of indigenous communities e.g. those of the Bakosiland. Sustainable forms of tourism should guarantee cultural sustainability or the community-based traditions adopted by Holden (2008: 160–161) and suggested in



Saarinen's (2004) comprehensive review. In the context of Muanenguba, sustainable tourism would relate to visitors' respect for the physical environment, concern for the benefit and well-being of local peoples, and the stability of local mores of interaction, styles of life, customs, traditions, etc as tourism develops.

The evolution of academic ideas and the corresponding changes in tourism attitudes during the period after the Second World War amount to a revolution. This is why tourism has been described (by Mercer, 2004) as a reformed intellectual and policy environment. According to Hall and Lew (1998), tourism became separated from the broader subject of geography in the late 1960s and early 1970s, with evidence from the burgeoning of tourism models. In general, the models describe tourism as a geographic phenomenon with spatial, temporal and dynamic dimensions (France, 1997: 10–12). The best examples are Butler's *Tourism Area Life Cycle Model* (TALC) and Doxey's *index of tourism irritation: irridex* (Harrison, 2001: 5). The TALC model applies the marketing concept of the product life cycle (introduction, growth, maturity and decline) to tourism. It suggests that destinations go through a cycle of evolution – exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation and decline or rejuvenation (Butler, 1980) – similar to a product life cycle, but in which numbers of visitors replace sales of a product (Cooper and Jackson, 1997: 54). The features of the exploration stage are evident in Muanenguba: the destination is an unknown, with a small number of visitors, restricted by limited access, facilities and information. This is expected to change as tourism expands. TALC and irridex advance the notion that tourism destinations are products that evolve (over time) through changes in ownership, tourists' attitudes, and the reactions of hosts (Harrison, 2001: 5). While later studies canonise these models, all destinations may not fit perfectly into them. As suggested by studies (e.g. Reinmann, 2004; Cole, 2007b), policy, marketing, visitor management and destination management strategies (the application of sustainability principles) alter the exponential assumptions of TALC at take-off. Similar alterations can come from downturns in visitor numbers resulting from events such as the 2008–2009 global credit crunch – collapse of long-haul travel, and the Cameroonian national uprisings in 2008. Ideas of time spans, and of who gets involved during the early stages, are unresolved: the idea of witnessing more than a century of tourism and remaining off the beaten track, with only a select few locals participating for spiritual and material reasons, is a context that may stem from locally specific but also conventional



processes hindering development. The coexistence of later stages, as seen in Lancaster, UK, by Hovinen (2002), and early stages (exploration and local involvement) in Muanenguba is another important dimension worthy of inclusion in the TALC model. Amazed at the variety of adaptations, and realising that TALC may not always reflect local reality, Butler and others revised TALC for the 21st century (Butler, 2004: 159–169; 2006a; 2006b).

Alluding to other tourism studies, Smith (1995: 9) and Weaver (2004: 510–512) observe that the tourism discourse evolved from *advocacy or laissez-faire* tourist growth in the 1950s and 1960s, when it was considered to be crucial for economic development. This approach was based on classical and Keynesian economics, and was flawed, because it did not consider the impacts of tourism. According to Holden (2008: 66–69, 119), academic writings viewed as classics e.g. Hardin's *Tragedy of the Commons* (Hardin, 1968), which critically charted the reductionist and anthropocentric approach to the environment and suggested mutual coercion, appeared ignored as tourism remained 'immune from environmental criticism'. Further writings, such as Meadows' *Limits to Growth* (Meadows, 1972), which warned about the probability of a depleted world system, and, in particular, Turner and Ash's *Golden Hordes*, which discussed the polemics of tourism development and impact (1975), inspired *caution* in the 1970s. As a result, the tourism discourse changed to *adaptancy* in the 1980s, and to *reflexivity* in the 1990s, with an emphasis on community participation (section 2.6). Britton's 1980 eco-socialist model of the 'degree of local involvement' (France, 1997: 6) echoes this. As expressed by Hall and Lew (1998: 7–14), such recent developments in the study of tourism represent shifts within the subject, as well as wider concerns and unresolved issues within the social sciences relating to the 'globalisation of economy and culture, and localisation of processes' (see section 2.7).

In identifying emerging themes from the current debate that make the notion of sustainable tourism to be of contested value, Lew *et al.* (2004: 1–2) find that sustainability and security 'rise and fall' in the academic agenda in response to external issues such as terrorism (e.g. September 11, 2001, USA and July 7, 2007, London), airline and financial failures (e.g. the global credit crunch of 2008–2009 and the bankruptcy of tour operators e.g. Goldtrial, Sun4U and Kiss Flights - July to August 2010). It is also in response to health issues (e.g. the SARS virus, bird and



swine flu), and environmental crises (BP oil leak affecting tourism in Florida – April 2010, the Iceland Volcanic Eruption and travel problems caused by ash - April, 2010, and the Sendai Earthquake/Tsunami and the Fukushima nuclear crisis – March 2011) that attract media reports. This has led some important themes to become ‘marginal ... with limited reference [e.g. space and spatiality, the application of GIS, postmodernity and funding which will shape future tourism research] in current research’. To the list of emerging issues that need further examination, Hawkins (in Inskip, 1991: xii) adds the widening of the gap between the North and South, and the credibility of tourism paradigms and tourism data. Pearce and Butler (1999: 2–3) include methodological, conceptual and community participation problems, and Vaccaro and Beltran (2007: 254–266) consider that globalisation has made tourist consumption of indigenous space, nature and culture, and related issues such as self-determination, acculturation, authenticity and image, become ‘patrimonial discussions in the hyper-modern era’ (see section 2.7). While such patrimonial discussions have been triggered by nascent tourism in Muanenguba, varied interest in emerging themes – treated further in this chapter – reflects diversity in the subject of tourism.

In the pursuit of understanding and implementation of sustainability (Weaver, 2004), the various forms of sustainable tourism are not helped by *statistical and methodological problems*. Such problems lead policymakers and other developers in both mature and nascent tourism destinations to make wrong assumptions about the market, and to underrate issues such as the presence of exogenous and endogenous forces, interaction with other forms of economic activity, economic efficiency and social fairness (Lindberg and Huber, 1993; Huxley, 1994; Honey, 1999; Wood, 2002; Cater, 2004; Sofield, 2006). Generally, such problems stem from: intellectual or conceptual issues (as we shall see later); a paucity of empirical data on the interests and attitudes of the different types of tourists; a lack of substantiation of the objectives of tourism development projects by developers (Wight, 1996b; Fennell, 2003; Boyd, 2004); the difficulty of measuring community concerns; rapid increases in the number of visitors; disintermediation (Anfield, 1994; Wight, 1996b; Singh *et al.*, 2003); the skewed nature of tourism literature towards a few cases studies or destinations; and the making of inappropriate generalisations (Weaver, 1998; Santana, 2001; Aramberri, 2005). The ‘dearth of investigation’ is severe when it comes to the establishment of relationships, e.g. between indigenous/local culture



and nascent tourism – the ethnography of the sociocultural aspects of tourism – as treated by this study. The paucity of data – a problem facing destinations at all stages – limits the success of tools for determining potential ‘spectrums’ for various forms of tourism (Sofield and Birtles, 1996: 405–417; Timothy and Boyd, 2003: 159).

By failing to consider that the monetary economy is just part of the entire ecological social web, and including only values quantified by currency exchange such as tourism income, in economic models based on Pigou’s methodology (Pigou, 1920; Nelissen *et al.*, 1997), contemporary tourism economies are ‘fragmentary and reductionistic’ (Rodriguez, 1999: 43). This is because qualitative values, such as gifts that add meaning to the ecological, social and psychological dimensions of tourism, are not included in the statistics (*ibid*: 43). The case of visitor donations, and an indigene receiving an item from a friend to give to a visitor in a village around Muanenguba, is an eloquent example of this (see section 8.3.2).

The growth of tourism has contributed to the emergence of critiques of environmental management (Hughes, 2004: 507) treated by scholars as ‘tools for sustainability analysis’ to determine capacities (CCA), thresholds (LAC) and indicators (EIA) of sustainable tourism (Wight, 1998: 75–91; Holden, 2000: 138–144; Newsome *et al.*, 2002: 20, 151–239; Fennell, 2003: 10). Because of the complexity of destinations (see section 2.4), spatial limitations, ignorance of the wider effects of tourism and material desires, it has been difficult for developers to operationalise tools for sustainability analysis (Whelan, 1991; Holden, 2000). Whereas some of these tools (e.g. LAC) assume that some change is unavoidable, and therefore include elements of monitoring (Holden, 2000), some writers (e.g. Goodall and Stabler, 1997, in Holden, 2000) criticise such tools for concentrating too much on principles. The call has thus emerged for inter-sectoral tools (Wight, 1998), and a systematic linking of impacts to management strategies through planning (Gunn 1994; Newsome *et al.*, 2002). Within this framework, the application of indigenous tools is important for sustainability in tourism and other developments in places such as Muanenguba.

A clear understanding of the concept of sustainable tourism has so far proved difficult to achieve, owing to scholarly *problems of conceptualisation*. Most writers (e.g. Butler, 1998; Hall and Lew, 1998; Lew *et al.*, 2004) blame the multidisciplinary



and interdisciplinary nature of tourism. The 'complex [absence of clear-cut definitions for the various types of tourism and a lack of consensus about the meaning of concepts] and multi-scalar' nature of tourism means that it is 'unlikely to become the sole domain of either a single paradigm or single discipline' and causes multiple conceptualisations and misinterpretation (Weaver, 2004: 514–516). There is the argument that this is because of spatial, temporal (space–time) and sectoral discontinuities, as well as the presence of multiple destinations (Mercer, 2004: 470). Application of the concept is thus 'contextual' (Aronsson, 2000: 15). Muanenguba has a unique setting, inherited from Cretaceous volcanic geologic activity, tropical palaeo-ecology, lack significant progress (delayed take-off in tourism), rootedness in indigenous culture, and emerging identities as surviving indigenous norms link with the early stages of tourism development and are changed in the process. These conditions provide a specific context and options for particular forms of sustainable tourism. This fits with Fladmark (1994: ix), who views the contemporary tourist as an increasingly sophisticated creature, 'requiring a holiday tailored to some particular interest' (e.g. the Twin Lakes – principal attractions of Muanenguba), targeting market segments and requesting better packaging of varied facilities. Because tourism is 'a linear activity governed by the law of diminishing returns' (Macmillan, 1994: 85), it becomes presumptuous to describe a destination as sustainable, as over time, many destinations become Disneyised or McDonaldised as consumption centres for mass tourism (Ritzer and Liska, 1997: 96–109; Gartner, 2005: 10). Mass tourism is characterised by cultivated lifestyles, i.e. the idea of experiencing the expected (Singh *et al.*, 2003). When a destination has been nascent for more than a century, as is Muanenguba, visitors are likely to experience a departure from conventional mass tourism, albeit causing similar impacts.

Butler (1998) observes that sustainable tourism has been globally canonised because it fosters economics, public relations and marketing. This is problematic because implementation is mired by trade-offs and issues of reconciling local, external, ecological, political, economic and sociocultural values (Cater, 1994a; France, 1997; Butler, 1998; Holden, 2000). As a compromise, scholars (e.g. Sheman and Dixon, 1991; Ceballos-Lascurain, 1993; Wood, 2002; Boyd, 2004) suggest an integrated – *triple bottom line* – approach in order to meet simultaneous development objectives for destinations.



Sustainable tourism projects require time. However, Butler (1998) suggests that the timescale involved in sustainable tourism development presents difficulties for developers, because it calls for a long period of operation – that is, the regard for future generations and intergenerational equity. In relation to this, Mercer (2004: 463) states that this debate on ‘inter-temporal’ allocation – the best time and quality of resources to exploit in order for all generations to benefit – arises because of the absence of standard discount rates, i.e. rates at which tourism resources should be exploited. Gossling (2003a: 27) supports this with the view that time is a source of conflict between the tourism industry and destination communities in developing countries. This is the case with destinations that still need development, although experiencing more than a century of tourism without genuine cause for appreciation. Time is economised by the international tourism industry, which relies on the future: that is, ‘time is money’ (*ibid*: 27). When this Western concept of time is implemented, tropical local human–environment relations are adversely affected. However, with experience from Zanzibar, time perspectives such as planned investments and regulation of length of stay (Gossling, 2003b) can be a strategy for sustainable forms of tourism such as ecotourism.

## 2.4 ECOTOURISM

### 2.4.1 The emergence and definition of ecotourism.

As part of sustainability in tourism, environmental claims for ‘alternative forms of new tourism’ (Hughes, 2004: 499–501) associated with terms such as ‘green’, ‘responsible’, ‘ethical’, ‘eco’ and ‘low impact’ became imperative in the late 20th century, because of the realisation that tourism and the environment must coexist in order to sustain tourism destinations (Meyer-Arendt, 2004: 432). This is embedded in the need for tourists to strike a balance between use and preservation in an egocentric world (Fennell, 2003: 59). The IUCN (1996, in Wood, 2002: 9) defines ecotourism as

*‘environmentally responsible travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas, in order to enjoy and appreciate nature and any accompanying cultural features... that promotes conservation, has low negative visitor impact, and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local populations.’*

Inspired primarily by the natural history of an area, ‘including its indigenous cultures’ (Page and Dowling, 2002: 26), ecotourism has grown rapidly over the last



few decades. It was growing at between 20% and 34% annually in the 1990s: three times faster than the tourism industry as a whole (TIES, 2005: 2). A number of reasons have been given for this. First, tourism features post-industrial (or post-Fordist) 'capitalist consumption that borders on the hyper-real' (Hughes, 2004: 499–501). Second, there is dissatisfaction with conventional forms of tourism, because of their emphasis on market economics and their neglect of the sociocultural and environmental factors (France, 1997; Fennell, 2003). Third, the 'dictates of fashion and demand for new market opportunities' (Saarinen, 2004: 440) have brought about *green consumerism*, wherein the postmodern society – small niches – is interested in products that are environmentally friendly (eco-friendly) and ethically good (Holden, 2000: 183). It is important to consider the difficulty in satisfactorily defining ethical goodness. By trying to demonstrate ethical responsibility, e.g. espousing principles of ecotourism in Muanenguba, visitors' initiatives could be paternalistic. Fourth, there has been the rise of green politics via media coverage and the recognition of pressure groups (Holden, 2008: 69). Finally, there has been the institutionalisation of environmentally responsible practices, e.g. emissions trading or carbon offsetting, green standards, ecolabels and the emergence of *reflexivity*, i.e. the 'see and enjoy but not destroy' attitude of tourists (Jamal *et al.*, 2006: 145; Holden, 2008: 237) in response to 'the character of modernity' in the tourism process (Hughes, 2004: 507).

There is some debate regarding the origin of ecotourism. Some writers (Rovinski, 1991; Place, 1998; Honey, 1999; Holden, 2000) relate its origin to birdwatching, film documentaries and studies of tropical biology by naturalists in developing countries (e.g. Kenya, Costa Rica and Indonesia) in the 1960s and 1970s. Other writers (Wood, 2002; Boyd, 2004; Lowman, 2004; Meyer-Arendt, 2004) argue that ecotourism is founded on the ethics of conservation. This approach to the environment esteems 'the search for the sublime and picturesque', or treasures the pleasing quality of nature's roughness, irregularity and intricacy (Meyer-Arendt, 2004: 426).

The significance of mountains and ecotourism were legitimised by UNEP and WTO via the designation of 2002 as the International Year of Ecotourism (IYE) and the Quebec Declaration, 2002, trebling as the International Year of Mountains (IYM) and indigenous peoples (IYIP). Mountains such as Muanenguba constitute fragile ecosystems, as their slopes harbour one-tenth of the world's population and provide key resources (water, gene banks, forest and agricultural products) for human health



and survival (UNCED, 1992; Godde *et al.*, 2000: 3). They constitute the second most attractive destinations after coastal areas, accounting for 15–20% of the global tourism market (Banskota, 2007: 21).

#### 2.4.2 Characteristics and principles of ecotourism.

It is clear from the preceding section that ecotourism destinations emphasise post-material values such as connectedness with the environment (Mehmetoglu, 2007: 113). Practices that conform to ecotourism can be seen in nascent tourism destinations. These come with principles that support an ethical approach to destination development (Holden, 2000; Shackley, 2001; Wood, 2002). However, ecotourism is not ‘an isolated alternative’ to mass tourism (Cater, 2004: 489). TIES (2005: 2) reveals that ecotourism currently makes up 5–20% of the travel market. This variation in ecotourism estimates points, first, to a lack of consensus in the literature; second, to ecotourism’s overlap with other nature-based manifestations of tourism - ‘ecotravel’ (Holden, 2000: 193) such as wildlife tourism and adventure travel (Hughes, 2004), included within the ecotourism label by some exponents; and third, to the difficulty of identifying ecotourism for destinations that are at nascent stage. Although it seems too simplistic, Newsome *et al.* (2002: 12) resolve that adventure travel is *in* the environment; nature-based tourism and wildlife tourism are *about* the environment; and ecotourism is *for* the environment. Wood (2002) and Hall and Boyd (2005) observe that adventure tourism is a physical and more difficult exercise. This difficulty increases with increased remoteness, primitiveness or naturalness (Hall and Boyd, 2005). Shaw and Williams (2002: 302) draw attention to the idea that the potentially varied impacts of alternative forms such as ‘green’, ‘responsible’, ‘ethical’, ‘eco’, ‘low impact’, ‘soft’ and ‘endemic’, allied to ecotourism, are ignored. Aronsson (2000: 146) considers ecotourism products to be ‘authentic’ or original. This is because ecotourism is ‘more ethically based’ than other forms, epitomises a shift from market economics to ‘ecological meta-values’ in tourism (Fennell, 2003: 192), and reflects the influence of environmental determinism (Weaver, 2004: 512). This agrees with Rodriguez’s (1999: 44) view that ecotourism is ‘quite simply ecologically sensitive tourism’. Against these views, the tourism market contains products branded as ecotourism products, but which are inauthentic and unethical. In what Sharpley (2006: 7) refers to as ‘a consumption perspective’, the absence of clear distinctions between ecotourists and mass tourists has rendered the ecotourist label increasingly irrelevant. Donohoe and Needham



(2006: 192) consider ecotourism as having an 'evolving contemporary definition'. Other authors call ecotourism an institutionalised modernistic, commodified paradigm (Jamal *et al.* 2006: 145) or a Western construct, misinterpreted and misappropriated (Cater, 2004: 489–492; 2006: 23).

Some ecotourism destinations now contain specific ecologically sensitive accommodations called *ecolodges*. As described by Russel *et al.* (1995, in Fennell, 2003: 169), an ecolodge 'meets the philosophy and principles of ecotourism'. Therefore Wood (2002: 23, 26, 27) states that the 'value of an ecolodge is as much in its setting as its structures'. Because protected area operations are guided by some ecotourism principles, ecotourism is based partly on protected areas (Boo, 1993). Among the categories of protected area identified by the UNO, and adopted by Newsome *et al.* (2002: 5, 191) and Holden (2000: 130), numerous examples are found in different areas of Cameroon (see Appendix 3). Muanenguba fits imperfectly in the category of natural monuments – nationally significant landscapes with current protection for tourism – and contains anthropological reserves, e.g. clan sanctuaries, not visited by tourists.

The distinguishing principles of ecotourism have been identified by several exponents (e.g. Eagles, 1995; Wight, 2002: 2; Wood, 2002: 11, 14; Fennell, 2003; Newsome *et al.*, 2002 15–19; Cater, 2004). In particular, as emphasised by WTO (2004b: 260, 268, 278, 282), Honey (1999: 22–24) contends that the principles include: respect for local culture; contribution to natural and cultural heritage conservation, e.g. through entry fees; local participation and empowerment; local benefits and well-being, implying that ecotourism should be community-based; building of environmental awareness through visitor education or interpretation services; small-scale visitation; minimum negative environmental impact; and a maximum link with other sectors of the economy. However, in terms of an active contribution to the preservation of natural and cultural heritage, different types of ecotourism have been classified along a continuum: 'better' operations – moralism – which improve the destination; 'neutral' operations – negativism – which passively minimise impacts; and 'worse' operations, which degrade the resources and detract from the quality of the destination (Page and Dowling, 2002: 61; Lew *et al.*, 2004: 263) (see also section 2.5.3). The most popular ecotourism activities named by scholars (e.g. Whelan 1991; Wight, 1996a, 1996b; Honey, 1999; Wood, 2002;



Fennell, 2003: 35) comprise birdwatching and wildlife viewing, camping, skiing, whale watching, archaeological digs, hiking or trekking, nature photography, botanical studies, wildlife safaris, mountain climbing, fishing, river rafting, canoeing and kayaking, and long stays (one to two weeks). It would appear from Fennell's (2003: 25) analysis of definitions that destinations conform to these principles, operations and activities in different degrees, depending on the particular local circumstances.

### **2.4.3 Ecotourism and other forms of sustainable tourism**

According to the Quebec Declaration, ecotourism is a subset, 'later facet' (Singh *et al.*, 2003: 5) or form of sustainable tourism, because its principles concern the economic, social and environmental impacts of tourism (Wood, 2002; Cater, 2004) in all areas, including mountains e.g. Muanenguba. The *Oslo Statement on Ecotourism* (Sollitt, 2007: 2), also affirms that ecotourism articulates the core principles of sustainability. In general, an ecotourist values cultural difference and the struggles of indigenous people (McIntosh, 1999: 3). However, visitors are more likely to be involved in conventional, popular, usual, normal holiday activities without obligation to care about the destination. Thus this idea of valuing comes with initiative and/or responsibility. This is even more crucial for peoples in the local communities (villages) of developing countries at the early stage of tourism. This implies that ecotourism initiatives are likely to be helpful to the poor (pro-poor) and community-based in early stage destinations, although not impeccably. But it is important to note (see also, section 2.6) that community-based tourism (CBT) requires that tourism activities be carried out in the host community with their control, involvement and retention of benefits. Wood, (2002:41) refers to this as 'community-based ecotourism' (CBE). In Muanenguba, this applies to ownership of accommodation facilities and control of tourism – although by only a few members of the community (see Section 6.4.6). It also applies to tourist activity in the villages i.e. community-based initiatives such as staying with locals, amusing them by trying to speak the dialect, buying locally produced goods (Wight, 2002: 2) (see Sections 7.7.5 and 8.2.3). Also pro-poor tourism (PPT) aims for 'fair and sustainable net benefits for the poor' (Goodwin and Robson, 2004:3). Examples in Muanenguba comprise voluntary PPT initiatives such as offering gifts, lifts, medical treatment, etc are witnessed, albeit scarcely, en route to Mwaam. This thesis considers these CBT and PPT initiatives which share characteristics with ecotourism to be *people-friendly*



as locally called. Although socio-cultural stability may not be associated with some of these activities, resulting well-being could be seen as a positive impact. Community visits are as part of community-based tourism activities suggested by Wight (2002: 2), but they were seen as part of conventional visitor treks, with unknown impacts. Due to burden on visitors, some CBT and PPT activities are only achievable through local projects.

The idea of valuing also means that ecotourism shares features with responsible tourism, i.e. taking responsibility to make tourism ethical and sustainable (Goodwin, 2007: 4). Responsibility/initiative and other details of exactly what activities visitors carry out under ecotourism is not exhausted by existing literature. Tourism practices discovered in Muanenguba – as applied in this thesis, including those named above – constitute ethical (*eco-friendly and people-friendly*) responsibilities. The responsibilities, found to be consistent with the principles of ecotourism (in accord with the views of Wight, 2002: 2, Wood, 2002: 11 and Donohoe *et al.*, 2006: 192) were demonstrated by Western visitors (vacationers and scientists) rather than of local developers and the wider community, whose limited notions of ecotourism are consistent with the nascent nature of the tourism industry. Such responsibilities and/or initiatives testified to visitors' actions intended to make a positive contribution to the protection of the natural environment (eco-friendliness) and local people's well-being (people-friendliness). The ethical responsibilities comprised, taking care of waste (a Western lifestyle but in line with eco-friendliness i.e. in favour of aesthetic beauty) as well as suggesting (or advocating) correctives for sustainability via expression of views on nature conservation and/or protection of culture via statements of principle. Jacobsen (2007: 104), suggests that tourist opinions on sustainability are interesting, as well as acting as supplements to local viewpoints. However, experience from Kenya (Akama, 1996) leads to the argument that such views may be paternalistic or Western-centric and incompatible with peasant lifestyles in Africa. The request for permissions – and respect for local wishes or beliefs where possible – before carrying out some holiday activities is included in ethical responsibilities (people-friendly) in Muanenguba.

Outside eco-friendly and people-friendly classifications, potentially low-impact features such as small groups of visitors (few and far between arrivals), informal local learning through nature study and interaction, in line with the views of



exponents (Honey, 1999: 22; Wight, 2002: 2), i.e. small numbers and local education, and the use of traditional houses (WTO, 2004b: 282), in addition to the popular activities named earlier, are consistent with the established principles of ecotourism (see also section 7.7.5, objective iv).

#### 2.4.4 Ecotourists.

While ecotourists are generally considered to be environmentally responsible and ethical tourists (Holden, 2008: 237), the degree of responsibility varies from one tourist to another. This has led some scholars to attempt to classify ecotourists. Based on dedication and time, suggested typologies include: hardcore tourists – scientific researchers and members of education tours; dedicated nature tourists, doing trips for understanding local and natural history; mainstream nature tourists, participating in unusual trips; and casual nature tourists, having incidental experiences (Fennell, 2003: 35). This classification ignores the idea that research scientists and other paid visitors on working trips are business trippers because they earn wages during such trips to ecotourism destinations. While Wang (2000: 4) and Sharpley and Telfer (2002: 23) consider that tourism is leisure travel, involving freedom from paid work, scientific researchers interact and create impacts similar to those of vacationers, although this may be for the purpose of getting information rather than for a holiday experience. Given that exploration is one of the key themes at the nascent stage, this investigation considers them, especially in cases where they had taken time off work for a holiday, and where locals did not care about the difference. Based on interest in caring for the environment, a range from mere recreation – ‘loungers’ and ‘users’ – to active protection, i.e. ‘eco-aware’ and ‘special ecotourist’, has been devised (Holden, 2008: 239). Based on visitor behaviour, Swarbrooke (1999: 27) provides a classification of ecotourists called ‘green tourists’, according to *shades of green*, i.e. from not green to totally green. These classifications highlight the idea that ecotourists are not a homogeneous group of travellers, given their varied interests and experiences. Ron Mader (Planeta.com) draws attention to the presence of an ‘eclectic mix of references’ to ecotourism owing to the ‘absence of a definitional consensus’. According to Mader, this has led some scholars to dismiss as a myth the suggestion that tourists can be easily classified, tending to use instead the neutral term ‘visitor’, given that an ecotourist can perform many roles during one trip.



As confirmed by the study of Muanenguba, shown in Chapter Seven, some scholars (Whelan, 1991; Wight, 1996a, 1996b; Honey, 1999; Wood, 2002; Fennell, 2003: 35) identify ecotourists by: origin (European, North American or Japanese); familiarity with the outdoors (previous foreign experience); repeat visitation; high levels of education (mostly graduates); highly professional occupations, and corresponding levels of income; the enjoyment of scenery and nature as main motivation; and median ages (e.g. 30 to 54 years). These traits have not in practice led visitors to be eco/people-friendly to the same degree. In the USA, Warnick (1995) found that age (age categories, generations and generational cycles) influences variations in attitudes, education and interest in ecotourism or travel participation. Alluding to Strauss and Howe (1991: 30–31, 71), Warnick extends his view by observing that each generation encounters social events such as ‘secular crises’, such as the global credit crunch of 2008–2009, causing changes in institutions and public behaviour, or ‘spiritual awakenings’, and changes in values. These two sets of changes determine recreational activities at any given time. In particular, an interest in ecotourism will be higher among an idealistic generation or boom-type generation that grows up after a crisis, inspires awakening, cultivates principles during adulthood and emerges as visionary elders. We should not forget that some dedicated travellers and viable professionals may – in practice – not give up holidaying during crises.

#### **2.4.5 The theory and practice of ecotourism.**

Exponents of ecotourism (Whelan, 1991; Boo, 1993; Honey, 1999; Wood, 2002; Fennell, 2003; Weaver 2003; Cater, 2004) hail the concept for its ecological and cultural sensitivity. Ecotourism is considered to be a benefit for destination and indigenous communities, because it fosters responsibility for managing the negative impacts of mass tourism (McIntosh, 1999: 3).

Nonetheless, it is not surprising that there is ‘considerable divergence between theory [charted by scholars] and practice [carried out by the industry: visitors, developers, tour operators, etc.]’ in ecotourism (Cater, 2004: 488). Ecotourism is characterised by harsh market realities (*ibid*). These realities include: the probability of unsustainable growth followed by rapid recessions, called ‘boom–bust’ cycles (Wood, 2002: 18); the fear that its popularity is a step towards mass tourism; and the difficulty in achieving its potential, especially if its practice is misguided (Whelan, 1991; Honey, 1999; Wood, 2002; Cater, 2004).



Lifestyle research studies reveal that although some visitors care about destinations (Wood, 2002: 19), 'convenience takes precedence over conscience', driven by visitors' materialistic desires (Stabler, 1997: 125). In addition to this, Wheeler (1997: 43) states that the term 'eco-friendly', which is often associated with ecotourism, is vague – for example in the case of a holiday that combines environmentally friendly practice during a safari and a stay in a luxury hotel. Such false claims of environmental and social responsibilities associated with ecotourism are described as 'greenwashing' (Wood, 2002: 12; Baxter, 2009: 20). According to Munro *et al.* (2008: 1), even good interpretation can fail to foster sustainable ecotourist behaviour.

Because of ecotourism's attachment to market economics, scholars (Holden, 2008: 241) see it as a product rather than as a principle. In Wheeler's opinion, ecotourism is 'a niche market based on the standard business motive of short-term profits' (1997: 45). Operators are unwilling to adopt ecotourism principles if they are against business operations (Jackson, 2007). Hence ecotourism sceptics uphold mass tourism for foreign exchange benefits and the social psychological advantage of a tourist not being constrained by learning, not having to eat designated food, and not having to endure uncomfortable accommodation (Fennell, 2003). Only some actors show understanding of the concept of ecotourism at the nascent stages of tourism development. But lack of or varied understanding of the concept is not limited to nascent tourism and developing country destinations. In England (an advanced tourism country), Miller *et al.* (2009: 635) found that while some members of the public are concerned about environmental issues, their awareness of the issues, especially the impact of tourism and other global issues, is weak, owing to confusion with buzzwords, and lack of interest.

Considering the practical limitations, there is a call for efficient management of changing demand to keep pace with evolving ecotourism (Lindberg and Huber, 1993) as well as management of ecotourism facilities, in which case the 'courage and imagination of the ecotourism facility developer is the key to a new awareness' (Andersen, 1993: 133). Ecotourism is 'unlikely a big business' (Lunn, 2005: 1). This means that, in the future, ecotourism will have to struggle define what role it plays in 'building a better alternative' in tourism (Fennell, 2003: 200). Hughes (2004: 507)



concludes from the current debate on sustainable tourism and allied alternatives that, by being environmentally self-reflexive, sustainable (eco)tourism will be at least an 'ideological gift under neo-liberal capitalism'. However, the debate would be enriched if it linked effectively to the wider debates on economic restructuring as well as the degree of state intervention (Williams and Shaw, 1998: 49–59). Such debates, which shape tourism, are fundamentally different in developed and developing nations (Hall and Lew, 1998).

## 2.5 TOURISM IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES (LDCs)

The development of international tourism and sustainable forms of tourism – such as ecotourism – in LDCs at the beginning of the third millennium is the extension of a process of globalisation that was well established by the middle of the 19th century (Harrison, 2001: xi). Governments of developing countries are assumed to have seized upon this 'image [the search for alternative experiences] ... in Western minds' in order break from the 'confines of underdevelopment' (Mowforth and Munt, 2003: 1). This has so far not been very successful. However, as compared with earlier periods in history, tourist travel to LDCs both increased and became significant in the 1990s, in line with a declining market share of tourism in Europe and America (Prosser, 1994; Harrison, 2001). Figures reveal that in 1988 LDCs accounted for about 21% of all tourist trips and about 26% of all receipts (Whelan 1991: 5; Harrison, 2001: 11). By 1997 the equivalent percentages were 30.5% and 33% (Harrison, 2001: 11). According UNWTO (2008: 10), LDCs will account for more than half of all trips (about 54%) by 2020. Tourism to LDCs is associated with the 'structural relationship' of countries that may have had a colonial past, and the 'personal relationship' between tourist and host (Harrison, 2001: 12). Dependence on tourism, and obligations to adopt sustainable forms of tourism, are greater in islands and small states – *pleasure peripheries* – because of their limited natural resources and their insular locations (Weaver, 1998: 47; Harrison, 2001: 12). This thesis points out that although Muanenguba is not such a famous pleasure periphery (i.e. tourism is still nascent), there is no shortage of obligation to adopt standards that are required for sustainable form of tourism.

Some destinations of LDCs, such as Kenya, Tanzania (sub-Saharan Africa), China, Nepal (Asia), Mexico, Costa Rica and Puerto Rico (the Caribbean and South America), are regarded as *mature destinations* (Whelan, 1991; Weaver, 1998;



Harrison, 2001: 12, 15). It would appear from this that the notion of maturity refers to more established tourism destinations. The missing element in the argument is that, for such destinations, high tourist concentration ratios have negative implications for sustainability. In terms of facilities and visitor numbers, Muanenguba fits the category of an immature – nascent tourism – destination. But it is no less picturesque: it contains attractions, such as the Twin Lakes, that are found nowhere else in Africa. The low level of tourism in Muanenguba is a reflection of the status of the tourism industry in Cameroon, a developing country (see Chapter Three).

Harrison (2001: 9) points out that the analysis of tourism development and its impacts in developing countries is riddled by debates as to what constitute ‘developing countries’. This is due to the emergence and apparent neutrality of some economies (in transition), the inequalities between countries classified as ‘developing’, and the rejection of bourgeois classification terms such as ‘Third World’. Discourse in tourism development in native/local areas of LDCs is partly underpinned by the two opposing social scientific ideologies of *modernisation* and *dependency* regarding patterns of development, as applicable to Cameroon and Muanenguba:

The modernisation theory or ‘functional approach’ to economic development (Lea, 1988: 11) stipulates that Western capitalism and colonialism have led to tourism development (Gartner, 2005) and economic growth by enabling developing societies to ‘overcome traditional obstacles and replicate Western patterns of economic and social change’ (Harrison, 2001: 5). This theory is backed up by: the import of capital, skills, ideas and institutions; the interaction with tradition, changes in society and activities of indigenous entrepreneurs; the development and sale of arts and crafts (Harrison, 2001); the introduction of ‘the mega trend of democratisation’ and the ancillary trend of local/indigenous participation (Gartner, 2005: 3–26); good management (Lea, 1988: 11), and the development of colonial architecture that currently serves as tourist attractions. However, Smith (1989, in Macleod, 2004: 10) objects to the association of tourism with modernisation. According to Smith, modernisation is the predominant influence on changes in LDC destinations, whereas tourism involves interaction. The modernisation theory is emerging in Muanenguba through visitors’ suggestion of correctives for sustainability, ecotourism and



protected area initiatives and ideas for tourist accommodations. But it is limited because the destination community is still rooted in aspects indigenous culture. In such circumstances, the more dominant factors leading to modernisation – such as Westernisation through colonialism, Judaeo-Christianity and post-colonial government policies, and shifting local conceptions of culture – can subordinate tourism in the nascent stages.

An opposing view to the modernization theory – neo-Marxist, underdevelopment or dependency theory – is upheld by scholars who are critical of tourism as a catalyst for development. This theory stipulates that an association with the West actually led to underdevelopment. As we shall see in the subsequent discussion, the dependency theory is based on the premise that tourism problems in LDCs relate largely to Western *capitalism*, given that tourism's spread to LDCs through *colonialism* has influenced state intervention, by generating a *political ecology* and enhanced existing social inequalities. The theory holds that economic growth through national independence operations ('de-linking policies') is critical for tourism development because of the impact of state control on patterns of that development (Harrison, 2001: 5). This theory opposes the evolution of tourism along 'historic lines of colonialism' (Lea, 1988: 10). In Africa, it is considered that after some 'formative years of image moulding' (Wels, 2004: 90), which ended with independence, ethnic/destination communities were no longer 'atavistic survivals of the pre-modern world, but dynamic social creations of colonialism' (Berman et al, 2004: xiii), which is associated with tourism. The dependency theory criticises the modernisation approach on the basis of the reductionist or *laissez-faire* character of capitalism (Mowforth and Munt, 1998: 45), the inability of LDCs to adopt capitalist modes of production, and the negative effects of social and cultural impoverishment (Harrison, 2001: 5). Modernising processes such as immigration, colonially induced aspects of social structure such as status via education and achievement (elites), partitioning of the mountain slopes into English and French by colonialism, and the evolution of Western Christianity (see sections 1.5.1 and 5.3) raise the question of how these processes of change affect the relationship between indigenous culture, e.g. customs of participation, and tourism development. The diverse actors, varied understanding and different strategies towards sustainable forms of tourism such as ecotourism lead the destination of Muanenguba (Mwaam) to face a kind of tragedy of the commons – discussed in section 2.3 – as tourism develops.



The political ecology of tourism is associated with dependency theory, and is based on two features identified by Sofield (2006). First, patterns of tourism development depend on the political forces in place at any one time. Second, tourism projects pass through a process of state approval. Tourism is thus characterised by profoundly symbiotic relationships between the discursive and material practices of domination, i.e. the concept of power (Gossling, 2003a: 1; Hall, 2003: 11; D’Hauteserre, 2004: 243). There are ‘unequal power relations in politicised tourism environments’ in developing countries. This is because tourism development is associated with state power and results in struggles for political and economic control of natural resources and entitlements (Gossling, 2003a: 1, 26) as historically marginalised communities demand a portion of the tourism market and its associated benefits. Macleod (2004: 4) observes that power relations and conflicts exist not only between the state and local communities. They also exist among local factions. According to Gossling (2003a), the dependency theory blames tourism for generating elitism, a situation where the local elite rises to participate in Western-aided projects allied to tourism development, and subverts aid meant for local communities or indigenous people. This internal colonialism of locals is described as the ‘Black Servility Theory’ (Weaver 1998: 59). It is necessary to acknowledge that the emergence of elites and the development of a political ecology predate tourism, form the context for its emergence, and produce locality-specific trajectories and forms of tourism. This investigation finds that in destinations where tourism is nascent and indigenous culture is still strong, such as Muanenguba, the varied interests of custodian (identity/spiritual interest) and decision-making or development factions (modernity/material interest) over tourism attractions may lead to *an indigenous political ecology* (see section 6.4.2). Mindful of the preceding discussion, Shaw and Williams (2002: 303) suppose that the sustainable tourism debate is misplaced, confused, and wanting in terms of the political ecology perspective.

Tourism also generates a ‘political economy’, because political economic determinants of world trade govern the shape of the tourism industry, leading to ‘economic dependency’ (Lea, 1988: 10) and the subordination of LDC states’ economic autonomy (Weaver, 1998: 39; Gossling, 2003a: 29; Mowforth and Munt, 2003: 49). LDCs unavoidably encourage foreign intervention and ownership of tourism accommodation, leading to leakages of currency and factor payment to



expatriates. These consequences are inevitable, owing to a lack of capacity to implement sustainable tourism – fiscal and planning problems (Rovinski, 1991; Weaver, 1998; Richter, 2001). Under these circumstances, state tourism legislation is based on planning dependency, and becomes, at best, ambiguous (Gossling, 2003a; Sofield *et al.*, 2003). It is important to note that while political ecologies/economies are considered to be common in developing countries, Frick (2010) found that although the Black Sea coastal area of Saint Vlas in Bulgaria is located in Europe, it still faces political economies due to poor transport infrastructure, corruption, lack of proper legislation, etc. It is also important to note that the dependency theory, which includes political ecology, is limited in Muanenguba. This is because, although visitors from colonialist countries dominate the market, foreign ownership of tourism facilities is nearly absent, indigenes are the key actors in nascent tourism (associated with indigenous political ecology) and leakages are local (see sections, 6.4.2 and 8.5), and the dependence of the wider community on tourism is scant in the nascent stages. Thus the literature needs further examination of political ecology, e.g. in the context of indigenous communities and nascent tourism.

Crises emerged in the underdevelopment theory in the mid 1980s. This was related to two issues. First, LDCs could not stop relying on Western-led development. Second, more than just development theories contributed to the analysis of tourism development in LDCs: the crisis instigated a re-examination of the role of the state in promoting development, and a ‘reconsideration of theory’ in order to achieve sustainable tourism development (Harrison, 2001: 252). This was through a call for *neo-liberalism* (decentralisation, privatisation) and *alternative development*, which criticises Eurocentric, meta-narrative economic models and focuses on basic needs, people and environment (Telfer, 2003: 155–180). This involved a reversion to Western sustainable development approaches such as *technocentrism*, *environmentalism* and *colonial science* (Harrison 2001: 6). In this process, the renewed influence exerted by Europeans and their ideas, as in hotel development, forest and wildlife management for tourism, is interpreted as ‘neo-imperialism’ (Mowforth and Munt, 2003: 51, 48; Macleod, 2004: 11; Wels, 2004: 91). In the interim, while the neo-liberal paradigm is criticised for typifying mass tourism, owing to its domination by market forces (France, 1997: 10), environmentalism has brought about the theory and practice of sustainable tourism, and subsets such as



ecotourism (Harrison, 2001). This is comparable to ecotourism and protected area initiatives in the Bakossiland (see section 6.4.1).

In LDCs, political and economic stability are important in attracting tourists (Chalker, 1994). But in many destinations tourism has caused instability and conflicts: for example, disregard of tourism codes by operators in the Caribbean (Weaver, 1994); resort development, displacement of local people and resettlement problems in Bintan Island, Indonesia (Wong, 2003); relationship mismanagement in Kenya (Olindo, 1991); uncoordinated planning due to foreign (multinational) activities in St Lucia (Wilkinson, 2003); and the disintegration of tourism territories or 'devolution' in the former USSR (Aramberri and Butler, 2005). Later facets of sustainable tourism, such as ecotourism, created conflicts with local communities and mistrust between stakeholders, as noticed in Belize (Alexander, 1999), Ecuador (Rodriguez, 1999) and India (Lunn, 2005). While the various types of instability noted above are only partly tourism-induced, Strong-Cvetich and Scorse (2008: 12–13) found, on the contrary, that cooperation in ecotourism projects has built post-conflict peace in Northern Ireland, Croatia, Bosnia, Montenegro and the Virunga-Bwindi region of Africa. However, in many parts of Africa, non-tourism-led instabilities are common. According to Cohen (1999: 18–19), every indigenous culture has unique norms that satisfy their need for prestige, meaning and purpose. Such norms disappear when a community faces instabilities such as genocide (as in Rwanda in 1994), loss of territory, repression of language and disease. This is because the associated social changes threaten mental health, required for the maintenance of intellectual property for tourism development. The foregoing suggests that development theories are inadequate in framing tourism development in LDCs. To authenticate this view, it is important to look at the concepts of participation and impacts of all forms of tourism.

## 2.6 LOCAL/INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND IMPACTS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Empowerment and participation are the foundation of sustainability in tourism (Scheyvens, 2003; Timothy *et al.*, 2003). This is especially the case in ecotourism development and in developing-country destinations. The ecosocialist school of thought holds that host communities have a vital stake in tourism development, and their *participation* is critical to the process (Holden, 2000: 171; Wood, 2002: 38). In



the context of indigenous communities, Chapter 26 of Agenda 21 states that 'recognising and strengthening the role of indigenous people and their communities' (Johnston, 1999: 58) is the key to indigenous involvement in tourism. Local participation is the ability of local communities to get actively involved and determine the outcome of development projects that have an impact on their livelihoods (Drake, 1991: 132). This view ignores passive, indirect and spiritual (albeit unperceived) forms of participation, as it is with various members of the community in Muanenguba (see section 5.4.3). In the context of indigenous people and ecotourism, McIntosh (1999: 3) thinks that 'in a perfect world, travel programmes would come from indigenous people'. With this comes the notion that whoever controls a tourism project, e.g. government or local community, can generally determine the scale, speed and nature of development, and the benefits (Butler and Hinch, 1996: 9). Rising concerns for local community participation have brought in attempts to sever tourism from its administrative levels and secure it to local communities (Singh *et al.*, 2003).

While *Community-based (eco)tourism* (CBT/CBE, see Section 2.4.3) is a growing phenomenon throughout the developing world, there appears to be a consensus among many scholars (e.g. Drake, 1991; Brandon, 1993; Huxley 1994; Grekin and Milne, 1996; Milne, 1998; McIntosh, 1999; Timothy and Tosun, 2003; Timothy *et al.*, 2003) that tourism is unsustainable, owing to the exclusion of local communities. Problems of participation are not limited to local communities in general. More specifically, although women are a valuable asset in CBT, studies and projects on rural development and CBT suggest that most tourism destinations display segregation against women (Lama, 1999, 2000; Wood, 2002). The literature on gender and tourism frequently charts gendered modes of operation, i.e. the exploitation of women through occupational segregation and limited female access to tourism, lower relative incomes from tourism for women, but also the reinforcement or transformation of socially constructed gender roles that affect both men and women (Scott, 1997: 84–85; Sinclair, 1997: 1,5). Unfairness to women, as it is often considered, has been witnessed in Pond Inlet, Canada (Grekin and Milne, 1996), in Nepal (Gurung *et al.*, 1996: 118), and in Bali, Indonesia (Cuckier, 1996). The empowerment of women through tourism is not neglected, but it lacks emphasis in the literature. In addition, when a destination is as nascent as Muanenguba, and participation is scarce, emerging relationships between gender and tourism, which



change in time and space (Hall and Kinnaird, 1994; Shaw and Williams, 2002: 180), are likely to be initially imprecise, and need to be probed.

Local involvement takes various forms: the formation and ownership of enterprises or institutions; facilitation by intermediaries (or NGOs); tour guiding; the sale of crafts; entertaining; and interpretation of local and cultural information (Dann, 1996a; Gurung *et al.*, 1996; Schalken, 1999; Wood, 2002; Scheyvens, 2003). In some areas of the world, albeit to varying degrees, communities are becoming owners and managers of culture-based attractions and other tourist facilities, with some degree of property rights and economic benefits, without undermining their cultural identity (Zeppel, 1998; Wood, 2002). However, Milne (1998: 42) warns that community participation can be 'double edged', because it allows for the appropriation of ideas for local benefit, and local expression of discontent, while the host communities bear the costs, or participate as 'sanctioned' by the government. The process of participation involves cooperation (local, national and international) of all stakeholders comprising governments, the industry, NGOs, tourists, local institutions and communities (Boo, 1991; Blangy and Wood, 1993; Wood, 2002; Boyd and Singh, 2003; Timothy and Tosun, 2003). Interaction is another form of participation. While Hall and Kinnaird (1994: 11) view tourism as *social interaction*, Tucker (1997: 107) laments the issue of over-visualisation in tourism. Tucker draws attention to the idea that theories that accentuate the concept of the gaze (e.g. Urry, 2002) set the tourist experience in a frame, glossing over and discounting the participatory or interactive nature of tourist destinations (Tucker, 1997 107). This is not helped by the scarcity of interaction at the exploration stage of tourism. But Tucker's idea is relevant in the determination of degrees and modes of interaction, both along the tourist route and at the destination in Muanenguba. Participation via interaction brings mutual benefits, such as a fair exchange for value between visitors and local communities (Gurung *et al.*, 1996). It is important to mention that participation is viewed differently by the various stakeholders (see Section 6.4).

Beneficial participation eludes other communities because of impediments such as inadequate local knowledge of sustainability and how to engage with tourism (Gurung *et al.*, 1996; Brennan and Garth, 2001; Dieke, 2001; Liu and Wall, 2003), as well as tourist use of maps, which leads to the non-use of local tourist guides (Gurung *et al.*, 1996). In Muanenguba it appears that travel experience and the use of



friends and relatives also lead some visitors to relinquish tourist guards. Other hindrances to beneficial participation include apathy of host residents, problems of representation, cost in staffing and money, and lengthy decision-making processes (Singh *et al.*, 2003: 173; Timothy and Tosun, 2003). In relation to apathy, Ap (1992: 685) suggests a *social exchange theory* stipulating that attitudes towards depend in collinear fashion on the degree of exchange of resources between residents and tourism. Oviedo-Garcia *et al.* (2008) apply the theory in asserting that the likelihood of participation increases where the host community expects the benefits to be more than the costs. In this regard, Holland *et al.* (2003: 1) observe that there are vast swathes of rural areas in the developing world for which tourism is not relevant for the foreseeable future. This is the case in Muanenguba albeit a century of tourism.

In general, but especially for indigenous communities, *self-determination and intellectual property rights* are essential for participation in tourism, as well as a central principle of indigenous rights (Johnston, 2003). Self-determination is defined as ‘the ability to determine one’s own future on one’s own land’ (McIntosh, 1999: 3). In the context of tourism, this means the right of a community to decide whether it wants to have a tourism economy, and to set the terms for visitation (Johnston, 2003: 121). In the indigenous context, for emerging forms of tourism such as ecotourism (as discussed in section 2.4) to be ‘a boom for indigenous people’, advocates should be committed to creating conditions for communities to exercise self-determination, ‘retaining autonomy and power of decision-making over their affairs’ (McIntosh, 1999: 3). Communities also need to be informed (*informed consent*), in advance, of all the possible consequences of tourism development (Wood, 2002). This is particularly useful but rarely done for destinations characterised by nascent tourism in the developing world.

Because communities are threatened by tourism, *global policy debates* – legal instruments, mechanisms, dialogues, seminar and symposia – underscore the need to put indigenous people at the centre of the sustainable tourism agenda through self-determination, informed consent, intellectual/sacred property rights, and the fight against commoditisation (Johnston, 1999: 57, 2003:115-134; Wood, 2002; Honey and Thullen, 2003; McLaren, 2003). However, Johnston (1999, 2003) expresses disappointment due to slow progress, to the absence of an effective regulatory system, to the relegation of indigenous people to mere consultation in problem-



solving, to poor representation, and to indigenous people's fear that participation in discussions would prejudice their rights. Similarly, because of economic interest, national tourism policies have legally limited property rights in homelands, and progress in operationalising the principle of self-determination (Wood, 2002; Hinch, 2004).

The *definition of the host community* presents an internal hindrance to participation. According to Milne (1998), the concept of '*community*' – a basic unit of development – has permeated the sustainable tourism literature because of the commoditisation of host community cultural resources and the need for local participation. It has become a 'vehicle for rooting individuals and societies in a climate of economic restructuring and growing social, cultural and political uncertainty' (Hall and Richards, 2000: 2). However, due to complexity; heterogeneity, local rivalries over resources (Burns and Holden, 1997; Boyd and Singh, 2003; Timothy and Tosun, 2003; Sofield, 2006); and changes in structures, values, processes and functions of tourism destinations over space and time (Boyd and Singh, 2003: 21) the term '*community*' is a '*contested concept*' (Boyd and Singh, 2003: 30). Variations within the host community in Muanenguba have led to varied interpretations of place (the tourist destination) through different names.

Considering these hindrances, Sofield (2006) thinks that any consideration of a CBT (or CBE) project's community as 'a single entity is often a fallacy... simplistic and naïve'. According to Sofield, the community concept is 'a holistic myth'. Various criteria have been adopted by writers (e.g. Milne, 1998; Moscardo and Pearce, 2003; Singh *et al.*, 2003) to define a tourism host community, including: participation, power and profits (the participatory approach); geographical space and physical endowments (the ecological approach); and culture and society (the socio-anthropological or social system approach). As a guide to community-based tourism, Murdock (1955, in Singh *et al.*, 2003: 7) considers a community to be 'any social group, existing in a territory and meeting all its problems of survival and continuity'. In the indigenous context, the operation of 'non-monetised economies' (e.g. gift exchanges) leads to community building, and explains the meaning of the term '*community*': 'to give among each other' (Rodriguez, 1999: 43).



It is important to consider the community prior to and after becoming cosmopolitan – the *indigenous community and host/local community*. The term ‘indigenous community’, used in discussing tourism, is not universally adopted. Terms such as ‘aboriginal’, ‘ethnic minorities’, ‘native people’ and ‘tribal groups’ have been applied in different places (Honey and Thullen, 2003: vi), depending on the geographic context, the cultural group concerned, the objectives of the author, and the sensibilities of the target audience (Butler and Hinch, 1996: 9). According to the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) (Jepsen, 2005: 1), the world of indigenous people comprises about 250 million persons in population contained in about 5,000 ethnic groups. *Indigenous people* are usually identified by the tribe, band, clan or nation (Hinch, 2004). They are ‘peoples and nations that have historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies’ (Henriksen, 2002: 8). In this study, this description fits the indigenous *Muanengoe* community, i.e. clans made up of groups of related villages inhabiting the slopes of the Muanenguba Mountain. According to Hinch (2004: 246), indigenous destinations such as the Bakossiland – areas occupied by indigenous people – constitute an ‘intriguing frontier’ for both tourists and geographers, partly because of the insights offered by the ‘interplay of cultures’ between tourists and indigenous people. Their sophisticated traditional systems and practices (Smith, 1996: 304), and their ethnic identity, linguistic unity, religious or ideological affinity (Henriksen, 2002: 8), offer the possibility of rediscovering an ‘authentic and balanced link between human culture and the environment’ (Wood, 1999: 25). Their highly valued communal and kinship bonds and consensus decision-making (Butler and Hinch, 1996) contribute to these characteristics. Their possession of cultural and intellectual property, such as sacred sites, ceremonies and cultural events (Croft, 1994: 169; Timothy and Boyd, 2003: 3), considered as heritage, is unique, because these possessions give an emotive experience to any visitor, and ‘create nostalgia through their myths of origin and signs of reality’ (Shackley, 2001: 187). These characteristics call for the application of indigenous knowledge in sustainable tourism development. According to McLaren (1999: 30, 2003: 7), indigenous people preserve culture/cultural property and display their role as stewards of nature. This behaviour ‘is a sacred responsibility’ that has gone on for millennia. This is the kind of responsibility that distinguishes the custodian community – villages located within 10 km of the destination and representing the whole tribe in participating in sacred sacrifices there – from the wider community in Muanenguba (see section 5.4.1).



During the Enlightenment in modernising societies, ideas of nature, indigenous culture and society were implicit in the work of great thinkers. MacMillan (1994: 78) considers that some of these classical theorists are 'cultural heroes' by virtue of their enlightenment views of society or establishment of the case for legitimising the relevance of indigenous culture in tourism development. In the examples cited, first, Adam Smith (1776) concluded from his *inquiry* that society is a psychological construct, as it depends on the feelings shared by common people. Second, in his *Treatise of Human Nature*, David Hume (1739) approached history as the source of memory that is an essential element of identity. To Patrick Geddes (2009), a healthy society depends on a kind of cultural ecology. These classical notions of society and culture are comparable to Muanenguba, because they highlight the strong connection between cultural history – common world views (e.g. the belief that Mwaam, the destination, is their cradle) shared by indigenes of Muanenguba, part of the tribal Bakossiland – and tourism attractions at the nascent stage (see section 5.4.3).

It seems discernible that the literature on indigenous communities seems to be skewed by referring more frequently to primal locations, i.e. places whose remoteness offers the best opportunities to view the remaining wilderness and biodiversity. Such locations develop from, ancient immigration and forcible location to peripheral areas by colonising cultures, weak integration into evolving capitalism, and the simple way of life (Zeppel, 1998; McIntosh, 1999; Wood, 1999; Hinch, 2004). Such locations currently constitute destinations for what has come to be known as *ethnic tourism* – the desire for a visitor to have encounters with ethnic people in their daily lives (Teague, 1997: 178). It is important to attempt to distinguish this from *indigenous tourism*, a related term, which refers to tourism activities that directly involve native people by having their culture serve as the essence of attraction (Butler and Hinch, 1996: 9; Smith, 1996). It is equally useful to establish dichotomies between 'indigenous', as used in the earlier descriptions, and 'local'. Communities are changing, and can be placed on a continuum from indigenous to completely changed. In Muanenguba, the community is more than just indigenous, owing to the existence and notions of 'indigene' and 'settler' (see section 5.1). Immigration has changed the composition of communities, such that while most people are indigenes, others are settlers, and some indigenous identities are emphasised, e.g. the use of iconic traditional house. And although indigenous culture



endures, the concept of the 'host' or 'local' community as applied to most destinations seems more appropriate. Lindberg (2005: 4) recommends the recognition of diversity and complexity, and a case-by-case definition of community. While participation and community definition are needed for sustainable tourism development, the impacts of tourism development are unavoidable.

In some destinations, the positive impacts of ecotourism have been found to address the *triple bottom line*: that is, they contain an integrated approach that simultaneously meets social, economic and environmental objectives (Sheman and Dixon, 1991; Ceballos-Lascurain, 1993; Wood, 2002; Boyd, 2004), although mired by issues of trade-offs or reconciliation of different values and interests (Cater, 1994a; France, 1997; Butler, 1998; Holden, 2000). Such impacts comprise cultural pride and respect for heritage, biodiversity conservation, empowerment, sustained visitor attraction and satisfaction; fair distribution of social benefits; and poverty alleviation (contribution to the quality of life of the poor). Examples of destinations that have witnessed these impacts include Bali (Wall and Long, 1996), Thailand (Pettry, 1999), the Seychelles (Gossling and Horstmeier, 2003), Ilha Grande in Brazil (Wunder, 2003), and India (Thampi, 2005). Studies in other areas find impacts in specific domains.

In the environmental domain, forms of tourism such as ecotourism are credited with the saving of some forest areas, for example in Costa Rica, that would have 'succumbed to the ravages of illegal logging, poaching and agricultural expansion' (Whelan, 1991; Place, 1998; Mercer, 2004: 470). However, as part of the underdevelopment discourse, the collection and spread of flora and fauna associated with tourism, in tropical forests, are labelled as 'Europeanisation of the global environment' or ecological imperialism (Cater, 2004: 490; Hall and Tucker, 2004: 8). In addition, some nascent tourism destinations contain pristine areas and fragile ecosystems that risk a loss of biodiversity if they are visited by tourists (Cater, 2004). There is also the biopiracy of genetic capital and local knowledge (Wood, 2002), as well as poaching in protected areas created for ecotourism, for example in Belize (Alexander, 1999) and Ecuador (Rodriguez, 1999). In Nepal, ecotourism is considered to have led to the use of more land to build lodges and camping grounds, littering (non-biodegradable waste), unpleasant signboards that lack aesthetic beauty (Banskota, 2007), fuelwood depletion due to camping demand, and mountaineering accidents due to hiking (Pobocik and Butalla, 1998; Lama, 1999). In reaction to the



scarcity of charismatic African animals (e.g. elephants and lions) in the wild due to the creation of parks for forms of tourism such as safaris, Everard (2007: 27–29) observes that constrained or low-quality ‘parklife’ breaks links between megafauna and their ‘inextricable native roots’. As part of the natural environment, coral reefs in many coastal areas, such as in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, have been affected negatively by coastal tourism (Holden, 2008: 76).

Economically, tourism is generally credited for bringing in foreign exchange earnings. The contribution to economic benefit (White and Rosales, 2003; Tokalau, 2005) has led Mastny (in TIES, 2005: 1) to refer to tourism as a ‘principal export’ for 83% of LDCs and a ‘leading export’ for a third of the poorest nations. Yet there is usually little local benefit, or there is an unfair distribution of the benefits. The later facet of sustainable tourism, i.e. ecotourism, is reputed to have led to better economic linkages with the local economy, and more involvement of local or indigenous people in employment and ownership, as well as making a destination’s physical isolation become its economic and comparative advantage (Cater, 1994b: 69; Grekin and Milne, 1996: 76–106). When a destination stays nascent, despite witnessing a century of tourism, the economic impacts, like other impacts, may be trivial. This is not the case in Fiji, where advancement in tourism has brought stiff competition between ecotourism and commercial logging (Bricker, 2001). In Asia, Lew (1998) found that an increase in clientele – i.e. mass tourism pressure – led to a decline in the value of ecotourism products over time.

For all developing nations, the relevance of sustainable tourism and emerging ecotourism is ‘linked to its contribution in ameliorating problems’ associated with underdevelopment (Weaver, 1998: ix). Regrettably, tourism has been blamed for the inability to alleviate a very common socio-economic issue – *poverty* – and an inadequate contribution to economic development (Goodwin, 1998; Goodwin and Robson, 2004: 1). Under these circumstances, ways have been identified to harness tourism for poverty, with themes such as ‘Pro-Poor Tourism’ and ‘Sustainable Tourism as an Effective Tool for Eliminating Poverty’ (ST-EP) (Ashley *et al.*, 2000; Sofield *et al.*, 2003). The UK Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership, and Goodwin and Robson (2004: 3), define pro-poor tourism as tourism that results in increased, ‘fair and sustainable’ net benefits for local people (see Section 2.4.3). There is the need for developing countries to formulate expenditure plans in order to get aid and reach



targets set in the international Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (Roberts, 2005): 'the commitment to reduce, by one-half, the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by 2015' (Goodwin and Robson, 2004: 3). In an examination of conscience, Warner (2004) warns that corporate sector involvement (corporate principles) is necessary, although ill suited to poor parts of the world (LDCs). Even where there are strong tourism products, such as The Twin Lakes of Muanenguba in Mwaam, gaps remain between the logistical requirements of tourism and the characteristics of destinations (Holland *et al.*, 2003: 5). Ashley (2002: 7, 9) finds that while tourism's 'impacts above local level receive scant attention', PPT strategies are rarely isolated from general tourism development.

Socially, in some remote areas of LDCs, the exposure that many tourists have to destination cultures and peoples is limited to a 'dominant-subordinate relationship' (Nash, 1996: 25-27; Weaver, 1998: 59). Western consumerism and the disparate material standards of visitors and host, associated with tourism, generate demonstration effects and prostitution e.g. in Thailand as locals struggle to copy Western attitudes and are attracted to visitors, respectively (Montgomery, 2001: 200; Timothy *et al.*, 2003), while the development of infrastructure leads to 'ghettoisation' (Weaver, 1998: 59) as well as a 'revolution of rising expectations' (Lea, 1988: 51). Ecotourism has prompted unquantifiable new values and social relations in Peru (Stronza, 2007: 210). The building of accommodation and the creation of protected areas for ecotourism have caused local dispossession in destinations such as Bay Island and Ilha Grande, Brazil (Lama, 1999; McLaren, 1999; Stonich, 2003; Wunder, 2003; Boyd, 2004). Emerging local debates on access, place and ownership (indigenous political ecology) are the key sociocultural impacts of tourism in Muanenguba. Such impacts may also exist in mature destinations, but with a reduced indigenous dimension. In addition to the impacts named above, it is important to draw out the impacts of tourism and its niches such as ecotourism on the culture of destination areas as a framework for some particular impacts identified in Muanenguba (see Chapter Eight).

## 2.7 TOURISM AND SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGE

Sociocultural stability is required in order for sustainable forms of tourism e.g. ecotourism, to operate in both early-stage and advanced destinations. In most societies, but especially in LDCs, the negative impacts of various forms of tourism



have created tenuous relationships between local and/or indigenous communities and visitors. This has made communities less reliant on tourism development in general, and has given them little reason to believe in the potential of ecotourism in particular (McIntosh, 1999; McLaren, 1999; Wood, 2002; Hinch, 2004). In the context of indigenous communities, Butler and Hinch (1996: 4) maintain that, even when non-indigenous actions are intended for the well-being of indigenous people, they often cause hardship and loss for them. Indigenous people are thus involved in ‘a struggle for cultural survival’, locally, nationally and even internationally. Clashes between claims of ‘exclusive traditional rights’ over natural and cultural resources such as ancestral and archaeological sites by host communities, and claims for access to what is considered as ‘common property resources’ by tourists (Hall, 1996: 155), occur at destinations of developing and modernising societies. An example of such conflicts – part of political ecology – is disagreement in Australia between anthropologists and politicians over aboriginal property rights on sacred sites visited by tourists (Bell, 1999: 16). Other examples have been identified with the Maori people in New Zealand (Hall, 1996) and the Maasai people of Kenya (McIntosh, 1999: 3; Akama, 2004: 148,151), as well as in Melanesia, in the tropical jungles of the Amazon, in south east Asia (e.g. Thailand), and in southern Africa, e.g. Namibia (Sofield, 1996; McLaren, 1999; Schalken, 1999). The creation of the Campo Ma’an National Park for ecotourism and the construction of the Chad–Cameroon pipeline passing through the area has led to growing protest from the Bagyeli Pigmies, aboriginal people of the Congo forest, in Southern Cameroon (Mulvagh *et al.*, 2005: 473). Considering the foregoing examples, noted by the cited studies, and the following discussions, Ringer’s (1998: 1) opinion that tourism is sufficiently credited with the preservation of cultural heritage and the revival of ethnic identity is only partly justifiable.

### **2.7.1 Globalisation and its effects.**

According to Mowforth and Munt (1998: 12), a ‘global village’ is emerging through tourism: wider processes within global economies affect the development of tourism and transformations in early-stage and advanced destination communities (as exemplified in section 8.5). Butler and Hinch (1996: 11) refer to this as the causal influence of the temporal dimensions (past, present, future) and spatial dimensions (origin, destination, and linkages) of the environment. As a result of causality, tourism is associated with *homogenisation*. Homogenisation is the process whereby certain ‘destinations have lost their distinctiveness’ to conform to images out of the



region (Saarinen, 2004: 445). While it may be inappropriate to talk about homogenisation for destinations that are still nascent and largely indigenous, homogenisation, acculturation, authenticity and destination image are related issues within the wider processes of globalisation and commoditisation of culture affecting all destinations.

Globalisation is defined as ‘the ever tightening network of connections which cut across national boundaries, integrating communities in new space–time combinations’ (Hall, 1992, in Mowforth and Munt, 1998: 12). The process of globalisation started in the distant past with travel occupations such as exploration, seafaring and trade, facilitated by the emergence of money as a medium of exchange (Inskeep, 1991; McLaren, 1999). This included travel to destinations inhabited by indigenous communities. In what Macleod adopted as the *world system theory*, ancient travel activities were the beginnings of a ‘Eurocentric worldwide network’ as processes developed that are considered global today (Macleod, 2004: 5). In modern times, globalisation is developing through travel, communication technology, consumption and environmental exploitation (Wood, 1999); through the formation of economic unions, and through business or marketing alliances (Moscardo and Pearce, 2003; Wanhill, 2005). This process of ‘consolidation’ (unions, cooperations, alliances) has facilitated operational issues in tourism, such as packaging of tours for 25% of travel, overcoming languages and cultural barriers, but it leads to an oligopolistic situation wherein a small number of powerful multinationals (TNCs) control both the distribution channels for tourists and the destination images (discussed in section 2.7.3) (Cavlek, 2005: 174–192; Wanhill, 2005: 89–120). Generally, the process of globalisation subdues the concept of sustainability in tourism, because the former is engineered by capitalism (Vaccaro and Beltran, 2007: 254–266).

In the context of local and/or indigenous communities in developing countries, such as those of the Bakossiland, globalisation is a disadvantage. This is because it forces integration and domination of financial and political systems; indigenous people are unable to interpret and use it for their benefit; and the system has put the very last corners of the world within reach, so that these areas are ‘irrevocably changed’ by integration into the global market economy (Wood, 1999: 25). Globalisation has intensified the hardship for destination communities caused by the tourism industry



(Johnston, 2003), as self-reliant communities have become 'powerless actors in the global economy'(McIntosh, 1999: 3), and it has facilitated the commercialisation of the intrinsic value of culture through tourism, and the collapse of the distinction between culture as an aesthetic intellectual commodity and the product of social development, and culture as a commercially exploitable resource (Fagence, 2003: 76). As eloquently articulated by McLaren (1999: 29), the globalisation of tourism

*'threatens indigenous knowledge and intellectual property rights, their cosmovision, technologies, religions, sacred sites, social structures and relationships, wildlife, ecosystems, economies and basic rights to informed understanding – reducing indigenous peoples to simply another consumer product that is quickly becoming exhaustible.'*

Glocalisation, 'the heterogenising process of reaffirming local cultural identity' against global forces (Hinch, 2004: 251), is emerging as a consequence of the reaction of indigenous people. This is echoed by Vaccaro and Beltran (2007: 254–266) and Scott (2008), who refer to spatial reconfiguration and patrimonialisation as actions taken by communities in response to evolving tourism.

### **2.7.2 Acculturation, commoditisation and authenticity.**

According to Rojek and Urry (1997: 10), 'cultures travel too': modernity or postmodernity interact with tourism and cultural identity. The concept of acculturation refers to 'social cultural change desirable or not, resulting from contact', which can be through tourism (Nash, 1996: 26). The main idea associated with acculturation is that tourism is 'a potent agent of cultural change through internationalisation' (Shaw and Williams, 1994: 16) as it develops LDC destination communities in the Western image and destroys their cultural identity (McLaren, 1999: 28, 30). In capitalist terms, it can turn exotic cultures into 'commodities' and individuals into "objects" of the tourist gaze' (Butler and Hinch, 1996: 313; Macdonald, 1997: 175). For example, there was subtle assimilation – acculturation – of the minority Navajo people and other native Americans around national parks from the late 19th century to the mid 20th century through Western education, a process called 'Euroamericanisation'. The aim was to divert those native American indians from their superstitious beliefs – in the 'Mother Earth concept' and the democratic nature of indigenous communities – and prevent an 'anti-colonial praxis', i.e. a counter-cultural revolution action, from the natives. This relegated the



indigenous groups to “‘ahistorical” status’, and degraded the very culture that was needed for tourism (Churchill, 1999: 17; Keller and Turek, 1999: 17)

Referring to authenticity, scholars (e.g. Hollinshead, 1996: 313; Singh *et al.*, 2003: 3) remark that an aspiration to special travel experiences characterised by spirituality, authenticity, enlightenment and meaning is embedded in the philosophy of tourism. These features constitute what Fennell and Przeclawski (2003: 149) refer to as ‘viewable differences’ or *Otherness* during encounters between visitors and primal societies in “‘ethereal” areas’. Gossling (2003a: 11) observes that nature and environment are formed and come into existence through travel. Also, cultural activities at tourism destinations are governed by their own internal philosophy and ethics with truth. Thus the perception of the environment is a ‘product of social and cultural experiences and values’ offered by destination locations. According to Saarinen (2004: 439) authenticity is ‘the socially constructed idea of [a destination’s] tradition – genuine, real, natural, unique’. The tourism attraction or product becomes inauthentic where the representation of the destination is different from the original (*ibid*: 439). Tourists are considered as travellers who look for originality (MacCannell, 1973: 589, 602; 1999: 14, 94; Tucker, 1997: 109). Unfortunately, because culture can be ‘ridden on the back of wealth and poverty’, the distinction between fact and fiction became blurred when the commercial world entered the cultural arena (Fladmark, 1994: xiii). Given that ‘nature has become [such] a tourist product’ associated with representation through packaging and sale, tourism is associated with problems of creation, recreation and authenticity: the difference between the representation and real experiences of destinations as encountered by visitors (Saarinen, 2004: 445). Commoditisation, the idea of treating local culture ‘as a commodity *sui generis*’ through packaging, sale, performances by locals or indigenes for visitors rather than for participants, etc. with the resultant loss of embedded meanings, i.e. transformation into ‘local colour’ (Greenwood, 1989: 173, 176, 179), is thus allied to issues of authenticity. It destroys authenticity (Cohen, 1988: 372, 373). In fact tourism is considered to result in ‘fleeting, often staged [or contrived] and inauthentic representation of traditional lifestyles’ (Butler and Hinch, 1996: 3). This results from the elusive search for what is considered original. This is referred to by Wang (2000: 50–51) as *objective* authenticity or symbols of it, i.e. *symbolic or semiotic* authenticity (Cohen, 1988: 378; Wang, 2000: 54;). In



Muanenguba, examples of this include visitor use of traditional items (see Photo 8.2), and visitors' taking of photographs of the traditional house.

Against the objectivist conceptualisation of authenticity supported by modernist pioneers (e.g. MacCannell, 1973), adherents of constructivism (e.g. Cohen, 1988; Wang, 2000) draw attention to the idea that if authenticity can be socially constructed, i.e. *constructive or hermeneutic* authenticity (Wang, 2000: 51–54), then it can be negotiated and reinvented, and yet not demeaned by tourism. In relation to this, new cultural developments may acquire the patina of *emergent* authenticity over time (Cohen, 1988: 371). There is the challenge of resolving without ambiguity whether the use of the association of traditional houses for nascent tourism in Muanenguba is constructive or emergent authenticity, and whether visitors and local actors bother about authenticity at the nascent stage of tourism (see section 6.4.2 and 6.4.6). This has led Cole (2007a) to suggest that further studies should consider how actors articulate authenticity, and the reason for such articulation.

The idea that tourism diminishes local cultures, reduces global differences and causes loss of authenticity of culture is considered to be 'a coercive conceptual schema' (Crang, 2004: 74). This is because, as noted by some authors (de Burlo, 1996; Wall and Long, 1996: 45; Macdonald, 1997: 175; Crang, 2004: 74), this perception assumes a bounded, static, undivided and happy destination area society and culture (prior to tourism) pitted against a global industry, considers hosts to be 'passive recipients of an external world', and denies them their history. In the opinion of de Burlo (1996) and Crang (2004), even though there are negative impacts, tourism is a dynamic force and part of a reflexive process creating places as all the actors learn from experiences, with tourists responding to changing taste and preferences, and locals reworking their identities and strategies in changing conditions. This implies, as stipulated by some sources (e.g. Nash, 1996: 57; World Bank, 1998: i; Harrison, 2001: 5), that there are both inward and outward acculturation in tourism, associated with cross-cultural understanding, as tourists cause social changes and are changed by interaction with host communities, with effects on both the tourists' home society and the host society. In fact, cultures of tourism represent the 'active specialisation of identities through the scripting of places and mobilisation of travel stories and experiences in various situations' (Crang, 2004: 82). This is what Hollinshead (2004: 28) refers to as the 'declarative



value' of tourism. In arguing against claims of cultural destruction, Hinch (2004) observes that some societies have managed to keep certain sacred aspects – backstage activities (MacCannell, 1973) – private, to prevent erosion by tourism (front stage activity). An example is the concealment of hunting culture by local Inuit peoples in Pond Inlet, Canada, against criticism by package tourists and exposure strategies by the government's community-based tourism policy (Grekin and Milne, 1996). As a strategy for survival of indigenous tradition/identity, custodianship and image against nascent tourism in Muanenguba, some locals have created a *symbolic economy* (a traditional outlook) via the use of the traditional house in two ways. First, there is indigenous use of traditional houses constructed on the northern shores of the Female Lake in Mwaam for sacred sacrifices, away from tourists (see section 6.4.2). Second, in *en route* accommodation places, indigenous hoteliers have turned the traditional icons into economic assets by introducing them as part of their establishments, locally called 'modern traditional lodges'. This is an example of what McKean (1989: 121) refers to as 'economic dualism', analogous to Timothy and Boyd's (2006: 1) 'valued traditions and new perspectives' i.e. a mediation of change and tradition/identity. Meethan (1996: 179) points out that, for places to 'achieve distinctiveness which is essential for symbolic status, they should be created as [indigenous] objects of tourism consumption.'

The argument for tourism-induced cultural change also assumes that there are vast differences in economy and culture between tourists and hosts, which is not the case everywhere. While this argument collapses where there are no such differences, tourism is 'a marginal option tolerated for its economic advantages' only so far as it does not compromise local priorities (Ashworth, 2003: 82, 83). To be fair, therefore, research on acculturation should consider the nature of the cultural systems in contact, the contact situation, the social relations that follow, and the resulting processes of change (Nash, 1996: 27). The conservative-humanitarian approach to tourism is based on 'realism'. This school of thought suggests that as tourism development in some indigenous territories is necessary, indigenous culture needs to be 'integrated' into the national system, with the 'preservation of ethnic identity' (Hollinshead, 1996: 317). Alluding to earlier works (those of MacCannell 1973, 1976, 1992, and Selwyn, 1996), Timothy and Boyd (2003) suggest that authenticity needs to remain real, though dynamic with culture. This is somewhat in line with the postmodernist approach to authenticity, that is, *postmodern authenticity* suggested by



Wang (2000: 54). This is an approach that legitimises inauthenticity and simulation by viewing the modern world as a hyperreality, with no need to distinguish ‘signs’ (copies) from ‘reality’ (originals) in tourism experiences. This is explored further in the next section.

### 2.7.3 Destination image.

For Westerners, ‘tourism is sacred in the sense of being exciting, renewing and interestingly self-fulfilling’ (Shackley, 2001: 176). Tourists are therefore disappointed when their chosen fantasies – images of destination – turn out to be different from their expectations. The image of a region is a complex amalgam of its people, its ethnic mix, its architecture, its overall aesthetic appeal, the geography (landscape, climate), the industry, the setting of the area, and the relationships created (*ibid*: 176). When a few visitors to Mwaam (the tourist destination in this study) assume that Mbororos (immigrant nomadic herders) are the indigenes of Muanenguba, they cannot be blamed, because there is no indigenous settlement in Mwaam (a destination considered to be the cradle by indigenes).

The ethnocentric approach to tourism stereotypes other cultures (Butler and Hinch, 1996: 317), simplifying history, misrepresenting social relationships, and misapprehending the spiritual and metaphysical ties that host communities have with their inherited territories (Hollinshead, 1996: 317). Within this framework, scholars, who have surveyed visual media such as travelogues, brochures, guidebooks, advertisements in magazines and newspapers, postcards, the development of virtual tourism, i.e. reaching sacred places through the Internet and television and the services of tourist guides (e.g. Dann, 1996a, 1996b; Edwards, 1996; Gurung *et al.*, 1996; Hughes, 1998; Rojek, 1998; Shackley, 2001; Mackay, 2005: 16, 25) criticise stereotyping tendencies or, as phrased by Edwards (1996: 197), transformed ‘ethnographic imagery’ resulting from personal judgement of destinations. This is based on the premise that tourist mentality and representation are connected. In the context of colonialism, such stereotypical ‘representation of otherness’ is linked to popularisation of accounts of travel and explorations in imperial lands (Hall and Tucker, 2004: 9). Wang (2000: 53, 143) considers such imagery to be neo-colonialist and biased: i.e. *critical authenticity*: ‘projection of Western consciousness and utopia’. Balz’s (1995) missionary account of culture in the Bakossiland, which challenges claims of the solidarity and cultural affinity of the people, is an eloquent



illustration of the influence of a visitor's Western Judaeo-Christian consciousness and inadequate destination knowledge.

Against accusations of inauthenticity, Hollinshead (1996: 345) argues that tourism can misrepresent but also reinstate culture and spirituality via commodification. Also, memories of leading destinations are considered to be 'theatrically mediated' (Hollinshead, 2004: 28). There may be an opportunity for appropriate image creation for Muanenguba, given that tourism is still nascent. In such a destination, Fisher (1994: 147) and Hollinshead (1996: 345) recommend correct and appropriate image creation and promotion in line with the 'real nature of aboriginal spirituality', in order to help indigenous/local communities survive the prejudice surrounding them. This reflects the primitive-environmental outlook on tourism, which emphasises that 'indigenous cultures are a superior human adaptation to the physical world and therefore require promotion' (Hollinshead, 1996: 317).

## 2.8 PREVIOUS STUDIES IN THE BAKOSSILAND AND MUANENGUBA

Travel to Muanenguba – the study area constituting part of the tribal Bakossiland – has stayed ahead of travel studies for a long time. Most studies around the area have been biological and anthropological. The most recent works (Wild, 2004b: 117, 118; Wild *et al.* 2004: 102, 110) offer evidence that numerous specialised studies on topics such as tropical forestry (e.g. Hamilton, 1972; Egbe, 2001; Lescuyer *et al.*, 2001), tropical geomorphology (e.g. Linton 1955), palaeoecology, botany and zoology (e.g. Maley, 1987) treat Muanenguba simply as part of a wider Cameroon mountains, Central African, Guinea-Congolian or afromontane phytogeographic region. Before 1990 this relegated Muanenguba to a situation of mere inference. An example of a study from which such inferences can be drawn is Hamilton's (1982: 257) environmental history: 'stages in the spread of Bantus' in Africa, with evidence from 'Stone Bowl Culture', between 1000 BC and 300 BC. This study, together with Commonwealth (undated) archives, offers evidence of the relics of Neolithic culture and settlement in the Bakossiland.

According to Cheek *et al.* (2004: 118), intelligence requirements inspired Western missionaries such as Balz (1995) and colonial administrators (e.g. German Colonial Society, 1906) to carry out superficial studies of communities in the Bakossiland and identify natural resources in Muanenguba, respectively. The information provided is



relevant to the cultural aspects that are now linking up with the development of tourism as investigated in this study. However, the subjective nature of the information and the foreign basis of the studies give a clue to their inadequacies. Tourism and sustainability were not considered as topics of inquiry.

Research information on natural resources relevant to current studies of tourism in Cameroon is available almost only where Western-sponsored eco-development projects have been operative e.g. the Mount Kupe Forest Project. This applies to Muanenguba, where until the year 2000, and although the Bakossiland animated Western environmentalism, such projects were based on Mount Kupe (which is not the tourist destination: see section 6.3.2). Scientific scholars simply entered Muanenguba in order to get biodiversity information. In the absence of such Western-sponsored nature conservation projects with a Muanenguba focus, CERUT (an indigenous NGO) surveyed and published relevant background information on geography and natural resource conservation. As mentioned in section 6.4.4, their 'partial statistics' on tourists (CERUT, 2000: 14; 2003: 5), although suspect, are the only anecdotal evidence of the collection of tourism data before this investigation.

The most comprehensive of all contributions to the anthropology of the Bakossiland is the indigenous-based publication of Ejedepang-Koge (1986), which followed studies from 1965. Together with archives of the colonial Political Department (1921/491), Ejedepang-Koge's publication lends credence to the idea that studies carried out during the colonial period have essentially served colonial administrative purposes. According to Wild (2004a: 118), the clans that now form the Bakossiland were marked out around the mid 19th century – a period of tribal wars and migration. Wild's study suggests that non-local/non-tourism factors such as colonialism contributed to the shaping of communities by changing clan boundaries.

Hedinger's (1987) linguistic study of Muanenguba, while including a wider area around Muanenguba, seems to consider that minor phonemic (pronunciation) varieties are a clue to a lack of intra-ethnic solidarity from prehistoric times, instead of diversity and an opportunity for varied tourism experiences. Consequent on this, Hedinger's study inaccurately considers clans in the Bakossiland to be distinct ethnic groups or tribes. This is helped by the search for village identity and the consequent fragmentation of long-established clan communities through the influence and



writings of indigenous notables, as demonstrated by the Elum village-based narrative of Ekaney (2004). According to Enongene (2002: 35), 'ritual life, worldview and psychosocial behaviour [of the Muanengoe peoples] is moulded from myths ... which can be understood as an articulated intelligible cosmos.' While this emically led assertion is an eloquent articulation of the relationship between people in the Bakossiland, their natural environment and the supernatural authenticated by this thesis (see section 5.4), the anthropological works of Ejedepang-Koge (1986) and Ekaney (2004) are descriptive exoticisations of the society of the Bakossiland. The CTIC 'tourism guide' (Pettang, 2002: 178) names Muanenguba and its Twin Lakes as a mountain tourism destination, and excludes it from the ecotourism domain, apparently because the Ministry's view of ecotourism is synonymous with protected areas. Until the time of writing of this research, such protected area initiatives were being only suggested rather than implemented for the Muanenguba mountain, i.e. the study area. The more recent bilingual version (Pettang, 2003: 9) testifies that the 'lack of full knowledge of such destinations' and the persistent difficulties involved in travel to destinations such as Muanenguba imply that Cameroon needs time to be a viable tourism destination.

This study has also relied on a geologic study on the volcanic evolution of Muanenguba by Dongmo *et al.* (2001) for inferences on the genesis and morphology of existing and potential natural attractions. Studies conducted by Western scientists (Cheek *et al.*, 2004), leading to an enlightening publication on plants, constitute a useful starting point for this study, although they are less accessible to the wider community in the Bakossiland. After a number of botanical expeditions, the study area has been described by these scientists as a 'top new centre of diversity' (Bennett, 2005: 3) – 'possibly the largest intact [about 85%] pristine block of submontane forest' in Africa (Cheek, 2004b: 6), making it among the top three destinations for birdwatching. Associated findings by Darbyshire (2004: 11–16) reveal that the Bakossiland (2,390 km<sup>2</sup>; Cheek, 2004b: 8) has a very high level of plant diversity (1.01 species/km<sup>2</sup>). This is the greatest among the Cameroon mountains resulting from Pleistocene microrefugia, with 4.4% (82 plant taxa) entirely, or almost entirely, restricted to the area; 258 plant taxa of uncertain identity; and 232 taxa in the IUCN Red Data list. Until 2004, poor documentation and a lack of adequate surveying caused Beentje (1994: 10) to assume that all African biodiversity 'hotspots', i.e. potential but not necessarily safari attractions, were



known and listed. The more recent findings highlight the uniqueness of the study area as a very special but less well known destination in Africa.

Cheek *et al.* (2004) also contribute to the local discourse on natural resource management in Bakossiland. As confirmed by them, environmentally led visits have been carried out in Bakossi for more than a century. However, 90% of the montane grassland area, comprising the tourism destination of Mwaam, remains 'botanically [like touristically] unexplored' (Cheek, 2004b: 63). These contributions of Cheek *et al.* (2004) are creditable out-of-the-discipline wisdom, given that botany was their primary interest. The Bakossiland also animated primatological research, carried out under the theme *Trekking Through Cameroon* (Morgan 2006), by scientists from the San Diego Centre for Reproduction (Conservation and Research) of Endangered Species (CRES). They found out that because of bushmeat hunting in the late 20th century, drill populations – a potential safari attraction – were reduced, but recovered from 1994 owing to participatory conservation strategies (Wild *et al.*, 2005: 759). Although the findings of Cheek *et al.* (2004) and Morgan (2006) did not constitute tourism studies, they contributed to inspire the development of ecotourism through what has locally become known as the *ecotourism initiative*, and implicitly through their suggestion of protected areas for sustainability (see section 6.4.1).

This study is the first of its kind in Muanenguba. Unlike previous studies it links ethnography and nascent tourism – including niches such as ecotourism – and cuts across the west (English) – east (French) aspects of Muanenguba created by colonialism. As described above, the existing literature – safe travel and expedition reviews on the Internet by a few visitors celebrating the *Otherness* of their experiences – is not based on tourism research. Research data on sustainable, eco- and responsible tourism are very scarce, or absent. This reflects a lack of understanding and underdevelopment of the tourism industry in the Bakossiland, as in other indigenous territories in Cameroon.

Zoological studies on frogs and fishes in Mwaam carried out by scientists from Harvard University and France from 2005 and 2008, respectively, were still continuing during this research. Internet reviews on what is labelled *Project Frog* (Blackburn, 2006) show that a reddish-brown frog species, *Phrynobatrachus manengoubouensis*, and another of the frog genus *Cardioglossa* are narrowly



endemic: that is, they can be viewed only in and around Mwaam. The idea of limited knowledge or novelty of the ecotourism concept in the Bakossiland is supported by a remark from a scientist (Jan Kamstra) in reaction to a blog created by Bethan Morgan of CRES in 2006. Kamstra makes reference to the fact that there seems to be a lack of good baseline data, despite the presence of conservation activities and research institutes in the Bakossiland since 1991.

## 2.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has reviewed and linked the existing literature on sustainable tourism and ecotourism, as well as indigenous peoples' involvement in nascent tourism. In this regard, a number of themes for debate have been examined, as follows.

Whatever the scale or stage of development, sustainable tourism – part of the wider sustainable development discourse – faces a variety of problems, such as methodological and conceptual problems, environment and community issues, as well as change and the emergence of alternative forms of tourism. While visitors to nascent tourism destinations are likely to experience a departure from conventional forms of tourism, most sustainable forms of tourism (especially ecotourism) remain untried and misunderstood in such places. In the meantime, the challenge of underdevelopment may lead actors to prefer development (tourism expansion) over sustainability.

For LDC destinations, advocates of the modernisation theory credit tourism and ecotourism for their contribution to economic development and environmental protection. This theory is limited in Muanenguba: although some visitors suggest modern ideas of sustainability in tourism practice, non-tourism-led Westernisation and shifting conceptions of culture have – as key agents of change – subordinated a century of tourism without significant progress. Neo-Marxists think that tourism leads to foreign domination and dependency, economic leakage, polarisation, structural inequalities, resentment among subordinate local people (political ecology) and change, e.g. environmental destruction, triggering poverty instead of ameliorating it. This is in addition to inadequate infrastructures and human resources. Dependency is evident in Muanenguba, owing to the dominance of visitors from colonialist countries. However, the near absence of foreign ownership of facilities



and external leakages, the existence of an indigenous political ecology, and the scant reliance of the wider community on nascent tourism limit the dependency theory.

While conservationists hail ecotourism as a tool for environmental protection and cultural promotion, sceptics argue that there is divergence between the principles and practices of ecotourism because of complicated market realities generally and, in the case of Muanenguba, novelty and varied understanding/engagement with concept at the nascent stage. In such a destination with indigenous characteristics, common patrimonial issues such as lack of or limited participation by the wider community, a disregard for intellectual/cultural property rights (access), non-authenticity (issues of reality or image), problems of cultural survival due to nascent tourism – an early form of globalisation (with limited homogenisation), commoditisation of culture, and acculturation exist, albeit insignificantly. Locally specific issues such as varied interpretation of place, sanctity and custodianship may also exist.

Previous studies (biological and anthropological) that contributed to the existing literature on Muanenguba and the Bakossiland, motivated by Western environmentalism, colonial and missionary intelligence, and indigenous wisdom have not treated the subject of tourism. The paucity of tourism data reflects the underdevelopment of the tourism industry and the ecotourism niche market in the Bakossiland, as in Cameroon as a whole.



Cameroon is ‘a global player at the periphery of mainstream society’  
(a Western TV documentary);  
‘Africa in miniature’ (National tourism literature e.g. Gwanfogbe *et al.*, 1992: 184)



# Chapter Three

## LITERATURE REVIEW: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN CAMEROON

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

Tourism development in Muanenguba is a reflection of the level of tourism development in Cameroon. This chapter presents the national perspective of the literature review. It starts with an introduction to Cameroon using a historical account of socio-economic development, into which tourism became incorporated from 1967. It situates tourism in Cameroon within the African domain, and overviews tourism development and organisation in Cameroon as a background to nascent tourism in Muanenguba. Constraints to development are also identified.

### 3.2 CAMEROON AND DEVELOPMENT

The present Cameroon, bordered in the west by Nigeria, in the north by Chad, in the east by the Republic of Central Africa and in the south by Congo, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea, is a post-colonial state formed out of the union of territories administered initially by Germany, and later by Britain and France (Atlas of Africa, 2000).

The main approach used by Germany to develop Cameroon from the coast to the hinterland has come to be known to Cameroonian economists as *diffusion modernisation* – the process of developing Cameroon using the country's existing economic comparative advantage, i.e. its good agricultural base. As part of this approach, the Germans explored the country and introduced Western industrial plantations – rubber, banana, and palm – and cash crops (coffee and cocoa). Early development in infrastructure was in the form of basic. From the time of British Cameroon – part of Nigeria – and French occupation (1916) to independence, such development, which later spread to the hinterland, was carried out by timber companies in exchange for what Acworth *et al.* (2001: 5) call '*salvage [timber] logging*'. Through a plebiscite, now celebrated annually as Youth Day, the British territory became independent in 1961, and chose to join the former French



Cameroon. The reunification took place on 1 October 1961, and was confirmed through a referendum on 20 May 1972. These public holidays and festivity days have contributed to make event tourism an aspect of developments in Cameroon (see section 6.2).

The post-colonial approach to development was broadly known as *nation-building* or national unity of the tribes. This involved government intervention in rural areas in order to carry out *territorial administration* (TA) and *rural development* (RD). This led to administrative areas with local councils controlling local income sources such as tourism fees (see section 6.2). Eyoh (2004) asserts that, in Cameroon, nation-building and sustainable development have been hindered by two related ideologies, namely, excessive *centralisation* of power, and *autochthony*, i.e. ‘elitism and selectionism’ (Ndongko and Tambo, 2000: 1, 2; Eyoh, 2004: 97). These ideologies have hindered sustainable tourism development, given that they have been applied in natural and tourism resource management for the entire post-colonial period. Notwithstanding the centralised approach to governance, for two decades following independence (up to 1984) Cameroon enjoyed an *economic miracle*, thanks to green revolutionist agriculture and the entry of Cameroon into the oil market.

Having enjoyed an economic boom from the late 1970s to the early 1980s, Cameroon was faced with an *economic crisis* in 1985–1986. The immediate causes were reductions in the world market prices of cocoa, coffee, rubber and oil, which were the main exports. To salvage the economic situation, international involvement became indispensable. Under the broad headings of the Structural Adjustment Programme, SAP (IMF, 2005a) and stabilisation, the IMF and the World Bank instituted corrective neo-liberal policies. Politically, the move towards sustainable *neo-liberal* development, i.e. *decentralisation*, emerged in the 1990s (Watts, 1994: 14; Eyoh, 2004: 97).

Notwithstanding, the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries’ Initiative (HIPIC) (IMF, 2005b), by the year 2000 the external debt burden was still high (IMF, 2000). Currently, according to a WHO report (undated), the United Nations Development Programme classifies Cameroon as a low-income, food deficit country (LIFDC). It has 16 million inhabitants, with an annual demographic growth rate of 2.8%. Cameroon has a human development index of 0.532, and is thus ranked 144th out of



177 countries in the 2007 Human Development Report. About 26% of the population is undernourished. Some 40.2% of the population live below the poverty line of one US dollar per day, of whom 52.1% are in rural areas. These WHO figures are, to an extent, suspect, because they include current refugees from Chad and the Central African Republic.

### 3.3 TOURISM IN AFRICA AND CAMEROON: AN OVERVIEW

Travel to Africa constituted 2.1% of global tourism in 1950. This figure had risen to 4.9% by 2007 (UNWTO, 2008: 3, 4). Africa saw an 84-fold increase in tourist arrivals – from 524,000 to 44.4 million – from 1950 to 2007 (UNWTO, 2008: 3). Tourism receipts, which did not increase concurrently before 1990, went up by 8% as Africa maintained her status as an emerging region. According to the UNWTO’s ‘Vision’ (Table 3.1), Africa, whose current tourist arrival growth rate is estimated at 5.5%, is expected to receive about 77 million by 2020, nearly three times the total for 2000 (*ibid*: 3, 10). This – the likely result of interregional and long-haul travel – would remain beyond the financial capacity of tourist destinations (UNWTO, 2008: 10). It is important to note, as discovered in Muanenguba (see section 8.6.3), that these projections are likely to be affected in the short term by uncertainties such as those created by the global credit crunch of 2008–2009 and national uprising of 2008.

Receiving regions	International tourist arrivals (millions)				Average annual growth rate, 1995–2020 (%)
	1995	2000	2010	2020	
Europe	336	393.5	527	717	3.0
Asia/Pacific	85	109.3	206	416	6.4
Americas	110	128.2	190	282	3.9
Africa	20	27.9	47	77	5.5
Middle East	14	24.4	36	69	7.1
Total	565	683	1,006	1,561	4.1

Table 3.1: Forecast of global inbound tourism by region.  
(Source: adapted from WTO, *Tourism 2020 Vision*, 1999a: 10 and UNWTO, 2008: 3, 10.)

Regionally, West Africa shows slower projected growth (Table 3.2) compared with the more popular regions of the north (Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia), east (Kenya) and south (South Africa, the leading destination, with 20% of all arrivals in 2007; WTO, 2008: 7). However, as a result of the reduction in travel to the north caused by



the Gulf War, West Africa gained more visitors in 1990 (WTO, 1990: 27). Tourism constitutes 3.5% of exports in West Africa (WTO, 1991: 6).

Region	Average annual growth rate (%)	International tourist arrivals, 2020 (millions)
Southern	7.5	36
Northern	3.9	19
Eastern	5.2	17
Western	3.4	5
Middle	2.2	1
Africa	5.5	77

Table 3.2: Growth rates of tourist arrivals in Africa by subregion, 1995–2020. (Source: WTO, *Tourism 2020 Vision*, 1999a: 12.)

In 1971 there were 29,500 tourist arrivals in Cameroon (Gwanfogbe *et al.*, 1992: 188). By 2000, the National Institute of Statistics (2002: 31) and WTO (2004a: 37) had recorded about 276,000 arrivals (a nine-fold increase: see Table 3.3). Information contained in the *Atlas of Africa* (2000: 82, 85) reveals that tourism is the third most significant foreign exchange earner in Cameroon, after agriculture and forestry. Yet many rural areas with potential attractions have not incorporated tourism in their local economies.

Region of origin	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Africa	76	81	89	100	105		80	89	98
Americas	21	22	23	13	14		12	10	9
Europe	138	146	150	100	99		83	68	63
East Asia and the Pacific	7	7	8	4	5		4	5	5
Middle East	4	4	6	1	1		5	2	4
Total	246	260	276	218	224		184	176	179

Table 3.3: Tourism arrivals in Cameroon by region (thousands).(Source: Adapted from *WTO Compendium of Tourism Statistics*, 2004a: 37, and 2008: 37; 2009: 37).

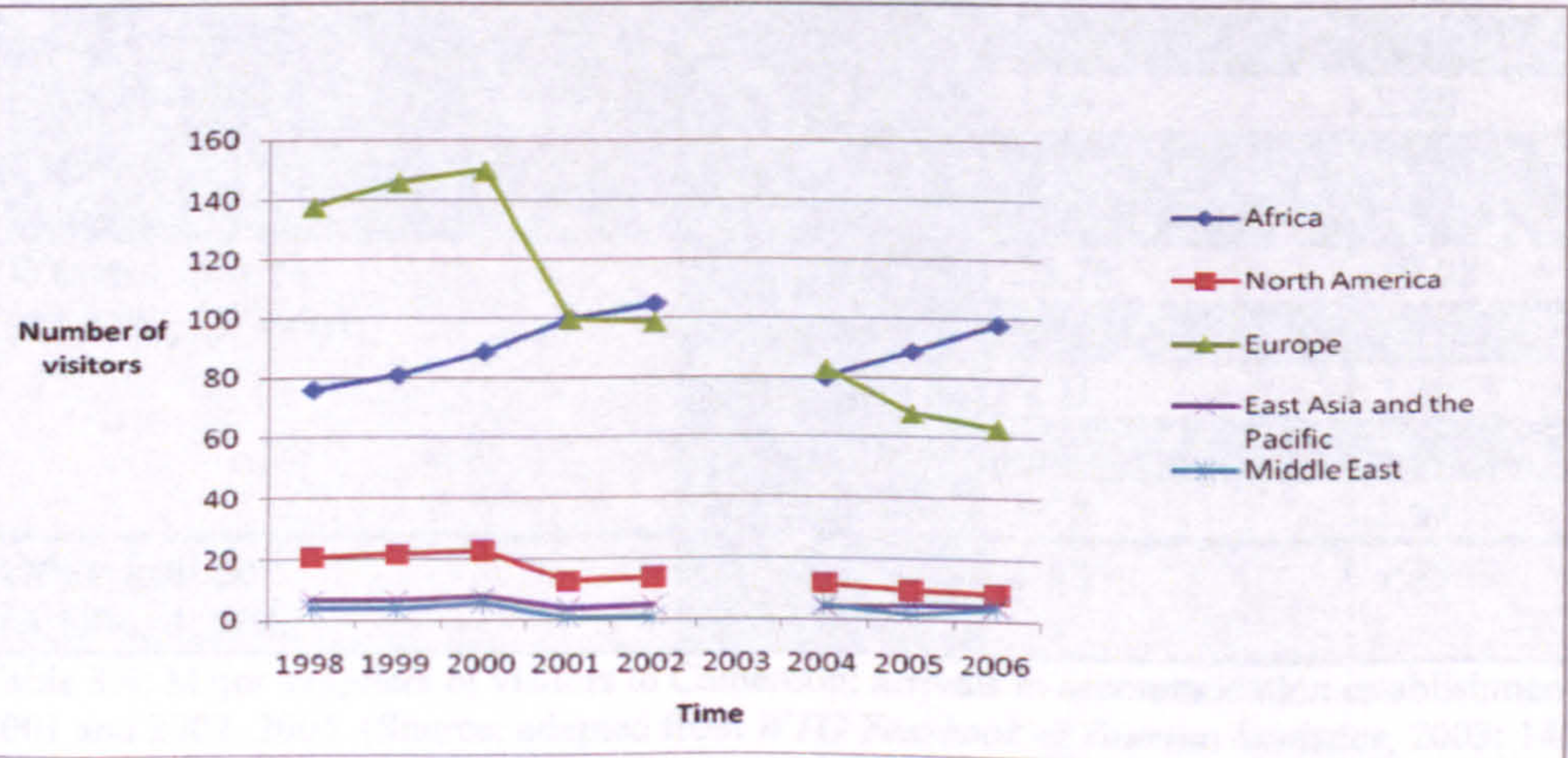


Figure 3.1: Tourism arrivals in Cameroon from 1998 to 2006 (Source: drawn using data from Table 3.3.)



Except for arrivals originating from the African continent, the reducing trend

Table 3.4 shows that, on a regional basis, most visitors to Cameroon at the end of the millennium (1997–2001) came from Europe (49.35%) and the African continent (33.25%). To be specific, Western Europe was the main contributor to the Cameroon tourism market (42.32%) (WTO, 2003: 145). The market share of the major regions of origin of visitors reveals that tourism was still developing along the lines of colonialism between 1997 and 2001. This is why the leading ex-colonial nations – France (29.78%) and Switzerland (5.70%), and to a lesser extent the UK and Germany – had significant market shares during this period, with the USA at 6.89% – being the only anomaly. Travel to Cameroon from France and Switzerland grew by about 82% and 22% respectively. On a country basis, while travel from other European countries reduced in the late 1990s, visitors from the USA, Sweden and the former USSR showed increased interest, by about 31%, 24% and 60% respectively for travel to Cameroon (WTO, 2003: 145). As shown in Figure 3.1, there was generally a slight increase in arrivals in Cameroon at the end of the 20th century (1999–2000). This corresponded to travels related to celebration of the end of the millennium, and the global media coverage of the volcanic eruption of Mount Cameroon in March 1999, and its recurrence a year later, in 2000. Conversely, the drop in arrivals in 2001 (especially from Europe and the USA) was due to the global security problems caused by the 9/11 terrorist incident.

Region (trends: 1997–2001 and 2002–2005)	Country	Market share, 1997–2001 (%)	Market share, 2002–2005 (%)
Africa (33.25%, 50.31%)	All African countries	33.25	50.31
North America (8.81%, 5.67%)	Canada	1.92	1.56
	USA	6.89	4.11
Central and Eastern Europe (0.56%, 0.70%)	Former USSR	0.56	0.70
Northern Europe (4.29%, 3.46%)	Sweden	0.43	0.58
	UK	3.86	2.88
Southern Europe (2.18%, 2.39%)	Italy	2.18	2.39
Western Europe (42.32%, 27.75%)	France	29.78	19.08
	Switzerland	5.70	2.11
	Germany	3.03	3.16
	Belgium	2.28	1.73
	Netherlands	1.55	1.67
Other Europe (4.58%, 4.29%)	All other Europe	4.58	4.29

Table 3.4: Major suppliers of visitors to Cameroon: arrivals in accommodation establishments 1997–2001 and 2002–2005. (Source: adapted from *WTO Yearbook of Tourism Statistics*, 2003: 145; 2007: 136.)



Except for arrivals originating from the African continent, the reducing trend continued for the period 2002–2005. The European share of arrivals dropped from 53.93% to 38.59%: those from Western Europe dropped from 42.32% to 27.75%, and those from North America dropped from 8.81% to 5.67% (WTO, 2007: 136). The African market shares grew – see Figures 3.2 and 3.3 – as arrivals from the continent increased from 33.25% to 50.31%. From 2002 to 2005 there was a slight increase in arrivals from former colonial country Germany, owing to the influence of GTZ; from the Netherlands, owing to the sustainable tourism activities of SNV; and from Italy, the former USSR, and Sweden. Overall, despite the drop in arrivals after 2001, the main former colonial country, France, remains by far the greatest contributor to tourism in Cameroon (19.08% from 2002 to 2005: see Figure 3.3).

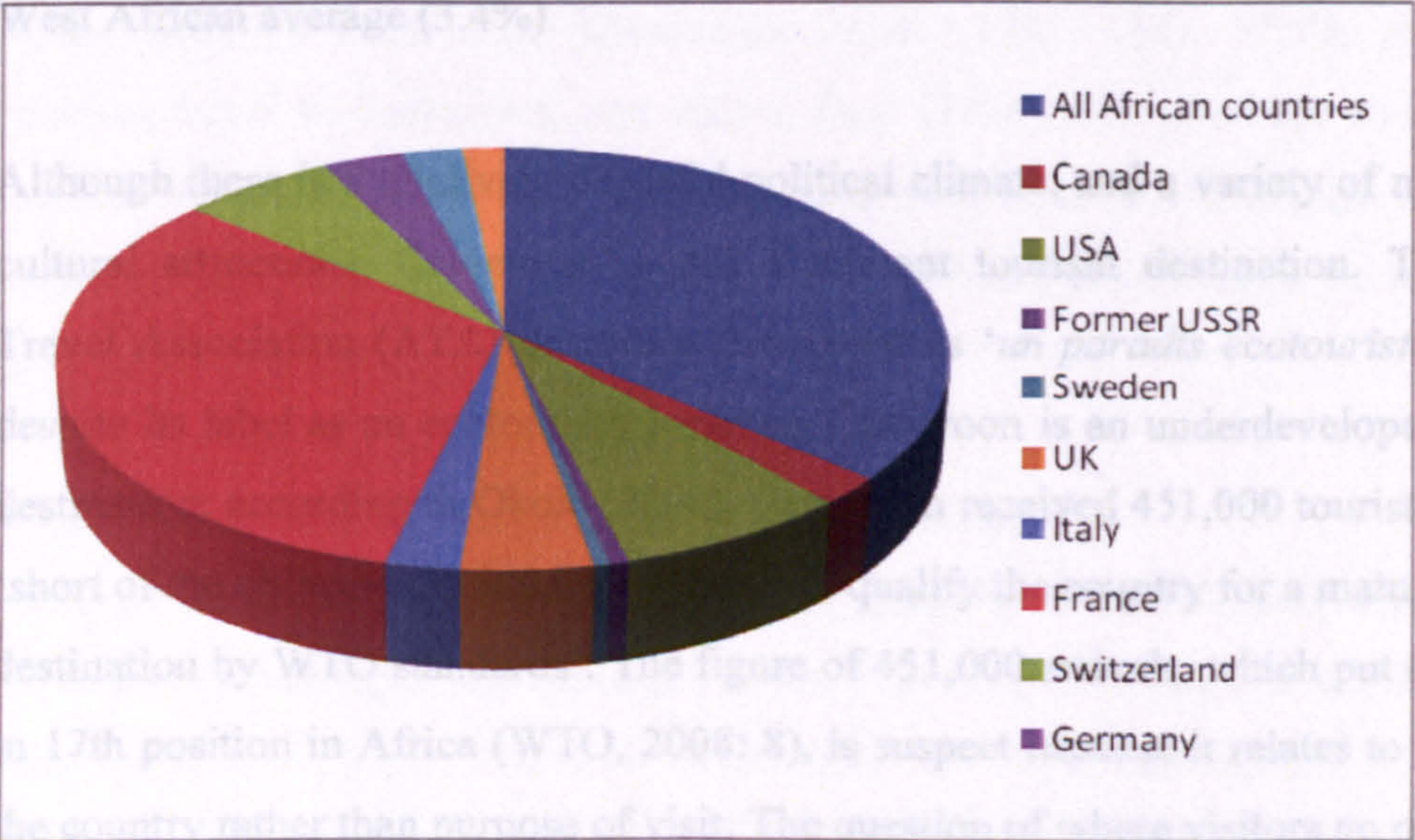


Figure 3.2: Market shares for main contributors to tourism in Cameroon, 1997–2001.  
(Source: produced from Table 3.4.)

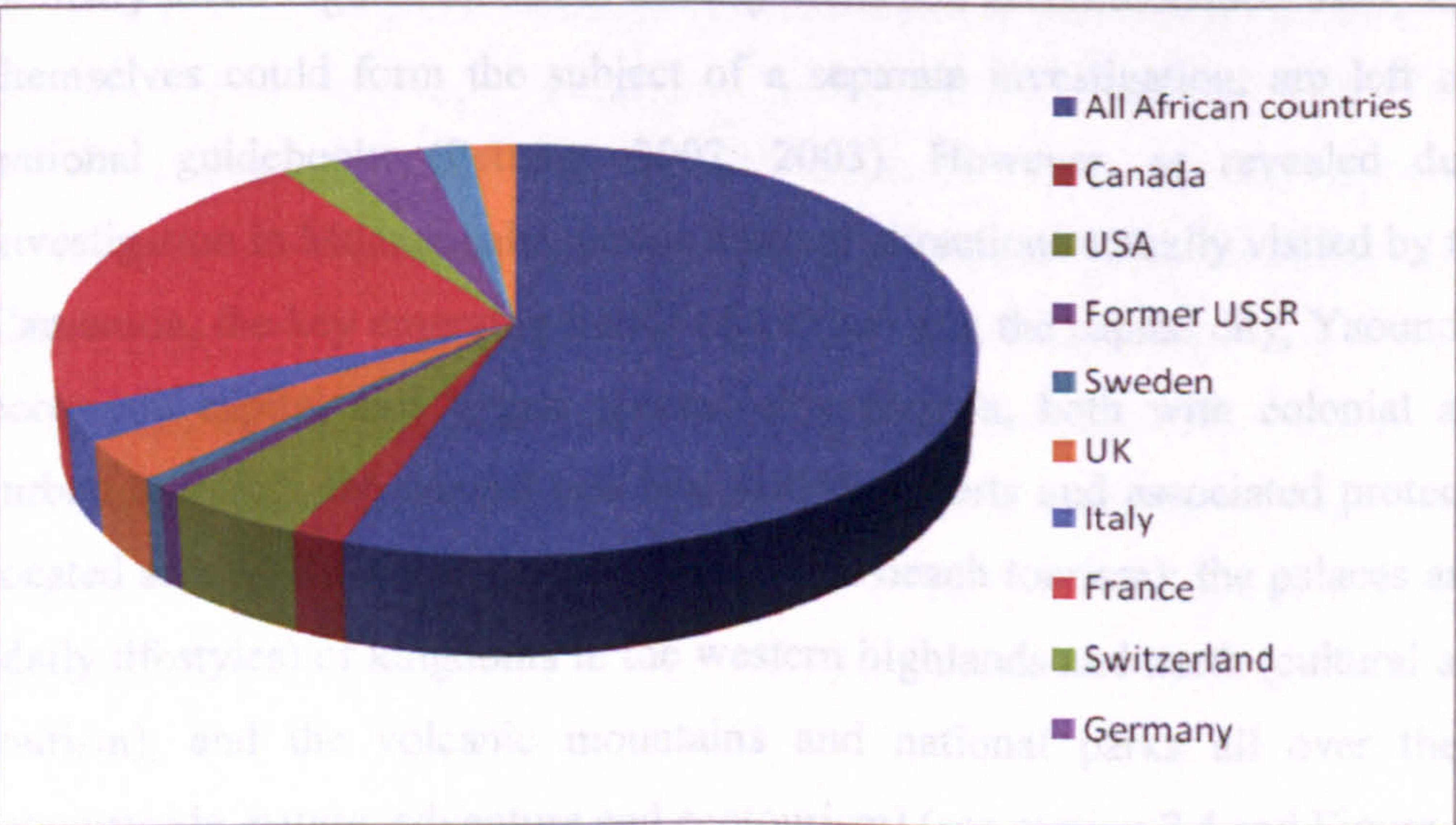


Figure 3.3: Market shares for main contributors to tourism in Cameroon, 2002–2005.  
(Source: produced from Table 3.4.)



During the 1980s Cameroon's tourist receipts declined from about \$185 million to about \$125 million, while arrivals remained stable (WTO, 1990: 43). This coincided with the decade of the economic crisis, when economic uncertainty dissuaded potential visitors and deterred foreign investment. As a result of wiser government spending resulting from the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), tourism receipts had picked up again by 1990. By 1998, revenue from tourist accommodation alone was estimated to be \$44 million (*Atlas of Africa*, 2000: 85). In 2006 total revenue from tourism was estimated at \$231 million, an increase of \$2 million from the previous year (WTO, 2009: 37). According to WTO's (1999a: 12) projection for the period 1995–2020, the growth rate of tourist arrivals to Cameroon is above the West African average (3.4%).

Although there is a relatively peaceful political climate, and a variety of natural and cultural attractions, Cameroon is still a nascent tourism destination. The Africa Travel Association (ATA) describes Cameroon as '*un paradis écotouristique*'. But despite its label as an ecotourism paradise, Cameroon is an underdeveloped tourism destination: according to Okole (2008), Cameroon received 451,000 tourists in 2006, 'short of the objective of 500,000 which will qualify the country for a mature tourism destination by WTO standards'. The figure of 451,000 arrivals, which put Cameroon in 17th position in Africa (WTO, 2008: 8), is suspect because it relates to entry into the country rather than purpose of visit. The question of where visitors go or stay, i.e. the actual use of tourism resources, is unanswered because of a lack of data at ministry level. Figures on actual holiday visits and accommodation used, aspects that themselves could form the subject of a separate investigation, are left out of the national guidebooks (Pettang, 2002; 2003). However, as revealed during this investigation in Muanenguba, on the basis of attractions actually visited by tourists in Cameroon, the key emerging trends of tourism are: the capital city, Yaoundé and the economic capital and largest coastal city, Douala, both with colonial attractions (urban tourism); the coastal beaches, seaside resorts and associated protected areas located around Kribi and Limbe (coastal and beach tourism); the palaces and people (daily lifestyles) of kingdoms in the western highlands and north (cultural and ethnic tourism); and the volcanic mountains and national parks all over the country (countryside, nature, adventure and ecotourism) (see section 7.4 and Figure 3.4).



### 3.4 EXISTING AND POTENTIAL RESOURCES FOR TOURISM IN CAMEROON

Gwanfogbe *et al.* (1992: 184, 186) state that Cameroon has ‘a rich touristic heritage’. This is because a trip from the Atlantic coast in the south-west to Lake Chad in the north has the potential to present every traveller with the experience of breathtaking variation in the natural landscapes and corresponding ethnic diversity (civilisations and cultures; kingdoms, dynasties, homes and lifestyles). This diversity has been paralleled by a number of inviting and tourism-induced literary representations. National tourism literature envisions the country as *Africa in miniature*: a country whose cultural and natural diversity offers the opportunity for a tourist to rediscover Africa within a small area (Gwanfogbe *et al.*, 1992: 184). Whilst referring to business travel to Cameroon, one visitor, Bird (2004), described the country as ‘a tourism Mecca in the raw’. Considering that tourism is still underdeveloped, it is useful to briefly describe all that the literature considers as objects of the tourist gaze (potential and existing) in Cameroon.

#### 3.4.1 National landscapes for tourism development.

National literature identifies a diversity of landscapes and tourism attractions in Cameroon (Gwanfogbe and Melingui, 1983: 112–116; Gwanfogbe *et al.*, 1992: 184–189; Kuete *et al.*, 1993: 130–131; Neba, 1999: 173–179; Pettang, 2002). There are cascading tropical rivers with high discharge associated with waterfalls, e.g. the Sanaga, Wouri and Nkam, on which the Ekom Nkam Falls (considered in this study) are situated. There are volcanic mountains running south-west to north, including Mounts Cameroon, Kupe, the Rumpi Hills, Nlonako, Muanenguba, Oku, Chabal Mbabo and Mandara, etc. (Figure 3.4). Some of the mountains contain volcanic crater lakes, such as the unique Twin Lakes of Muanenguba, the studied destination (see Chapter One); escarpments, e.g. the Bamenda Escarpment; and volcanic necks and dykes, e.g. the Rhumsiki and Kapsiki. These contrast with plateaux and plains. The mountainous scenery ‘offers alpinists all the difficulties and pleasures of hiking’ (Gwanfogbe *et al.*, 1992: 184). Sandy beaches around the seaports of Kribi, Limbe and Douala, as well as creeks in Tiko, constitute a picturesque coastal area.



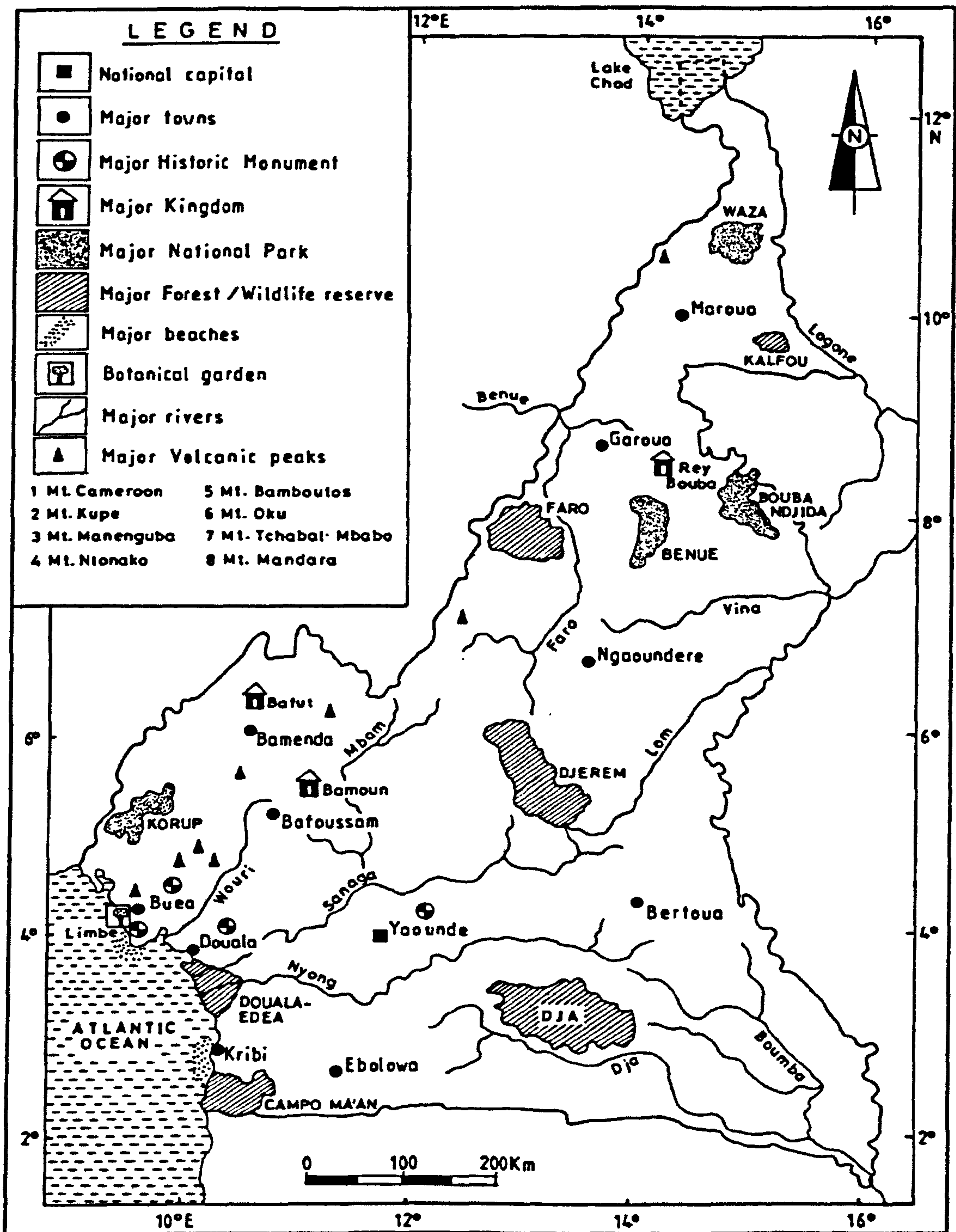


Figure 3.4: Some tourism destinations and protected areas in Cameroon. (Map drawn by Cletus Forba.)



In terms of biodiversity, Cameroon boasts many unique ‘species of African fauna’ (Gwanfogbe *et al.*, 1992: 185; Kuete *et al.*, 1993: 130). This has animated Western determinism in the form of scientific expeditions – exploration/nascent tourism – since the 1950s with evidence from Durrell (1954) and notably in the 1990s (Cheek *et al.*, 2004). In Bird’s (2004) review of Cameroon, ‘the landscape and points of interest changed ... every few hours; there [is] always a new sight or sound to draw one’s attention’.

### **3.4.2 Human features for tourism development.**

In Cameroon, a colonial heritage lends itself to tourism, with monuments and vestiges from the country’s triple German, British and French colonial past (Ngade, 2005: 6), as well as Baptist, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic missionary traditions. Some colonial and missionary relics include: the former Prime Minister’s Lodge in Buea (a former German capital); the monument and palace of the famous King Bell in Douala; the monument to the famous missionary Alfred Saker on the Atlantic coast in Limbe; and monuments to mark the colonial era and independence, such as the Monument la Pagoda in Yaoundé, the administrative capital, famously envisioned as the ‘land of seven hills’ (Pettang, 2002: 42, 102, 131, and 189). The urban centres of Cameroon are described as ‘visitor-friendly’ (Bird, 2004). There are attractive city marketing centres, handicraft centres and museums in Yaoundé and Douala. In the villages, regular markets both display local traditional economies.

Hotels and associated leisure areas have increased over the years, but as with tourism itself, data on accommodation are scarce. National authors (Gwanfogbe and Melingui, 1983; Gwanfogbe *et al.*, 1992; Kuete *et al.*, 1993) argue that the government has always sought to increase the number of hotel rooms because of high demand. On a brief visit to Cameroon, Behrens (2005) estimated that there are more than 300 hotels of international standard and adequate capacity. This observation was oversimplified, because only a proportion of the hotels meet international standards. Both the state and private entrepreneurs – a few indigenes and foreign – own hotels. As presented in Pettang (2003: 34–35), accommodation types range from camping huts – called ‘encampments’ – in the national parks of Waza, Campo Ma’an, etc., owned by the Ministry of Tourism, through a diversity of privately owned accommodation types, some referred to as ‘recommendable two-star hotels’ (*ibid.*: 34) in various towns, to large international standard luxury/business hotels owned by



transnational corporations (TNCs) in the two cities of Yaoundé and Douala. Table 3.5 shows some all-inclusive hotels of international standard – with evidence of a strong TNC presence – which regularly receive different types of international tourists.

Gwanfogbe and Melingui (1983: 114), Gwanfogbe *et al.* (1992: 185), Kuete *et al.*

Hotel and rating	Type/ownership	Location	Capacity
Hilton Hotel (*****)	TNC (shared ownership: state and Hilton)	Yaoundé	257 rooms and Suites
Mont Febe Hotel (*****)	State-owned	Yaoundé	22 suites
Mercure Hotel (***)	TNC of the ACCOR chain (foreign)	Yaoundé	98 rooms and suites
Hotel Franco (****)	Privately owned (foreign)	Yaoundé	78 rooms and suites
Akwa Palace Hotel (****)	State-owned	Douala	—
Le Meridien Hotel (****)	TNC of the Starwood Hotels and Resorts chain (shared ownership between national and foreign)	Douala	141 rooms
Ibis Hotel (***)	TNC of the ACCOR chain (foreign)	Douala	160 rooms and suites
Serena Palace Hotel (***)	Privately owned (foreign)	Douala	73 rooms
Hotel Ayaba (***)	State-owned	Bamenda	100 and suites
Minotel Seme Beach Cameroon (***)	Privately owned beach resort	Limbe	—
Hotel Ilomba	Privately owned beach resort	Kribi	16 rooms and bamboo huts

Table 3.5: Popular hotels in Cameroon. (Source: CTIC Douala airport and <http://www.southtravels.com/africa/cameroon/destinations.html#yaounde>)

Some of these hotels accept international cards such as Visa, for payments. In addition, major high street banks located within 5 km from these hotels now have automatic teller machines (ATM), bureaux de change and money transfer services. One ATM is also operative at the main Douala International Airport, although not all the time. Because of the absence of ecolodges, Behrens (2005) observes that the accommodation system in Cameroon is inadequately prepared for ecotourism.

There are formalised mountaineering adventures in Buea on Mount Cameroon, and golf courses in Tiko and in Yaoundé, in the grounds of the Mont Febe Hotel. These sporting avenues offer amateurs and professionals opportunities to be involved in sports tourism. The famous mountain race dubbed ‘The Guinness Mount Cameroon Race of Hope’ (Pettang, 2002: 190) brings professional mountaineers and amateur citizens together in February each year in Buea, on the slopes of Mount Cameroon. This mountain was referred to by the earliest known explorer, Hanno from Carthage,



as ‘*The Chariots of the gods*’ (*ibid*: 190). This legendary representation has been adopted in national literature as a tribute to the ancestors who are thought to inhabit the mountain’s core.

Gwanfogbe and Melingui (1983: 114), Gwanfogbe *et al.* (1992: 185), Kuete *et al.* (1993: 131), Neba (1999: 173–176) and Pettang (2002) commonly proclaim that Cameroon contains more than 200 tribes, each with its unique tradition and, in some regions, shared tradition. The country is ‘among the world’s most ethnically heterogeneous societies’ (Eyoh, 2004: 97). About 24% of Cameroonians (including those in the Bakossiland) still believe in native religion, about 21% are Muslims, and the rest are Christians in the south (Ngade, 2005: 7). According to Heritage Tours Inc. (2005: 1), what makes Cameroonians different in Africa is ‘their zest for life and open curiosity regarding people from other parts of the world’.

Most notable cultural tourism attractions are the palaces and *sares* of the fondoms, *chefferies*, lamidats and sultanates found in the Western Highlands, e.g. Bali, Bafut, Baffoussam and Foumban, as well as in the north, e.g. Mbibbar in Ngaoundere, Rey Bouba around Garoua, and Kokatare around Maroua (Pettang, 2002: 111–125): see map in Figure 3.4 . The western Highlands region is dubbed ‘the land of folklore and tradition’ by virtue of its surviving palaces and its appeal for cultural tourism.

Cultural festivals in Cameroon have ritualistic meaning, and provide arenas where indigenous people commemorate myths that can be translated for wide audiences (Pettang, 2002: 134–137). An example is the annual *Sawa* celebration of the coastal tribes. Festivals like this provide showcases for cultural richness and identity. The National Festival of Arts and Culture (FENAC), hosted in turn by the various provincial capitals, is an annual national event attended by visitors from abroad and resident expatriates, and aimed at displaying cultural diversity, national unity and identity.

### **3.4.3 Background to ecotourism development in Cameroon.**

Cameroon is progressively adopting ecotourism as a means of building an appreciation of nature and indigenous cultures into the tourist experience. Woods (2007: 18) found that a local environmental group, Green Care, is internationally aided by BTCV UK in promoting village-scale ecotourism in Shisong, in the



Western Highlands. The Mount Cameroon Ecotourism Organisation is also similarly operating in the west coast region, covering Mount Cameroon. Ecotourism ethics in Cameroon can be traced from the old African value of ‘taking care of cultural properties’ (as indicated in section 5.5.1). This has been the ‘foundation for their conservation ethics which in modern terms is called sustainability’ (Ngade, 2005: 18). Existing and new protected areas for ecotourism constitute modern versions of the indigenous sacred groves (see section 5.5.4).

While Cameroon remains a relatively unknown destination for ecotourism compared with areas such as Kenya, South Africa and Botswana, the wide diversity of natural and culture resources provides a significant potential for ecotourism (Behrens, 2005). There is persuasive evidence to show that the foundations of nature-based (eco)tourism – Western environmentalism in the tropics – were laid as far back as the late 19th century. Excellent literary works on plants, animals, people and customs by earlier travellers such as David Livingstone created a great sensation among western European youth (Ardener, 2002: 24), and triggered individual travels with untold impacts on indigenous territories in Africa. The revision of a *memoir* on *Swedish Ventures in Cameroon* by Ardener reveals that in what was originally aimed to be adventure tourism to get away from unemployment, ‘neutral expatriates’ from Sweden stayed in the west coast of ‘Kamerun’ just before the famous German Annexation in 1884 (*ibid*: 5). During their tours of the coastal area, which lasted for about a decade (from 1883), the expatriates were hunting species of animals that were more abundant, while protecting elephants and chimpanzees for safaris using village guides (*ibid*: 42, 43). By hiking, travelling, safaris and plant specimen collection (*ibid*: 41), they discovered, introduced and propagated local rubber in the Limbe Botanical Garden (Watts, 1994). Although environmentally friendly travel was informal, and not mandatory, the practice of setting up rudimentary factories and employing local people entirely from local natural resources (Ardener, 2002: 4, 11) was modernising and developmental. In particular, the protection of megafauna and propagation of potential cash-cropping plant species was ethically responsible, albeit unformalised.

Since the creation of the Limbe Botanical Garden – the largest in Africa – by a German horticulturalist in 1892 (Watts, 1994: 9; Pettang, 2002: 166), with the initial objective of propagating exotic Cameroonian species, protected areas (including



botanic gardens, zoos, national parks and forest reserves), classified in the national guidebook as 'ecotourism' destinations (Pettang, 2002: 148; Figure 3.4), have always been created and maintained in Cameroon for biodiversity research and tourism.

As part of participatory biodiversity conservation, the Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV) set up an inter-communal partnership in the Kribi-Campo (south) coastal area under the theme 'sustainable tourism and local development'. This created a particular 'opportunity for experimenting the transfer of responsibilities' of sustainable tourism from central to local government in the process of decentralisation (Kaigama and Tsobze, 2005: 4). In the south, i.e. the most remote forest region, as well as drawing up a management plan for the Campo Ma'an National Park (WWF CARPO, 2004: 2) and lobbying for the tropical forest property rights of the indigenous community of the pygmies (WWF CARPO, 2006: 2), the WWF has managed safari hunting as part of legal hunting in the Jengi Forest Project (JFP) under the theme 'hunting, conservation and poverty alleviation'. The sport hunters are visitors who demand and pay for local hotels, catering, transportation and security, thereby contributing to local benefits (WWF, 2004: 5).

### 3.5 DEVELOPMENT AND ORGANISATION OF TOURISM IN CAMEROON

Cameroon is still an underdeveloped tourism destination; but this is not due to a lack of late effort. National Archives (No. 1609/1962) in Buea show that colonial administrators carried out expeditions and surveys for intelligence by way of touring the country, and introduced tourism – trips for colonial employees – as part of colonial practice. Tourism was initially identified as a potential contributor to the economy in 1967, when post-independent Cameroon (under the auspices of the then National Tourism Office) joined the rest of the world for the first time to celebrate the International Tourism Year. This went with the motto 'Tourism at the service of all and for all' (see also section 6.2). Through this event, the Federal Republic of Cameroon began to consider that:

*'tourism, long ago taken as appendage of a few privileged people, has become...an efficacious means of nations to know each other ... and solve together many problems for the general interest of mankind and the welfare of all'* (National Archive No. 1609/1962).

Therefore, following the reunification of West and East Cameroon in 1972, the government of Cameroon (GoC) granted, within its development framework (see



Chapter One), a special status to tourism through the creation of the *Délégation Générale du Tourisme* (DGT) in 1975. The 1970s to the 1980s were also decades of hotel development. Each provincial headquarters was intended to have a state-owned hotel, in addition to state encouragement of foreign investment in hotels. In terms of the standards of hotels, this initiative, like others since the colonial period, appeared to create inequalities by disfavours the poorer north and favouring the southern and coastal urban centres, such as Douala, Buea and the capital city of Yaoundé. DGT became the *National Tourism Organisation* (SOCATOUR) in 1985. This transformation featured the creation of the National School of Hotel Management and Tourism (Ecole Nationale d'Hôtellerie et de Tourisme) by Presidential Decree number 87/697 of May 1987 (MINTOUR, 1990, in Ngade, 2005: 13) to train hospitality staff and tourism technicians to work at tourist destinations. SOCATOUR was developed into a full ministry in 1988 (Gwanfogbe and Melingui, 1983: 115; Gwanfogbe *et al.*, 1992: 186; Kuete *et al.*, 1993: 131).

The Ministry of Tourism (MINTOUR) oversees the tourism industry, and implements activities under the theme of *using tourism to alleviate poverty* in Cameroon. It had what is dubbed an 'ambitious tourism policy' (Gwanfogbe *et al.*, 1992: 186), and is currently responsible for policy formulation and implementation of national tourism development programmes, and for tourist infrastructure, such as state-owned hotels, working in collaboration with the relevant public sector agencies. Tourism development efforts are beset by limited capacity resulting from inadequate training materials and finance, a poor internal hierarchical structure and bureaucratic procedures (Behrens, 2005). A private company – private in principle, but influenced by the state – called *Aéroports du Cameroun* (ADC) was created in 1993 to manage all airports and airfields (Pettang, 2003: 17).

The Ministry of Environment and Forestry (MINEF) is involved in tourism. MINEF's Directorate of Fauna and Protected Areas (DEAP) is responsible for the management of protected areas (safari destinations). Fees paid by foreign companies for various uses of the forest go to the ministry's Special Fauna Fund (SFF) (Behrens, 2005), which is used for the promotion of tourism. The SFF and the National Tourism Advisory Council (NTC) were formed by state decrees in 1998 (CERUT, 2000: 13) in order to redynamise 'tourism which for a long time has been neglected' (Pettang, 2002: 2).



The National Ecotourism Strategy (NES) in Cameroon is embedded in the national strategy for poverty alleviation (Ngade, 2005: 29). As part of NES, the National Ecotourism Committee (NEC) was created in 2001 (Behrens, 2005) just before the IYE and IYIP. Its responsibilities have been to: identify appropriate attractions, and repair roads to increase access; formalise immigration and tourist visa procedures, and reduce harassment by security officers; conceive awareness programmes; participate in global events; 'valorise touristic sites'; widen the telecommunication and media network; popularise 'interactive information' (the Internet); and emphasise tourism in school syllabuses (Pettang, 2002: 192). The NES also involved initiatives to encourage cooperation with and representation from MINEF, MINTOUR, NGOs, local councils, hunters' associations, wildlife management committees, women's groups, chiefs, travel agents, the mountain climbers' union, and so on (Pettang, 2003: 7; Behrens, 2005). However, interviews with officials at Douala Airport reveal that the NEC's domination by MINTOUR, and resentment by inadequately represented stakeholders, has discouraged all non-state organisations e.g. Association of Ecotourism Operators (ASTOC) failed to take off (Ngade, 2005: 13). The NTC holds biennial meetings to review and discuss tourism concerns, but does not make decisions based on socio-economic justice. The Mount Cameroon Ecotourism Organisation (MCEO Project) in Buea remains the only pilot scheme – out of 10 proposed by NEC – that was created effectively and is operational (Behrens, 2005), under the sponsorship of the German GTZ and DED.

Another action within NES was the creation of tourism information bureaux at Douala, Yaoundé, Garoua and Maroua airports in 2001. The bureaux together formed the Tourism Information Cooperation (CTIC) (Pettang, 2003: 9). Separately from NES, in 2001 MINTOUR succeeded in twinning some Cameroonian towns with others in different parts of the world for cultural exchange. This contributed to bringing about the American Eductour and conference for sensitisation on ecotourism and indigenous affairs, organised by the Africa Travel Association (ATA) (Pettang, 2002: 9). In the following year (2002), the bureaux contributed to publication of the first ever national guidebook, *Cameroon Tourism Guide*. A tourism information bureau for Europe was created in Paris, France, during the same year. The objective – a key aspect of the NES – was to market Cameroon in order 'to



pull at least [achieve the target of] 500,000 tourists' to Cameroon annually, and qualify as a 'known destination' by WTO standards (Pettang, 2002: 2, 192).

Notwithstanding all these efforts, Cameroon's only airline went bankrupt in 2004. It is alleged by Douala airport staff that this was 'because of mismanagement, leading to unpaid loans to fuel suppliers in France, and failure of the last airplane to pass safety checks at Charles De Gaulle Airport in France'. National flights are very scarce, and predominantly connect the two key cities of Yaoundé and Douala, as well as north-south trips to and from Garoua. In general, the airports of Cameroon are substandard, and under-utilised for tourism.

### 3.6 BENEFITS OF AND CONSTRAINTS TO TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN CAMEROON

National writers on geography (Gwanfogbe and Melingui, 1983; Gwanfogbe *et al.*, 1992) identify several benefits of tourism. In the absence of nationally published statistics on the benefits, this investigation uses trips to Cameroonian cities (Yaoundé and Douala) to confirm with examples that tourism has led to the employment of both males and females in hotels and in parks, such as the Campo Ma'an Park, Waza Park and Dja Wildlife Reserve. Tourism has also led to the enhancement of gender roles, with more women involved in catering in hotels, men involved in urban transport, and female entrepreneurship. Tourism has led to the protection of some natural and cultural attractions. It also contributes to national income from the business taxes paid by hoteliers. It has enhanced national identity (e.g. urban tourism based on colonial architecture), local identities (e.g. symbolic assets such as palaces in the Western Highlands), traditional houses such as the *ndab echum* in Bakossiland, and international cooperation, e.g. through business tourism (Bird, 2004). However it is commonly remarked that Cameroon (including Muanenguba) does not fully enjoy the benefits of its rich heritage because of the problems – political, socio-economic and environmental, in that order – inhibiting tourism development.

Socially, HIV/AIDS-related sex tourism – in a very broad sense – has been uncovered, filmed and criticised by the international media. For example, this involves teenage girls in hotels in Douala (de Ginestel and Renaud, 2007). MINTOUR is collaborating with stakeholders to campaign against sex tourism as



part of the policy of fighting HIV/AIDS. In Cameroon, sex tourism is driven by poverty, and the low material standards of local people. It is thus difficult to control.

Indigenous communities in Cameroon blame tourism and protected area development prompted by Western environmentalism – the early stages of tourism – for limited access to their natural resources, e.g. for around the Dja Reserve and Campo Ma'an Park, and for grazing in the savannah areas of the north; intervention in metaphysical ties with their indigenous territories (as indicated in Muanenguba – see section 5.4.5); loss of their heritage and identities and youth suggestibility to the adoption of Western attitudes (Neba, 1999; Acworth *et al.*, 2001, Lescuyer *et al.*, 2001; Ngade, 2005). In particular, Neba (1999: 183) and Ngade (2005: 23) noted the illegal commoditisation of communal intellectual property. An example is the Afoa Akom statue, taken from the North-West Province to the USA in 1966. According to Neba (1999:184), tourism in Cameroon is to blame for the 'reinforcement of stereotypes' and inauthentic images of underdevelopment.

In the environmental domain, most forested destinations of Cameroon, such as the Bakossi Highlands (see section 1.4.8), face threats to biodiversity. This has negative implications for the development of sustainable forms of tourism. These stem from uncontrolled and illegal harvesting of artisanal timber, fuelwood and *Prunus africana*, timber exploitation by Western companies, bushmeat-hunting, poaching and trapping (Malleson, 1993; Acworth *et al.*, 2001).

### 3.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Cameroon is a post-colonial state whose development has been determined by overriding paradigms and policies. This has been in the order of *modernising processes*, including colonial diffusion modernisation and salvage exploitation, post-colonial nation-building (national unity), territorial administration and rural development, and parallel *postmodern sustainable development processes* comprising integrated rural development, Western environmentalism and neo-liberalisation – that is, decentralisation as an aspect of structural adjustment (SAP). The post-colonial and postmodern strategies have been beset by ongoing 'politics of belonging' (centralisation), autochthony (elitism), and in particular the economic crisis in the late 1980s to the early 1990s, following an economic miracle from the late 1970s to the early 1980s.



In terms of tourism (the third largest foreign exchange earner), Cameroon is considered to represent *Africa in miniature*. From the forested, coastal south and south-east to the Sahelian north, Cameroon presents every visitor with diversity in its natural features – ecological and wildlife sanctuaries, mountains, lakes, tropical rivers, climates, etc. – and cultural features – folklore, enduring kingdoms, festivals, tales, created by over 200 ethnic groups and traditional lifestyles. There are also hotels of international standard, golf courses, mountaineering attractions and colonial relics. These resources offer various opportunities for different existing but underdeveloped types of tourism, such as urban tourism, coastal and beach tourism, cultural tourism, countryside, nature and ecotourism. Based on Cameroon's development potential, which includes tourism, a Western TV documentary assessed it as 'a global player at the periphery of mainstream society'

However, despite Cameroon's being labelled as an ecotourism paradise by some visitors, its tourism industry is still underdeveloped by WTO standards. In the meantime, the society is complex. There are regional inequalities between north (continental-Sahelian and poor) and south (forested, coastal and rich), as well as between villages and towns, causing inter-regional migrations since colonial times, and generating a variety of community issues in coastal tourism destinations. Besides centralisation (already noted), state incapacity, lack of an effective national strategy for tourism, inadequate understanding and engagement with sustainable forms of tourism, mismanagement of the aviation sector and poverty for destination communities constitute constraints to tourism development.



Inquiry in science and interpretation – modern or postmodern – depends upon the coexistence of ‘a diversity of viable yet mutually contradictory’ methodological practices or discursive hybrids. This transcends present-day disciplinary and interdisciplinary boundaries - a ‘third path’ to knowledge  
(Hall, 1999: 1-9).



# **Chapter Four**

## **THE RESEARCH PROJECT: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS**

### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter is a graphic illustration of how the roles of indigene and research were played during fieldwork. This was through community-based and access-point-generated research strategies, i.e. interactions with three ‘groupings’ of actors in and around Muanenguba: (1) fellow indigenes – villagers and elites; (2) developers – hoteliers, councils and regional authorities (delegations and visitor access point security personnel); (3) nomadic and other immigrants as well as tourists. Such interactions were aimed at gaining indigenous knowledge (IK), privileged in part by my *mua'mbuog* (i.e. indigene) status (see section 4.8), and capturing nascent tourism practices. The objectives were: (i) to identify the natural features linked to nascent tourism; (ii) to examine the material culture and analyse the norms and values of the host community; (iii) to describe local involvement and interaction in tourism; (iv) to identify and discuss practices consistent with ecotourism principles and related factors; and (v) to identify the impacts and problems of tourism development. The chapter contains epistemological frameworks in social science allied to analyses of the sociocultural aspects of tourism – ethnography – and the creation of a tourism profile. The data types and sources, how they were collected, and the key and other informants (hosts and visitors – Appendix 4) who contributed information have been described. Methods of analysis and presentation of data have been explained. The chapter ends with a brief description of the merits of the data collection methods applied in the study.

### **4.2 ETHNOGRAPHY AND TOURISM RESEARCH**

The global pace of human practices such as tourism development and interaction has placed the ‘social sciences [the search for interpretation and meaning: indigenous principles, rules, explanation, etc. as in Chapter Five] at the centre of contemporary epistemology’ (Bohman, 1991: viii). An investigation of such practices seeks



complexity by looking at actual social practices rather than focusing only on unity (idealised reconstructions or causation – object, action, cause, etc.) (*ibid*: vii).

This research consists in studying an ethnic location (the Bakossiland) and a local culture, contexts in which nascent tourism has been operating for more than a century. This activity is characterised by mechanisms, degrees and extents of change as visitors meet, see and interact with locals (MacLeod, 2004: 10), and as the social structures and cultures of the host society become linked to nascent tourism. The methodology – the investigation framework – for the sociocultural aspects of the study will follow the social research method of ethnography (Agar, 1986: 12; Silverman, 2000: 37). Ethnography is ‘the situated, empirical description of peoples and races’ – members of an ethnic group or society (Walsh, 1998: 219; Rock, 2001: 30). Some poststructuralists or critical social scientists (e.g. Denzin, 1997: 5–6) criticise ethnographic methods – data collection and interpretivist/constructivist strategies – on the bases of representation, citing gaps between reality, experience, and expression of experience, and legitimation, credibility, and validity. They are in favour of the ‘received view’ of science or quantitative research, which is based on the testing of hypotheses (Agar, 1986: 16, 70) and the use of statistics. In their opinion, quantification provides objective data, and offers greater possibilities for replication (Bulmer, 1983: 18). The ontological basis of qualitative/ethnographic research is related to additional issues such as consistency and transparency of analysis (Guthrie and Thyne, 2007: 2). It is further argued in material culture studies that ethnographic writing strips away the fundamental non-verbal qualities of the subjects investigated (Tilley, 2001: 268).

Traditional positivists (e.g. RAI, 1951; Denzin, 1997: 6–7) support ethnographic (qualitative) approaches for creating rules and procedures that reference knowledge and establish validity. Ethnography also offers a ‘concrete experience’ of life (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 8) within a culture that can be expressed as it is learned from direct involvement with the people (*ibid*: 11). The researcher’s ‘mask of authority allows a particular regime of truth’, and work is organised – as shown in section 4.4.8 – to meet criteria such as validity, reliability and objectivity (Denzin, 1997: 7). The advent of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) and associated support to traditional qualitative methods has provided ethnographers with specific answers to challenges such as reproducibility (Guthrie



and Thyne, 2007). Ethnography produces a distinctive form of knowledge, and is open-ended (Walsh, 1998: 218–219). This is in line with the philosophy of social inquiry, which, according to Bohman (1991: vii), considers that social phenomena are ‘shot through with indeterminacy and open-endedness’. Thus, even though ethnographic common sense is challenged for limits to the validity of beliefs and success of its practices, it is ‘invoked by, and figures critically in, the doing of accredited science’ (Elliot, 1974: 23). Knowledge acquired through ethnography (IK) is scientific knowledge, because it is generated and transformed through a systematic process of observation, practice and adaptation (Appleton *et al.*, 2005). In the context of tourism, Guthrie (2007: 2, 3) discerns from other exponents of ethnographic/qualitative methodologies that such approaches offer contextualised information on tourist experience and behaviour, which are ‘essentially subjective’.

In charting what he labels a ‘third path’ to knowledge, Hall (1999: 1–9) is motivated by alternative cultural logics of ‘socio-historical inquiry’ to argue that inquiry in science and interpretation (modern or postmodern) depends upon the coexistence of ‘a diversity of viable yet mutually contradictory’ methodological practices or discursive hybrids (*ibid*: 2, 3, 8, 9). These methodological practices ‘articulate relationships among formative discourses’ such as value judgements, narratives, social theory, explanation or interpretation in an extra-logical or culturally meaningful fashion (*ibid*: 3, 4). This transcends present-day disciplinary and interdisciplinary boundaries, and takes account of the fact that ethnography is a ‘particularising practice’ (*ibid*: 4). The ‘third path’, called the ‘mixed method approach’ by Jennings (2001: 21, 133), addresses the sophistication brought by qualitative (ethnographic) and statistical aspects of (eco)tourism. One of the advantages of ethnography is methodological flexibility – the idea of not ‘hedging oneself on firm hypotheses, research designs and instruments’ (Rock, 2001: 30). It helps the investigator to accommodate new situations as the fieldwork goes on, and prevents ‘mental doors’ from slamming shut on the alternatives (Agar, 1980: 48, 204). Ethnography therefore accommodates approaches suggested in the ‘third path’. On the grounds that research is an interactive process shaped by myriad factors such as history (personal, sociocultural), social setting, and gender, Guthrie (2007: 2, 3) echoes the ‘third path’ by adopting the term *bricoleur* from Hollinshead (1996) to describe a qualitative/journeyman researcher who creates a research design by



selecting from different methods and techniques within and between competing and overlapping research paradigms to suit particular research circumstances.

Participant observation – the continuum of activities ranging from complete involvement to complete observation – is a key feature of ethnography. It yields first-hand information on interaction and behaviour (see Chapter Eight) acted out in real-world settings by participants (Jennings, 2001: 171). However, operational inaccessibility of the objects of inquiry resulting from observation taboos (Hall, 1999: 48), and the focus on the present are problematic (Jennings, 2001). Pollner and Emerson (2001) blame researcher distance from the social world under study (collusion/disjuncture) and ignorance of the problematics of representation. In what Pollner and Emerson (2001: 118, 119, 126) refer to as ‘indigenous ethnography’, attention to the ‘indigenous’ or ‘lived order’ is a way forward for addressing such problems. This requires reliance on lived details, skilled participation, problematisation of practical sociological reasoning, and constant recollection of objectives and priorities in the field (Pollner and Emerson, 2001: 124–129). Therefore triangulation is often applied in ethnography in order to verify ideas from informal ethnographic conclusions as stimulated by social events or a developing theory during fieldwork (Agar, 1980: 171, 172; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 31, 178). In relation to triangulation, Van Velsen (1967: 129) suggests that extended cases and particular situations – situational analysis – be considered in order to understand any conflict of opinions, disputes or variation in the attitudes of informants. This method, utilised in order to verify emerging themes during this investigation (Appendix 4g), takes into account that while actions and descriptions of indigenes may be ‘submerged in general principles’ or local abstractions (*ibid*: 131), indigenous culture is ‘not merely a system of formal practices and beliefs’ (*ibid*: 136). Thus conflicts, manipulation of norms and variation from regular behaviours constitute ‘normal’ parts of social progress (*ibid*: 129). Therefore it is important to verify information with as many individuals as possible to ensure reliability of data. The overall aim is to have a ‘reflexive understanding’ (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 234) of the destination culture, in this case, insofar as it can be harnessed for nascent tourism.

Quantifiable features such as source region and the demographic characteristics of visitors, group size, group composition, duration of trip and others such as



preferences, motivations, choice of accommodation, interaction with the locals, appraisal of trips, etc. (part of objective iv) are usually surveyed in research that links the development of tourism to aspects of local culture. Such 'dominant features' helped this investigation to identify some features of eco/responsible tourism. However, Przeclawski (1993: 12) prefers behaviour-based typologies that can be investigated by means of monitoring visitor practices. Behaviour-based features are especially useful in determining ethical responsibilities (objective iv). In this study, some ecotourism indicators are noted, as guided by the literature (especially Smith, 1995: 28; Wight, 2002: 2; WTO, 2004b: 260, 268, 282). To identify further affinity to ecotourism (objective iv), aspects of the 'travel career model' (Pearce and Butler, 1999: 130–131) were applied to survey visitors. This model considers the episodic or dynamic nature of travel experiences by allowing changes in motivation over time (Pearce, 1993: 124–125; Jennings, 2001: 380). The model can be accommodated by the questionnaire, and is useful for extended local interviews. Given that motivations, ethical responsibilities and initiatives that contribute to nature are embedded in the personal travel history of the visitor, the application of this method 'minimises stereotypic responses to motivation' (Pearce, 1993: 128), while the respondent gets the impression of 'a mere reporting of ... personal impressions and reactions' (Cohen, 1993: 117) (see Appendices 4b and 4c). Questions on travel history made visitors compare their usual trip activities for past holiday trips with actual ones carried out in Muanenguba.

In the African context, the World Bank (1998: iii–iiv) and Appleton *et al.* (2005) state that there is a depreciative view and under-utilisation of indigenous knowledge (IK) by modern/Western scientific approaches. Such approaches use objectivity, rigour, control and tests to record, document and transfer IK, but dislocate such knowledge and disempower indigenous people in the process. Their forerunner (Agar, 1980: 44) cites a similar issue by recollecting what an African anthropologist called '*the usefulness of the useless*'; that is, the emic view that the ethnographic descriptions of a certain African society are 'at best, oversimplifications, and at worst, flat wrong'. This is accounted for by fundamental misapprehension of society and IK resulting from the colonial context, loose methodology, reliance on a few key informants and, most importantly, the inability to communicate in the vernacular. Also, while Bulmer (1983: 18–21) admits that social research is generally sensitive, as it touches on personalities and politics (*ibid*: 19), he identifies that such research in



the developing countries is riddled with 'data mining' (*ibid*: 21), which generates suspicion in the minds of disappointed local hosts. Bulmer (1983) adds that besides the problem of adapting Western research methods to new cultural situations, restricted availability of computers for data analysis and the illiteracy of locals limit research. In Smith's (1995: 14) generalities, lack of credible measurements, spatial complexities, and diversity and fragmentation in the tourism industry constitute challenges for tourism research (applicable to Muanenguba). Some of the issues raised by Smith have been identified in the Bakossiland study area by Wild *et al.* (2004: 107, 108), who observe that heterogeneities of time and space lead to problems of relative sampling effort in tropical mountain areas. Knowledge gained from indigenes during their expeditions has been called 'privileged knowledge' (*ibid*: 108), and such works of Western scholars (e.g. Ardener, 2002; Cheek *et al.*, 2004) substantiate the etic view that expert research still produces valuable information under such complex tropical conditions. Given that visitors are few and far between in early-stage destinations such as Muanenguba, collaboration and convenience sampling are key to accessing visitors.

Berno (1996: 376–395) suggests that in cross-cultural tourism research there is a need for appropriate research methods, a balance of breadth and depth of information, respect for authenticity, validity and utility of data generation, and the evaluation of methods in terms of cost, utility and cultural context. In Bernardo's opinion it is important to allow local communities to assess their history and evaluate their tourism needs. Where the investigator is an indigene, it may be easier for the investigator to play a 'participant as observer' role (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 93; Rock, 2001: 32). However, stereotyping (Cohen, 1993) still needs to be dealt with, since factors such as status and sense of belonging can negatively affect data collection. In this case, the investigator needs to avoid being less reflective of encounters, and ensure that informants are not less informative based on the assumption that the investigator knows more (Agar, 1986: 22). The investigator also needs to be aware of idiosyncratic accounts resulting from the informant's limited experience or misinformation (Agar, 1980: 110). This is achieved by assuming an 'autonomous man' status with a high tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty, and by playing a 'detached involvement' role whereby the investigator tries to understand by being part of the society at the same time as standing back critically to examine what he or she has learned (Agar, 1980: 5; Rock, 2001: 32) (see section 4.4.4).



Research related to policymaking and characterised by the participation of target groups is referred to as ‘action research’ (Stringer, 1996: 9; Rock, 2001: 26–29). This partly accounts for why life activities – actual social practices – are observed in ethnography. Action research can help address problems of sustainability for areas like Muanenguba. In such tropical areas of Africa, initiatives led by educated indigenes, i.e. the Muanenguba elite (see section 5.2.3), enjoy a good degree of trust. A study of culture and tourism by these types of researcher has the potential to adapt local ideas effectively in favour of sustainable forms of tourism such as ecotourism. In this context, an insider study can create ethnoscaples or ‘cultural spaces [villages and clans] within which new forms can become indigenised’ (Appadurai, 1996: 64).

#### 4.3 SOURCES OF DATA AND PROCESS

##### 4.3.1 Secondary data sources.

Secondary data have come from desk research on the existing literature on tourism and natural resource exploitation. UK sources in this domain include London libraries (books, articles, reports), for example the libraries of the Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI) and the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), accessed via the SCONUL (Society of College, National and University Libraries) Research Extra system. Electronic sources include websites such as the Social Science Information Gateway (SOCIG), Copac and Athens, as well as Internet documents of WWF and CRES, electronic e-journals and periodicals, such as *Annals of Tourism Research*, *Journal of Ecotourism*, *ECOCLUB* and *Indigenous Affairs*, a special – limited edition – issue of *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, and a few available Internet travel reviews. In Cameroon, specific sources include higher education libraries, such as those of the University of Buea, and the National Archives in Buea. Local sources comprised office reports of local councils (in Bangem and Nkongsamba), village records in Moumeken, and Christian missionary records in the Muanenguba area.

Some informal discussions with individuals who have experience in the Bakossiland, such as Kew Gardens scientists, a former expatriate and diplomat, and previous and current visitors from Kingswestern School in South Wales, contributed to reconnaissance. Specifically, discussions with scientists of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew, were inspired by their publication on the botany of the Bakossiland



(Cheek *et al.*, 2004). Also, the African Diaspora Conferences on Sustainable Development, held in Westminster (22 July 2006 and 21 July 2007) and conference literature were sources of ideas that helped in preparation for fieldwork in Cameroon.

Muanenguba, now volcanically dormant, has had polygenic volcanic activity (Dongmo *et al.* 2001) with potential for activities that can impact on the local tourism system. University of Buea Eruption Monitoring Commission staff gave advice on geologic activities – gas accumulation in the Twin Lakes – which was used to draw inferences concerning the potential effects of geological issues on tourism development (as indicated in section 8.6.2). In addition, publications on geography and natural resource conservation in Muanenguba provided by CERUT (Centre for the Environment and Rural Transformation), an indigenous NGO, were in part, sources of information on background: natural resources and local economies (objective i).

#### **4.3.2 Primary data sources.**

Primary data sources included: registers at tourist checkpoints at Mbat and Ekom Nkam, and inquiries at security checkpoints at Ngwa and Bangem; visits to attractions, ethnographic themed, informal and extended interviews with key informants (Appendix 4d) – indigenes living in villages and clans near current attractions, indigenes and locals in the wider community, and especially those living in and around transit *carrefours*, regional council mayors (controllers of tourism) and council employees, regional government officials, hoteliers and hotel staff, etc. Primary data also came from observations during visits to the villages, at events (e.g. clan community association/development meetings in Nhia, National Youth Day and Referendum events in Bangem and Nkongsamba, and Easter festivities of the Nhia Clan), transit *carrefours* and periodic markets. In addition to visitor registers, tourism data came from surveys of tourists, and from visitor monitoring during tours of destinations.

#### **4.3.3 The research process.**

It was essential to carry out field surveys (for six months: January to June 2007) during the dry or tourism season (November to May). But some data collection on tourist arrivals was collected until December 2008, and some further inquiries were carried out during two further trips to Cameroon, each lasting one month (February



and September 2008). For the fieldwork period, ‘direct observation’ (RAI, 1951: 36) of the sociocultural aspects of nascent tourism development was more effective during the peak months of tourism (December to April). This was because more than 85% of tourism took place during these months, and the consideration that informants could provide information based more on current activity than on stereotypic images from past history. The peak period also proved useful as some annual local community development meetings and events took place in various clans of the study area.

The absence of long-established records for tourism, and the lack of data from the councils that formally manage the two key attractions – Mwaam and Ekom Nkam Falls – demonstrate that there is inadequate longitudinal dimension in the study. This investigation thus constitutes a snapshot or time-trap of particular seasons (2006–2007 and 2007–2008). However, experience in the 1980s (when I lived as an indigene/youth in the local Nhia Clan), participation in Nhia clan development affairs as a member of the ‘elite’ since the 1990s, use of a few villages in Muanenguba to triangulate for research projects (1998–2002) on wood resource exploitation on Mt Kupe in a graduate student capacity (Ngwese, 2002), and the possibility of obtaining oral tradition on ancient practices – *indigenous knowledge* – in the Bakossiland from members of the older generation diffused the idea of time-trapping. The availability of a few Internet travel reviews (e.g. Morgan, 2006) adds to this observation. Given that there were two bodies of knowledge – indigenous/local culture and tourism – to be acquired, fieldwork was a two-part research process, with activities (displayed in Table 4.1) carried out in juxtaposition.

Data/Knowledge type	Framework for data collection	Data collection methods and analyses
Indigenous/local culture (IK)	Ethnography (qualitative) – objectives ii, iii and v	From the custodian community (10 km of Mwaam) to the wider community: visits, participant observations, themed interviews, triangulation and in-the-field and post-fieldwork interpretation
Nascent tourism	Tourism research (qualitative and quantitative) – objectives i, iii and iv	Access point strategies: inquiries, registration destination (attraction) survey trips, coupling and statistical analyses: Crosstabulation and chi square. Other strategies: survey of tourism developers, institutions and facilities; treks to potential attractions

Table 4.1: Bodies of local knowledge, and summary of data collection methods. (Source: fieldwork notebooks. For full table, see Appendix 4a.)



Access-point-generated research strategies for destination surveys, and visits to natural attractions and village settings (homes, transit *carrefours* and periodic markets), were carried out over the entire duration of the period of study, since they were the main strategies of data collection. Observations, monitoring, photography, interviews with locals and discussions accompanied these basic approaches. According to field circumstances identified during reconnaissance, the following were the predominant patterns of fieldwork activities:

- destination tours according to arrival of visitors or visitor groups and my availability in Mwaam;
- visits to periodic markets, and attendance at events as and when they took place;
- village visits during the mornings and evenings, as villagers are absent during the day owing to livelihood activities; and
- scheduled visits to natural features, transit centres and clan sanctuaries.

A further illustration of all the methods of primary data collection is provided in Appendix 4a. Also, a timetable of the main fieldwork activities is provided in Appendix 4k.

## 4.4 ETHNOGRAPHIC TECHNIQUES

### 4.4.1 Sampling methods.

The research area has more than 70 villages and hamlets, constituted in 12 clan communities that depend either wholly or partially on the mountain's forest and agricultural resources. It was appropriate to select four clans nearest to Mwaam (the destination), each having closely related villages (see Chapter One), for collection of data on local and indigenous culture (IK). The main criteria were: *proximity* to the destination, i.e. within 10 km of Mwaam; *custodianship* – clan participation in sacred affairs in Mwaam; and *attachment* to indigenous custom, indicated by the presence of a sacred clan sanctuary, *abun*. These criteria were spatially unbiased in terms of geographic coverage, because they naturally yielded clans selected from the Bangem (English) and Nkongsamba (French) administrative areas. The sampling plan in Table 4.2 thus coincides with the east–west (French–English) political organisation of the study area (see also Appendix 2 and map – Figure 6.1).



Province or subregion (language)	Division and headquarters	Sub-division (district) and headquarters	Clan and component villages
South-West Province (English)	Kupe-Muanenguba (Bangem)	Bangem	<b>Nhia:</b> Poala, Mbat, Muabi, Muelong, Muasum, Ekambeng
			<b>Nninong:</b> Ebonemin, Njom, Muaku, Muekan, Nkack, Muebah, Elum, Epenebel
Littoral Province (French)	Mungo (Nkongsamba)	Manjo	<b>Muamenam:</b> Muandong, Bello, Nsong, Abang, Muakoumel, Bajoungue, Njimbeng, Muasum
		Melong	<b>Mburuku:</b> Mboangong, Ekanang, Ekolkang, Mburuku

Table 4.2: Clans considered for initial ethnographic surveys (within 10 km of Mwaam).

The selection of villages belonging to four clans has methodological reason irrespective of issues regarding the number of villages. Apart from villages of the Mburuku clan, villages in all of the other chosen custodian clan communities located within 10 km of Mwaam – the original sampling frame – participate by representing the whole Bakossiland in sacred affairs relating to custodianship at the destination (see section 5.4.1). This was in the first place an indigenous variation with the wider community (villages outside 10 km from Mwaam) which needed to be considered. This spatial variation served to verify ideas beyond the sample clans – outside 10km from Mwaam – as emerging themes necessitated. This essential time-to-time expansion of the original sampling area i.e. the move from custodian to the wider community naturally led the investigation to reach a cross-section of the entire host community (the Bakossiland). This further minimised bias by widening opinion, for example on emerging themes such as ownership and beliefs relating to the destination (see sections 4.4.4 and 8.5.2). As we shall see under triangulation, because clan communities in the Bakossiland are made up of related villages (with clans themselves related to one another), for example through common claim of ancestry from Mwaam (their cradle), sampling of respondents anywhere within the clans yielded both a common organic model of the communities (as shown in Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1) and similar contemporary shifting conceptions.

#### 4.4.2 Field visits (villages and transit centres) and participant observations.

Observations were carried out in village settings during visits to villages and local transit centres (i.e. periodic markets and *carrefours*), and during local, folkloric and national events. The objective was to see actors (villagers) acting out indigenous and local traditions through their social organisations, local economic activities, world



views and associated practices, as well as to discover the sociocultural aspects of nascent tourism that are linking up, e.g. interactions and impacts, if any (objectives ii and iii). While I kept a notebook all the time, during such visits, various participant observation strategies were applied according to circumstances.

I had two research assistants, both indigenes. One was a male graduate who was studying African literature; the other was a female graduate who was studying geography. Through demonstration, I informed the research assistants about the objectives, and about the types of information needed. They worked with me most of the time, acting as helpers where necessary.

I played the complete observer role in villages during casual and scheduled visits, and along farm-to-market/home routes, seeing and noting people carrying out their daily activities, such as gendered fuelwood and farm product transportation: males carrying farming and hunting *mukuta* bags; females hoisting baskets with loads onto their backs (as in Photo 5.6) and in-farm activities. I also looked for villager reactions towards tourists: onlooking, commenting, seeking attention. This behaviour towards new persons is customary in any community of the Bakossiland. I also observed and surveyed the artefacts on sale, and possible visitors' interest and/or purchase were also identified during visits to periodic village markets (objectives ii and iii). Village and hamlet visits led to the discovery of transit *carrefours* as centres of possible interaction, and the discovery of the Ekom Nkam waterfalls as a key on-the-way attraction. Thus I visited and observed natural features – existing and potential attractions – as well as Mwaam (the main destination) and the main stop-and-see Ekom Nkam Falls (objective i). For remote and rarely visited sites it was necessary to assess the current levels of tourist use, although monitoring was impossible owing to the lack of visitors. The objective was to assess the potential for such sites to become attractions in a nascent tourism economy (objective vi). Given that the locals can easily tell, from their observation of tourist activities, which natural features located near their village constitute attractions, I counted upon local opinions, observations and oral tradition. This particular activity involved on-the-spot interpretations or analyses. Factors considered during conversations included: frequency of visits; local constraints, such as sacred sites and accessibility; walking distance and difficulty of access from vehicles, such as crossing streams or slopes; and aspect or exposure for sightseeing at various distances from the tourist route, e.g.



for traditional houses, the Muanjikom Highlands, the Ebamut Falls, the Muandelengo inselburg, the Mbila volcanic neck, the Muanyet swamp, and the volcanic peaks.

I applied the participant-as-observer strategy during events such as the annual Nhia and Nninong clan development meetings held in February 2007 by elites of the Nhia clan in the coastal town of Buea, and during the Easter (April) elite-led clan community development meetings and festivities in the Nhia and Nninong clans. These events were important for observing how hierarchies are acted out, conducting inquiries about indigenous/local associations, institutions and development activities as well as conducting *patrimonial audits* – that is, gauging the logic behind the arguments and opinions of the various factions involved in discursive issues, such as access to touristed sacred sites and the ownership of such sites. In a kind of *role play* that is common in tribal meetings in Cameroon, I presented a report to the Nhia clan meeting as the Diaspora branch representative of the Nhia Clan Cultural and Development Association (NCUDA), at the prescribed time according to the meeting agenda. During the ‘any other business’ slots for all meetings I asked questions, and discussed themes that had emerged during my investigations, to gain verification and feedback

Generally, notes of all observations, conversations, interpretations and suggestions for follow-up were written in notebooks organised in sections according to different ethnographic themes (see Appendix 4e) at appropriate times in order to avoid stereotypical conceptualisation of ideas and encounters. However, while development meetings and their evaluative characteristics were the perfect occasions for taking notes directly and immediately in an insider capacity without suspicion (gaining *privileged knowledge* by being a participant-as-observer: see section 4.6), the regional and national festivities that I attended provided good opportunities for being an observer-as-participant through anonymous joining of crowds. Example of such occasions included the visit of a government minister to Bangem in February 2007, and Cameroonian national events such as the National Youth Day (11 February) and National Day (20 May). Like periodic markets, such events attract large populations, facilitating direct note-taking on a variety of themes.

As a consequence of field visits, it emerged that the key cultural symbol and tourism product in terms of visitors’ photographic preferences – the traditional houses, *ndab*



*echum* – are reducing in number *en route* to Mwaam. This led me to observe and count the proportion of traditional houses to others remaining in villages and periodic markets from Mburuku to Mwaam, the existing tourist route, and Muambong to Bangem, an alternative/potential tourist route, using a motorbike (see section 1.5.4 – *ndab echum*). The objective was to see what proportions of *ndab echum* are left on the landscape of tourism. Given that change in housing was just one element of all the changes perceived, general sociocultural changes in the Muanengoe society became part of ethnographic themes for interviews and triangulation (objective iii: see Appendices 4e and 4g).

#### 4.4.3 Elite nominations, themed and extended interviews with villagers.

Following the sampling plan, i.e. selected custodian villages (Table 4.1), I selected eight key informants for interviews on material culture (objective iii). This was according to eight defined roles linked to culture, the destination and tourism. In addition to these eight key informants, I interviewed 43 villagers (51 in total – Appendix 8a). Interviews lasted between two and three hours. The key profiles of the key informants are presented in table 4.3 and Appendix 4d:

Informant	Age (years)	Gender	Location (village)	Occupation	Reason for selection
i	65	Male	Poala	Farmer/hunter	Caretaker/chief custodian of Mwaam
ii	46	Male	Poala	Farmer/Tourist guard	Tourist guard in Mwaam
iii	39	Male	Muelong	Graduate	Activist for Mwaam; research assistant
iv	70+	Male	Mwaam	Normad	Chief of the immigrant Mbororo community in Mwaam
v	60+	Male	Muelong	Farmer	Custodian of Abukumo – the clan sanctuary closest to Mwaam (one of the ‘eyes of Mwaam’ see Section 5.4.4)
vi	60+	Male	Muaku and Nsong	Farmer	Nominated for having lived and particated in sacred affairs in both the French and English
vii	78	Female	Ekanang	Farmer	Nominated due to strong links with Western Christianity and Clan snctaury affairs
viii	100+	Male	Bello	Farmer/hunter	Oldest surviving person around Muanenguba; former partaker in sacred sacrifices in Mwaam.

Table 4.3: Profiles of key informants and reasons for their selection (Source: fieldwork notebooks.).



The key informants constituted a convenience sample, selected by virtue of their past or current involvement at the destination, their authority in indigenous/local knowledge, and their experiences allied to present or past roles played in their villages and the possibility of contacting them from time to time for verification of information. Indigenous customs of the Bakossiland made roles played by males to fit the criteria for selection more than their female counterparts. But this gender bias was diffused by triangulation (see section 4.4.4). Their sampling was *judgemental*, because it was based on the strength of their experience of the phenomena under investigation (Collis and Hussey, 2009: 213). It was also *purposive*, because it involved the researcher's determination of who was most appropriate for inclusion (Jennings, 2001: 138–39). Thus proximity to the destination and related indigenous knowledge (IK) were key criteria for key informant selection.

The idea of elite nomination of some of the key informants emerged from a clan meeting in February as a contributory strategy for selecting informants and collecting vital cultural information, referred to as *indigenous privileged knowledge* (IPK). It is noteworthy that Muanengoe elites (locally called because they are educated) who participated in the nomination are themselves endowed with a great deal of knowledge of villages and culture, and it is also easier to interview them, because they understand the need for information that can bring development in the villages and clans (see section 5.2.3). Elite nomination of key informants was justified, in that it was consistent with the investigator's personal criteria and decision on five out of the eight selected key informants. It was invaluable, for a number of reasons: it helped to confirm the custodians of certain aspects of IK as suitable key informants; it enhanced the prior knowledge of the respondent; it built facilitative relationships; and it significantly reduced interaction constraints such as suspicion and mistrust on the part of the respondents, who counted themselves helpful, and became welcoming and more engaging once they realised that – as stated by one of them – ‘other member of the community valued [them and their role] by nominating [them]’, as well as saving time. This was a case of taking advantage of customary introduction procedures. Despite elite nominations, and in order to avoid bias, the quality of the relationship when an informant was first met (for example, inviting me for further discussion), their availability for verification and their friendliness were considered as additional criteria for selection.



Other important informants, selected according to their connection to cultural property and to existing or potential tourism resources, included: non-local tourist guards, clan chiefs and heads of clan development associations (each representing a group of villages); village chiefs and elders (representing sub-populations of clans); specialists who by their activities and trading have influence beyond their clan, such as traditional healers and guardians of other clan sanctuaries (discussed in sections 5.3 and 5.4.1); and hunters, who in most cases double as trappers. Elite samples (nominated persons and village chiefs, traditional healers, etc. in this context) were found to be related to potential bias: although these notables were imbued with a great deal of indigenous knowledge, they had control over what they said, owing to status links with aspects of local knowledge under consideration. Because of this, the non-key-informant group of locals (with status), whose contribution helped in checking key informant data, were interviewed only as and when they were available at home at the time of the visit. This helped to limit the number of indigenes with status, given that other informants, who were non-elite, also needed to be interviewed. The selection of other informants and triangulation outside the custodian territory diffused the bias that could come with elite samples. As already mentioned, in Section 4.4.1, this was in the sense of widening opinion.

I used themed and extended interviews to obtain information on the local and indigenous culture. Also, data on local services and resources, their use by visitors, interactions with visitors, perceptions of tourism and on sociocultural changes were obtained from respondents in the villages. The interviews were standardised using common ethnographic themes such as nature of kinship, leadership systems, indigenous/local institutions, world views and practices such as ancestor worship, sacred sites and their role in the nascent tourism sector, etc. and key emerging themes such as ownership and access (see Appendices 4e and 4g, objectives ii and iii). The standardisation of themes led all informants to fit into the same framework. By their nature, the use of themes allowed the respondents to expand on their ideas.

Women and youths – the other informants interviewed – are the main participants at periodic markets. I conducted most interviews with women and youths at two periodic markets during three visits to each (see Appendix 8a). The markets (see Figure 6.1) were chosen according to estimates of the populations attending them (a few thousands) or their historic spheres of influence: Bello, which takes place every



Friday; and Mbouassum, taking place every 10 days. Other small periodic markets visited (small in terms of the population of attending villagers) were conveniently located *en route* to the destination: these comprised those in Ekanang, Mouangel, Muakwe, Muaku, Muebah and Ekambeng, and Muabi. In general, markets constitute the best locations/events for surveying local traditional economies. Their importance to the investigation rests on the idea that prices for products of material culture and tourism were verified. In addition, extended interviews could take place in relaxed conditions. This reduced indifference in responses to questions. Informant choice was by way of convenience sampling. During early periods or arrival times for market attendants, I approached any arriving local visitor (young person or woman) at the entry points to the market. I followed such a person to the area of the market where items are displayed for sale if he or she agreed to participate, after which I returned to the entry point and approached the next local person arriving at the market. Following them to their selling locations help to prepare them, and reduced the inconvenience of stopping. As applied by Frick (2010) in Saint Vlas, Bulgaria, choosing participants via next-to-arrive as they arrive at entry points limits bias, because it does not omit any particular group of people. Different entry points used by sellers coming from different villages were used on different market days, with the same objective of limiting bias. Later in the day, when arrivals became scarce, I approached other persons in relaxed selling places, introduced my research, and interviewed them: chatting in selling places is a normal activity in the markets. In some cases I started by asking the price of items on sale. Youths (those under 18 years old) made up just over one fifth (21.6%) of the respondents; the rest (78.4%) were adults. In all, 58.9% males and 41.1% females participated in the themed interviews. This gendered difference (a male dominance of 17.8%) reflects the local custom, whereby males get more involved in interaction with people from outside. This was independent of my indigene status, and thus was unbiased.

In all interviews and discussions, for ethical and utilitarian reasons I obtained oral informed consent, and confidentiality was respected. In general, for interviews in places other than periodic markets, identification, permission, convenient time and prior appointments served as strategies for interview. As termed by exponents of ethnography (Agar, 1980: 195, 203; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 89), I considered myself to be the 'informant's apprentice' or the 'acceptable incompetent', striving for breadth of understanding. The intensity of interviews conducted per



village depended on the probability of their having data that related to tourism and the destination. Because of this, about 25% of all interviews on culture were conducted in Nhia, the clan made of villages acting as chief custodians of Mwaam and showing the most active engagements with it (see section 8.5.2).

#### 4.4.4 Triangulation.

Common touchstones of maturity in the Bakossiland, such as male initiation into *muankum* – the greatest sacred society locally – and female hoisting of traditional baskets, have made it customary that indigenes in all communities share knowledge of the organic model of the village and clan communities. Therefore such knowledge is not entirely limited to key informants, or people in positions of status, such as custodians or caretakers of cultural properties, traditional healers, chiefs and elders (see also section 5.2.2). Indigenous commonalities in the social organisation of the villages of the study area enhanced verification (*triangulation*) through extended interviews and quick informal discussions with locals. I considered people who were less notable in terms of status, who lived in clans that were not considered in the original samples listed in Table 4.2, and who had existing or potential tourism attractions. These were those living in areas such as the Bakossi Highlands (outside 10km of Mwaam) and other villages close to Mwaam, but outside the sample area, linked into the investigation by local issues (selected themes), such as debates on access to sacred sites including Mwaam ownership and interpretation of place (Mwaam) (see sections 5.4.5 and 8.5), emerging from the areas originally considered in sampling. As mentioned in section 4.4.1, this led to better spatial coverage of the Bakossiland and minimised bias related to sampling of communities closest to activity in Mwaam. The triangulation process applied the extended case method by looking for perception or unique behaviour, instead of just formal customs, in the process of following up emerging discursive issues. In cases where verification was extended, I applied the *notes and queries* approach suggested by pioneers (Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951) and supported by Hammersley and Atkinson (1983: 224, 225), as it suited the idea of immersion in ‘organic models of the society’ of the study area. An example of such applications was the extended shrine/clan sanctuary survey. Because of varied opinion on access, the survey and observation, which were initially based on the most inclusive ancestral site – the Abukumo Sanctuary – were conducted with other sanctuaries where possible. This limited bias in that it involved custodian and non-custodian communities near and further away from Mwaam,



indigenes and settlers, males and females (see Appendix 4e). Triangulation also involved returning to key informants, hoteliers, national security staff, local and regional authorities, as well as bystander activity at transit *centres of possible social exchange*, such as Carrefour La Foret, Bangem Squares and periodic markets. In comparison with other parts of the investigation, high and consistent populations of major periodic markets (the principal places for triangulation), such as the Mbouassum market, enhanced quick, unbiased, non-sexist and non-age-specific triangulation of cultural information with both indigenes and immigrants, as well as arrangement of further interviews. Triangulation contributed an additional 35% of ethnographic interviews, which were generally shorter than the full themed interviews (see section 4.4.4). It was based on quick questions simply to obtain specific opinions in order to interpret debates on access, ownership, place – Mwaam (qualitative) – but with similar selection methods (convenience sampling, as described in the previous section). A greater proportion of youths (about 30.7%) and females (about 50.7%) happened to get involved. The rest (18.6%) of the respondents were male.

## 4.5 TOURISM DATA COLLECTION (ACCESS POINT) STRATEGIES

### 4.5.1 Tourist access point inquiries and visitor registration.

The *frontier survey* concept of the WTO (1999b: 32) was used at entry points to Muanenguba and places where visitor arrivals are recorded, in order to obtain data on arrivals, access and fees (part of objective iv). In this regard, I also made general inquiries on arrivals and interactions with security officials at the Ngwa and Bangem security checkpoints (entry points). At the tourist checkpoint in Mwaam, where access and photography fees are paid, frontier survey took the form of ‘access point visitor registration’. Initially, I carried out the access point survey by asking to view entries in the Bangem Rural Council’s visitors’ book, and adding important items to the existing access point or gatekeeping recording system. When I realised that only the current visitor register was available, which contained fragmentary data from May 2006 to December 2006 (see section 4.9), I kept *special tourism registers* with the local guard/guide in Mwaam, which I inspected during caldera/destination tours. This continued to record arrivals until the 2008–2009 season. The special registers were useful in that they gave a ‘bigger picture’ – i.e. more demographic information and clearer trends of tourism – since they contained data that were complementary to visitor questionnaire surveys and observations, as well as basic information on



visitors' demographic profiles, and on dominant features of (eco)tourism (objective iv). I also extracted available data from newly instituted registers at Ekom Nkam waterfalls, where visitors stop on their way to Mwaam and the Western Highlands of Cameroon.

#### **4.5.2 Access-point-generated research visits for tourism activity and destination survey: caldera tours, questionnaire surveys and visitor monitoring.**

Initially I obtained a general notion of ecotourism practices (objective iv) in areas similar to Muanenguba through a discussion with two female tourism assistants of the Mount Cameroon Ecotourism Organisation (MCEO) in Buea. As an additional strategy aimed at gaining information on tourism in Cameroon, I carried out superficial surveys (discussions) with officials of the Cameroon Tourism Information Bureau (CTIC) at the Douala airport, and with staff at the Ibis Hotel in Douala and the Hilton in Yaoundé. For a history of ecotourism development in the Bakossiland I met two employees who had participated in the Mount Kupe Forest Project at the time when Western scientists introduced the *ecotourism initiative* in the Bakossiland (see section 6.4.1). The *access-point-generated research strategy* was the theme for the destination survey that I applied at Mwaam to capture tourism practices and links with the local environment.

Apart from conventional/popular pleasure seeking practices such as trekking, sightseeing and photography, safaris, camping, as suggested in the ecotourism literature (Honey, 1999; Wight, 2002; Wood, 2002; WTO, 2004b; Donohoe *et al.*, 2006), I looked for visitor group sizes (low impact if small, other things being equal) and what is considered to be *learning about and/or positive contribution* to the natural environment (eco-friendly activities), and/or *concern for the well-being* of local people, leading to benefit; respect for local wishes' (people-friendly activities). This was done in a number of ways. First, I conducted structured *questionnaire surveys*. The surveys probed for the demographic characteristics of visitors, their travel experience, activities and preferences that tended to be consistent with ecotourism principles (objective iv). As a result, I surveyed 103 out of 339 visitors who arrived at Mwaam (i.e.  $n = 103$ , except where stated otherwise) from January to June 2007. Questionnaires reflected the travel career model by requesting information that compared usual travel preferences and activities with the actual ones carried out in and around Muanenguba. To meet the key objective of identifying



tourism practices that are consistent with ecotourism principles (objective iv), the questionnaires contained identifiers of popular and conventional activities in remote locations, interactions and ethical responsibilities/initiatives, and included a *satisfaction survey*. The questionnaire survey activity appeared to be representative, in that while visitors from France – the country with the largest market share – represented nearly 60% of all arrivals during the study/tourism season (according to the register), they constituted 51.5% of all surveys. The rest (48.5%) of visitors came from other countries of the world, and contributed to the investigation.

Second, I monitored visitors' activities against their views or suggestions on the protection of nature and culture. Third, I monitored how visitors experienced local livelihood activities – via watching and/or getting involved in them – leading to interaction or the lack of it. Activities monitored in this process comprised guarding/guiding, carrying the traditional basket and other activities in sample village areas, fishing in the Twin Lakes, amphibian catching, hunter activity, Mbororo cattle rearing, and horse riding in Mwaam. In this process, the visitors' *sense* of responsibility and voluntary initiatives were considered very important. Monitoring, questionnaire and interaction data helped in determining popular, conventional, hedonistic (self-satisfying) activities as well as ecotourism – activities that testify to visitors' responsibility towards the destination's natural environment and contribution to support local people/culture, incorporated in trip practices (objective iv).

In a destination such as Muanenguba, where visitor arrivals are few and infrequent, questionnaire surveys were carried out by way of convenience sampling: that is, as and when visitors came, and when I had the opportunity to meet arriving visitors, departing visitors, and others who offered me the opportunity to collect information. By virtue of their location at the main entrance point into Bangem, security personnel and staff at the Prestige Inn Hotel contributed greatly to the access point strategy by always phoning me when visitors arrived in the entry places so that I could meet the visitors *in situ*, or trek to Mwaam to meet them. I was notified of the next visitor(s) to arrive. I used the access-point-generated research trips for questionnaire surveys in Mwaam, in addition to surveying some tourists at entry places, such as accommodation facilities. By being both at and away from the centre of action (Mwaam), this variation of survey locations limited bias. It also reduced



inconvenience for visitors *en route*. At entry and *en route* locations, selection – convenience sampling – was based on introduction. In Mwaam, surveys – via convenience sampling – were varied according to circumstance. Before each survey, I approached the visitor(s), and introduced myself and my research. I approached sole travellers, in which case there was no opportunity for choice, and filled out my questionnaire with them, acting as a companion. For groups, in some cases I surveyed visiting members who agreed to participate. In other cases, I surveyed group members who simply offered to participate, and in cases where all visitors in the group offered to participate, I distributed questionnaires to the whole group and collected them as and when they were ready. The distribution of questionnaires to groups helped to reduce restraint and disturbance of group activities. The variation in strategies for approaching visitors was conditioned by the fact that I needed to use opportunities as they came. Once I had introduced myself, the visitors confirmed that the access point staff in Bangem had informed them of my research. In Mwaam, the scenic splendours of the landscape (the caldera and Twin Lakes) excited some visitors more, making them more willing to participate. Indicators of ecotourism were easily monitored and noted as visitor activities made answers to some questions become obvious, thereby reducing the boredom for the visitors and creating greater reliability in the responses. Tourist remarks about Mwaam and the people in Muanenguba, and self-confession of voluntary initiatives, were eloquent testimony to special experiences and their knowledge of some principles of ecotourism, ethical responsibly and pro-poor approaches (Wight, 2002: 2) (see section 7.7.5). Once in Mwaam, and when I was not doing questionnaire surveys, it usually became imperative to maintain a distance and allow visitors to carry out their activities in order to monitor their behaviour and take notes.

## 4.6 OTHER FIELDWORK ACTIVITIES

### 4.6.1. Interviews with regional authorities, local tourism controllers and NGOs.

I interviewed officials at the Delegations of Environment and Forestry, as well as councils controlling tourism development (i.e. the councils of Nkongsamba and Bangem) and the one officer at the Delegation of Tourism in Nkongsamba for information on tourism policy and management (objectives iv and vi). In particular, I held two discussion meetings – at the start and at the end of fieldwork – with each of the mayors of the Bangem Rural Council and Nkongsamba I Urban council, who oversee tourism development in Muanenguba (see section 6.4.2). They yielded ideas



on preliminary actions taken by developers (councils) to incorporate nascent tourism into the socio-economic structure of their various council areas. The meetings were also vital for assessing the relevance of my investigation. While regular brief visits were also made to the offices, their asking me questions, and their ‘looking forward to my findings in uncharted territory’ – according to the Mayor of Bangem – appeared as a sign that sustainable tourism was misunderstood by some locals but was gradually being considered, and that learning was reciprocal.

An extended discussion with the officer of CERUT (Centre for the Environment and Rural Transformation) in Bangem was vital, because CERUT was the first indigenous NGO to attempt to promote eco/sustainable tourism (see section 6.4.4). It yielded some information on what CERUT was doing on the ground to support tourism. I supplemented this by their reports and observation of their activity sites, and by interviews with villagers who had been supported in the past through CERUT’s sustainable agriculture. The Bangem Catholic Mission catechist was also approached for a discussion on the history of and missionary activities related to tourism around Muanenguba.

#### **4.6.2 Facilities survey.**

The facilities survey was partly generated by the discovery of the potential role of transit village centres called *carrefours*, and the existing role of purpose-built guest accommodation, which includes both traditional houses and modern concrete guest rooms (discussed in section 6.4.6).

I carried out a superficial survey of *carrefours*, following the realisation that for various reasons visitors rarely stop at such places. In general, the *carrefour* survey involved driving along the main tourism route in order to address questions such as: What facilities/services are available for visitors at the various *carrefours*? Do visitors stop there? What are the interaction scenes like? What do visitors request? What items do visitors purchase, if any? In particular, because of high traveller stopping activity at night, *nocturnal participant* observation was used at the busiest of the *carrefours*, called La Foret, located in Melong.

I investigated accommodation facilities through visits to guest accommodation facilities strongly linked to visitation in Mwaam (the Villa Luciole in Ekanang and



the Prestige Inn in Bangem: see section 6.4.6), and through interviews with hoteliers. Features considered were hotel capacities, services and ethical considerations such as the setting, the philosophy behind the inclusion of traditional houses, waste management, and energy and water conservation. To avoid bias, I also considered accommodation that is not used by visitors who reach Mwaam: I superficially surveyed guest accommodation establishments that are either unused, or have links to national business travel (i.e. business tourism) rather than holidaying in Mwaam, such as Fowe, Ferre, Le Mounjo in Nkongsamba, La Foret, La Rochelle, and Auberge Malina Coca in Melong, as well as small private accommodation establishments in Bangem.

Supervisor comments and queries were incorporated into the research process as and when I received feedback on monthly fieldwork reports, which I regularly sent to London via the Internet.

## 4.7 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

### 4.7.1 Aggregation and organisation of data.

Field notes were compiled and developed as far as possible in notebooks and on my laptop computer in the field. The notes and secondary data were on a range of themes considered to be segments during compiling and indexing. Ethnographic data segments – some situated in themes in notebooks and other documents – were organised into thematic categories through physical sorting, tabulation and cut-and-paste procedures. This facilitated entry in computer databases, written discussions, final interpretation, etc. To organise and compile tourism data, I *coupled records* from special tourist access point registers with data from destination tours, i.e. questionnaire survey data and observation notes, into a working database (a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet). Coupling also involved making secondary data and documents part of working papers. Trip activities were classified as usual, actual, conventional, dominant or popular; environmentally friendly (eco-friendly); voluntary, community-based and pro-poor (people-friendly) (objectives iv), as defined in the literature and noted from fieldwork activities (see sections 1.6 and 2.4).



#### **4.7.2 Data analysis and presentation.**

Data analysis and interpretation followed the compilation and indexing of field data. For some parts of the research, such as assessing ‘attractions’ from witness sources, I carried out analyses (interpretations) alongside data collection. I did value-free interpretation of data on culture, and produced ethnographies of the sociocultural aspects of tourism. This was by giving objective reasons for the responses and observations written down in the notebooks. Given that indigenous practices are interwoven with cultural values (World Bank, 1998: 7), it was considered that the mere documentation of native practices or oral tradition would be insufficient. As suggested by Appleton *et al.* (2005), I made attempts to identify the customary basis of practices and responses (indigenous principles), and link them with rationality. In this process, secondary explanatory information was used where it added meaning to primary data. For aspects of tourism, I used central tendency and statistical tables with exclusive and inclusive categories of demographic and trip data to develop the first-ever tourism profile for Muanenguba (objective iv).

The idea of tourism being nascent offered an opportunity to identify a variety of evidence that existing tourism practices consistent with principles of ecotourism, sustainability, voluntary and community-based initiatives can be considered as aspects of nascent tourism with some shared characteristics (see definitions in section 1.6). In particular, from all the information collected in Mwaam and the villages, I identified and adapted indicators that appeared to be consistent with ecotourism and sustainability principles (objective iv) applicable to local sacred/heritage sites, traditional communities and mountain destinations, i.e. Muanenguba, as suggested by WTO (2004b: 260, 268, 278, 282) and others (Wight, 2002; Wood, 2002; Fennell, 2003; Donohoe *et al.*, 2006). The indicators comprised: small numbers of visitors (Honey, 1999: 22; Wight, 2002: 2; Wood, 2002: 11) i.e. small groups; seasonality of tourism and traffic levels (groups few and far between); popular/conventional ecotourism, but also nature-based activities such as trekking, extending to community visits, camping, safaris, sightseeing and photography (Wood, 2002: 11; Fennell, 2003: 35); ethical and eco/people-friendly responsibilities of visitors (Wight, 2002: 2; Donohoe *et al.* 2006: 192) ,i.e. asking for permissions where possible, and respect for local customs, waste treatment; visitor suggestions, i.e. statements of principles or correctives for sustainability, including the willingness to pay higher access fees; carrying out superficial studies of nature (Wight, 2002: 2) in the absence



of institutionalised local tourism education; and voluntary community-based and pro-poor initiatives (*ibid*: 2) such as offering gifts, medical treatment, lifts, participation in mutually beneficial cultural exchange and community development. As an indication of sustainability, I also identified environmentalist initiatives (e.g. protected areas) and cultural survival indicators, i.e. the protection or rejuvenation of historic structures (WTO, 2004b: 282), such as the traditional *ndab echum*.

Statistical analyses – Cross tabulation analyses and Pearson Chi Square tests ( $\chi^2$ ) – were performed. As a prelude to this, I carried out a content analysis – converting activities to numerical data (Collis and Hussey, 2009: 164) – by counting the number of conventional, popular, normal, or usual nature-based holiday activities and special responsibilities/initiatives. The first cross tabulation analysis and Chi-square test were performed in order to determine the relationship between the two sets of holiday activities. Relevant information on the independent variables (age and incomes, with midpoints of classes considered, level of education, numbers of visits, group size and length of stay) and the independent variable (responsibilities and/or initiatives) was extracted from the database (see section 7.7.5 and Appendix 7a). The second analyses and tests were performed in order to determine the key factors that were likely lead visitors carry out activities (responsibilities and/or initiatives) that support nature conservation and local people's well-being in line with ecotourism principles. All the statistical analyses were carried out using the latest version of SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences i.e. PASW 18 - Predictive Analytics software portfolio) and based on questionnaire survey data. They were performed at a 0.05, i.e. 95%, level of confidence. As we shall see in Chapters Seven (and Appendix 7a), other necessary preconditions were observed before the analyses. This included the coding of variables where necessary. For analysis of social interaction, content analysis was also applied to local perception of tourism, whereby remarks such as '... like them', 'they are OK' etc. stood for acceptance; 'no', 'they destroy our culture' etc. stood for rejection; and 'I care more about my farming' etc. stood for indifference.

I assessed the benefits of tourism in terms of the local periodic market prices of local products purchased by visitors, if any; money paid to the actors, e.g. access fees to attractions collected by councils, expenses on accommodation, and guides; and financial and material gains reported by those who interacted with visitors. These



were expressed in CFA francs and pounds sterling (the approximate 2007 local exchange rate was £1 = 1,000 CFA francs). Other benefits, tangible or intangible (e.g. tourist donations), were also considered. I expressed distances in kilometres, and durations of visitors' stay in number of days. Maps were drawn and adapted from field sketches and the CERUT base map: an experienced cartographer was sponsored to produce maps that display information considered vital (objectives i to iv). Scatter plots and graphs, drawn in Excel, were used to display key relationships. A glossary of indigenous and local terms was also constructed.

Triangulation indicated that the common ancestry of indigenes has led to similarities in the organic model of native communities (villages and clans). However, depending on circumstances, some written accounts were contextual, making reference to time, e.g. the study/tourism season 2006–2007 or without seasonal limit; to people, e.g. indigenes, immigrants or settlers, nationals or tourists; or to places, e.g. Mwaam (the destination) and the nearby or custodian community, Muanenguba (the mountain/study area) or the Bakossiland, if the information was deemed to be valid for the entire tribe or wider areas. This idea of avoiding claims of general validity was ethnographic and unbiased, in that it diluted the effects of participant observation and considered temporal cycles and spatial variation within the research setting, particularly between the Bakossi western (English) and Mboh eastern (French) aspects of Muanenguba.

Adjusted residuals (*a.r.*) – special attention given to those greater than 2 or less than -2 – were used to interpret the nature of the associations between factors and eco/people-friendly responsibilities/initiatives in the crosstabulations. Cramer's V statistic was applied to interpret the strength of the associations. Only statistically significant factors merited detailed discussion and interpretation. Non-response was interpreted where it had the potential to affect the result. I discovered that the degree of non-response to questionnaire survey was lower where the national security personnel introduced me to the visitors: visitors seemed to be more responsive to officially initiated contacts for surveys. I used writing and communication workshops and advice from the writing centre at the London Metropolitan University to facilitate the writing process. The publication of a research paper (Melle, 2008), after review, and conference participations helped to further check my writing.



#### 4.8 MY DUAL ROLE AS INDIGENE AND RESEARCHER

The role and status of the researcher have a relationship with local or indigenous knowledge (IK). In this investigation, my insider status facilitated direct participation in non-sacred events, faster access to important places, and cooperation with all local actors for IK. Because I was an insider, with shared knowledge of the culture, there were very few issues of understanding of informants. My ability to speak the Bakossi language obviated the need for an interpreter, facilitated the identification of reliable informants, and helped in eliciting reactions from informants, in leading them, and in contributing to account-giving strategies. The presence of phonemic differences in the Muanenguba area had little effect on the effectiveness of indigenous interviewing: in such circumstances the lingua franca pidgin English, understood by all, was used instead of the dialect in order to facilitate discussions. This corresponded to the World Bank's (1998: 8) view that because indigenous knowledge is local, tacit and experiential (*ibid*: 2), it is readily shared among members of the community, but less so with non-natives (*ibid*: 8). My insider status, easy access to, understanding and interpretation of local knowledge were framed by two approaches to accessing and relating to subjects of Muanengoe culture (noted by Jennings, 2001: 115), namely relational strategies (collaboration) and ecological ethics (understanding local culture). However, I remained objective by not abusing my position – for example by not going too deeply into traditional secrets or sacred societies. This tallied with my not being a member of such societies, and thus a quasi-outsider in these respects, albeit not like tourists, who are completely non-indigenes. Because of my eligibility to obtain some indigenous knowledge related to the supernatural, in some cases (e.g. two key informant interviews) I faced threats of being initiated (see Appendix 4d). I declined, because this would have delayed the progress of my research. My refusal did not work against the investigation, though; it nevertheless reached depths of the local society not reached by non-natives or tourists. My being eligible to obtain information at such depth meant that such information constituted *indigenous privileged knowledge* (IPK) – that is, knowledge gained as an insider within customary ethical limits, as noted by most key informants. Abuse of my position was also avoided by limiting non-research discussions during visits to important places and with people who constituted potential sources of vital information, e.g. councils and mayors, and by avoiding many informal visits to government offices (see also section 4.9).



The dual status of indigene/insider and researcher allows the investigator the flexibility to swing between the two roles noted by Jennings (2001: 170): the emic (participation, and participant-as-observer) and the etic (observation, and observer-as-participant). This removed some bias related to the choice of one over the other. Dual status enhanced effective consideration of scientific proof, local evidence and the sociocultural background in which local practices are embedded (World Bank, 1998: 6) in the process of verification (discussed in section 4.4.4).

My status as an indigene visiting from the Diaspora led to my being regarded as a 'mirror to the world'. The Bakossi people are always keen to listen to, be sensitised by or speak with and explain culture to an 'illustrious son' who needs to learn. This status, though not traditionally achieved, turned some encounters with the local people into sensitisation processes, and suitably influenced the attitudes of indigenous communities and institutions contacted around Muanenguba towards sustainable forms of nascent tourism such as ecotourism.

As with other cultures in Cameroon, I faced the struggle to prevent a request for information from turning into reception of a 'son of the soil' from the Diaspora (as indicated in section 5.2.3). Where people had to charge for a service, they charged as though it would be the only revenue in their lifetime. A few informants were inspired by the status enjoyed through association with me, and attempted to build ostensible relationships with me in the hope of receiving financial help beyond the conclusion of my fieldwork. Such relationships were terminated, especially where the informants were not key to my obtaining reliable and vital information.

I intended to use questionnaires to survey villagers, but pre-testing suggested that the low levels of education, inadequate social research experience and restraint of the respondents would hinder questionnaire administration in a society where conversation (*nkaulauh*), which in this case involves new ideas from outside the community, is the rule for interaction between a rarely visiting iconic son of the soil from overseas and his 'significant others'. This led me to design ethnographic themes for discussions (objectives ii and iii: see Appendix 4e) to suit *nkaulauh*, taking advantage of my insider status.



#### 4.9 PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED DURING DATA COLLECTION

The interpretivist or constructivist paradigm (ethnography) was the initial intended approach to the study. When it became necessary to use inferential statistics (Collis and Hussey, 2009: 221), I re-created the database using tourism data, and relevant variables were extracted for statistical analyses (see Appendix 7a). This led to limited trust in the result of the resulting Chi-square statistics obtained. The use of *special tourism registers* and questionnaires, as well as coupling of data from the two sources, meant that sample sizes (*n*) varied widely, for example between register records such as origin of visitors, demographic data (e.g. age, gender, occupation, education) and other features such as duration of stay, holiday activities, use of accommodation, etc. derived from questionnaire surveys. In general, the varied availability of data for aspects of the study affected the sample sizes employed in the analyses. Also, because historic data are largely absent – a feature of nascent tourism – it was not easy to give clearer timelines for the history of tourism development or related information, which local respondents gave on the basis of their memory of salient aspects of oral history – the critical incident technique (Collis and Hussey, 2009: 197) – and/or life experience. Only one edition of a specially relevant text for literature, the *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, was available/accessible, and was purchased. Other sources were used as a solution.

The research assistants needed time to get used to their roles, and they became more reliable over time, through being able to contribute to or check my observations, comments and field interpretations. Within one month of fieldwork I discovered that elite nomination enhances the influence of status on the research. I avoided it in the choice of informants for triangulation, in order to avoid bias in sampling. In analysing perception, some reasons for indifference were ambiguous, but could not be ignored. In related interviews, some locals preferred to refer to themselves as ‘men’, ‘women’, ‘boys’ or ‘girls’, or gave age estimates instead of actual ages, leading to ambiguities in age. Therefore careful judgement was needed in the content analysis used to determine the variables used in the analysis.

I discovered that discussions generated by the request to see sacred sites provided some vital information. However, time-consuming negotiations and some apprehension due to my lack of traditional initiation prevented me from viewing all sites. This is exactly what happened when I arrived in Muekan to see the grave of the



founder of the Bakossiland. It became clear that any request to see a sacred site for IPK had to be designed to get as much information as possible during the time-consuming arrangements: in this way there would be little problem if negotiations collapsed.

Through my experiences in Manjo, Mburuku, Muekan and Ndibse I discovered a sensitive and egoistic, but enthusiastic, class of males (30 to 40 years old) in the villages, so called 'owners of the villages' or self-proclaimed notables, who claimed to be better placed to participate in interviews. Their egoistic tendencies notwithstanding, some of these persons were helpful in verifying emerging discursive issues. They were interviewed in cases where there was potential for valuable information, and avoided in other cases. Non-natives were less forthcoming for interviews in the villages. Thus I relied on transit centres (*carrefours*), where such persons are more accustomed to social exchange.

At times I was not available for destination surveys because I was away from Mwaam for activities elsewhere, for example in periodic markets and *carrefours*. Destination employees stayed vigilant on my behalf, in addition to keeping the special registers. They could informally describe the relative frequency of visitor activities. This was helpful during interpretations (objective iv). Interaction scenes were scarce, and therefore difficult to capture. This was due to the nascent nature of tourism, visitors being few and far between (see section 6.3.3), rather than to my movement in the field. Some reports and witness sources were relied upon as a solution. Most of the reports from respondents on ethnographic-themed discussions depict local perceptions of tourism.

A few non-local guides felt threatened by my activities, and tended to hurry the visitors. In such circumstances I increased my reliance on the legal role of the destination guard, accommodation staff and access point security officers to introduce some of the questionnaire surveys. This notwithstanding, while the structured nature of the questionnaires potentially restrained visitors (minimised by generating questions in order for respondents to expand on answers), issues of non-response on demographic data could not be solved at times.



I conducted fewer questionnaire surveys from May, after the peak months ended. Because of the heavy tropical rains, and the muddy, slippery roads, travelling around Muanenguba (as in other countryside areas) is a difficult task at that time of year (May to October), and tourist arrivals are scarce. In addition, the volcanic relief and associated climbing problems generally limit coverage of the area for photography. Because of this, some pictures taken by visitors were used, given that the visitors managed to place themselves in better vantage positions during sightseeing.

#### 4.10 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The fieldwork processes discussed above bespeak the value of *being sensibly native*, i.e. negotiating the dual role of indigene and researcher while accessing local knowledge of indigenous culture and nascent tourism at a tropical mountain destination. This has been demonstrated through visits and varied participant observation roles in village settings such as homes, farm-to-home/market roads, transit *carrefours* and periodic markets, as well as elite nominations of informants, interviews, attendances at local events, and triangulation.

As concerns tourism, being native in a nascent tourism destination such such as Muanenguba, where visitor arrivals are few and infrequent, facilitated collaboration with key actors, and the tracking of arriving visitors. This was through access-point-generated research trips enhanced by accommodation and the national security services at visitor access points leading to destination surveys, including tours, questionnaire surveys, and monitoring of visitors and tourism practices.

The ethnographic methods – featuring the move from the custodian community and key informants to the wider community – were constructivist, in that they generated ethnographic themes and extended surveys (triangulation) for emerging discourses in the field, and allowed indigenous principles embedded in practices to emerge from data with no *a priori* hypothesis. Similarly, holiday activities – responsibilities and/or initiatives – that were reasonably consistent with ecotourism principles emerged from questionnaire surveys and monitoring, and justified via statistical (cross tabulation and chi square) analyses.



‘Communities [e.g. clans of the Bakossiland] need landmarks [e.g. the caldera and Twin Lakes of Muanenguba in Mwaam] to remain in touch with their own collective pasts in a rapidly changing world’  
(Lowenthal, 1979:554).

‘The past validates the present by conveying an idea of timeless values and unbroken lineages and through restoring lost or subverted values’  
(Graham *et al.*, 2000: 19 alluding to Lowenthal, 1996).

‘It is said – some lives are linked across time, connected by ancient calling that echoes through the ages’  
(Walt Disney – Prince of Persia: The Sands of Time, 2010).



## Chapter Five

# ASPECTS OF MUANENGOE CULTURE LINKED TO NASCENT TOURISM: SOCIAL STRUCTURE, WORLD VIEWS AND PRACTICES

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyses the structure of local/host communities – largely indigenous (Muanengoe) – of the Bakossiland and their culture (*mbuog*), central to this thesis. As already noted in Chapter One, these communities, which are witnessing the early stages of tourism development, comprise in the main 12 indigenous clans and component villages, including those surrounding Muanenguba (i.e. the northern end of the Bakossiland), especially those that are traditionally active in Mwaam (as mentioned in section 5.4.1). Discussions centre on social organisation: clanship, indigenous hierarchies and institutions. In addition to social structure, the chapter discusses the context within which tourism is beginning to function, world views and practices that relate local culture to tourism and the tourism destination (Mwaam) (objective ii). The presence of a small population of non-native immigrants – Mbororo nomads at the destination, and non-nomadic settlers living in and around the town centres – i.e. part of the changing host community and other changes to the native society are considered.

This chapter is the product of field visits, participant observations, ethnographic themed interviews, triangulation, and extraction of scarce village records. Ideas expressed here constitute *indigenous privileged knowledge*: that is, knowledge gained through eligibility of the investigator as an insider and allowed by current *mbuog* (custom in this context) due to the customary consideration that such knowledge is aimed at increasing the prosperity of the Bakossiland.

### 5.2 LOCAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The importance to this investigation of the narrative on social structure is that it shows how hierarchies and institutions created by indigenous customs lead only a few members of the host community to participate spiritually at the destination and materially at the early/nascent stages of tourism. The local social structure of



communities in the Bakossiland (which includes Muanenguba) is borne out through kinship systems, hierarchical structures and indigenous institutions.

#### **5.2.1 Kinship systems: clans.**

The Bakossiland has a four-tier native community system – families, villages, clans and the tribe. All interviews on genealogy show that social organisation in the Bakossiland is based on lineage groups. Villages in the Bakossiland are matrilineal groups (extended families). Villages within each clan identify themselves using the name of the earliest known male ancestors (e.g. Muelong village, meaning ‘children of Eloh’), by sacred association with community totems, i.e. trees, mega-fauna and weather elements, by participation in communal affairs, such as village councils (see section 5.2.4), and through the rule of exogamy: in line with Royal Anthropological Institute (1951), individuals do not marry *inter se*. However, intra-village marriage was seen not to be a hard and fast rule in modern times.

In all clans and component villages there are two key indicators of identity: cooperation for development through village and clan development associations; and shared ownership and operation of sacred clan sanctuaries (see sections 5.2.1 and 5.4.4). At the tribal level (in the whole of the tribal Bakossiland), the most common indicator of identity, locally referred to as ‘oneness’ or kinship (*Muanya-ah*), shown by the villages is the belief that *Mwaam, the tourism destination is their cradle* (see Section 5.4.3). However, as we shall see under later only some persons and community participate in Mwaam where tourism comes.

#### **5.2.2 Traditional hierarchies.**

Indigenes in Nhia, Elung, Mburuku and Babibog – representing a cross-section of the Bakossiland – commonly mentioned that communities are stratified primarily on the basis of gender and age. But as we shall see below, other criteria have emerged over time. As concerns gender, indigenous customs put women in the subordinate position (see Figure 5.1). However, as a result of modernisation and the growing impact of feminism, this custom applies less to women who are indigenes but who are educated and live and work in urban centres, especially outside the community.

As concerns age, the society is stratified into elders, young adults and youths or children. Age is a rule for stratification that is not limited to the Bakossiland: there is



common respect for age among indigenes and immigrants (see section 5.2.4). In the Bakossiland this goes with the commonly stated indigenous tenet that the elderly have more experience and knowledge of indigenous tradition. This is in line with the idea that communities value the wisdom of their elders (Hinch, 2004: 255). Age sets (*ben'kuad*) are identifiable, and they are partly gender-specific.

Other age-related bases for stratification are leadership, and the role played within the community. The oldest male person in each family automatically becomes head of the family. There is age-related membership or participation in the village decision-making institutions or councils called *ngwe*: notables (*mu'ngwe*) and commoners (*mu'nge*: see section 5.2.4). As confirmed by strangers, in the villages where strangers are present, they are excluded in traditional/sacred affairs. Thus strangers (and slaves in the past) are classified as lower commoners (as in Figure 5.1). By virtue of their positions of status and functions, e.g. *participation by some of them (elders) during sacred sacrifices in Mwaam (tourism destination)*, notables are always elders, holders of sacred responsibilities for the community, such as custodians of sacred sites, and holders of traditional skill, such as traditional healers. Considering that customs are changing, a combination of these vital roles makes commoners call such people in overlapping positions of hierarchy and status 'cultural peoples', i.e. indigenous notables. These phrases seem to be based on the limited likelihood of commoditising *mbuog* (meaning society bound by sacred values, in this context) by these reactionary members of the communities.

Status also comes from wealth, which is another basis for stratification. Such wealth is borne out during feasting, and shown in property sizes. This investigation found that wealth and wealth-related status are gained by the owners of larger farms and larger herds. This is an area of similarity in the traditions of the indigenous Muanengoe and the immigrant Mbororos. Thus there is a distinction between the rich person (*nhon* – 'a few') and the poor (*ntuku'mut* – 'the majority'). On the traditional front, richly endowed indigenous farmers belong to the *ahon* society (Table 5.1).

Inequalities created by the hierarchical structure have brought criticism from youths. One of the issues is that, although there is freedom of speech, youths complain of inequality in decision-making – a situation in which youth participation counts in decision-making only if their ideas are considered by the elders to be useful.



Differences in opinion exist between youths and elders. Elders criticise youths for their engagement with modernisation, and their rejection of tradition. Youths, for their part, consider that elders are bereft of modernisation, or are reactionary, but occupy most positions of hierarchy. Such schisms, as referred to by Hinch (2004: 255), reflect the generation gaps and shifting conceptions in the Bakossiland (see section 5.4.1). Customary classifications are changing. From the colonial period, financial wealth accessed through educational achievement, non-agricultural occupation and government appointment has been superimposed on the indigenous criteria for status, and has led to the emergence of what is now called the ‘Muanengoe elites’. This modern addition to the indigenous criteria comes with wisdom, with the ability to make a financial contribution to community development, and with the privilege of being allowed to participate in and influence non-sacred affairs at all levels of the social system (see section 5.2.3). It is necessary to mention that factors of power and status generated by indigenous – gender- and age-related – customs of hierarchy for village heads, and for custodians of sacred sites, and the modern factor of achievement for so called ‘Muanengoe elites’, have led such a select few individuals to be the key actors at the destination and in nascent tourism respectively. This is especially the case for villages and clans within 10 km of Mwaam. It is necessary to discuss these two groups of actors.

### **5.2.3 Muanengoe elites, development initiatives and external relations.**

The process of elite nomination and participant-as-observer activity at the Nhia Clan Association meeting during fieldwork (see section 4.4.4) helped to suggest that, as in other indigenous communities in Cameroon, the notion of elitism or the idea of the ‘elite’ – which never existed in ancient times when all indigenes were villagers – came with Westernisation. As already stated (in section 5.2.2), Westernisation was associated with the emergence of new criteria for status, such as educational achievement, financial wealth, and contribution to the development of the community. These criteria became superimposed on the traditional hierarchy. This is because the colonial introduction of the civil service and the nation state challenged tribes to have educated, modern, enlightened representatives called ‘elites’.

Etically speaking, although elites are quite simply enlightened members of the indigenous community, made by westernisation and modernisation, locals give two definitions to the term ‘elite’ depending on functions. First, elites are referred to as



*engineers of development.* In this regard, they lead community associations (Table 5.1) and mobilise the communities by initiating and implementing projects such as village community halls, piped water, community health services, and electricity installation.



Photo 5.1: The role of the Muanengoe elite: mediating between the government and villagers during the visit of the government officer and his entourage. Notice the elite standing. (Photo by Ivo Ngwese.)

Second, locals describe elites as *illustrious sons of soil*. This definition reflects the notion that representation of the community (village, clan and tribe) is the function of men, although women in socio-economic conditions similar to those of male elites also join elite groups. In a related definition, locals say that elites are ‘windows to the world’. This is due to their important role as representatives of the local community in a world of uncertainty generated by the process of globalisation, through their bringing back of modern ideas, financial contributions to local development, and wider life experiences for the benefit of the local communities. Thus they are mediators between the communities and external organisations, including the state and government (Photo 5.1). This is by means of asking for aid on behalf of the community, referred to by villagers in traditional parlance as ‘carrying the local cry to the state’ or ‘helping to fight for [the community’s] share of the national cake’. This explains why elites are those who become either appointed by government in various national posts or locally elected as politicians (parliamentarians, government



ministers and council mayors), i.e. positions leading to achieved status (and unequal power relations with other locals) relative to the ascribed or lineage status for indigenous notables in line with custom, as indicated above in section 5.2.2. The post-colonial Cameroon government inherited rural and urban councils headed by local politicians (mayors), who control tourism attractions, such as Mwaam and the stop-and-see Ekom Nkam Falls (i.e. places where custodians control sacred affairs – see sections 5.4.1, 6.4.2 and 6.4.3), together with other local income sources. This is the case in the Bangem and Nkongsamba council areas. As illustrious sons, non-political elites stand for their villages when government and the village communities are against each other. For example, as part of a link between the indigenous hierarchy or local leadership/social structure and tourism, elites of the Nhia – the clan that serves the entire Muanengoe community or Bakossiland as chief custodians of the destination, Mwaam – were involved together with the council of chiefs (*ngwe*) in carrying out sacred activities and criticising the government during alleged government encroachment in Mwaam in 2006 (as we shall see in section 6.4.1). Such intervention is one occasional function that links the elite class of indigenes (e.g. village chiefs and custodians) to the tourism destination.

#### **5.2.4 Leadership: councils of elders and chiefs (*ngwe*).**

As concerns leadership, elders stated that, in ancient times, families came together because of the need for mutual security against invasion. The villages became ruled by councils of elders headed by a village head called the *ngwe'nhon*. Ekaney (2004: 33) defines *ngwe'nhon* (community head, chief or village head – *kiau*, *kiong*) as a male person or principal elder, chosen 'by virtue of his dynamism, influence, wealth and close lineage to the founder of the village'. The *ngwe'nhon* function and ascribed status became handed down within the same family, and this has continued until today. There are three types of chief or lineage community head: village chiefs, clan chiefs, and the tribal paramount chief.

At the village level, as in ancient times, each village is administered on a day-to-day basis by a village chief. Indigenes refer to the chief as a member of the council of elders. They define the council as an indigenous institution made up of the heads of families in the village. According to custom, and as noted in section 5.2.2, the oldest male person in each family becomes the representative of the family in the village council of elders, called *ngwe*. Such membership is inherited from generation to



generation as a new elder emerges with the death and funeral of each predecessor. Indigenes refer to the function of the council as *aswaulerh'mbuog*, which means 'charting the society'. But, in practice, they are responsible for traditional rule (chieftaincy): that is law and decision-making, dispute resolution, crisis intervention, and confirming inheritors of the throne – a function that has come to lead *ngwe* people to be called 'kingmakers'. Crisis intervention includes occasional intervention in Mwaam (the tourist destination) together with custodians (see section 5.4.3). According to custom, if the chief dies and the royal family has no mature male, the council of elders appoints a suitable regent – normally someone who cooperated with the chief when he was alive – from another family in the village until the right inheritor is available.

At the clan level, there are clan councils. The clan council or clan *ngwe* (Photo 5.2) is composed of the heads of villages in the clan. Each chief acts as a village representative, with equal powers. However, there exist royal villages within clans, whose chiefs double as clan chiefs. Chiefs can be identified during events wearing special necklaces and hats trimmed with feathers. Elders commonly remarked that this was supposed to be the daily appearance, but has gone with time (Photo 5.2). Chiefs in the Bakossiland are thus part-time or occasional religious practitioners. The existence of arguments regarding chieftaincy at the tribal level is testament to the assertion that the clan society appears more carved out than the tribal society in the Bakossiland.



Photo 5.2: Members of the Council of Chiefs of the Nhia clan (*Ngwe'clan*) sitting together during a development meeting (*mboom*). (Photo by Ivo Ngwese.)

As with hierarchy, Westernisation has affected traditional leadership in the study area. This was initially through colonial i.e. native authorities and native districts with the aim of facilitating administration and tax collection in the local communities. This situation has been maintained by post-colonial governments through the imposition of state law and order,



i.e. superimposition on indigenous customs. This includes principles governing the use of the tourist destination as a sacred site. These interventions come under the state policy of territorial administration implemented by regional government offices (see section 6.2).

### 5.2.5 Indigenous institutions: sacred *ekalerh* and secular *elad*.

Another way of looking at the *mbuog* – the community structure in this context – is identification and analysis of indigenous institutions other than *ngwe*. There are a number of sacred societies (*akkalerh*, singular *ekalerh*) and secular groupings (*allad*, singular *elad*) to which natives in the adult age group belong. Table 5.1 summarises and categorises the institutions and variant(s) thereof in the Bakossiland.

Institution and ideology		Activities	Importance
Village and clan associations (unity and cooperation for development)		Donations, development projects, community work driven by elites	Alleviation of poverty
Sacred Societies (Akkalerh): indigenous customs bequeathed by forefathers	<i>Muankum</i> (general traditional spirits society)	Nocturnal rites of passage or initiation into <i>muankum</i> at sacred sites	Making men brave; protecting the community
	<i>Ngwe</i> (council of elders for traditional rule law and order)	Leadership/decision making; dispute resolution and crisis intervention (using <i>muankum</i> )	Managing the community/society by enforcing rules
	<i>Mal</i> (Men: elephant society: links with the elephants)	<i>Nzuo 'mal</i> -elephant dance- for the deceased and during feasts	Entertainment events in honour of the deceased and upholding of native religion
	<i>Esonge</i> (men: hunting cooperation or hunting society)	<i>Njau</i> (hunting ceremony/dance) for the deceased	
	<i>Ahon</i> (wealthy men: aristocracy and notability)	Ahon dance for the deceased and during traditional feasts	
	<i>Alah</i> (women: fuelwood/energy provision society)	<i>Alah</i> or wood dance and wood collection and donations for the deceased	
Thrift or mutual help societies: 'give and take'	Njangi	Donations – in turns – to members	Easing financial problems
	Work groups, farmers cooperatives	Farm work, loans and processing of produce	Pre- and post-harvest facilitation
Western religion	Christian men and women fellowships (Judeo-Christianity)	Choral music, rallies and biennial harvest thanksgiving (Mission Feasts)	Relegation of aspect of culture

Table 5.1: Local/indigenous institutions in the Bakossiland. (Source: fieldwork interviews.)



As shown in the table and partly discussed in sections 5.2.2, 5.2.4 and 5.3, the Muanengoe communities contain a variety of social networks allied to the protection of the communities (*muankum*), sources of power, control of the communities and enforcement of traditional rule (*ngwe*), possession of material assets (*ahon*) as well as varied relations with the natural world and resources exploited from it (*mal*, *esonge* and *alah*).

Table 5.1 also shows that the society is bi-oriented towards both tradition and modernity as values. On the traditional front, there are sacred societies surviving as evidence of rootedness in indigenous world views. As already noted under hierarchies (Section 5.2.2), members of *ngwe* (occasionally) and custodians (normally, annually) are linked to nascent tourism through participation in sacred affairs in Mwaam (the tourism destination). Thrift societies, based on ‘give-and-take’ principles for the mutual benefit of members, mediate tradition and modernity: they are traditional as surviving mechanisms of native cooperation, and modern because they currently deal with cash cropping and money, and non-natives are allowed to participate. On the modernity front, village and clan associations constitute current elite-led attempts to develop the communities – meetings, donations, community work, and projects that lend support to *ngwe* on local issues, e.g. government encroachment in Mwaam. This is based on the ideology of ‘unity for development’ to help communities address problems of underdevelopment, and Western Christianity, which came to the society from abroad (see section 5.3). The resulting community structure is shown in Figure 5.1.

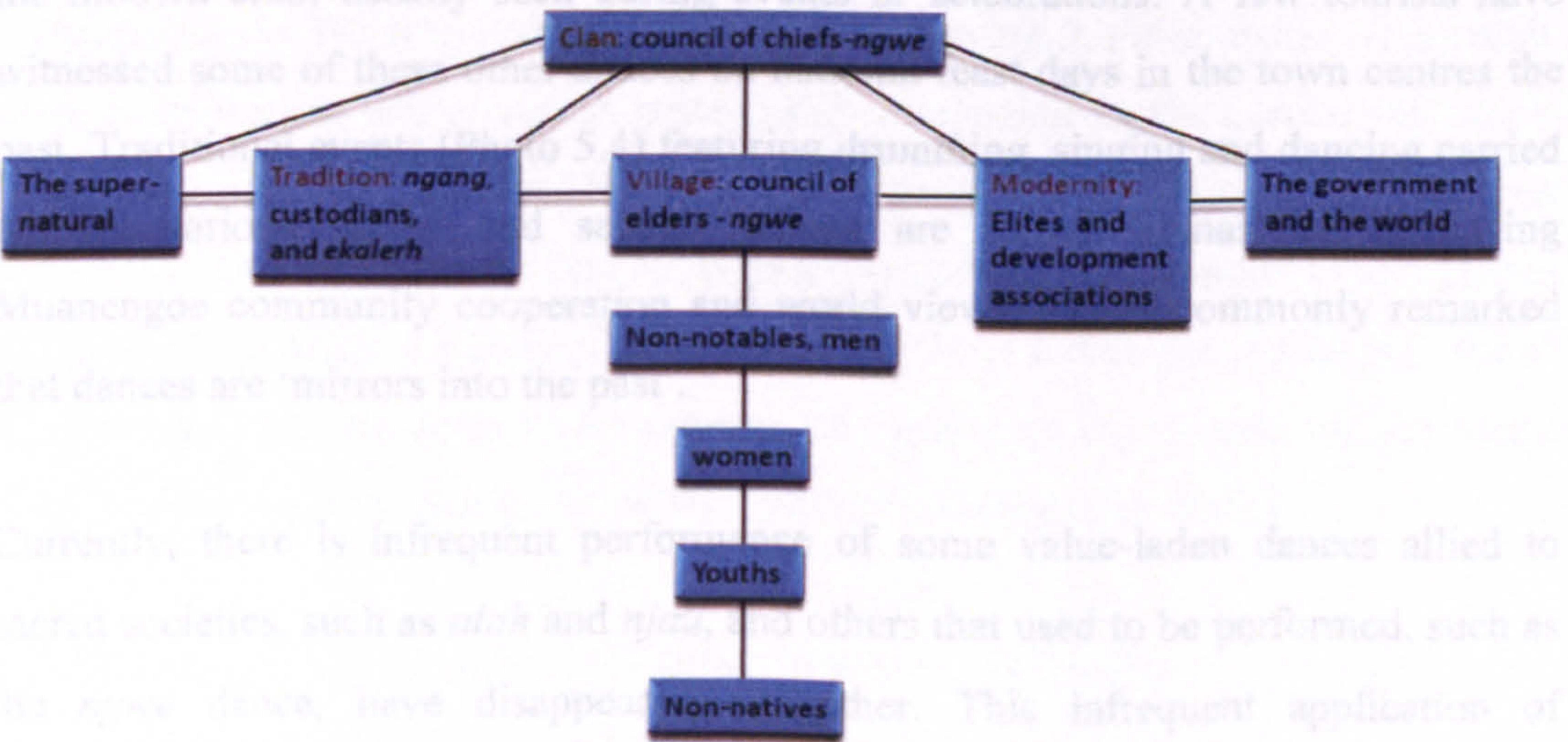


Figure 5.1 The basic formal structure of clan communities in the Bakossiland: orientation towards tradition and modernity as values. Notice the sacred societies (*ekalerh*) component, and people whose functions link the society to the supernatural (custodians, *ngang*). The church and emerging tourism influence the society as a whole. (Source: derived from ethnographic surveys.)





Photo 5.3: Some members of the Mal Society pose for a photo during a *nzuo 'mal* dance event in Muelong village in 2007. Notice the persistence of materials – two animal skins, two *nzuo* (middle and right) and two calabashes – and the absence of traditional costumes, a shift in the conception of the Mal Society. (Photo by Ivo Ngwese.)

All sacred societies (*muankum*, *ahon*, *mal*, *esonge* and *alah*) are folkloric, and are thus associated with dancing during the initiations of new members and the funerals of deceased members. Generally speaking, entry into any male sacred society (*ahon*, *mal*, *mpal*) used to be open exclusively to family heads in the past, but it now appears that all mature men are eligible. In addition to the traditional dancing activities for sacred societies discussed above, there are various traditional dances, such as *ngone*, *ewang* (*muewang*), *ngomelung*, *nkule* (*nkolengo*), *ngunde*, *ebolo* and the modern *club*, usually seen during events or celebrations. A few tourists have witnessed some of these other dances on national feast days in the town centres the past. Traditional events (Photo 5.4) featuring drumming, singing and dancing carried out by various sacred and secular groups are formal arenas for displaying Muanengoe community cooperation and world views. Elders commonly remarked that dances are ‘mirrors into the past’.

Currently, there is infrequent performance of some value-laden dances allied to sacred societies, such as *alah* and *njau*, and others that used to be performed, such as the *ngwe* dance, have disappeared altogether. This infrequent application of indigenous customs can be accounted for by modernisation, the spread of Western Christianity to the Bakossiland (an early form of tourism), poverty, and the need for



indigenes to give more time to cropping (food and cash crops) and modern market economies (periodic marketing); but most elders pointed to *in situ* changes in the Muanengoe society, saying that people who were well grounded in their culture and tradition – i.e. cultural people – were dead, and had carried their traditional know-how to their graves. In reaction to all the changes in the society in the Bakossiland mentioned in this chapter, and as echoed in Ngwese's (1998), some locals have resorted to cultural reconfiguration through re-introduction of indigenous institutions. Examples include KUPE in Melong, Manjo and Nkongsamba, and *Ebume'Muanengoe* in Bangem and Tombel. The institutions discussed above, and especially the sacred ones – part of rootedness in tradition – are governed by local world views and religious practices, discussed in the next section.

### 5.3 WORLD VIEWS AND RELIGION

The superimposition of Western Christianity on indigenous practices from the colonial period has led to two belief systems in the Bakossiland. Locals – both indigenes and immigrants – believe in the Almighty God (called *Doob or Diob* by indigenes) and participate in *ebese* (Western Christianity). But they also believe in the supernatural, i.e. ancestors or forefathers (especially those believed to exist in the Twin Lakes of Mwaam – key tourist attractions), called *Unyame or Benyame*, and practise *nyame* worship i.e. part of the orientation towards both tradition and modernity as values (see also Figure 5.1).

Western missionaries discouraged *nyame* worship, because its sacrifices and rituals were against the Western-instigated harvest thanksgiving in the churches. As a result, there is infrequent use of sacred places, and a reduction in the conduct of annual rituals at such sites. Besides Western Christianity, locals blame this infrequent conduct of rituals on modernisation *in situ*, on shifting conceptions of indigenous culture and the desire for convenience, on limited time, and on the challenges created by poverty – i.e. the need to concentrate on cash cropping. Locals do not blame tourism, because it has not grown to be a recognisable agent of change.

All Muanengoe communities still show rootedness in traditional religion through some *nyame* worship. Although, in practice, it is ancestor or *nyame* worship, indigenes refer to their belief in the natural and supernatural as respect for and



recognition of the pioneering role of their forefathers. This respect for *nyame* is transformed into a variety of religious practices, analysed in the rest of this chapter.

The natives perform sacred sacrifices and other activities at various sacred sites (see section 5.4). The type of sacrifice performed depends on the prevailing problems. Examples include the thanksgiving ritual in honour of forefathers, called *ndie* (see section 5.4.4) and the *annual sacrifice at the tourism destination* – Mwaam, the chief sacred site (see section 5.4.3). They perform libations – using kola nuts and palm wine (Photo 8.2) – and rites during funerals, birth and wedding celebrations, associated with dances and body decoration. Although the indigenous community practices dominate, the Bakossiland is referred to by educated members of the community as ‘Cameroon in miniature’, by virtue of the glimpses of diversity in its cultures and practices brought in by settlers.

The indigenes’ high dependence on the supernatural appears to have made wizardry – art, skills and practices involving witchcraft and sorcery – a common feature of village communities in the Bakossiland. It has also led the society of the Bakossiland to evolve with individuals (mainly men called *ngang* people, traditional healers or ‘people with four eyes’) who influence beliefs, e.g. *belief in Mwaam* (the tourism destination) as a sacred place, and carry out healing practices.

## 5.4 SACRED SITES

Native views of the natural and the supernatural influence the adoption, ownership and control of a variety of sacred sites – some of which currently constitute tourist attractions – in the Bakossiland. But it is important, first of all, to consider those who take care of sacred sites – the custodians – as they will be increasingly significant in the analysis of sacred sites:

### 5.4.1 Custodians of sacred sites: ‘guardians of tradition’.

As defined in the *Encarta* English lexicon, custodianship constitutes being responsible for something valuable, and looking after it, or protecting, safeguarding and upholding traditions or moral values. In all areas of the Bakossiland, all cultural properties, such as Mwaam, the clan sanctuaries, and associated indigenous values, are looked after by male elders (custodians) on behalf of the wider community. Custodians are either family heads for family properties, or designated families



represented by a male person acting for community properties and sacred sites. Natives view the custodians of sacred sites as ‘guardians of *mbuog*’ (*mbuog* in this context meaning ‘communities and tradition’). This is because, as we shall see in section 5.5.5, sacred sites are ‘holders of *mbuog*’. In many cases custodians carry out the function of ‘guardian of tradition’, together with other functions or positions of status, such as traditional rule, by being members of the council of elders (*ngwe*), i.e. ‘enforcers of tradition’ (see section 5.2.2). During extended discussions with the custodian of the *Abukumo* sanctuary (see Appendix 4b), and follow-ups with other sanctuaries, the custodians affirmed that in every area of the Bakossiland tradition gives privilege and prohibition rights to custodians of sacred sites. In relation to Mwaam (the destination), the caretaker of Mwaam has the right to stop visits as long as there is a genuine traditional reason (e.g. a perceived accidental death) to do so. This rarely occurs, because such unfortunate happenings are scarce, and are considered to be avoidable through normal annual and emergency-induced sacrifices. Custodians therefore uphold and apply principles of access (as discussed in section 5.4.5) to maintain the sanctity of sacred sites, especially for tourist destinations such as Mwaam.

As with chieftdom, it is a norm – well known for all types of cultural property everywhere in the Bakossiland – that if the family looking after a sacred site has no mature male to take over the role of chief custodian (spiritual participant in Mwaam) of a site, someone called a ‘regent’ from another family in the village is empowered to take care until there is an appropriate inheritor. For fear of supernatural impact, the tourism controllers (material participants in nascent tourism) – that is, the mayors of Bangem and Nkongsamba, who are indigenes, elites and politicians – respect custodianship rights and activities while carrying out the economic activity of tourism development (noted in sections 6.4.2 and 8.5.2). As mentioned in section 5.2.2, this is one way in which the local social structure, i.e. the hierarchy – the power and status ascribed to those with custodianship responsibilities for touristed sacred sites and achieved by controllers of tourism – creates selective participation in nascent tourism.

#### **5.4.2 The theory of sacred sites in the Bakossiland.**

The practise of *nyame* worship at sacred sites, including Mwaam, is a feature that epitomises the value of sacred sites to native religion in the Bakossiland. As for other



cultural items, the term ‘property’ (*mbulauku*) is applied to sacred sites. The idea of such property being ‘handed over from forefathers’, as defined by Timothy and Boyd (2003: 3), makes them heritage sites. Local heritage exists customarily in practice but not in native terminology.

As stated in section 5.3, the Bakossiland has a variety of sacred sites that underpin ancestor worship and social organisation. Although previous studies (e.g. Ejedepang-Koge, 1986; Balz, 1995; Cheek *et al.*, 2004; Ekaney, 2004) have attempted to classify them, these classifications were flawed by a failure to identify the four guiding precepts for the adoption of sacred sites.

First(I), a fundamental tenet, discovered through extended survey (discussions and triangulation) of clan sanctuaries (shrine survey) is that when in ancient time (*bwiad*) a natural feature was seen as superlative or very attractive but very difficult or impossible to reach during daily or normal livelihood activities or resource exploitation (e.g. the bottom of the Twin Lakes in Mwaam, the top of the Muandelengo inselburg, some ‘spiritual streams’, waterfalls), indigenes in the Bakossiland developed a spiritual relation with the feature. Sanctity was applied at the site, because the survival of *mbuog* (the society: people, their customs and values) was considered to rely on the site. Sacred practices such as sacrifices were carried out, and sacred items such as animal totems were kept there. This epitomised the idea of the community equating the physical with the mystical. The principle of distance decay, i.e. a reduction in value with distance (Marshall, 1996: 3090) – in this case spiritual connection between the feature and the communities reducing with distance away – operated from the site of such a natural feature. This has continued until today. As noted under most physical features in Chapter One (e.g. waterfalls, the echoes they produce through plunging, and local interpretation), indigenes idolise most natural features in and around their villages. Those that are more local, such as the Ekom Nkam Falls, are seen as subordinates to Mwaam, the main sacred site of the Bakossiland, which is also the tourist destination. For example, discussions about the local ethnography revealed that there is a waterfall at Ebone that harbours a community totem for the Manehas clan. Although indigenes have no concept of hedonism, defined by Wang (2000: 189) as pleasure-seeking through travel (pursued in this case in the developing world by tourists), most indigenes think that tourists



intervene in the sanctity of sacred sites (which are also tourism attractions) in the Bakossiland (also mentioned in section 8.5).

Second (II), the children of Ngoe (i.e. the people in the Bakossiland) honour the direct responsibilities comprising worship and rituals in communal ancestral sanctuaries, bequeathed to them by their forefathers. Triangulation on beliefs revealed that, depending on the prescriptions of traditional healers, sacrifices are also performed during quiet times at periodic markets; at family places such as graves and groves, including compounds of uncles (e.g. healing sacrifice – *nkanag*); at road junctions; and inside houses in the door area, cooking area or bedrooms.

Third (III), oral tradition reveals that these are social centres where supernatural evil resulting from potential interaction can be challenged, e.g. at periodic markets and at road junctions, and at areas (third principle) where healing sacrifices can be carried out in secret, such as family graves, or where traditional healing herbs can be kept secure, such as under the bed in the home (fourth principle). There is a hierarchy of sacred sites (A to D) and varied links to tourism, as displayed in Table 5.3.

Type of site	Link with tourism
A) Mwaam – <i>the cradle</i> .	Main tourist destination.
A1) Other natural features: spiritual rivers, waterfalls, escarpments cliffs, inselburgs and volcanic cones.	Apart from Ekom Nkam Falls, rarely visited owing to their remoteness. But some are viewed (cones, inselburgs and Ebamut Falls) at various distances from tourist route.
B) Village periodic markets and road junctions.	Tourists stop rarely in <i>en route</i> markets and transit <i>carrefours</i> .
C) Village and clan sanctuaries (sacred forests – <i>mebun</i> ) and Ngoe’s grave at Nzi mud’Elum for the whole tribe.	Not visited by tourists.
D) Family sites: family graves, family groves and locations within houses.	Not visited by tourists.

Table 5.2: A hierarchy of sacred sites and links with tourism in the Bakossiland. (Source: fieldwork interviews.)

Table 5.2 shows the links between tourism and the structure of sacred sites. Mwaam, idolised by being labelled ‘the cradle’, is the principal sacred site and tourist destination (see section 5.4.3). The lexicon definition of ‘cradle’ is *starting place*. This is clearly echoed when indigenes say ‘Mwaam is where *mbuo’nkosse imbutederh*’: that is, where the society of Bakossiland was formed. It should be



recalled from Chapter One (section 1.5.1) that the founding ancestor of the Bakossiland is believed to have met the first lady in Mwaam. As we shall see in section 5.4.3, the primary indigenous identity of Mwaam – a description rather than a name – is that of the *cradle*, a sacred site. But this view is restricted to the generation of elders and custodians. Another principal site, classified for convenience owing to its being in line with the second principle, is the burial place of Ngoe, founder of the Bakossiland – a tribal sanctuary (C in Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 also shows that tourism’s current link with the supernatural diminishes down the hierarchy of sacred sites, from natural attractions, mainly Mwaam – the cradle/tourist destination found on the mountain top – secluded from the communities and not used for crop farming (natural features or sites whose sacred nature is claimed by all native communities), and ends at social settings, specifically periodic markets and transit *carrefours* where visitors are likely to stop – that is, where there is potential for social interaction (as we shall see in section 8.2.2). Thus there is a hierarchy of sacred sites and a hierarchy of connections with tourism. Because tourism is focused principally on the natural attractions of Mwaam (the caldera and Twin Lakes) and Ekom Nkam Falls, it does not link with *mebun*. This difference between Mwaam, labelled ‘the cradle’, and clan community sanctuaries, labelled ‘the eyes of the cradle’, structures the debate over access, as discussed in section 5.5.5. In order to understand the background to the debate, it is worth exploring these two types of key heritage site separately:

#### **5.4.3 ‘The cradle’ – Mwaam (the destination) – and indigenous ‘non-holiday’ trips.**

According to Lowenthal (1979: 554), ‘communities [such as those on the slopes of Muanenguba] need landmarks to remain in touch with their own collective pasts in a rapidly changing world’. Mwaam, the tourism destination of Muanenguba, containing the nationally famous volcanic caldera and Twin (crater) Lakes, is venerated by all native communities of the Bakossiland. The most common of all beliefs shared by the communities is that Mwaam is their cradle, and that the Twin Lakes are home to their forefathers (A in Table 5.3). For all key informants, and other respondents, this has made Mwaam a source of their existence, livelihood, strength and protection. To indicate their claim of ancestry from Mwaam, those interviewed in various places commonly stated a number of special beliefs, in line



with the first principle in the theory of sacred sites, related to the sanctity of Mwaam and its environs, respected to differing degrees by nearby (custodian) communities and far (other native) communities, and impacted upon by tourism development. These beliefs, as stated by indigenes during various interviews and verifications, are as follows.

First, they observe that the Twin Lakes defend people from diseases, plagues and danger, and the lake water heals illnesses. In the specific opinion of *ngang* people, who are unaccustomed to aquatic pollution, and influence belief in the sanctity of Mwaam, wounds washed in the lakes by any bleeding non-indigene render the lake water impure, to the dismay of ancestors, and make the water unsuitable for traditional healing. For similar reasons, swimming in the ‘supernatural’ – nearly inaccessible – Male Lake by a few daring visitors is decried by indigenes.

Second, colour change in either or both of the two Twin Lakes is perceived by indigenes as an indication that the ancestors are angry. There was a colour change in the waters of the Female Lake in 1992. Scientists considered it to be the result of geologic activity at the bottom of the lake. Besides colour changes, accidental death in Mwaam is perceived and reported by ‘people with four eyes’ (see section 5.3) from time to time. In response to any hazardous perception, an emergency sacrificial ritual is always carried out by the main custodian, and by some elders from neighbouring clans, to appease the ancestors and prevent danger to the community.

An unpopular thought maintained by a few locals who mix local tradition with Western theology contends that Mwaam (Ebwo Caldera) is the site of Noah’s Ark. To diehard Christians, this hyping of reality by some indigenes resulting from admiration of the extraordinary scenery of Mwaam is heresy.

Immigrant settlers showed more non-sacred association with Mwaam by often remarking that Mwaam was a natural infrastructure – a wonder of their countryside. Indigenes stated that they practise beliefs about the cradle by saying ‘good morning’ – in their minds – to the Twin Lakes at first sight, once they reach Mwaam on any occasion. But this was more evident among those from the custodian communities, i.e. the Nhia, Nninong and Muamenam clans, located within 10 km of Mwaam, than from the wider area – a reflection of distance decay. Also, more villagers confirmed



the ideas of mobilising beliefs than did those in urban centres – a reflection of how far modernisation has impacted on the more cosmopolitan urban communities. Report and practices seen over the ages in Mwaam lead to the thesis that various communities have differential connections with the cradle (indicated in section 8.5.1). It is important to consider these connections.

Indigenes from both near and far communities confirmed that they go to Mwaam (objective iv) for a wide range of reasons, according to their age, need, traditional functions and occupation. They commonly stated that they are ‘destined’ to visit Mwaam (a varied number of times) in order to receive traditional blessings and cleansing. These come from face washing, drinking and – in rare cases – swimming in the Female Lake (Edep). These are the general customary practices in Mwaam. Indigenes commonly claim that this spiritual relationship is bequeathed by their forefathers in line with precept II in the theory of sacred sites. Thus natives view ‘Mwaam as the greatest place in the Bakossiland and in the world’.

Away from the general indigenous views of Mwaam, whereas natives from wider areas stated that they visit Mwaam for sightseeing, those from the nearby custodian clans of Nhia, Nninong and Muamenam, located within 10 km north of Mwaam, mentioned that they visit Mwaam for various subsistence needs. Energetic young and adult males, 15–65 years old, gather traditional house materials such as fern stems and ropes, as well as hunting and trapping in and around Mwaam (Photo 5.4). Young men, 15–35 years old, go to Mwaam to carry out fishing in the Female Lake during the dry/tourism season. Fishing is non-traditional, but was incorporated in local tradition after missionaries introduced fish to the lake (as indicated in section 6.2). Another non-traditional activity is the visiting of nomadic friends among Mbororo settlers by mature males for leisure and cattle business discussions. Energetic young and adult females, 15–65 years old, visit Mwaam to catch amphibians (*alluoh*) (Photo 5.4) and to fetch durable forest firewood for storage as family property, habitually inherited and also used during death celebrations. It is important to note from the guardian of Mwaam that ‘while more than just the Nhia Clan was involved in these activities in the past, a lesser number of villagers fish and catch amphibians these days’: people have concentrated on cash cropping. All of these subsistence activities are meant to serve local families.





Photo 5.4: Gendered involvement of indigenes in Mwaam: a hunter/fisherman carrying fern stems, and two women from Mbat village going to catch amphibians at the Jeborh Swamps. (Photos by Ivo Ngwese.)

Specialists with certain traditional responsibilities also visit Mwaam, although not on a very regular basis. Traditional healers remarked that they visit Mwaam principally for lake water collection and sightseeing, and in rare cases to collect some special herbs for their traditional medicine practices. But because their trips are business-motivated, they visit mostly when they need traditional water. Also, the caretaker of Mwaam and other traditional representatives of the custodian clans (Nhia, Nninong and Muamenam), referred to by some villagers as ‘heads of Edep’, visit Mwaam for secret rituals and sacrifices aimed at appeasing the gods, annually. They do this together with village chiefs when evil happenings are perceived in the Bakossiland. Local/indigenous youth groups also carry out visits for the same traditional reasons noted above. Overall, indigenous involvement in Mwaam can be described as ‘non decision-making in tourism development, non holiday visits and visitor discernment’: from the analysis of local involvement (objective iii) we fathom that the needs for traditional blessing and cleansing constitute key customary motivations for indigenous visits to Mwaam. But while gendered activities in Mwaam relating to the need for subsistence, and custodianship and traditional medical responsibilities stand as additional motivations for nearby villages, ‘sightseeing of the cradle’ is the additional rule of engagement mentioned by indigenes from more distant villages. Alluding to ancient Greco-Roman societies, Nash (1989: 35) refers to the customary travel for cleansing, blessing and sacrifices as proto-tourism, because it is characterised by leisured migration. This ongoing practice, characterised by day visits lasting a few hours, with no overnight camping, although accompanied by sightseeing is locally rejected as tourism: indigenes consider their trips to Mwaam to



be non-holiday visits, because they say they are not visitors to the land ‘handed down by [their] forefathers’. They commonly think that ‘tourists are [only] Westerners’.

#### 5.4.4 ‘The eyes of Mwaam’: clan sanctuaries (*mebun*).

Extended shrine survey through interviews with custodians, and triangulation with various informants at periodic markets with large populations, revealed that in the Bakossiland, clan sanctuaries (*mebun*, singular *abun*) are principally burial places of forefathers ‘from the time of Ngoe – the founder of the tribes – and his children, the founders of the clans’. They are owned as clan community-sacred groves. Etically speaking, sanctuaries are indigenous forest reserves. But, as we shall see in the next section, their operation and related governing principles are extended to Mwaam. Sanctuaries were started by those who carried out early burials, and were centrally located for easy access by the communities. Some villagers hold the view that some sanctuaries are intellectual properties ‘born of the dreams of gifted ancient people who had four eyes’ (as shown in section 5.3). Because of the clearer historic line of their inheritance from the time of the forefathers (*bwiad*) and proximity to communities, there is more intensive custodianship of *mebun* relative to Mwaam – the cradle. Alluding to Lowenthal (1996), Graham *et al.* (2000: 19) observe that ‘the past validates the present by conveying an idea of timeless values and unbroken lineages and through restoring lost or subverted values’. The existence of *mebun* authenticates this view of sanctuaries as heritage markers. Thus, in line with this, local constructions of descent and continuity are portrayed through inheritances of chieftaincy and custodianship of *mebun* (as shown in sections 5.2.4 and 5.4.1).

During various discussions on sanctuaries, indigenes shared the belief that sanctuaries are used by the councils of elders in conjunction with the custodians to manage the clans, by making decisions, by affirming or enforcing customary law (*mbbinderh*), peace and order using the sacred spirit (*muankum*). Elders also use sanctuaries as locations for conducting rites of passage of young men to adulthood by initiating them into *muankum* (see section 5.2.5). In relation to nascent tourism, sanctuaries are places where the evils in Mwaam – the tourist destination – are perceived. This is the reason why they are referred to as the ‘eyes of Mwaam’ – an indirect link with nascent tourism. The principal clan sanctuaries and their spheres of influence are summarised in Table 5.3.



Name of sanctuary	Location	Operating community
Graveyard of the founder of the tribes- Ngoe	Dion amud'Elum	All people in the Bakossiland (Muan'ngoe)
<i>Abukumo</i>	Muelong village	Nhia, Muannoh, Canton Elung (Mouangel clan), Mburuku clan (Canton Mboh) and Muanenguba clans
<i>Ekwel'mbwe</i>	Nkack village	Nninong and Central Asume clans
<i>Dion d'eseh</i>	Muanta village	Muambong clan
<i>Njengele</i>	Epenebel hamlet	Muamenam clan
Village sanctuaries	Each original village or hamlet	The inhabitants of the village

Table 5.3: Key clan sanctuaries in the Bakossiland. (Source: fieldwork ethnographic interviews.)

Clan sanctuaries (the ‘eyes of Mwaam’) were considered to be the hyper-real, and were despised by Western missionaries during the missionary/colonial times. This was because ancestor worship, as it is now, was based on sanctuaries. Also, most worship activities took place around Christmas time, and were seen as opposition to the forces of assimilation into the Western Christianity mainstream. In the ancient times (*bwiad*), the sites acted like churches, where worship and rituals took place every 10 days. Some of the rules for access are still in operation.

#### 5.4.5 Principles of access to clan sanctuaries, Mwaam and sacred activities.

In the Bakossiland, access to sacred sites, especially Mwaam (the tourist destination), Ekom Nkam Falls (the stop-and-see attraction) and the clan sanctuaries, is debated. Two factors appear to explain this. One relates to encroachment – that is, council control of tourism in Mwaam and Ekom Nkam from the late 1990s, and government influence for territorial administration and rural development since independence. The other is the expectation that tourism may extend to the sites in the future. Interest groups comprise the custodians representing the communities, politicians (mayors) who control tourism development, and Western scientists. Muanengoe custom prohibits exposure of sacred sites and sacred operations to the wider world. But rules of exclusion are more enforceable in the communities where clan sanctuaries are located, because of their proximity. Indigenes across the Bakossiland commonly affirm that people and activities that are not traditionally designated by custom are not allowed in sanctuaries, as it is ‘against the will of [their] ancestors’. According to the custodians, they do not, under any circumstances, go against the will of their forefathers to let non-natives or visitors know their sacred traditions. This is because ‘to let visitors know their secrets would be to sell *mbuog*’ (to expose indigenous culture and people). Thus, by this principle, indigenes talk of exposure, but phrase it



as ‘selling’. In native phraseology and as commonly stated by villagers, *mebun* (sacred sites) are ‘holders of *mbuog*’ – *mbuog* meaning ‘communities and cultural values’ in this context. In particular, because of the custom of harbouring their commonly revered native spirit, i.e. *muankum* (see section 5.4.5), indigenes claim that the sanctuaries of the Bakossiland harbour (arguably) the best-kept secrets in Africa, used for traditional rule and spiritual protection for the communities. This idea of sacred site and sacred value protection – cultural patrimony – against access, phrased as ‘selling’, ties with the tourism-based concept of commoditisation in that sacred sites are – as explained by Cohen (1988: 380–381) – items that are not customarily designed for trade, or which were not meant to be evaluated through influence from outside.

The indigenous group comprising elders and custodians applies these protective principles to all sacred sites including Mwaam. The ‘modern traditional’ group championed by elites and tourism decision-makers and politicians (i.e. mayors), who are also indigenes and respect their culture, and who are supported by regional government officers (mostly non-indigenes), bring in arguments based on safety and development. In their opinion, visitor safety is threatened by supernatural activities if visitors enter sacred sites. During fieldwork, they offered the opinion that entry into clan sanctuaries can be acceptable only if a visitor (especially a Westerner) has development objectives, and ‘if the villagers agree’. This case of indigenous factions debating access can be referred to as *indigenous political ecology*. Compared with the nascent tourism destination of Muanenguba, aboriginal sacred sites in Australia face similar debates, but with more varied opinion between indigenous pro-sacred site factions and pro-government factions, probably as a result of the advancement of tourism (Bell, 1999). In Korea, Lee *et al.* (2009: 371–72) found that budget insecurity for the different levels of government, and contested authenticity between local residents and entrepreneurs, have turned a previously collaborative advantage to mistrust and power-related conflicts. In such cases, the political ecology is extended to the more general notion (Gossling, 2003a), as it includes the central government. In Africa, conflicts between state policy engineered by Western environmentalism and tropical (African) peasantry indigenous culture – political ecologies – are common. For example, Akama (1996) found that it has been part of colonial and post-colonial history and tourism development in Kenya. Anyumba (2003) also gave evidence of similar conflicts – considered as a barrier to ecotourism



development – between the Western scientists and government faction and indigenous leaders around Lake Fundudzi in Limpopo Province (South Africa). This happened around Muanenguba from 2006 to 2008 (see section 6.4.1).

Recent environmentalist theorising, led by Western scientists from WWF and the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew, stipulates that faiths in sanctuaries constitute a kind of native determinism that can be adapted and applied in nature conservation (Wild, 2004b; Dudley *et al.*, 2006) – that is, the idea of linking indigenous faiths and protected areas for nature conservation. This has led clan sanctuaries in the Bakossiland to become objects of Western scientific interest, i.e. science tourism – part of nature tourism (Laarman and Perdue, 1989). Western scientists who came to the Bakossiland from the 1990s onwards (see section 6.4.1) respect the non-touristed clan community sanctuaries as sacred groves. However, there is a need for access in order to gain indigenous knowledge that will help in sanctuary conservation. But because allowing access implies ‘selling *mbuog*’, it is not easy to reach agreement with custodians. Therefore cases of unauthorised non-native access to clan sanctuaries were reported during the 1980s and 1990s – the period from volunteerism to environmentalism in the Bakossiland (see section 6.2). One such was a visit to the sacred site at Ndide Ndele waterfall in the Bakossi Highlands, as mentioned by a Western botanist (Murray, 1998: 5) in a research report. Although the case mentioned here constitutes a predominantly non-tourist reason for access, there was no evidence during fieldwork to show that this example is distinct from use by the current holiday visitors who reach Mwaam stop by or visit clan sanctuaries in and around the villages. This is probably due to their location away from current tourist routes. This makes the question of tourist access to village sites unsubstantiated for now. This is not the case with Mwaam – the tourist destination or the cradle.

There is native understanding that sacred sites, especially Mwaam (relative to the non-secluded clan sanctuaries located within the communities), cannot be hidden away from strangers, innocent visitors or passers-by. In addition, custodianship functions have to be part-time in order to relieve custodians of the burden of guarding such heritage sites 24/7. That is, they have to accommodate other livelihood activities, such as cash cropping. This has led to native mechanisms that mediate the sacred areas in order to accommodate tourism. According to popular indigenous opinion, ‘any non-indigenous visitor who knows no evil can pass by or wander



around any sacred site. Any sacrilegious intentions are at the risk of the intruder.’ In native parlance similarly quoted by elders and caretakers of the Nhia clan community sanctuary (Abukumo) and Mwaam: ‘if anyone has *four eyes* [sees into the supernatural] or if anyone comes with *two hearts* [with evil intentions to hurt the society], the visitor would be in trouble with forefathers’ – that is, face any consequences in the indigenous spiritual realm. Thus as long as tourists visit ‘without two hearts’, and carry out sightseeing ‘without four eyes’, tourism is fine. This are the two principles defining access and use of sacred sites that apply to Mwaam – that is, principles that reconcile indigenous views of Mwaam as the cradle and its use by visitors as a tourist attraction. Thus, in the context of tourism, the indigenous group hold the opinion that tourists are not invited to visit sacred places and affairs, because they are outsiders, who have a different culture. But if they pass by even during sacred operations, they are not chased away, because they are assumed to have no knowledge of the secrets, and as long as they do not seek to participate in sacred aspects. These mechanisms also apply to rituals that are currently not attended by tourists. All local factions agree that refreshments and traditional dancing, including dances taking place at the end of ritual events (currently unconnected to Mwaam-dominated tourism), are secular, and can be attended by all, including tourists. Therefore, although indigenous principles of access accommodate tourism where the sacred is *claimed* (natural/tourism attractions, i.e. Mwaam and Ekom Nkam), the same principles strictly prohibit access to clan community sanctuaries where the sacred is *made* (cultural properties), and access is more controllable.

## 5.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Social organisation in the Bakossiland is based on lineage groups (clans) made of extended families and related villages. Based on traditional respect for age, the village communities are ruled by egalitarian councils of elders and chiefs called *ngwe*, with ascribed status. Top positions of hierarchy and status are linked, to an extent, on a biased pattern of involvement both in sacred affairs at the destination (by *ngwe* and custodians – guardians of indigenous tradition), and in nascent tourism (developers – council mayors and hoteliers). It was discovered that the needs for traditional blessing and cleansing constitute key customary motivations for native visits to Mwaam (in line with objective iii). But while gender-based ancillary activities (floral and faunal exploitation) relate to the need for subsistence, and custodianship and traditional medical responsibilities stand as additional motivations



for nearby/custodian villages, 'sightseeing seeing of the cradle' is the additional rule of engagement for indigenes from distant villages. Yet almost all indigenes consider their trips to Mwaam to be non-holiday visits, as they are 'not visitors to the land handed down and inhabited by [their] forefathers'. Non-indigenous Mbororo immigrants (a few families) inhabit Mwaam the tourism destination.

Westernisation and post-colonial state intervention have changed native clan boundaries and brought in non-indigenous criteria for leadership and modern criteria for status such as achieved financial wealth, Western education, and a welcome contribution to community development. This has led to indigenous 'elites' with achieved power and status, as well as an *indigenous political ecology* in tourism development. Western Christianity and the new Pentecostal religions are currently superimposed on native religion. Besides Westernisation and Judaeo-Christianity, modernisation and *in situ* shifting conceptions account for current changes in Muanengoe traditions. The modern causes of these changes in the host society include: the challenges caused by poverty; the resulting emphasis on cash-cropping economies, and infrequent practice of ancestor (*nyame*) worship; the need for convenient housing; youth's lack of interest in cultural practices; and rural exodus. *In situ* shifting conceptions in native tradition are caused by missing links in the handover of traditions from departed elders, i.e. the keepers of culture; by youths' fear of witchcraft; and by burdensome traditional activities, such as death celebrations. Immigration in Mwaam and urban areas and nascent tourism are subsidiary factors contributing changes.

In the face of these modernising processes, the communities (especially the villages) are still rooted in indigenous tradition. This is through the indigenous idea of 'oneness', demonstrated via common views of the natural (e.g. their unanimous claim of ancestry from Mwaam, the cradle and tourism destination, and the application of native principles of access to accommodate tourism) and common views of the supernatural (e.g. sacred practices – *nyame* – worship) in honour of forefathers (objective ii). These views are partly influenced by traditional healers ('people with four eyes'). The communities are also rooted through reliance on clan sanctuaries – the 'eyes of Mwaam' – and sacred indigenous institutions (*akkalerh*).



From indigenous livelihood/spiritual engagement to the coexistence of exploration and local action: a local nascent tourism discourse and practice understood to varying degrees and mobilised rhetorically and symbolically by various actors for different purposes (Author, 2010).



## **Chapter Six**

### **THE STRUCTURE OF TOURISM IN MUANENGUBA**

#### **6.1 INTRODUCTION**

The narrative in this chapter turns to a general introduction to the structure of tourism in Muanenguba. It starts by giving a historical account of tourism development, characterised by exploration, interlaced with local involvement, somewhat in line with the early stages of the destination area life cycle model (TALC) of Butler (1980: 5–12; 2004: 156 – discussed in section 2.3), but contextualised by a century of tourism activities without progress beyond the nascent stage, a colonial mode of development, post-colonial government influence, the coexistence of exploration and local action, non-tourist immigration, Western environmentalist initiatives, and local discourse (political ecology). The narrative continues with an overview of the current situation of tourism in terms of seasonality and concentration in Mwaam and the stop-and-see Ekom Nkam Falls. The chapter ends with the institutions involved and facilities available in what can be currently referred to as the early stages of tourism development and introduction of ecotourism, in line with the objective iv. It incorporates discussions allied to the varied local actor understanding and engagement with the new ecotourism and the protected area initiatives.

#### **6.2 HISTORY OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN MUANENGUBA**

The tourism destination, Mwaam, containing the principal attractions of Muanenguba and the Bakossiland (Ebwo Caldera and the Twin Lakes), has attracted visitors for at least a century. As we shall see to some extent in this section, tourism in Muanenguba would at best fit the description ‘more than a century old, but still nascent’. This is because tourism has not evolved significantly from the days when the first non-native travellers reached Mwaam in the late 19th century. Before modern tourism, Mwaam – the tourist destination of Bakossiland, part of which is in Muanenguba – passed through a pre-colonial period characterised by indigenous trips to the ‘cradle’ for worship and resource exploitation (as discussed in section 5.4.3). From the colonial period, the overriding processes in tourism development in Muanenguba comprised two phases or paradigms of exploration – colonial



intelligence expeditions from 1885 to 1960, and Western environmentalism from 1991 to 2004, separated by post-colonial government influence for national unity, territorial administration and rural development (1961–1990). These have been interwoven with various efforts at local involvement in tourism development and other activities. Such involvement became more active from the late 1990s, and continues today.

#### **6.2.1 The pre-colonial period: indigenous livelihood visits to the cradle, Mwaam.**

Locals reported during interviews that, according to oral history told by living and departed elders, Mwaam was a place visited by natives of the Bakossiland for veneration and exploitation of natural resources. The resources exploited included wood for house construction and traditional storage, edible amphibians from the female Lake and Jeborh Swamps, and grass from the caldera fields for the fabrication of sleeping mattresses. Most importantly, local male representatives (elders) used to gather in Mwaam to offer sacrifices and give thanks to their forefathers, who are living in the Twin Lakes, in order to protect the communities.

#### **6.2.2 The colonial period (1805–1960): colonial intelligence expeditions, urbanisation in Nkongsamba, Mbororo immigration, and identification of Mwaam as a destination.**

From oral tradition upheld by elders, tourism to Mwaam started as hiking, trekking and mountain climbing in the late 19th century, when the Baptist and Basel missionaries occupied the coast of Cameroon and began to discover the breathtaking hinterland. In this colonial phase of exploration the missionaries working in the Bakossiland visited Mwaam, and wanted to know about sacred sites for intelligence. German colonial administration archives (*Bundesarchives*) contain records of several travels and expeditions (*forschungsreisen und expeditionen*) under country, nature, zoological, botanical, geological, geographic, punitive and missionary themes to hinterlands of *Kamerun* carried out by colonial officials from 1885 to 1919. As part of these expeditions, Colonel Muller trekked to Mwaam in 1905 (German Colonial Society, 1906) and Professor Thorbecke surveyed Muanenguba from 1907 to 1908, and again in 1911. As a consequence of such colonial expeditions, Nkongsamba (an ancient village), currently the only city in the study area, became the headquarters of the Mounjo Division in the eastern part of Muanenguba. Rapid urban development in Nkongsamba was favoured by its good geographic location, between the economic capital coastal city of Douala and the cities of the Western Highlands, as well as by



its accessibility. It featured the extension of the railway from Douala in 1911, the establishment of Western plantations around Barre and Manjo, the building of an airstrip, and transportation of agricultural products to the coastal city of Douala. Helped by the growth of Nkongsamba, the occupation of parts of the lower slopes of Muanenguba around Manjo, Ndum and Barre by German tobacco farmers generated the first holiday trips to Mwaam. The expatriates who worked in the plantations used horses to hike through the Muamenam clan, passing through villages such as Njimbeng, Muakoumel, Bello and Nsong. On their way, they used interpreters to interact with the villagers, asking about traditions, offering gifts such as tins of sardines, other canned foods, and tobacco. The locals in these villages noted that visitors at the time used to enter and take pictures in shrines without permission. Villagers used to act as onlookers of the visitors, fight over food cans emptied by the visitors, and transform them into kitchen materials such as graters for processing food items. Locals in Muamenam remarked that it used to be strange for the onlooking villagers to see the German girls wearing trousers and smoking cigarettes.

Oral tradition collected from the villages located within 10 km of Mwaam holds that the first of these visitors, who arrived at Mwaam in the late 19th century, met a male villager who informed the visitors that he came from Muanenguba, a village on the southern slopes of the mountain. The visitors assumed that the name 'Muanenguba' was the name of the mountain, and this name, popularised by colonial visitors, has stayed as that of the study area – Mount Muanenguba – until today (see section 8.5.1). Once discovered, Mwaam remained a celebrated attraction in Cameroon. According to National Archives (e.g. No 491/1921), as part of exploration started by their predecessor (Germany, 1914 to 1918), the British and French colonial administrations organised various trips to Mwaam for intelligence and for holidays during the colonial period (1918 to 1960). This was a period that saw the Bakossiland and its peoples (Muanengoe) divided by colonialists into the Bakossi English (west) aspects and Bakossi East Cameroon or Mboh/French (east) aspects.

The destination (Mwaam) saw two environmental changes in the 1950s. First, non-native Mbororo nomadic herders started occupying Mwaam. An interview with the Mbororo chief and triangulation with informants revealed that they brought herds of cattle, and have been practising cattle-rearing in Mwaam ever since. This occupation of what indigenes call their 'cradle' removed the discontinuity between the



settlement communities in Muanenguba and the secluded destination. It also brought non-indigenous cattle-rearing to a sacred place where indigenous farming did not exist (see Section 5.4.3). It also forced the villagers to hand-dig trenches in order to prevent the encroachment of cattle on agricultural land downslope on the northern shoulder of Mwaam, i.e. Poala village. These trenches stand as legacies to the changes in the landscape induced by non-native Mbororo occupation.

Second, missionaries introduced fishes into the Female Lake (Edep). This altered the pre-existing nature of gendered local engagement with Mwaam, in that the extinction of the amphibians that were collected by village women from the lake before this period – a consequence of the introduction of fish – led to young men replacing women by catching fish. While this was happening, the villagers of the Nhia clan, the chief custodians of Mwaam, constructed a traditional house (*ndab echum*) – initial local action – on the northern shores of the Female Lake. According to natives in Nhia, the objective was generally to assert their indigenous identity, use the *ndab echum* for sacrifices, and symbolise their stewardship of Mwaam. This was at a time when *laissez-faire* tourist growth prevailed in famous destinations (see Chapter Two). However, because of inadequate tourism pressure to warrant the use of such a symbolic asset to maintain indigenous identity in Mwaam, the *ndab echum* project – regular maintenance by the villagers of Nhia, as it is nowadays – was short-lived.

National Archives (No CI. 117, 1960) show that, as another aspect of local action implicitly relating to tourism, villages in the Bakossiland such as Nkikoh and Nyasoso had guest houses – initiative of Western missionaries working in the Bakossiland – to accommodate potential visitors by 1957. However, the guests were predominantly missionaries and the houses were run only as unpaid bed and breakfasts for missionaries as and when they were around to preach. Nash (1989: 33) considers tourism to be a form of imperialism, because colonialists and missionaries such as these were agents of contact, and educators, who had some control over the nature of tourism and related developments, at least at the beginning of their relations with tourist areas. Archives (No CI. 117, 1960: 10) show that, as part of exploration, travel agents from the USA visited Buea, then the regional capital administering the little-known destination of Mwaam, in 1958. By this time, governing administrators called Mwaam the ‘Muanenguba Plateau’ and identified it as a ‘major mountain and lake scenery in Northern Bakossi, reached by trek’ and considered ‘within the top



two attractions in Southern Cameroon', the other attraction being the Barombi Lake, then called the 'Kumba Crater'.

**6.2.3 The post-colonial period (1961–1990): national events, government influence for nation-building, Peace Corps volunteerism, elite-led efforts and the village concept.**

National Archives (No 1609, 1962: 24) show that until the 1960s – the decade of independence – tourism was not given a separate status. Most tourism services in Cameroon were provided by colonial officers who headed district areas. According to oral sources, and as we shall see in this section, the post-colonial period was characterised chiefly by post-colonial state influence. This was by way of efforts to develop regional roads in order to achieve, as a matter government policy, rural development – for example the Douala–Nkongsamba–Baffoussam trunk 'A' road in 1967 – and make legislative changes in order to facilitate territorial administration. Rural development and territorial administration were part of the broader policy of nation-building. This period also featured similar indigenous efforts – local action led by elites of the Bakossiland in order to contribute to the development of the villages and the famous natural features. As indicated in Chapter Three, and later in this section, government rural development and elite activities were beset by the economic crisis.

From the 1960s, national cultural events and festivities – social aspects of nation-building or national unity – became common in the Bakossiland, as in other areas of Cameroon. These events were intended, as it is even today, to commemorate the plebiscite of 11 February 1961 and the reunification of 20 May 1972. As part of state exploration, the post-independence government of Cameroon (GoC) organised a few tours for top government officials to key attractions, such as the Mbi Crater and Barombi Lake. This was a sort of continuation from the colonial arrangement. But Mwaam was overlooked initially, because until the reunification of West Cameroon and East Cameroon in 1972 it was shared with East Cameroon, and English officers faced the hindrance of passing through Nkongsamba, a town in the then East Cameroon – then a different country, now the French part of Muanenguba – to reach Mwaam, the current tourist destination located in the English part of Muanenguba (National Archives No. Sg1/2, 1965a, 1965b: 31–36).



As with other areas of Cameroon, the Bakossiland faced rapid post-independence legislative changes, as well as social and economic changes. In line with the post-colonial GoC policies of territorial administration (see also section 3.2), communities gradually witnessed the institution of government administration: for example, traditional clans were grouped under district areas (see Appendix 2) in the 1970s. This led to changes in clan boundaries, leading to the exclusion of clans (cantons) of Elung, Mboh and Muanenguba – formerly allied to sacrifices in Mwaam – from continuing their participation (as shown in section 8.5.2). Also, regional government departments, called ‘divisional offices’ and ‘delegations’, began to interfere in the Bakossiland. These regional government departments represent and are responsible to the central government, headed by delegates and officers (D.O.s).

The Delegations of Agriculture and Forestry began control via sensitisation and demonstration agriculture, and natural resource exploitation and management in rural areas. Divisional offices, with their powers of territorial administration, law and order, began to influence local and traditional leadership, so that the clan and village communities around Muanenguba started to face the loss of their traditional legal systems. Councils were being created. The role of councils is to manage municipalities or district areas and all resources that bring in income, such as motor parking taxes, periodic market taxes, toll gates and now tourism fees. Although both regional government (delegations and the divisional office) and councils i.e. local government were brought in by Westernisation (see also section 5.2.2), they should not be confused with each other. Councils are institutions headed by a mayor, a native elite/politician – with achieved power and status – who is elected democratically by local representatives, and who has a small team of workers. This serves power relations between the councils and communities, which are largely but not always amicable. Mayors understand native tradition, and respect the local chiefs and elders – indigenes with ascribed power and status, due partly to their custodianship responsibilities, with which they participate in Mwaam in the case of Muanenguba – especially when it comes to sacred practices at sacred sites (as discussed in BRC, NKUC, sections 8.5.2 and 5.2.3). Some of the local elders are unpaid councillors. In many local disputes, for example over access to and ownership of tourism attractions, regional government departments and councils, i.e. divisional officers (DOs) and mayors, take the modern view in favour of the state against indigenous views.



Economically, the 1970s was a period of road development in the Bakossiland. Because of its earlier availability, visitors to Mwaam used the seasonal road passing through Muelong and Muabi villages as the seasonal access route to Mwaam until the 1970s, when the Mbat route was created by the government. In the 1970s, elites (see Chapter Five) in the English region of Muanenguba formed BACDA (the Bangem Cultural and Development Association). As its name implies, BACDA's aim was to promote tribal culture and carry out development projects, such as access routes to enclaved villages. As part of local advocacy in tourism, event tourism activities were incorporated into elite-led development activities around Muanenguba. BACDA conducted the annual Muanenguba Mountain Race from Bangem to Mwaam (for the English region) during its annual Easter festivities, and the Nkongsamba Council organised the Muanenguba Dream Race from Nkongsamba to Alehngum for the French region. Locals in Nkongsamba and Bangem reported that a few Westerners working in Cameroon joined the locals as amateur runners and during the races. Interviews in Bangem and Nkongsamba revealed that these events, which had between 50 and 100 runners to and from the upper slopes of Muanenguba and hundreds of spectators, created avenues for social interaction between visitors and locals, who considered the events as part of leisure.

Scientists from the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew scientists reported that the scenic grandeur of Mwaam was promoted via the use of its setting to appear in a movie in the early 1980s. The 1980s was also the decade that saw many American Peace Corps volunteers, locally seen as 'explorers' and 'holiday lovers', come to Cameroon to teach in various secondary schools. The volunteers who worked around Bangem used to regularly engage young men (as teachers) and frequently accompany friends who worked in other areas of Cameroon (as guides) to visit Mwaam.

In 1986 the economic crisis (discussed in section 3.2) induced a change in approach to elite-led development activities in the Bakossiland: the village concept replaced the tribal approach. Elites – BACDA members – reported that salary cuts, a direct consequence of the economic crisis, prevented them from extending their arms to contribute to larger-scale tribal development. They preferred to use their limited financial resources to strengthen their smaller village and clan associations (see section 5.2.5). The crisis was also associated with falling cash crop prices, which



reduced peasant support for elite-led activities. There was dwindling interest from indigenes from far areas in visiting Mwaam, because of the need to redress cash crop problems; the ageing and retirement from government of the key members of BACDA i.e. main proponents of the tribal approach; and government engagement of the elites of Bakossi in the politics of belonging, to gain what is commonly referred to a 'motion of support' for the locally detested central system of state governance – part of the policy of nation-building (as discussed in section 3.2). Because of incapacity at the time of economic crisis, the government failed to complete an access route aimed at shortening the distance to Mwaam: the Mouangel–Mwaam road, which had no tarmac, and could not survive incipient soil erosion. Similarly, BACDA failed to disenclave the more remote areas of the Bakossiland (rural development). Nkongsamba city, in the French region of Muanenguba, faced economic stagnation: railway services stopped in 1987, and Bangem (in the English region), formerly part of the colonial Kumba Division (but a subdivision from 1973) was being prepared for the status of a divisional headquarters, a status – finally achieved in 1993 – that will make the more rural Bangem become politically, but not economically, equal to Nkongsamba.

#### **6.2.4 The period of Western environmentalism and local developer involvement (1991–2010).**

The promotion of sustainable forms of tourism at the nascent stage by exploring visitors needs to be included in the destination life cycle model. The key actors involved and the juxtaposition of exploration and local involvement also need to be considered. As we shall see under the institutions involved in Muanenguba (treated separately from these initial highlights for convenience), this period was characterised by Western exploration from 1991 to 2002, which led to the ecotourism initiative and a locally debated protected area initiative – part of a local/indigenous political ecology partly in line with Gossling's (2003) review of tropical destinations. Ecotourism became part of the nascent tourism discourse, understood to varying degrees and mobilised symbolically and rhetorically for different purposes by various actors alongside haphazard tourism development. The Western-induced initiatives were entwined with the formalisation of tourism through the more active involvement of local developers (1997 to 2008) – the Bangem Rural Council (BRC), the Nkongsamba Urban Council (NKUC), and indigenous hoteliers – as well as the creation of a government department for tourism, the Delegation of Tourism in



Nkongsamba (DELETOUR). Apart from the new DELETOUR, the benefits of tourism will come to be restricted largely to these other local stakeholders.

Interviews carried out during fieldwork with the Mbororo chief in Mwaam, the council mayors of BRC and NKUC, and elites of the Nhia clan revealed seven elements of local action from the mid 90s to 2010. First, as part of an indigenous action for tourism, the Nhia Clan Association – representing the villages that constitute the chief custodians of the destination – was planning to build a hotel in Mwaam, but the hotel initiative never materialised, owing to a lack of funds.

Second, Mbororo settlers in Mwaam were gradually being integrated into the host society during this period, as their children were being admitted to the local Muabi primary school in Nhia clan, located downslope from Mwaam. In 1997 the government created a school with rudimentary structures for Mbororo children in Mwaam, within its policy of ‘scholarisation’ – bringing education that will provide career opportunities to nomadic communities – implicitly for rural development and poverty alleviation. Similar to what Novellino (2008: 90) found in the Philippines, this was a process of the state making land and resources at the destination legally accessible to non-natives.

Third, this period saw the desire of councils to incorporate tourism in the social and economic structure of municipalities in Muanenguba, thereby seeking more control of tourism attractions that are viewed locally as sacred sites. This action is bemoaned by natives, especially the custodians. As we shall see under the institutions involved (and the types of facility), the Bangem Rural Council (BRC), controller of tourism in Mwaam, started collecting fees for access to Mwaam – gatekeeping activity – and developing facilities in 1998. Its decision stemmed from a realisation that visitor travel to Mwaam could contribute much-needed funds in order to run council operations, which are inadequately supported by the state.

Fourth, inspired by Western environmentalism, CERUT, the indigenous NGO, took special interest in what it refers to as ‘sustainable’ or ‘ecotourism’ by simply recording arrivals for the first time during the 1999/2000 tourism season and identifying potential attractions including Mwaam, as part of its triple bottom-line actions (CERUT, 2000: 14).



Currently, Muanenguba is both a destination and an en route experience for visitors

Fifth, two local guest accommodation establishments – Villa Luciole in Ekanang and Prestige Inn in Bangem – were constructed from 2000 to 2004. In 2005 the hoteliers linked traditional houses to tourism by employing villagers to construct *ndab echum* to become part of guest accommodation establishments (see section 6.4.6). This was also the last year that the Muanenguba Dream Race in the eastern (French) region was organised, owing to lack of funding.

predominantly through the Douala–Nkongsamba–Befoussam tared road, N5, in the

Sixth, the Nkongsamba Urban Council (NKUC) in the French region also started collecting fees for access to the stop-and-see Ekom Nkam Falls in 2006. During the same year, the government created the Moungo Divisional Delegation of Tourism (DELETOUR) in Nkongsamba, and a local discourse (political ecology) emerged as a result of the suggestion by Western scientists that protected areas be introduced in the Bakossiland. At the time of writing implementations was still wanting.

Bangem seasonal road (Photo 6.2 and Figure 6.1), a few hike up the slopes from

Lastly, the Bangem Rural Council started reacting to this study by creating a tourism information board at the point of entry to Mwaam in Mbat in June 2008. In the meantime, exploration – i.e. research on fishes and amphibians – was still ongoing (details in section 6.4).

fees (see section 6.4). Because of slope intervisibility, some situations cannot be

visitors carry out self-

popular or conventional nature-based activities, such as camping,

Information provided by CERUT, and referred to as ‘partial statistics’ on arrivals and estimated amount of access fees, reveals that 1,217 visitors from 32 countries reached Mwaam from 1999 to 2000, yielding 1.2 million CFAfrancs (\$1,872.32), and 2,045 visitors reached Mwaam from January 2001 to January 2003, bringing in about 3.7 million CFAfrancs (\$5,833.33) to Bangem (CERUT, 2000: 14; 2003: 5). Specially sponsored tourism registers during the fieldwork for this investigation revealed that 621 arrivals were recorded in Mwaam in 2007. In 2008 arrival increased by 22.5% to 761 (Table 6.1).

Year	Jan	Feb	March	April	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
2007	36	86	89	123	47	0	0	20	0	21	61	138	621
2008	143	115	93	100	51	46	30	0	38	20	61	64	761
Total	179	201	182	223	98	46	30	20	38	41	122	202	

Table 6.1: Visitor arrivals in Mwaam, January 2007 to December 2008. (Source: fieldwork registers.)



Currently, Muanenguba is both a destination and an *en route* experience for visitors travelling to the Western Highlands to experience the surviving palaces of famous dynasties and fondoms in Foumban, Bafut, Bafoussam, etc. International visitors coming from abroad use either the main Douala International Airport (70.9%) or the Yaoundé Nsimalen International Airport (18.4%) as their ports of entry. In rare cases some of these tourists enter Cameroon through the Mamfe and Ekondo Titi border towns from Nigeria, using motorbikes (2.0%). Tourists reach Muanenguba predominantly through the Douala–Nkongsamba–Bafoussam tarred road, N5, in the south-west (Figure 6.1). Some tourists stop at Les Chutes d'Eau d'Ekoum Nkam (discussed in section 1.4.3). From Ekoum Nkam, those who are visiting Mwaam stay either at the Villa Luciole in Ekanang village or at the Prestige Inn in Bangem to plan their trips (see section 6.4.6). Others go directly to Mwaam and camp. A combination of reports from hotels in Nkongsamba and fieldwork in Mwaam revealed that whereas most tourists (92.2%) reach Mwaam using 4×4 cars along the Melong–Bangem seasonal road (Photo 6.2 and Figure 6.1), a few hike up the slopes from Nkongsamba to Alehngum without reaching Mwaam, or reach Mwaam by trekking from Mburuku (as described in section 7.7.5). All arriving tourist cars are identity-checked at security points in Ngwa around Nkongsamba and Bangem (as indicated in section 8.2.2). All reaching Mwaam and stopping at Ekoum Nkam Falls pay entrance fees (see section 8.4). Because of slope intervisibility, some attractions cannot be missed *en route* to Mwaam. As we shall see in Chapter Seven, visitors carry out self-satisfying, usual, popular or conventional nature-based activities, such as camping, sightseeing, hill trekking or hiking, bird safaris and nature photography, swimming in the Female Lake, and watching local livelihood activities carried out by both natives and Mbororo settlers. Some of the visitors also show ethical responsibilities and initiatives, consistent with ecotourism principles (as shown in section 7.7.5).

Along the visitor route to Mwaam, there exist fairly busy roadside transit centres – village *carrefours*, as they are known locally. It is important to include *carrefours* as part of local involvement in tourism, although they are merely part of the local transport network. Some are crossroads (Bangem Squares, Mbouassum, Mouangel, Lele and Himo); some are road junctions (Fasa, Ndongue, Ngwa, La Foret and Melong); and some coincide with places where periodic markets take place, such as Mbouassum (see Figure 6.1).



Anecdotal evidence – given *in situ* – from *carrefour* surveys reveals that *carrefours* are centres of scarce interaction between tourists who reach Mwaam and locals (see section 8.2.2). They serve as *en route* transit centres, offering refreshments (beer, food, groceries) and guidance to what the locals describe as ‘an insignificant number of tourists’ who bother to stop by (on market days in some cases) to get local items and directions to Mwaam, and in some cases take photos (there and in typical villages). *Carrefours* are less traditional, in that the vernacular is not greatly used there, they do not contain the traditional houses found in typical villages, and the actors are native and non-native traders, national travellers and onlookers. The *carrefours* and their varied links to tourism are identified in Table 6.2.

Carrefour	Products offered	Link with tourism
Manjo	Bars, grocery shops, restaurants, roasted fish and meat, cooked food, fruits, nightclubs	A few tourists have bought drinks, cold water, snacks and fruits and asked for directions
Ndongue	Palm wine	A visitors group bought palm wine at 125CFAfrancs per bottle to take to Mwaam on one occasion in the past
Ngwa Usine (Nkongsamba)	Fruit and food stall	A few tourists bought bananas and cold water
Nkongsamba	Access to the Nkongsamba town centre. <i>Boulangerie</i> for yoghurts, juice, snacks. Fruit stalls.	Visitors very occasionally enter the <i>boulangerie</i> and buy snacks, yoghurts and juice
Lele (Nkongsamba)	Access route to the defunct <i>Pastorale</i> cattle - rearing area. Bars (drinks), shops and fruit stalls.	Stopping was common during the <i>Pastorale</i> boom (1980s): visitors used to buy banana, pawpaw, pineapple, dinks, cold water. Today photography is more common
Himo (Barre)	Boiled maize and fruits (pineapples).	Visitors stop infrequently to ask directions.
Fasa (Melong)	Access route to Ekom Nkam falls.	A few Visitors stop, buy drinks and rest on their way to and from the waterfalls (interaction).
La Foret (Melong)	Bars, roasted fish, steak, cooked food, hotel.	National travellers use the services.
Mouangel	Bars, grocery shops, palm wine, fruits (pineapple, bananas)	Visitors take photos of nearby pyroclastic cone, have an uphill view of the destination and ask directions.
Mbouassum	Periodic market with agricultural products, local craft and manufactured goods brought from afar.	Stop infrequently to ask directions and buy firewood.
Squares (Bangem)	Bars, grocery shops, restaurants, roasted fish and meat, cooked food, fruits, and nightclubs.	A few visitors ate in one restaurant once the past. They scarcely buy drinks and bananas; and visit periodic market.

Table 6.2: Transit *carrefours* and tourism in Muanenguba. (Source: investigator’s facility survey, May 2007.)



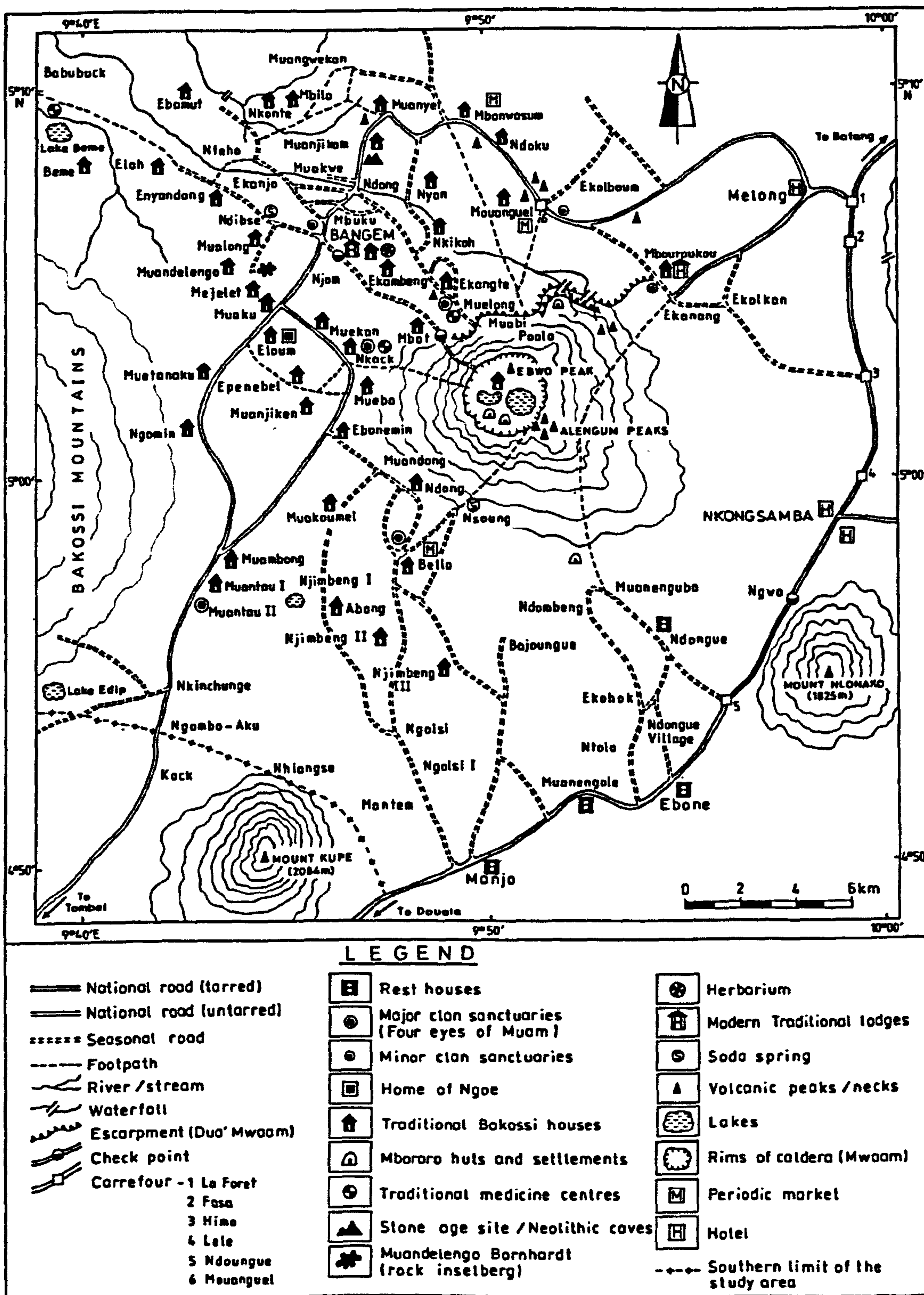


Figure 6.1: The tourism destination (Mwaam) and other resources in Muanenguba.  
(Source: adapted from Ewane *et al.*, 2002, by Ivo Ngwese and drawn by Cletus Forba.)



Through the process of nocturnal (1.00 to 5.00 a.m.) participant observation and note-taking at La Foret in Melong, it was discovered that an estimated 3,500 national Western Highland-to-coast national business and family travellers rather than tourists visiting Mwaam stop by for refreshments, helping to make La Foret by far the busiest (and most nocturnal) of all *carrefours*. La Foret gains from its being a resting transit centre, situated halfway between the urban centres of the Western Highlands, such as Bamenda and Baffoussam, and the coastal city of Douala, separated by long distances. Traffic comprises predominantly coaches of varied capacities (14-, 18-, 20-, 30- and 70-seater coaches) owned by some 20 national travel agencies, but also private cars carrying business people who need to catch morning activities in the urban centres; other persons taking back goods purchased from the coastal city of Douala; VFRs; young people travelling to stay for schooling and other career opportunities; and delivery vehicles for drinks, agricultural products and perishable groceries. The names of off-licence bars at La Foret, such as Escale de l'Ouest (Stop of the West) and Repose des Voyageurs (Travellers' Rest), give clues to the main principle in operation at all *carrefours*. Although there is daytime traffic, stopping is significantly less (by about 80%) compared with night-time. Men sell nationally brewed drinks in the bars, and locally roasted food items such as steak (*sawyer*), while women sell roasted ripe plantains, plums and fish. Women also sell fruits such as pineapples, and cooked national – non-traditional – food items such as *fufu* and *eru*, *garri* and soup, rice and stew. Some young men are mobile by virtue of their using privately owned motorbikes to run local transport businesses. Two grocery stores owned and run by non-indigenous families also sell items imported from in Douala – the economic capital. *Carrefours* serve mainly non-holiday national travellers. They are places where business and leisure operate, and where different gender roles – re-enforced and transformed – are taken by both natives and non-natives (see also section 8.2.2).





Photo 6.1: Visitors in 4×4 cars approaching the brim for the first sight of the Female Lake in Mwaam. Notice the concrete buckaroos, and the deep crater of the Female Lake descending steeply in the right foreground. (Source: The Max Experience.)

More than half of the visitors surveyed in Mwaam (59.5%) said that guiding was not necessary because of experience from previous visits and/or the availability of friends and family members – expatriates resident and working in Cameroon – to accompany them. However, many other first-time visitors (41.5% – Table 8.1) were guided by predominantly inexperienced non-indigenes contacted by visitors through hotels in far away coastal cities such as Douala and urban centres such as Yaoundé. This included drivers who doubled as guides. It was discovered that the use of non-locals forestalled both the need for local guides, who certainly have a better knowledge of local culture, and the use of local *en route* accommodation: the Villa Luciole and the Prestige Inn. This was also associated with limited local interaction *en route*. Most of those who were not locally guided were coincidentally those who went straight to Mwaam and camped. While guides constituted just 4.9% of all visitors surveyed during the period of fieldwork, only about 10% of the guides were locals, who accompanied 13% of the visitors surveyed in Mwaam. Currently, there are no local mechanisms to prevent this limitation on local participation. It was also discovered that, at such an early stage of tourism development, local guides are linked to tourist accommodations. Currently, local guides come from either Mburuku through the Villa Luciole or Bangem through the Prestige Inn. This has negative implications both for local benefits and for distribution of guiding benefits. Guiding also excludes females, except where families of Western expatriates and diplomats living in Cameroon brought friends and relatives who were visiting from abroad. But this was



difficult to judge, owing to the predominance of groups comprising people who all claimed to be on holiday, although guided by resident expats.

6.3.2 The tourism season: seasonality and concentration in Mwaam.

Tourism in Muanenguba is characterised by seasonality: tropical weather conditions influence tourism arrivals. Monthly figures of arrivals collected in Mwaam yielded the bar graph in Figure 6.2 for Mwaam.

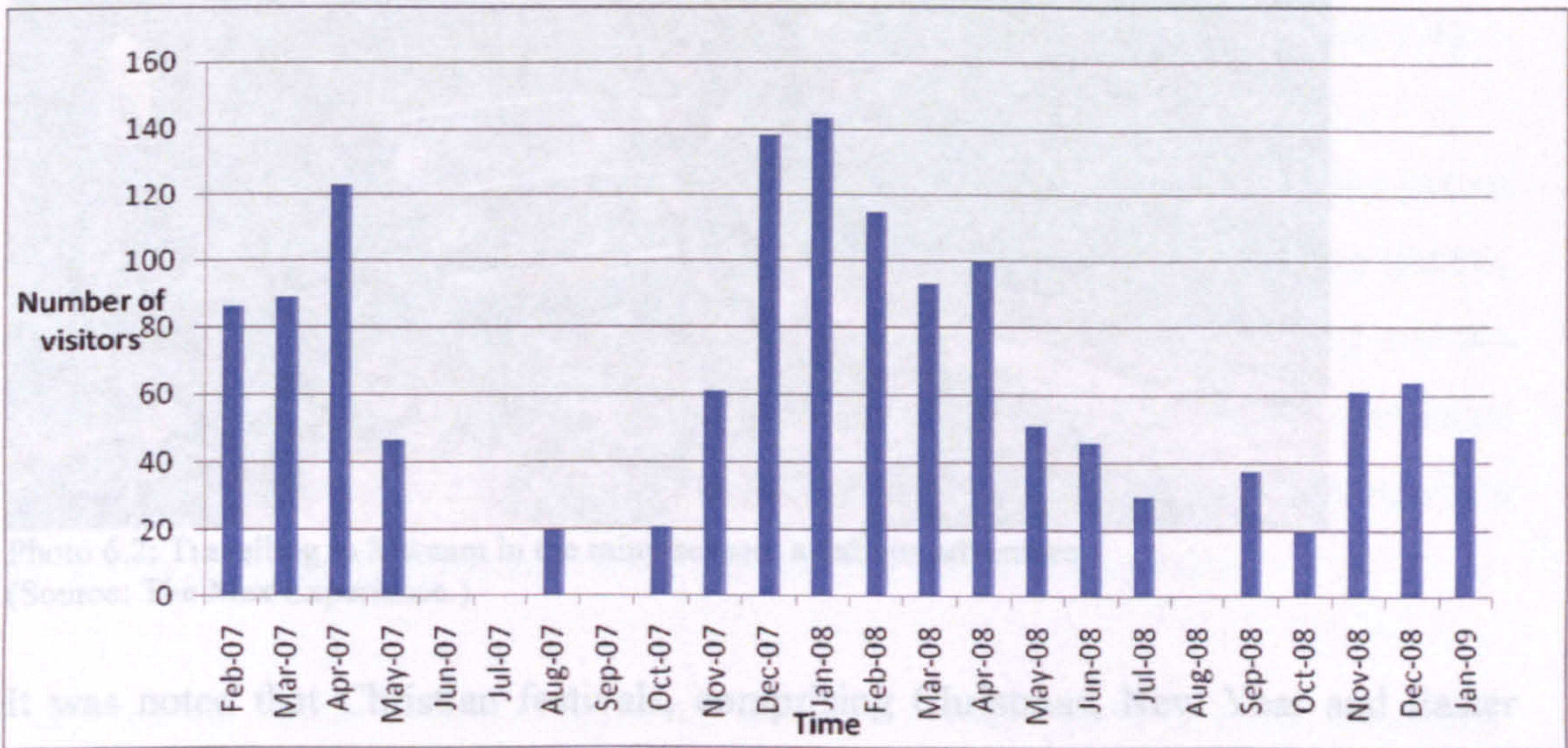


Figure 6.2: Seasonal nature of tourist arrivals in Mwaam: totals from February 2007 to January 2009. (Source: special tourist registers kept with the destination guard.)

The graph, produced from data in the special registers, shows that visitation is largely but not very strictly limited to the tourism or dry season in Mwaam, which runs from November to April (Figure 6.2). During the tourism season when fieldwork was carried out (2007–2008), most visitors (more than 85%) arrived during the dry season, which has sunny, tropical montane weather, described by a visitor as ‘*calme et fraicheur*’. Arrivals in the year 2007–2008 peaked from December to April. The peak period accounted for 80.1% of all arrivals. However, no overcrowding of Mwaam was noticed during these months. It remained a place of tranquillity. Some tourists, locally referred to as ‘visitors who tie their hearts due to their painstaking character’, still visit outside the seasonal limits, braving the difficult road conditions during the rainy season (Photo 6.2). Seasonality of climate (problem) is not unique to Muanenguba. Limited access due to impassable roads during the wet season – some months without visitors in Muanenguba – is common in developing countries, e.g. in Zambia (Teye, 1988) where the Victoria Falls dominate, with other attractions subordinated by problems of seasonality, geographic access, and distance from the



international airport and in Nicaragua (Krider *et al.* 2010). Many destinations in the developed world – e.g. the Spanish Costas and other Mediterranean coastal resorts – have peak and low seasons related to seasonality of climate, but unrelated to accessibility by road as in LDCs.



Photo 6.2: Travelling to Mwaam in the rainy season: a tedious adventure.  
(Source: The Max Experience.)

It was noted that Christian festivals, comprising Christmas, New Year and Easter celebrations, and national celebrations such as the plebiscite on 11 February (see section 6.2.3), offering expatriates and diplomats (a key identifiable group of visitors) time off work and holiday opportunities, contributed as ‘push’ factors to increase arrivals. A small proportion of visitors witnessed the 2008 plebiscite celebration in Bangem. But local people do not show any preparedness in packaging and staging dances/festivities for tourists, because of the current fleeting contact and low status of tourism. Tourism is not considered by locals other than the key actors (see section 6.4) as a major economic activity. This seems to represent a potential for the future. When it came to other local places visited (around Muanenguba), 64.1% of visitors restricted their local experience to the destination, Mwaam (Table 6.3).

Attraction	Number of visitors	Proportion of visitors (%)
Chutes d’Ekom Nkam	15	14.6
Bangem	17	16.5
Mt. Kupe	3	2.9
Lake Bermin	2	1.9
No other local place	66	64.1
Valid cases	103	100.0

Table 6.3: Other local places visited by tourists who came to Mwaam, January to June 2007.  
(Source: Questionnaire surveys.)



Most visitors (64.1%) visited only Mwaam. This is partly because of the extraordinary scenery, and partly due to the visitors' pre-travel knowledge of Mwaam. Because of Bangem's location at the entry point of the upper slopes of Muanenguba (proximity to Mwaam), and because visitors stay at the Prestige Inn (see section 6.4.6), Bangem was quoted as the main *en route* location (16.5%). Les Chutes d'Eau d'Ekoum Nkam (the Ekoum Nkam Falls) was the second most popular local natural attraction (14.6% of visitors). This is due to its accessibility, compared with other waterfalls in the study area: visitors stop by to watch it. Visitors to Ekoum Nkam reach the waterfall after a walk or drive through the village (see section 1.4).

Although the falls are located in the interior of a pristine rainforest with easier access than Mwaam, the visits are characterised by viewing the waterfalls, taking photos, and in rare cases sitting in the bar if time permits. It is a type of stop-and-see attraction, which just receives day visitors who are on their way to major destinations (Mwaam, and the Western Highlands region of Cameroon). For this reason, visits were very short, taking scarcely more than 30 minutes of visitors' time.

Lake Bermin in the Bakossi Highlands is rarely visited (1.9% of those surveyed), because of its very limited accessibility. Only research scientists and a few adventure tourists reach there, viewing and photographing the Muandelengo and Nyale Rocks (inselburgs) on their way. Although Mount Kupe (part of the Bakossiland, but outside the study area) is situated on one of the routes to Mwaam, and is credited as the place where the ecotourism initiative was born, it received only 2.9% of those who visited other local attractions during the period of fieldwork. The Mount Kupe and Lake Bermin cases lead the investigation to advance the thesis that tourism in the study area is predominantly Mwaam-based. This was confirmed by villagers in Nyasoso on the slope of Mount Kupe.

All visitors surveyed remarked that Mwaam, especially the caldera and the Twin Lakes, were the main features that attracted them to Muanenguba. Because Mwaam has extraordinarily picturesque scenery, offers more attractions and commits some visitors to stay over, it provides an opportunity to evaluate the ethical dimensions of tourism or the principles of ecotourism through dominant hedonistic (pleasure-seeking) activities and the ethical responsibilities of the visitors, in line with objective i (see section 7.7.5).



6.3.3 Weekly variations in visitor arrivals in Mwaam.

An assessment of dates of visitor arrivals recorded in the special visitor register kept by the destination guard for investigator during fieldwork yielded the results shown in Figure 6.3.

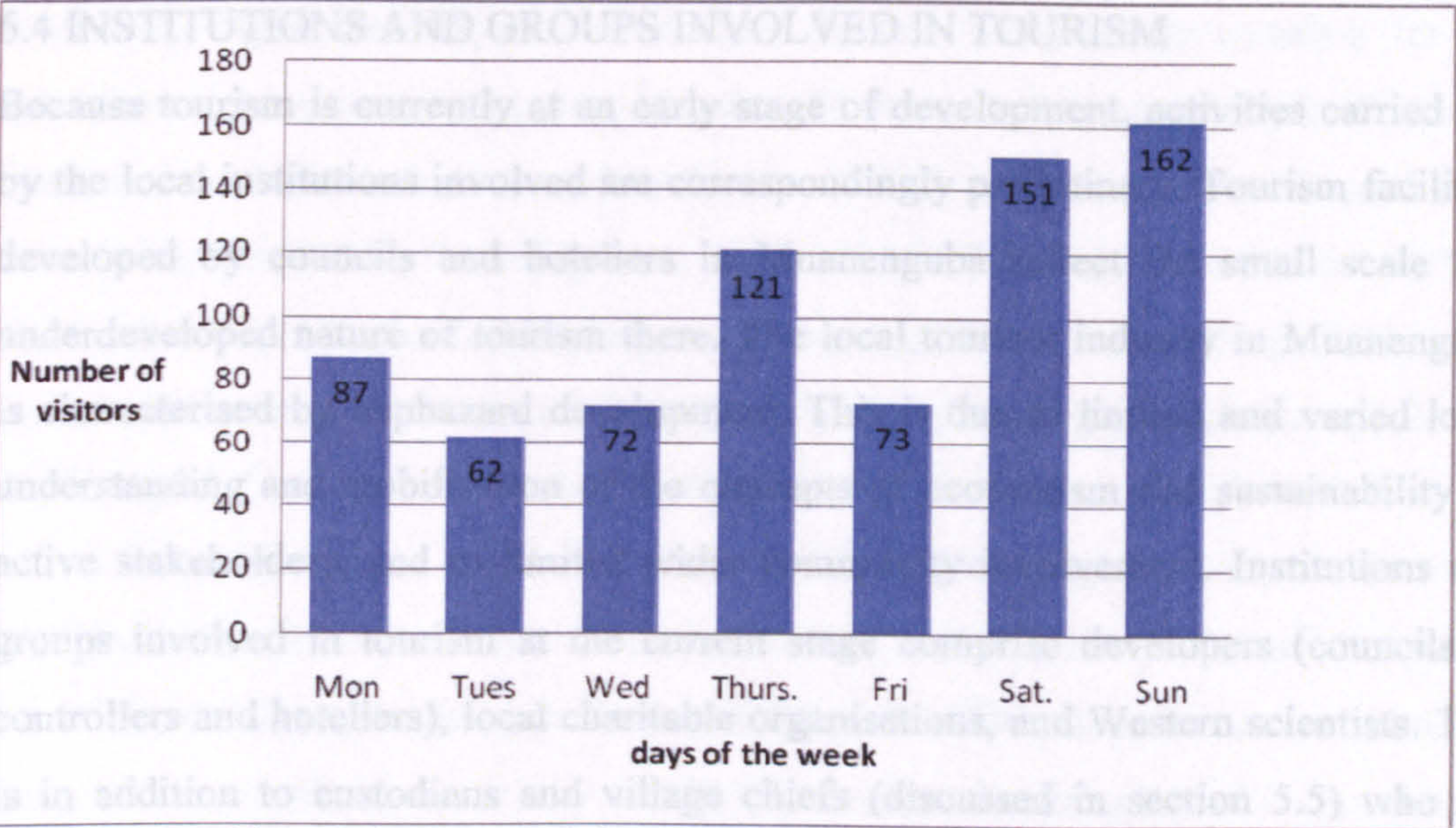


Figure 6.3: Weekly variations in arrivals in Mwaam: totals from February 2007 to January 2008. (Source: special visitor registers.)

The number of visitors arriving in Mwaam during the period of the survey was generally higher during the weekends (Saturday and Sunday; also see Appendix 6b). However, weekdays (Mondays and Thursdays) that coincided with Christian festivals (Christmas, New Year and Easter) during the period of fieldwork (January to June 2007) also contributed substantial arrivals. However, this does not imply that Mwaam is very busy during the weekends of the tourism season: there were rarely more than 10 visitors arriving in Mwaam on any single day, except in seven cases during the peak months of December to April, where some 10 groups contributed between 17 and 36 arrivals. Average weekly arrival was calculated to be 14 visitors. Although a particular group of visitors may be disruptive, the investigation observed that such arrivals in small numbers and the preponderance of day visits (see length of stay) barely altered the tranquillity of Mwaam. Expatriates and diplomats contributed to weekend visits. As authenticated by these visitors, this was either by bringing their friends and families from abroad, or by bringing their family members living with them on those non-working days (see also section 7.6.2) as part of exploring the countryside of Cameroon. The characteristic of small numbers in an out-of-the-way and barely accessible destination fits both the early stages of tourism development, as



stipulated in Butler's (1980) model, and the idea of ecotourism principles operating as part of nascent tourism. Butler's model forecasts that, as facilities are developed and the destination becomes known, arrivals will increase. This would be detrimental to ecotourism development in Muanenguba.

## **6.4 INSTITUTIONS AND GROUPS INVOLVED IN TOURISM**

Because tourism is currently at an early stage of development, activities carried out by the local institutions involved are correspondingly preliminary. Tourism facilities developed by councils and hoteliers in Muanenguba reflect the small scale and underdeveloped nature of tourism there. The local tourism industry in Muanenguba is characterised by haphazard development. This is due to limited and varied local understanding and mobilisation of the concepts of ecotourism and sustainability by active stakeholders, and to limited wider community involvement. Institutions and groups involved in tourism at the current stage comprise developers (councils or controllers and hoteliers), local charitable organisations, and Western scientists. This is in addition to custodians and village chiefs (discussed in section 5.5) who are involved from time to time in sacred affairs relating to the protection of sanctity, custodianship and identity.

### **6.4.1 Western scientists: ecotourism and protected area initiatives (MIER and BNP).**

Information from former conservation employees of the Mount Kupe Forest Project, and from scientists from the Royal Botanical Gardens (RBG) at Kew (see also section 2.8), reveals that Western-sponsored scientific/tropical expeditions to the Bakossiland – the second phase of exploration, the first being colonial intelligence expeditions – started as birdwatching tours sponsored by Birdlife International in 1991. These later developed into ornithological research activities such as bird ringing. Initial findings inspired Birdlife International to create the Mount Kupe Forest Project (MKFP) a conservation project in Nyasoso, as an expedition base at the southern outskirts of the study area in 1991. The activities of Birdlife International ushered in a decade of environmentalism. From 1993, RBG scientists carried out botanical research and plant collection, and created a checklist with sponsorship from Earthwatch and the Darwin Initiative (Cheek *et al.*, 2004). The MKFP, taken over by WWF in 1995, applied the triple bottom line approach to development – conserving biodiversity, and sensitising on alternative livelihood



strategies – in the Bakossiland. In 1998, as the Bangem Rural Council started engaging with tourism in Mwaam, the WWF extended what it called an ‘ecotourism initiative’ – the sensitisation of villagers to the idea of using ecotourism as an income source, achievable through the building of armoured bridges for guided forest treks in the Bakossi Highlands. This initiative covered remote villages such as Baseng, Nyandong, Nyale and Bajoh around Lake Bermin. Also, it was common for the scientists to accompany holidaying friends to Mwaam. In the meantime, the Western-pioneered triple bottom line applied by the MKFP, and the ecotourism initiative, were being adopted by the indigenous NGO called CERUT (see section 6.4.4). The Centre for Reproduction of Endangered Species (CRES) at San Diego University joined RBG through conservation and research on endangered gorilla species in 2002. Apart from the ecotourism initiative, two consequences followed Western scientific exploration in the Bakossiland, of which Muanenguba is a part. One was that Yade French Connection videoed the Bakossiland in April 2007, and produced a film documentary, premiered in January 2008 at the RBG, in order to – as stated by one of those involved, a scientist at RBG – ‘market the Bakossiland for tourism in the Western world’. The second consequence was the protected area initiative, and the ensuing local debate.

Factions involved in the debate include the government, British scientists, indigenes (villagers and elites), and American scientists. Influenced by Western scientific research, and the resulting environmentalism from the late 20th century to the early 21st century (discussed in section 6.4.1), in 2004 the government of Cameroon started plans to create protected areas in the Bakossiland. The government’s aim was to join part of the Bakossiland, which includes Muanenguba, with the Banyang Mbo Sanctuary and thereby form a larger block of protected tropical forest. The government was inspired by the finding that the Bakossiland has ‘the largest and most pristine submontane forest in Africa’ (Cheek, 2004b). Given that the different groups of scientists had differing opinions and varied motivations for advancing the concept of protected areas, a discourse – political ecology (Gossling, 2003) – soon ensued. Compared with the debates on access (see Section 5.4.5) and ownership (see Section 8.5), the political ecology related to sustainability initiatives involved non-indigene factions. This was a conflict between state policy, engineered by Western environmentalism, and tropical (African) peasantry indigenous culture, similar to the finding of Akama (1996) in Kenya. While Mwaam and its environs were set to



become the Muanenguba Integrated Ecological Reserve (MIER), covering 5,252 ha of forest area (WWF, undated), the Bakossi Highlands and Mount Kupe were set to become the Bakossi National Park (BNP).

The idea of the MIER was the initiative of scientists from WWF-UK. The investigation considers this faction to be the *British interest group*. Their notion developed from the interest in new plant species and phenomenally high floral diversity discovered through the RBG expeditions and the Mount Kupe Forest Project. Motivated by interest in safaris, the faunal diversity of the Bakossi Highlands, and the apparent revival of the primate community following their work on conservation of primates, primatologists from CRES, San Diego University, constituted the *American interest group* and proposed a national park (the BNP). Such differing Western scientific propositions for sustainable development in the Bakossiland reflected the differing conservation ideologies influenced by field of specialisation (i.e. RBG/botanists/MIER and CRES/zoologists/BNP).

Against the differing Western-engineered environmentalist proposals adopted by the government of Cameroon, elites of the Nhia clan who work in agriculture and forestry led the *indigenous interest group*. The indigenes interpreted the MIER concept as a move by the government and some foreign authorities to take over Mwaam, their cradle, and stop them from continuing their age-old indigenous practices (see section 5.4.3). Considering that the MINEF unequivocally stated in the government's pre-MIER communication that 'no human activity shall be tolerated again in the given area' as stated in the Mayor's 'worries' (Alobwede, 2005), the indigenes of Nhia clan, led by those elites, wrote a memorandum to the government expressing their preference for a non-exclusive indigenous community forest (Ebong, 2005). In reaction to the dynamics of the MIER in 2006, *ngwe'nhia*, a council of chiefs of the Nhia clan (see sections 5.2.3 and 5.2.4), went to Mwaam to carry out sacrifices at sacred spots as part of their move to deter intrusion. This kind of occasional intervention by elites and *ngwe* in such an emergency situation, aimed specifically to secure custodianship and ownership, together with the normal involvement of traditionally designated elders – custodians representing three local clans: Nhia, Nninong and Muamenam – in annual sacred sacrifices, constitute the principal mechanisms that specifically relate the indigenous hierarchy to nascent tourism. Although natives in such positions of power and status are not the sole



direct participants in interaction with visitors (discussed in section 8.2), indigenous factors of power and status delineate the special involvement of custodians and the chiefs – indigenes with ascribed status – as in this case of 2006 in sacred affairs at the tourism destination (see section 8.5.2). The *political group* represented by the mayors of Bangem and Nkongsamba municipal councils – indigenes with achieved status – welcomed the idea of protected areas, but were fearful of the impacts of MIER on local communities, which rely wholly or partially on the natural resources.

After the gazetting and lobbying processes with all stakeholders involving meetings with the government, the councils and villagers, carried out by WWF for the government, the government announced its creation of the BNP early in 2008. The BNP covers only the more remote Bakossi Highlands. The tourist destination is still left unprotected, and so far the BNP has remained an announcement. Currently, Nhia custodianship of Mwaam and awareness of the threats posed by MIER have led to traditional determinism. The clan increasingly demands land ownership rights over Mwaam from the government (see section 8.5.2). This request is persistently ignored, causing what one elite referred to as the ‘reticence of some village individuals’, for example during lobbying meetings for MIER. Up to the time of writing, the implication of the protected area initiative for biodiversity, ecotourism and the communities was unsubstantiated, because implementation is still wanting. This is an expression of limited and varied understanding and mobilisation of the concepts of ecotourism and sustainability by active stakeholders such as designated indigenes (custodians and chiefs), councils, hoteliers and CERUT, and by passive stakeholders such as the government, NCUDA Ltd and the wider community, as well as the nascent nature of tourism. This is to an extent substantiated in the following sections.

#### **6.4.2 The Bangem Rural Council (BRC).**

The BRC administers the destination, Mwaam. As noted in section 6.2.4, BRC started managing Mwaam formally via gatekeeping and collection of access fees in Mbat in 1998. In addition to fee collection, BRC records arrivals, and is responsible for the development of facilities. Following initial collaboration between the developer (BRC) and the chiefs of the main custodian clan, Nhia, natives of the clan constructed two traditional houses (*ndab echum*: see Photo 6.3) on the northern accessible shores of the Female Lake in 1999, through community labour. This re-introduction of *ndab echum* was – as stated by the Mayor of Bangem, an



indigene/elite with achieved status – to ‘portray a strong tradition of the Bakossiland around the most celebrated place’. The chiefs and villagers of the clan considered this custom-friendly initiative as a chance to show ownership of the destination (Mwaam, their cradle), against growing interest from the council BRC and the government. Thus although the traditional house initiative is evidence of cooperation between the tourism developer (BRC) and the custodian community, in line with ecotourism principles, this is not the perception of the community. As affirmed by the caretaker of Mwaam, ‘the *ndab echum* are a symbol for our ownership and custodianship of Mwaam. We own the houses and use them during annual sacrifices.’ This non-tourist argument of indigenes (part of an indigenous political ecology) who have custodianship responsibilities – ascribed power and status by representing the wider community in sacred affairs in Mwaam – explains why the usual contents of typical *ndab echum* found in the villages, such as wooden or bamboo beds, bands, wood and clay pots, are absent (see section 1.5.4), and why there is a trivial issue of authenticity unperceived by the custodians in this case. This reflects the nascent nature of tourism. Where tourism is advanced, e.g. seaside resorts in Slovenia, authenticity has developed into a psychographic segmentation variable owing to considerable variations in its quest and associated attraction choice (Sedmark and Mihalic, 2008: 1007).

The *ndab echum* in Mwaam assert indigenous identity at the destination: while village visits by the predominantly Western tourists are very scarce in Muanenguba – made only at Ekom Nkam, as a result of the falls in the vicinity), the presence of these cultural symbols, intellectual properties or symbolic assets allow visitors an experience of native culture at the secluded destination, Mwaam. Currently, the traditional house initiative has essentially and effectively become a process of conflating the cultural and natural environments, unwittingly packaging a symbolic asset for tourism to create a symbolic economy, taking a product to the customer, or taking an aspect of native culture to the visitors (in line objectives iii and iv). However, visitors are presented with the houses, but not with the related sacred operations associated with the houses. Native principles of access (‘visiting with one heart [without evil intentions], viewing with two eyes [without seeing into the supernatural]’) are assumed to be in operation for the houses. Some visitors wander around them, take a closer look, and/or – as stated by the chief custodian/key informant – ‘use them as accommodation, as long as they do not know the sacred



values embedded in the houses, or wilfully seek the sacred practices'. This requires no particular payment or need for permission, except at times when the guard is present, and is in accordance with the principle of not selling *mbuog*, as explained in section 5.4.5. Thus although *ndab echum* in Mwaam live through sacred indigenous values, there are no concerns arising from the visitors' use or prohibitions from use because – as stated by the caretaker of Mwaam – 'we like *nkinmut* [visitors] who value our culture'. Two visitors who used them remarked that 'sleeping in those houses gave [them] an experience of a lifetime'. Thus local views of nature have led to the construction of *ndab echum* that are now contributing to the tourism experience.



Photo 6.3: Asserting local identity in Mwaam: two *ndab echum* on the accessible northern shores of Edep (the Female Lake). (Photo by Ivo Ngwese, 2007.)

Visitors also see *ndab echum* on the way to Mwaam. Some villages located on the main route to Mwaam, such as Ekambeng and Mbat, contain *ndab echum* (Photo 1.5). Visitors, and 100% of first-time visitors surveyed, take photos of *ndab echum* for souvenirs. *Ndab echum* constitutes a key human product for tourism in Muanenguba. Tourist interest in *ndab echum* makes some locals 'demand a gift from tourists in exchange for pictures', as stated by villagers. Photography of *ndab echum* gives villagers who have them the rare opportunity to interact with visitors *en route* to Mwaam (as shown in section 8.2.2). *Ndab echum* and other developments in Mwaam are social capital developed by indigenous actors at the early stage of tourism in Muanenguba. This partly agrees with what Westlund and Nordin (2009) found in Are, Sweden, i.e. the role of local actors. In Muanenguba, dichotomies



between the spiritual *ndab echum* built by the custodian community and the secular concrete buckaroos and trekking staircases constructed by the developer (Bangem Council) constitute a context.

From 2000 to 2006 the BRC involved skilled local men to construct concreted hill-trekking staircases for ascent to the hilltop – the most popular spot for sightseeing – where both of the Twin lakes are viewed. At the brim of the crater of the Female Lake, where the descending staircases start, the BRC also constructed concrete buckaroos – small conical concrete buildings roofed with corrugated iron sheets for visitors to stay under if there is scorching sunshine, and a Mbororo-style grass hut (Photo 6.1). Late in 2007 the BRC constructed staircases down the northern accessible aspect of the Female Lake in order to facilitate descent, and benches by the lakeside for visitors to sit on. These other developments are non-vernacular, conflict with ecotourism principles suggested by WTO (2004b: 282), and point to a limited understanding of sustainability principles (see section 8.5.3).

The BRC has employed two local males. One of them is the revenue or access fees collector – the ‘gatekeeper’ – an indigene of Mbat village. He collects access and photography fees. The other is the guard, a native from Poala village. They trek for approximately 3 km to carry out their daily duties in Mwaam. These employees are fully and permanently employed. But they mentioned that because visitors or visitor groups are few and far between, concurrent with the nature of the industry, they work as part-time employees on some days, working on their farms located within a few kilometres of Mwaam, and only leaving their farm duties and meeting visitors as and when they hear the noise of visitors’ cars passing by the Mbat village. The main activity of the guard, as stipulated by the BRC, is ‘observation and security of Mwaam and visitors’. In principle, his title ‘guard’ means that there is no guide role. However, the guard gives advice so that visitors can avoid trekking in dangerous places, although his warnings are not heeded by some intrepid visitors. He repairs traditional lodges and directs some visits, and answers any questions – acting as culture broker – asked by the visitors, thereby providing guiding services. The material desires of the main tourism employee in Mwaam, and the lack of training and clarification of his role, have given rise to guard–guide confusion. Guarding powers – the right to prohibit access, and to check non-indigenes who attempt to



carry out illegal activities such as poaching – make him demand illegal payments for guiding.

The access and photography fees collector was found to be attracted to the gifts that visitors would give to the guard in Mwaam. This led him to collect his fees in Mwaam, instead of at the checkpoint in Mbat, where pre-access ideas could be passed on to visitors. Some visitors (about 5%) commented that they were ‘okay to pay in any place’, but were ‘distracted from enjoying first sight of the unique Twin Lakes’. The fact that visitors and visitor groups are few and far between rendered it impossible for the investigation to validate further this apparent discomfort caused by the destination employee (see also section 8.2.1).

Basic tourism data (date of arrival, source region of visitors, reasons for visit and remarks) have to be entered in a register, which is kept by the checkpoint attendant in Mwaam. The same procedure had only just started at Ekom Nkam during the period of fieldwork (January to June 2007). According to a council memorandum at Ekom Nkam, such registers are supposed to be sent to councils. While other useful data such as place of residence and length of stay are wanting, the councils kept no records (see section 4.5.1). Sometimes, as an illegal strategy for extra income, the employees siphon tourism fees by deliberately withholding entry for some visitors, and not giving receipts for payments made by unregistered visitors. During a discussion with the mayor of Bangem it came to light that the checkpoint attendant was passing on less than 30% of the fees that the BRC is supposed to receive from tourism in Mwaam. This was unknown to the mayor until the time of fieldwork, as access fee collection is still considered experimental. Continuous mishandling of entrance fees for Mwaam led to two consequences. First, the fees collector was suspended from June to September 2007. Second, as with motor parking fees, toll gates and periodic market fees, the new mayor took an unwavering decision to privatise tourism fee collection (Alobwede, 2006). In response to this, the serving collector appealed to be kept in the job, and promised to provide more annual returns than previously (550,000 CFAfrancs, up from 300,000 CFAfrancs). This was obtrusive proof of local economic leakages from nascent tourism. Leakages in this case are local, and different from those that would come with foreign ownership of tourism infrastructure, as suggested by the dependency theory (Lea, 1988; Weaver, 1998; Harrison, 2001).



In 2007 the government introduced a seasonal earth road from Bangem through the Babibog area in the remote Bakossi Highlands to Nguti. This was supervised by BRC. However, the objective of better territorial administration overrode that of tourism development. As the route was on bush paths before road construction, the road is used only by trekking villagers and motorbike operators for their peasant activities and local transport services respectively.

#### **6.4.3 The Nkongsamba Urban Council (NKUC) and Delegation of Tourism (DELETOUR).**

It was understood, from discussions with the villagers in Ekom Nkam, that the Ekom Nkam Falls are administered by the NKUC. NKUC took what it calls ‘full responsibility’, starting with formal management of the registration of foreign visitors and collection of access fees in Ekom Nkam village in 2006. NKUC initially collaborated with the village association – the Committee de Développement d’Ekom-Nkam or Committee for the Development of Ekom-Nkam (CODENKAM): members of CODENKAM provided community labour at low cost during the council-sponsored development of the infrastructure in 2006. The infrastructure comprises four unused buckaroos about 100 m away from the falls, walkways leading to the falls, and seats for visitors to sit on and watch the spectacular falls. Initial employment of the local committee fitted in with the indigenous model of community work. One village volunteer – the owner of the village bar, Millennium Transcontinentale – collects access fees as part of the development activities in the village. Therefore he is not paid for the service. Millennium Transcontinentale is a locally owned and family-run bar, situated in a local family house. The falls can be heard from the bar, which is about 400 m away, and provides drinks and snacks such as biscuits for tourists who need them. Unfortunately, only a few visitors use the bar every now and then. A wooden mask, traditionally decorated by the villagers, is placed at the entrance to the fall to – as stated by a few villagers interviewed – assert local presence and ‘look after the waterfall’. The idea of the mask was decided by the village elders who also control sacred sacrifices (in line with section 8.5.2).

According to insider sources, the government of Cameroon initially created the Mounjo Divisional Delegation of Tourism (DELETOUR) in Nkongsamba in 2004. The DELETOUR operation remained on paper only, because of a lack of



government funding for its operations, until 2006, when the tourism office was constructed. But up to the time of writing it was still not fully operational, having only one officer and a few local volunteers on stand-by to guide visitors to les Chutes d'Ekoum Nkam. The newly created DELETOUR will eventually work with the council of Nkongsamba in the management of tourism in Ekoum Nkam. Although modalities were not specified during the period of fieldwork for this investigation, DELETOUR will provide – as stated by the new officer – ‘technical services such as training and advice’. Unfortunately, this service will be only for tourism in Moungo Division, or the French region of Mouanengouba (Ekoum Nkam). It does not cover Mwaam, the destination. The Bangem area or English region of Mouanengouba, which controls tourism in Mwaam, still lacks a local tourism service. There is no east–west (French/NKUC–English/BRC) cooperation in tourism development. This standalone practices sub-optimize efficiency in tourism development. There was no evidence that fees collected around the attractions are used for nature conservation in line with the ecotourism concept (see also section 8.6). The idea of using the funds for nature conservation as required by ecotourism is out of the main question. This implies that ecotourism is not understood or mobilised as a sustainable option by the controllers of nascent tourism, i.e. the councils. Council mayors and employees view tourism simply as a new source of income for the municipalities. Its expansion is welcome to them, because current fees do not provide enough income for the councils. The case of Mouanengouba is relative to Androit's (2005) overview of tourism in Crete, where similar authorities are applying sustainability strategies in order to prevent tourism (in its later stages) from declining after expansion.

The councils (NKUC and BRC) consider every facility as useful. But as we shall see in Chapter Eight, the concrete facilities – buckaroos and trekking ways – in Mwaam and Ekoum Nkam are criticised by some visitors, who view them as unethical, leading to a loss of aesthetic beauty (see also section 8.5.3). While the indigenes and settlers consider themselves included in tourism only at the decision-making level specific for tourism, there is a lack of this kind of inclusion (objective iii) in Mouanengouba. Although there is a village committee (CODENKAM), NKUC controls tourism and takes all decisions on the French aspects. In Mwaam and Ekoum Nkam, indigenes have been only included during the initial need for cheap community labour, for example in constructing the infrastructure. Although designated members of the community (those with custodianship duties, i.e. custodians and chiefs) and councils



are involved in and around tourist sites – biased participation – at the early stages of tourism development, their roles are different. The custodianship roles are spiritual (sacred affairs), whereas the council roles are material (tourism development). It is difficult to consider uninterrupted indigenous custodianship duties as an indicator of sustainability (objective iv), given that WTO (2004b: 268, 282) recognises cooperation/participation in planning, development, operation and benefit sharing. In general, the idea of such inclusion in tourism has yet to permeate local areas in Cameroon. Villagers, even those with custodianship responsibilities in Mwaam, simply stay with their grievances, as they are lamentably helpless in their protestations for being restricted to just sacred affairs (see sections 5.4.1 and 8.5.2) without benefits from tourism.

According to information from the Nkongsamba Council, and from field observations, the government spent 2 million CFAfrancs (about £2,000) to grade the road to the Ekom Nkam Falls, which is off the Douala–Nkongsamba–Baffoussam highway, from January to April 2007, a period that coincided with fieldwork. This was under the supervision of NKUC. Similarly, from November 2007 to April 2008 the government also repaired the Douala–Nkongsamba stretch of the highway. This has improved the condition of the roads. But a greater part of the tourism experience is still associated with seasonal roads (see section 8.6.1)

#### **6.4.4 The Centre for the Environment and Rural Transformation (CERUT).**

CERUT is an indigenous NGO created as a sole proprietorship – owned by its creator – in August 1990. CERUT's goal is stated as 'empower[ing] local people through education, training and extension work for the improvement of nutrition and the protection and promotion of the environment' (CERUT, 1997: 2; 2000: 5; 2002: 28; 2003: i). Under the broad themes of sustainable forest management, sustainable agriculture, sustainable livestock farming, women and micro credits, education and information, rural infrastructure, and advocacy and capacity building, CERUT championed local exploration by carrying out several activities (CERUT, 1997, 2000, 2003) that implicitly promoted tourism from 1997 to 2003. Such activities included biodiversity survey and the identification of endemic species (plants and birds), and the promotion of certain activities, such as kola nut growing and honey production, to yield food items of high traditional and economic value as alternative key sources of livelihood to divert the attention of locals from other natural



resources. CERUT also carried out sensitisation against bushmeat hunting and fuel wood harvesting, and created a hunters' union made of 20 hunters in Nhia Clan (CERUT, 2000: 6–8, 9, 13–14); mounted unsuccessful campaigns against local bushfires, especially around Mwaam; and provided support for village communities in Muanjikom, Nsong and Muaku to acquire community forests. These activities were intended to maintain floral and faunal resources, potential objects of the tourist gaze. CERUT also created rudimentary facilities such as a cattle drinking trough for drinking water in Mwaam, with the objective of stopping cattle from drinking and polluting the water of the Female Lake, and made efforts 'to disenclave some hamlets through participatory road maintenance' (*ibid*: 8).

To directly promote what they called 'sustainable' and 'ecotourism', CERUT staff carried out enforcement of the touristic value of waterfalls by labelling the rivers Mbwe and Chede as attractions; by gravelling difficult spots on the 9.6 km Bangem–Mwaam road between 1999 and 2002 to increase access; by identifying hot or thermal springs at Nsong and Ndibse that are fairly accessible on the ground, but rarely visited; by sensitising of villagers to the value of key sacred sites or clan sanctuaries in Nhia (Abukumo), Nninong (Ngoe's grave) and Muamenam (Njengele); and by sensitisation of potential guides and porters in Mbat and Bangem. Although attractions are socially defined by tourists, CERUT made efforts to produce the first ever 'partial statistics' for arrivals in Mwaam, considered to be 'arguably the most beautiful natural sites in Cameroon' (CERUT, 2000: 14), and to produce 'a map indicating the location of [what was considered to be] tourism attractions as part of a tourism strategy for the Muanenguba Mountain forest region' (CERUT, 2003: 5).

Because of CERUT's limited capacity, its work was limited in geographic area – predominantly to the Bangem or English region of Muanenguba. CERUT's literature shows an interchangeability of the terms 'sustainable tourism' (CERUT, 2000: 13; 2003: 5) and 'ecotourism' (CERUT, 1997: 8; 2000: 13–14). CERUT considered the buying of *Prunus*, beetles and chameleons by Western scientific researchers as part of ecotourism. Ethical considerations and ecotourism principles such as education, interaction, contributions to conservation, visitor behaviour and satisfaction were not known. An excerpt from their report (CERUT, 2000: 13) reveals their impression of ecotourism: 'the concept of ecotourism is limiting because it is primarily ecologically



motivated and places more emphasis on attractions to tourists and little or nothing to the host.’ They adopted ecotourism as a new dimension of the time from Western scientists, and promoted it under sustainable forest management (CERUT, 1997: 3; 2000: 3). Bush fires are as rampant as ever, although CERUT put in place a bush fire management committee. Because of the sole proprietorship, decision-making was on a one-person basis. Like many other sustainable projects in Cameroon and Africa, CERUT’s efforts seemed to end in vain. This is because, as stated by one CERUT employee, ‘the idea that it is hard to get indigenous peasants to give up their traditionally tried and tested methods of livelihood to follow Western principles of sustainability prevails in the Bakossiland and Cameroon.’ While CERUT is credited with early efforts to develop sustainable tourism, it now appears to be defunct, as the proprietor has turned his attention to media business.

#### 6.4.5 NCUDA Ltd.

NCUD Ltd is a UK-based charity formed in 2006 by elites living in the UK – trustees – who come from the Nhia clan in the Bakossiland. Beginning with the Nhia clan, NCUDA aims to reach out to communities in the Bakossiland, to assist with the education of people of all ages, and with the provision of basic healthcare, water supply, sanitary facilities and basic infrastructure, and to encourage local business initiatives to enhance the evolution of self-sustaining local communities and participation in wider society. From 2006 to 2009 NCUDA raised about £50,000, and used the funds to repair the building of the main primary school, which had been damaged by wind, and to construct a piped water infrastructure that is now benefiting about 2,500 people in the Nhia. These projects were accomplished by a villagers-appointed clan committee, whose members came from all the villages concerned. The most significant social effect of the piped water project was capacity and community building, as reduction of travel distance and time for fetching clean water, which allowed women and children more time for other tenure of employments at home. As stated under recommendations (section 9.2), NCUDA is encouraged by this research to plan to create an ‘ecotourism facility’ – an all-inclusive modern traditional house (*ndab echum*) – in Mwaam in the near future. NCUDA aims to strengthen the ecotourism potential for Muanenguba from 2010 by constructing such an ecotourism facility. But its role is for the future, and demonstrates support for ecotourism compared with the developers.



6.4.6 Hoteliers and local accommodation establishments.

Found along the visitors’ route (in towns and some villages, see map – Figure 6.1) are local, privately owned, non-chain accommodation establishments. As shown in Table 6.4, these accommodation establishments are linked to tourism in Muanenguba to differing degrees. With the exception of a few other hotels (Ferre and Fowe), accommodation establishments in Nkongsamba city are currently linked to national business travel between coastal cities such as Douala and the Western Highland cities such as Bafoussam and Bamenda.

Accommo- dation	Location	Capacity (rooms)/price per room	Links with tourism	Services offered and ethical issues
Villa Luciole	Ekanang	7/10,000 CFAfrs per night (plus five traditional lodges)	Used by visitors to Mwaam to prepare their trips.	Sleeping rooms, en suite bathrooms, reception lounge, kitchen, and environment tailored for mountain experience.
Prestige Inn	Bangem	15/10,000 CFAfrs (plus one traditional lodge)		A reception bar, sleeping rooms, en suite bath rooms catering/garden with local flowers.
Ferre	Nkong- samba	30/35,000 CFAfrs per night	A few tourists stay here to hike to Alehngum or travel to Mwaam.	Reception bar, sleeping rooms, en suite bathrooms and catering.
Fowe	Nkong- samba	40/ 20,000 CFAfrs per night		
Le Moungo	Nkong- samba	-	No evidence of link	
La Rochelle	Nkong- samba and Melong	-	Not operational.	
Hotel La Foret	Melong	10/3,000 CFAfrs per night per room.	No link: used by national long distance drivers.	Sleeping rooms and en suite bathrooms.

Table 6.4: Accommodation facilities and tourism in Muanenguba.  
(Source: investigator’s facility survey, March to April 2007.)

Hotels in Nkongsamba owned by non-natives used to be the principal tourism accommodations until the year 2000. Visitors who use local accommodation on their way to Mwaam now stay mainly in the Villa Luciole in Ekanang or the Prestige Inn in Bangem, Photo 6.2. The establishment of the Prestige Inn in 2000 and the Villa Luciole in 2005 became part of and signalled private indigenous engagement with tourism (objective iv). The introduction of traditional houses emphasised this. The



Prestige Inn and Villa Luciole are called *modern traditional lodges* by their proprietors. This is because both establishments contain modern brick houses and traditional houses (*ndab echum*), all constituting guest rooms that are used by some visitors. These are ideal local starting points for adventures in Muanenguba. Visitors offered the opportunity to sleep in *ndab echum* pay £30 per night (see section 7.7.6), whereas the normal price of a guest room in the concrete blocks is £10. These purpose-built *ndab echum* contain windows for ventilation. Such windows are absent from *ndab echum* in the villages and hamlets. The introduction of such windows is an impact of tourism: it represents both the packaging of indigenous culture and a change in the design of traditional houses to serve tourism – a problem of authenticity. But it also denotes the revival of vernacular architecture, an indicator of ecotourism (WTO, 2004b: 268, objective iv). No issues of authenticity were perceived or mentioned by the indigenes who were employed to construct the *ndab echum* through community labour, but one visitor was able to remark that ‘the [*ndab echum*] in the Prestige Inn gives a unique experience, but if you go into the village, you can see the *real* [*ndab echum*] still in traditional use.’ This comment made by just one visitor indicates that there is limited concern for authenticity. This seems to be a feature of nascent tourism. In effect, the hoteliers who own the Villa Luciole and Prestige Inn mediate modern convenience and indigenous culture by turning symbolic assets into economic assets. This epitomises a symbolic economy of tourism.

The Villa Luciole is a partnership of five male and one female indigenes – elites, who live and work in the urban areas outside Muanenguba – and one French male visitor, an expatriate living and working in Douala. It is situated at Ekanang village (Mburuku clan). This location coincides with the end of the tarred road. The Villa Luciole is made of restored colonial houses comprising two concrete bungalows. One of the bungalows has three guest rooms, and the other has four rooms with a lounge for reception containing chairs locally made with rattan. A separate small block house is used as a kitchen for catering. The bungalows open to a courtyard containing five traditional houses and local flowers. A stream flows past the establishment in a gully, and is heard from there. During questionnaire surveys, some visitors mentioned that they had bathed in the stream. A forest with equatorial trees surrounds the whole establishment. A parrot – a local bird – is kept in a cage. The Villa Luciole is run by two village men employed by the proprietors. The inclusion



of traditional houses was born out of the initiative of the French partner in 2005. In a very limited sense, the role of this expat is anecdotal evidence of the operation of modernisation theory (in line with Harrison, 2001). When this is added to the suggestion of correctives for sustainability by visitors (see section 7.7.5 and Appendix 7b), the evidence becomes stronger. The Villa Luciole, located at about 1,350 m above sea level, is tailored to give visitors a truly tropical mountain experience. One visitor remarked that ‘the environment of Luciole is airy and convenient,’ and another hailed the botanic richness of the site.

The Prestige Inn is a sole proprietorship, owned by an indigene (elite) who comes from a village located about 30 km away from Bangem, but lives and works with the government Ministry of Finance in the capital city of Yaoundé. It was constructed from 1998 to 2000. It is located opposite the police station and tourist checkpoint in Bangem, beside a local cash crop farm. This location coincides with the main entrance to the Bangem town, administrative headquarters for Mwaam. Although security is not an issue of concern, the Prestige Inn’s location opposite the police station means that it is more secure than the Villa Luciole. The Prestige Inn comprises two modern concrete houses. One of them contains 10 guest rooms and a reception bar. The other contains five guest rooms, and has one traditional house constructed close to it. The yard at the Prestige Inn is smaller than that of the Villa Luciole, but it consists of a well-tended garden, and paths marked with local flowers. Visitors are able to relax on the lawns (Photo 6.4). The forested valley of the river Mbwe, which visitors cross before reaching Bangem, can be seen and heard from the hotel. The Prestige Inn has three indigenous employees – two males and one female.

In both establishments, every guest room is very clean, and has a comfortable double bed and an *en suite* bathroom. Slated glass windows and thin curtains make the rooms airy. TV is available in the reception bars. The accommodation staff carry out receptionist duties (collecting room payments and food orders, issuing receipts, showing rooms to visitors and selling drinks), carrying out catering, housekeeping, non-routine gardening, etc. At the Villa Luciole, all the functions were performed by two native male employees (an alteration of gender roles), but at the Prestige Inn, traditional gender roles were evident (extended), as the one female employee cooked food and the males did receptionist duties. Similar impacts of tourism – alteration and re-enforcement of traditional gender roles – were found in Bali, Indonesia, by



Cuckier (2002). Tourism is leading to differing gender engagements in the two accommodation services in Muanenguba, and transforming the traditional non-cooking male role in Luciole. Although this refers to only four employees in tourism, these differing effects of tourism on gender identities created within the same sector provide a clue as to what could happen as tourism expands.



Photo 6.4: Mediating modern convenience and local identity through accommodation: Left: Villa Luciole – hotel and one of five traditional guest houses – at Ekanang. Right: visitors relaxing in front of the traditional *ndab echum*, part of the Prestige Inn in Bangem. [Photos by Ivo Ngwese, 2007 (left) and Kate Lloyd (right).]

Visitors can take breakfast of eggs, bread and Nescafe instant coffee. Breakfast is included in the room price, but lunch is scarce, because visitors are usually sightseeing in Mwaam at lunchtime. Evening meals comprise imported rice, locally grown plantains and Irish potatoes. These are consumed together with a spicy *stew* sauce usually made with local vegetables – predominantly tomatoes sold by village farmers (women) – and beef supplied by the Mbororo settlers in Mwaam and sold by village butchers (men) in the local periodic market, or fish imported from the coastal city and sold in family stores. There are no established supply chains for food items: employees in both the Luciole and the Prestige stated that ‘food is prepared on request and purchased in the local market or grocery stores as available’. Drinks offered in the accommodation include alcoholic beers such as Mutzig, Export, Castel and Amstel, and Top and Coca-Cola (not the low-sugar diet version).

Visitors consider both accommodation services (Luciole and Prestige) to be up to date in terms of sanitation, as there is good housekeeping. Visitor satisfaction also comes from the presence of the traditional houses and the friendliness of the staff (as



shown in section 8.3.2). These features earned these accommodations five-star ratings from all the users surveyed, based on their personal judgements. Interaction takes place in the accommodation places (see section 8.2.2). Hoteliers and staff regret the seasonal nature of tourism, and the idea that visitors are few and far between. They would prefer – as stated by both parties – more regular occupation of their premises, and the visitor spending (i.e. incomes) that comes with it. This is a sign that they would like to see the expansion of tourism.

#### **6.4.7 National security (traveller checkpoints).**

As with other roads in Cameroon, and according to the national security policy, which has been in force since independence, National Security – *Sûreté Nationale* – officers from the local gendarmerie and police departments work on the roads in Ngwa (around Nkongsamba) and Bangem. In Ngwa, officers from the different departments work on separate days, guarding the roads on a shift system, albeit not 24/7. In Bangem, the police station is on the roadside. Officers are there nearly all the time. All cars – tourists and national transport – stop there for identity checks before continuing to their various destinations. In relation to tourism, one officer described their role by saying ‘Our aim is simply to know who is foreign in this region.’ However, the statement reveals that the security service consider tourists as foreigners, a perception that is not entirely true, and which reflects an inadequate understanding of the nascent (eco)tourism. The officers also give directions to visitors. Not all visitors appreciate the security service (see section 8.2.2).

### **6.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

Tourism in Muanenguba – predominantly based on natural attractions, and concentrated in Mwaam – is a century old, but is currently still nascent, featuring the coexistence of exploration and local involvement. Ecotourism became part of local discourse in the late 1990s, understood at varying degrees and mobilised symbolically and rhetorically for different purposes by various actors alongside haphazard tourism development. Western scientists proposed ecotourism, and indigenous NGOs, i.e. CERUT and NCUDA Ltd, show more interest in its development. Developers, i.e. elites (with achieved power and status) comprising council mayors (political elites, who make tourism decisions and control tourist sites), and hoteliers (non-political elites, who own accommodation facilities), are simply interested in tourism expansion as a useful addition to the local economic



structure. To an extent, the power and status held by custodians, village chiefs, hoteliers and mayors (politicians) in Muanenguba have led to a biased structure of local involvement in the early stages of tourism development in Muanenguba. Because the attractions have been adopted as sacred sites since ancient times, the custodians of such sites (with ascribed power and status), who are not included in the decision-making for tourism development, still control sacred sacrifices around the attractions, but do not benefit from tourism. There are unequal power relations and trivial arguments (*indigenous political ecology*) between these two key groups of actors (see also sections 5.4.5 and 8.5).

Tourism occurs predominantly (80.1%) in, but is not strictly limited to the dry season peak period of November/December to April. Visitors stop on the way to see the Ekom Nkam Falls. Arrivals in Mwaam are higher during weekends and public holidays. Local guiding is scarce, and linked to local accommodation (objective iii). Tourism facilities are few and basic: traditional houses (*ndab echum*) have been constructed at the destination to assert local presence and symbolise custodianship. This has transformed into the process of packaging culture for tourism. At the destination it leads visitors to come into contact with the front stage of indigenous culture. Such a strong traditional identity at the secluded destination is both a link of local culture to nascent tourism (objective iii) and a mechanism that prevents the non-native Mbororo settlers from influencing the image of the destination. *En route* to Mwaam, *ndab echum* have also been constructed as part of guest accommodations (the Villa Luciole and Prestige Inn), which allows visitors to experience both modern convenience and indigenous tradition. The use of the traditional house is the symbolic connection between indigenous culture and nascent tourism. However, although hospitality services are as nascent as the tourism industry itself, they show promise of the modification of traditional gender roles.



The extraordinary scenery of the destination i.e. ‘the glorious views of the site of the Twin Lakes’ (Visitor from UK, 2005), coerces the visitor to ‘realize that some ethical requirements are obvious’ (Visitor from France, 2007).



# Chapter Seven

## VISITORS: ORIGINS, DEMOGRAPHY, TYPES AND TRIP CHARACTERISTICS

### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter profiles tourism in Muanenguba (Mwaam), by providing data on and analyses of the origins and demographic characteristics of the visitors – predominantly highly educated professionals – and other features, such as reasons for visits, ethical responsibilities and voluntary initiatives associated with visitors’ holiday activities, group sizes, lengths of stay, choice and use of accommodation. By being environmentally friendly (eco-friendly) and/or people-friendly, some of these trip activities are factors that appear to be fairly consistent with ecotourism principles (in line with objective iv; Appendix 7b) at the nascent stage of tourism development.

### 7.2 ORIGIN OF VISITORS

Initial data in the newly created register system found at the stop-and-see Ekom Nkam Falls from December 2006 to May 2007 yielded the following information (Figure 7.1) about the origin of visitors.

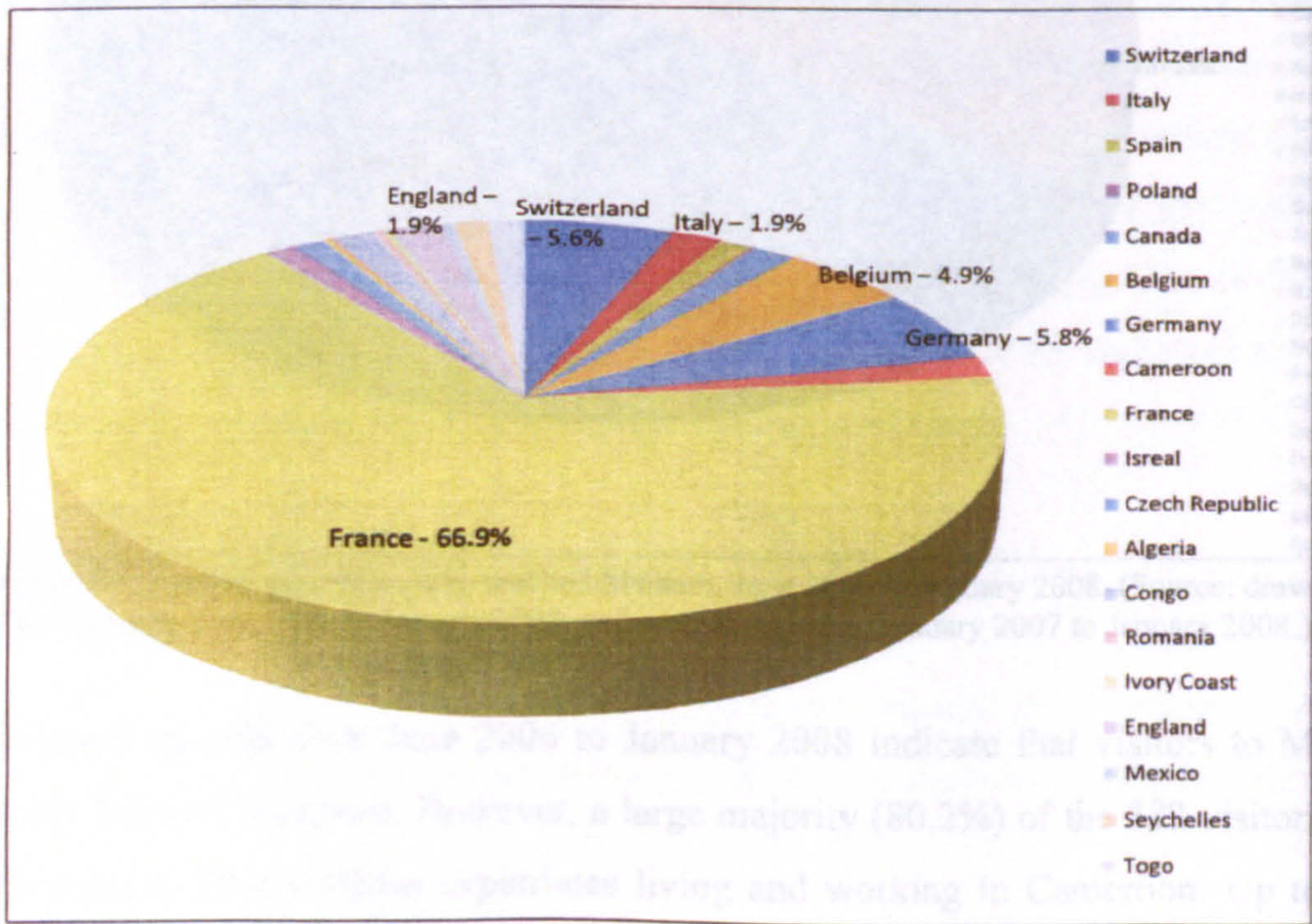


Figure 7.1: Origins of visitors who stopped to see the Ekom Nkam Falls. (Source: drawn from NKUC tourism register.)



As we shall see for Mwaam (the destination), the pie graph for the stop-and-see Ekom Nkam Falls shows that most visitors who stopped to view it (66.9%) during the study season were French nationals. Other significant contributors included Germany, the UK, Switzerland (colonial rulers together with France), Belgium and Italy. Slightly less than half of the visitors (48%) were diplomats and expatriates working in various areas of Cameroon. They are sources of information about trips, and ‘sellers’ of Mwaam to their friends and family members. As locals say, they are those ‘who make the world know how richly endowed Muanenguba is’. In general, at these early stages of tourism, expats contribute through visits with their families, through information – telling friends and families about Mwaam – and through entourage of VFRs.

For Mwaam (the destination), a pie chart was produced from records of the countries of origin of visitors in visitor registers (see Appendix 6a), as shown in Figure 7.2.

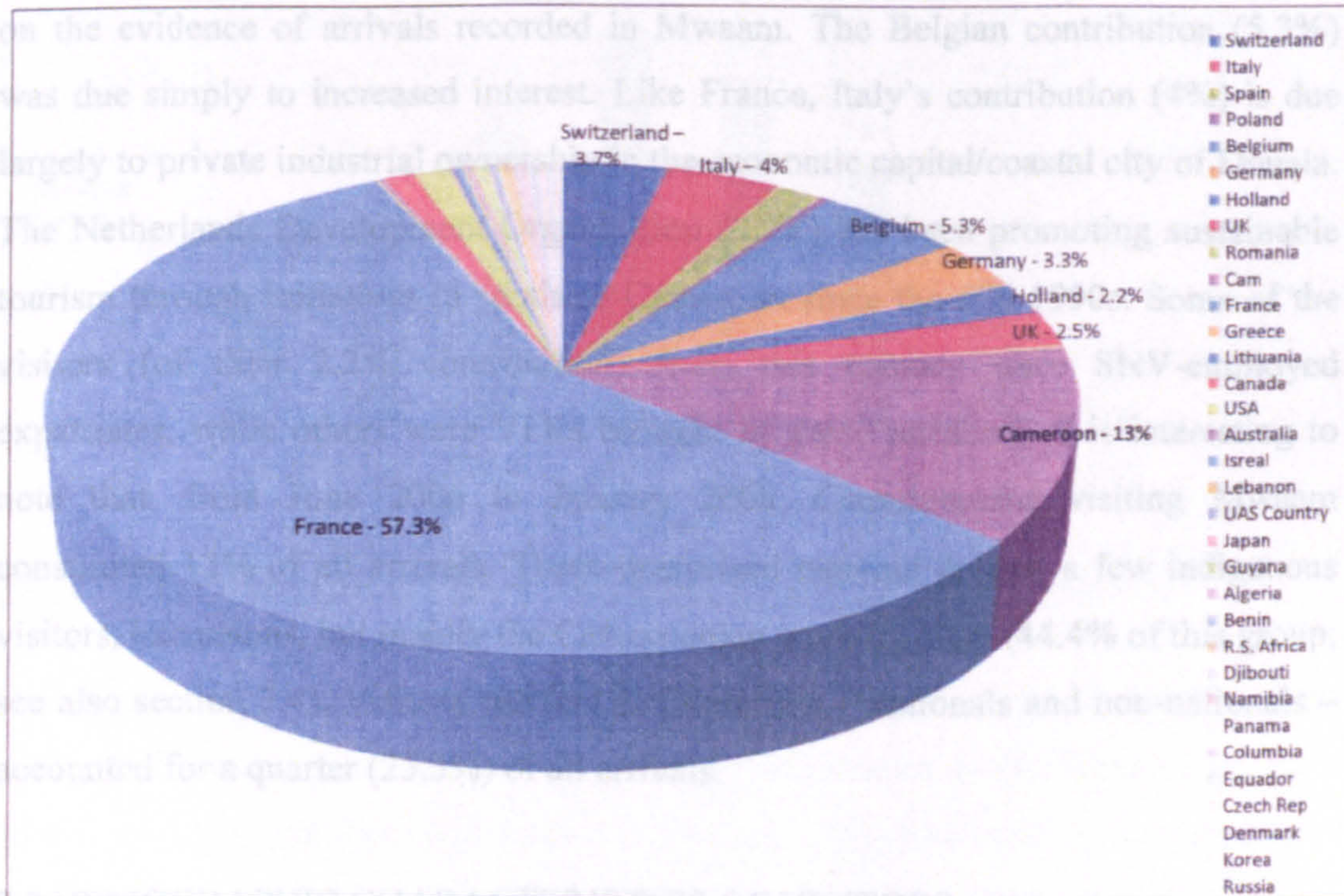


Figure 7.2: Origins of visitors who reached Mwaam, June 2006 to January 2008. (Source: drawn from BRC records, June 2006 to January 2007, and special registers, January 2007 to January 2008.)

Register records from June 2006 to January 2008 indicate that visitors to Mwaam came from 33 countries. However, a large majority (80.2%) of the 882 visitors were Europeans. This includes expatriates living and working in Cameroon. Up to 76% were Western Europeans, including visitors from the UK. Tourism in Mwaam



mirrors the general trend in Cameroon, whereby the former colonialist, France, is by far the principal supplier of visitors to the Muanenguba tourism market. As shown in Figure 7.2, visitors from France made up more than half (57.3%) of all visitors registered during fieldwork. France still has strong colonial ties with Cameroon. This is currently through development cooperation, massive private industrial investment, and the employment of expatriates who live and work mainly in the capital city of Yaoundé and the coastal economic capital of Douala. Other former colonial rulers (Germany, the UK and Switzerland) have notable market shares generated by expatriate activity. This has been through former scientific research and biodiversity conservation programmes by WWF and the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew (UK, 2.5%), through GTZ and DED conservation and sustainable tourism projects (Germany, 3.3%), and through former missionary work (Switzerland, 3.7%). The idea of tourism being allied to imperialism in Cameroon is not a rigid rule: countries such as Belgium, Italy and the Netherlands, which do not have past colonial ties with Cameroon, also contributed notable shares in the Muanenguba tourism market, based on the evidence of arrivals recorded in Mwaam. The Belgian contribution (5.3%) was due simply to increased interest. Like France, Italy's contribution (4%) is due largely to private industrial ownership in the economic capital/coastal city of Douala. The Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV) has been promoting sustainable tourism through initiatives in southern Cameroon since the mid 1990s. Some of the visitors (of their 2.2% contribution) from this country were SNV-employed expatriates, while others were VFRs brought by these residents. It is interesting to note that, from June 2006 to January 2008, Cameroonians visiting Mwaam constituted 13% of all arrivals. These comprised national guides, a few indigenous visitors, excursions, but mainly the Cameroonian working class (44.4% of this group; see also section 7.4). Visitors resident in Cameroon – nationals and non-nationals – accounted for a quarter (25.3%) of all arrivals.

### 7.3 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF VISITORS

#### 7.3.1 Age.

Information collected from special registers in Mwaam from August 2007 to February 2008 produced the following age distribution of visitors to Mwaam (Table 7.1).



Age group	Number of visitors	Relative frequency (%)
up to10 years	30	7.8
11–20	31	8.1
21–30	68	17.8
31–40	84	22.0
41–50	74	19.4
51–60	58	15.2
61–70	32	8.4
>70	5	1.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>382</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 7.1: Age distribution of visitors who reached Mwaam, August 2007 to February 2008. (Source: special visitor registers.)

The age distribution of visitors to Mwaam indicates that for visitors whose ages were given, a large proportion of them (77.4%) were in the working age group (18 to 60 years old; see also section 7.3.5). However, the age range 31–50 dominates the Muanenguba tourism market, with 41.4% of all arrivals in Mwaam. This dominance of middle-aged travellers is clearly shown in Figure 7.3.

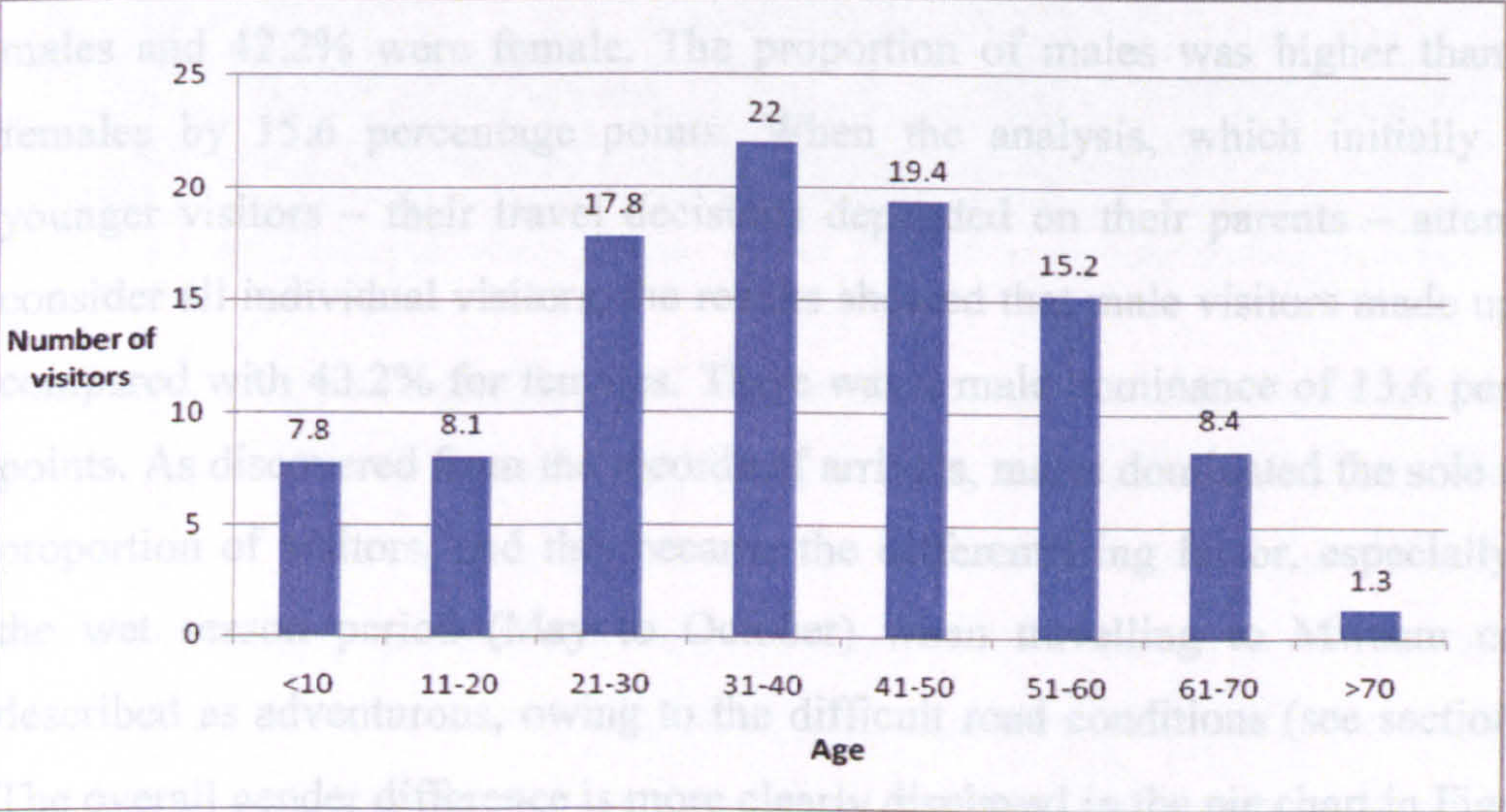


Figure 7.3: Age distribution of visitors to Muanenguba. (Source: derived from Table 7.1.)

Children, most of who cannot take independent travel decisions, made up 13% of the visitors. However, if the destination becomes well known in the Western world, it will be interesting to assess the impact of the over 60s (older visitors), whom studies in other areas (e.g. Warnick, 1995) state to be the main determiners of trends in ecotourism. This group forms a minority (9.7%) in the Muanenguba tourism market at present. Some 9.2% of the visitors did not give their ages, but this did not appear to distort the normal picture for age distribution (Figure 7.3). The average age was in the early 40s (see Table 7.14h). As we shall see in section 7.7.5, the cross tabulation analysis suggests that age had a statistically insignificant association with initiatives



and responsibilities – trip/holiday activities – that are consistent with ecotourism principles ( $Pearson\ x^2 = 23.8, p = 0.47 > 0.05$ ) (see table 7.14g).

7.3.2 Gender.

Gender records in tourist registers for the period January 2007 to February 2008 were analysed for those whose gender was recorded, as shown in Table 7.2.

Information source	Male	Female	Total
Register 1 (January-June 2007)	164 (56.6%)	126 (43.4%)	290
Register 2 ( July 2007 to February 2008)	176 (59.1%)	122 (40.9%)	298
Working age and older visitors	340 (57.8%)	248 (42.2%)	588
All ages considered	389 (56.8%)	296 (43.2%)	685

Table 7.2: Arrivals in Mwaam according to gender. (Source: special visitor registers.)

As the statistics reveal, gender records were taken from two registers. Among visitors who remarked that they could take their own travel decisions, because they were old enough (predominantly 20 years old and over) and working, 57.8% were males and 42.2% were female. The proportion of males was higher than that of females by 15.6 percentage points. When the analysis, which initially left out younger visitors – their travel decisions depended on their parents – attempted to consider all individual visitors, the results showed that male visitors made up 56.8% compared with 43.2% for females. There was a male dominance of 13.6 percentage points. As discovered from the records of arrivals, males dominated the sole traveller proportion of visitors, and this became the differentiating factor, especially during the wet season period (May to October) when travelling to Mwaam could be described as adventurous, owing to the difficult road conditions (see section 8.6.1). The overall gender difference is more clearly displayed in the pie chart in Figure 7.4.

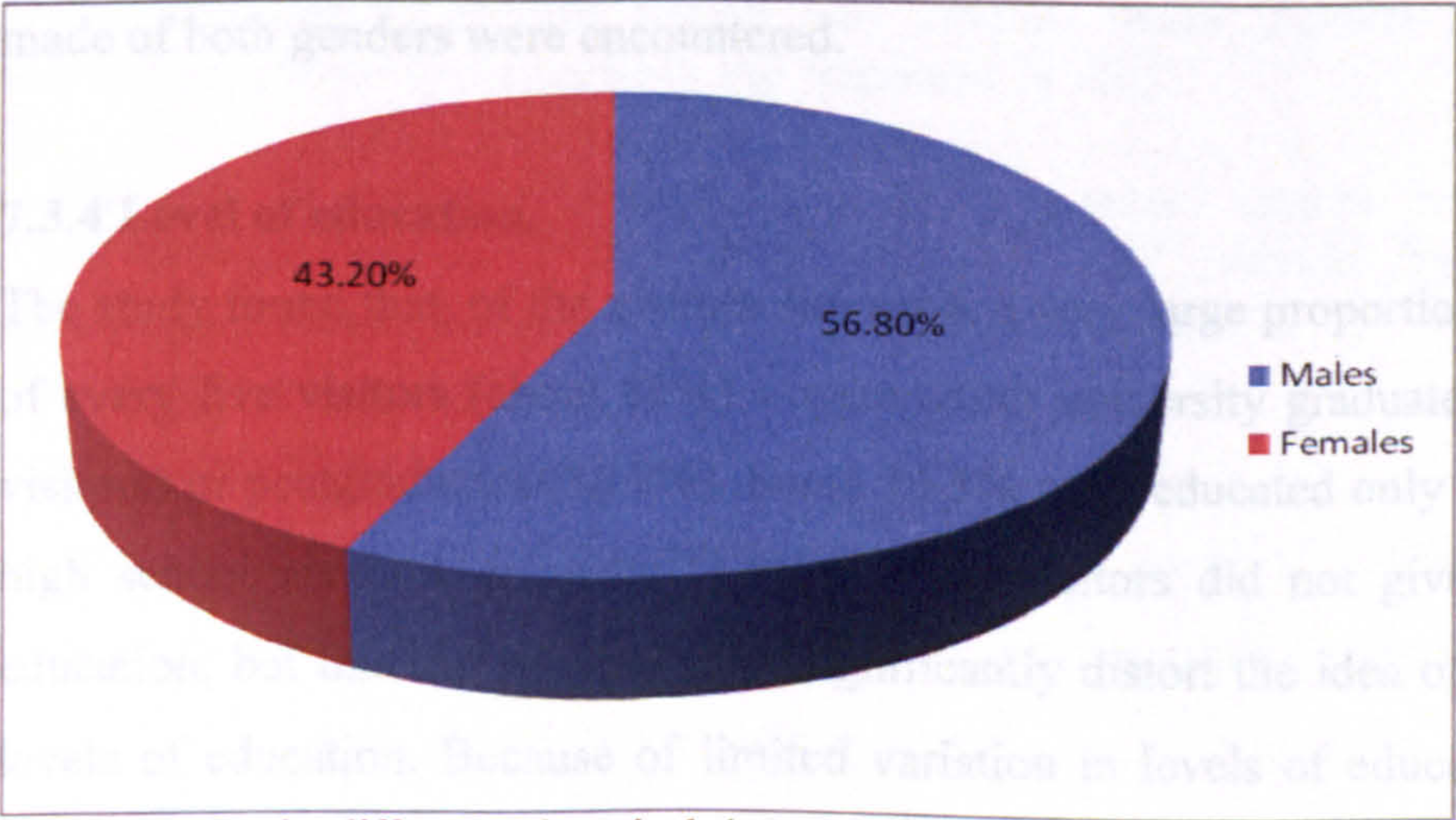


Figure 7.4: Gender differences in arrivals in Mwaam. (Source: derived from Table 7.2.)



It is important to note that, during monitoring, it was perceived that within groups there were on average more males than females reaching Mwaam. The male dominance did not suggest that more males were likely to incorporate activities that are somewhat consistent with ecotourism principles. A crosstabulation analysis produced a statistically insignificant ( $Pearson\ x^2 = 2.4, p = 0.15 > 0.05$ ) association between gender variations and variations in eco/people-friendly initiatives and/or responsibilities (see table 7.14g).

### 7.3.3 Marital status.

Questionnaire surveys undertaken with visitors who came to Mwaam indicate that the visitors have varied personal (marital) circumstances, as expressed in Table 7.3.

Marital status	Number of visitors	Relative Frequency (%)
Married	41	39.9
Single	40	38.8
Divorced	4	3.8
Widowed	4	3.8
Not married by living together	1	0.9
Not given	13	12.8
Total	103	100.0

Table 7.3: Marital status of visitors, January to June 2007. (Source: questionnaire surveys.)

There is a near balance of married and single persons visiting Muanenguba – about 40% and about 39% respectively. Fewer visitors were either divorced or widowed (3.8% each). This demographic analysis for marital status was diluted by the significant degree of non-response (12.8%). If all visitors in this category had recorded their marital status, the picture presented here would have been different. It could not be judged by monitoring behaviours, especially where visiting groups made of both genders were encountered.

### 7.3.4 Level of education.

The study found that, of the visitors surveyed, a very large proportion – i.e. four out of every five visitors (about 80%) – were either university graduates (42.7% of all visitors) or postgraduates (36.9%). Some 16.5% were educated only to secondary or high school level. A minority (3.9%) of the visitors did not give their level of education, but this did not appear to significantly distort the idea of generally high levels of education. Because of limited variation in levels of education, education was not found to be a statistically significant factor ( $Pearson\ x^2 = 18.1, p = 0.11 > 0.05$ ) leading to variations in initiatives and responsibilities – holiday activities –



consistent with ecotourism principles (see table 7.14g). The predominantly high levels of education were not all translated into eco-friendly/people-friendly initiatives to the same extent by all visitors. As we shall see in section 7.7.5, it was noticed through visitor monitoring and interaction that for some of the visitors' levels of education were shown through their views relating to nature conservation. Some 29.1% showed some knowledge of ecotourism principles by quoting standards such as '*écotourisme: respectez la nature et la culture* [ecotourism: respect nature and culture]' at the destination (Appendix 7b). Such ideas acted as correctives to what is currently happening. In a particular case, one such visitor remarked that 'whilst Ebwo [the caldera floor] is strikingly gentle for easy trekking, trampling on grass has untold negative impacts on small animals and grass.' The same tourist hailed the botanic richness surrounding the Villa Luciole hotel, adding that 'the idea of joining local traditional houses with hotels in such a natural environment is a clear case of the destination offering a special ecotourism experience.' Among other examples during charting on separate occasions, visitors – a medical doctor and a visiting expatriate – remarked on respective occasions that:

- '*L'accueil est chaleureuse. Les sites sont encore très fréquents, ce qui est très agréable. Faire attention au tourisme de masse qui pourrait être catastrophique que le non respect de la nature, tablée plutôt sous un tourisme écologique.* [The welcome is warm. The site is still pristine, which is very pleasant. Watch out for mass tourism, which may be catastrophic. It is necessary to respect natural areas whose visitation is rather classed as ecological tourism]'
- '*C'est un site superbe qui mérite la visite d'un maximum de touristes. Il faut respecter de la nature et de la culture. Le tourisme en masse est une catastrophe. L'écotourisme doit être le tourisme de l'avenir, pour le respecte de tous* [It is a superb touristic site, which should only be visited by a maximum number of tourists. It is necessary to respect nature and culture. Mass tourism is catastrophic. Ecotourism should be sustainable and respected by all.]'
- '*There is an "ecotourism paradox": small numbers cannot provide adequate funds through [entrance] fees; large numbers will provide fees but are not encouraged; ecotourism can only be fund-based to be true.*'

### 7.3.5 Occupations and incomes.

As already mentioned under origin of visitors and levels of education, visitors to Mwaam are predominantly highly skilled professionals operating in various specialist occupations in the Western world, or in expatriate and diplomatic occupations in Cameroon, as well as in business- or management-related high-income occupations in both parts of the world. The predominant occupations as



noted in the special registers and questionnaire surveys were teaching at all levels, medical occupations and engineering, management, consultancy (business, finance), social and environmental science occupations. This class of visitors made up 50.2% of all visitors during the 2006–2007 tourism season. Visitors who specialise in writing occupations (e.g. editors and writers), travel occupations (e.g. travel agents) and media occupations (included among professionals) constituted about 1.5% of all arrivals. However, as we shall see in section 7.6.2, visiting media professionals do not at present contribute to making Mwaam a popular destination in the world. Diplomats and expatriates constituted another 12.3% of all visitors. High-income visitors – company directors, proprietors and businessmen – made up 1.9% of the visitors. Some 8.5% of the visitors were ‘other workers’ (Cameroonians and foreign visitors). In all, visitors to Mwaam who were employed made up 74.4% of all arrivals. Visitors who were not employed (25.6%) were students, children, guides depending on the employed visitors, or retired couples who had previous travel experience. Table 7.4 shows associated information on visitor incomes, derived via questionnaire surveys.

Income level (£)	Number of visitors	Relative frequency (%)	
Less than 10000	9	9.6	
10000–20000	8	8.5	
21000–30000	20	20.4	66.3
31000–40000	30	30.6	
41000–50000	15	16.0	
51000–60000	4	4.0	
More than 60000	3	3.2	
Not given	9	9.6	
Valid cases	98	100	

Table 7.4: Incomes of visitors, January to June 2007. (Source: questionnaire surveys.)

As shown in the table, income levels were correspondingly high. Most tourists (>85%) who reached Mwaam were income earners. However, incomes in the range £21,000 to £50,000 dominated the Muanenguba tourism market (66.3% of visitors). To a large extent, this corresponded to the skilled professionals and expatriates. Also, 3% of the visitors were very high income earners (business trippers), and 9.2% (including some students and pensioners) had incomes lower than £10,000, or no income at all. The income levels and occupations described here demonstrate the likelihood of visitors having funds that will support visits to out-of-the way destinations. Average incomes were within the range £31,000 to £40,000. Not unpredictably, these high average incomes were not translated into a willingness to



spend by all the visitors: some visitors were sensitive to non-standard pricing (as shown in sections 8.3.2 and 8.4). But as suggested by the results of the crosstabulation analysis (see table 7.14d), income was likely to be a significant contributor to initiatives and responsibilities that were found to be consistent with ecotourism principles. About 65% of the visitors whose incomes were in the main income range, 21000 – 50000, were likely to incorporate initiatives/responsibilities in their holiday activities (see totals in Appendix 7c). At this point – as confirmed by data in Muanenguba – it is essential to state that median age, high levels of education, professional occupations and corresponding high levels of income have been confirmed by several studies (e.g. Whelan 1991; Wight, 1996a, 1996b; Honey, 1999; Wood, 2002; Fennell, 2003: 35; TIES, 2005: 1) as demographic characteristics of tourists who are likely to practise ecotourism or show some ethical responsibility during travel.

#### 7.4 REASONS FOR VISITING

Visitors who participated in the questionnaire survey were asked to give their main reason(s) for visiting Muanenguba. An analysis of the responses revealed that the visitors had various motives for travelling to Cameroon and/or Muanenguba, as shown in Table 7.5.

Reason for visit	Number of visitors	Relative frequency (%)
Holiday (from abroad)	53	51.5
Holiday (diplomats, expatriates, and missionaries)	19	18.4
Holiday (Cameroonians)	10	9.7
Guiding	5	4.9
Business and conference	11	10.7
Research	2	1.9
No response	3	2.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 7.5: Reasons given by visitors for trips to Cameroon and Muanenguba, January to June 2007. (Source: questionnaire surveys.)

In total, nearly four-fifths (79.6%) of the visitors reached Mwaam, purposely for a holiday. Just over half (51.5%) of the visitors comprised tourists who were visiting Cameroon and Mwaam from abroad. It is important to note that VFRs and visitors who participated in local cultural exchange formed a subcomponent (20.8%) of this group. Some 18.4% of all visitors who participated in the survey – diplomats, expatriates, and church missionaries – were spending what most of them referred to as a ‘family weekend holiday’ in Mwaam. Nationals – an emerging working class of



Cameroonian holidaymakers to Mwaam accounted for nearly one-tenth (9.7%) of the tourists surveyed during fieldwork. Some 4.9% of the visitors were guides (see section 6.3.1). Business and conference trippers from abroad who had reached Mwaam for leisure after their main affairs in Cameroon, rather than primarily for a holiday, constituted 10.7% of all visitors. Research scientists made up 1.9% of tourism to Mwaam during the fieldwork period. These were scientists from the USA and France, who were carrying out zoological studies on amphibians and fishes respectively.

Visitors were asked to give their main interests during holiday trips. The results are displayed in Table 7.6:

Main interests	Number of visitors	Relative frequency (%)
Natural landscapes, flora and fauna.	48	46.6
Both natural and cultural settings	12	11.8
Cultural events (dances, celebrations)	13	12.6
Business	3	2.9
Travel writing	2	1.9
Research	1	0.9
Others-general interest (pleasure, African countries, people and famous places)	24	23.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 7.6: Travel interests expressed by visitors, January to June 2007. (Source: questionnaire surveys.)

Information in Table 7.6 suggests that the most commonly expressed interests for those who responded to this further question were in natural and/or cultural attractions. These interests were expressed by a total of 73.3% of the visitors who participated in the survey. Nearly half (46.6%) of the visitors like to visit natural, countryside and remote locations for sightseeing and/or safari experiences. The principal elements of the experiences mentioned were natural landscapes characterised by remoteness, peace and tranquillity, but the visitors also mentioned lakes, wildlife, and protected areas such as national parks, containing flora and fauna. Honey (1999) and Fennell (2003) consider these as locations that are likely to offer ecotourism experiences (objective iv).

About 12.6% of the visitors expressed an exclusive interest in cultural events – dances, ceremonies and celebrations – as their main attractions among a variety of travel choices. A little more than one tenth of the visitors (11.8%) wanted to



experience both natural and cultural attractions. These desires tied with Mwaam, including its Twin Lakes and the famous traditional houses (*ndab echum*) found *en route* as well as the side of one key attraction in Mwaam – the Female Lake in Mwaam (see Photo 6.1). One visitor in this group added that he liked ‘the combination of nature and culture as well as voluntary work and the resulting friendship in calm, peaceful and remote countryside locations’. Interests expressed by these visitors are likely to promote community-based and pro-poor tourism, which ecotourism principles underpin (in line with objective iv; see also section 7.7.5). Subject to their various occupations, the need to generate business, travel writing and research constituted principal motives for a small numbers of particular visitors.

Slightly less than a quarter of the visitors (23.3%) were general interest travellers, who mentioned the sheer pleasure of travelling, and ‘enjoy visiting countries, people and places as well as any famous touristic sites for various experiences, [unconventionally] including *ambiance*’, i.e. lively atmosphere, as stated by one visitor. It was noted that some visitors in this group had a particular love for Cameroonians and African people. One visitor said that he ‘chose to start *following in [his] father’s footsteps* from the year 2000 [the dawn of the third millennium] and therefore travelled to [Mwaam], a place craved and visited by [his] father during colonial times.’

Through questionnaire survey and monitoring of visitors, it came to light that among those who expressed a special interest in natural settings was an estimated 12.5% (5.8% of all visitors) – Twin Lake devotees – who claimed to have been persuaded by their first experience of the Twin Lakes in Mwaam. This proportion of visitors cited volcanic lakes as a key consideration for future holidays trips. This constitutes a potential change from their usual travel interests, albeit within the remote settings range. The discovery of Cameroon and her people, the need for more business, and a greater love for culture were noted to be other subjective instigations of changes in usual travel interests as remarked by visitors. Otherwise, 94.2% of the visitors did not intend to change their travel choices in the future.

The survey further tested visitors on other destinations visited in Cameroon in order to compare the results with their previous holidays to countryside and remote locations – the travel career concept. Table 7.7 shows the results.



Usual destination of visitor	Proportion visitors (%)	Example of such a destination or attraction actually visited in Cameroon	Proportion of visitors (%)
Towns and cities	37.1	Douala, Yaoundé, Limbe, Kribi, etc.	9.5
Villages and countryside	70.8	Numerous villages and natural features	N/A
Forests and mountains	68.5	Equatorial <i>forest</i> areas around Ebolowa, Sangmelima and Mbalmayo; Mounts Cameroon, Kupe, Oku, Rhumsiki (excludes Muanenguba)	45.3
Sacred sites	22.3	Palaces - Western Highlands, (excludes Mwaam and clan sanctuaries in the study area)	17.8
Protected areas (national parks, botanic gardens, zoos, wildlife reserves)	57.4	Botanical Garden in Limbe; Reserves: Dja, Ebogo and Mefou; Parks: Campo Ma'an, Waza and Kurop	32.4
Beaches and seaside resorts	47.2	Limbe and Kribi	26.6
Lakes and rivers	56.2	Lakes Barombi, Oku, Chad (excludes Twin Lakes of Mwaam and Ekom Nkam Falls on river Nkam)	0.8
No response	15.7	-	-

Table 7.7: Other Cameroonian destinations visited by tourists who came to Mwaam, January to June 2007. (Source: questionnaire surveys.)

In Table 7.7, column 2 contains the proportion of visitors who had previously visited the usual or familiar destinations or attractions listed in column 1. Column 3 shows examples of such attractions in Cameroon, and column 4 contains the statistics of visitors who actually visited such attractions. Some 15.5% of the visitors ( $n = 103$ ) did not respond, because they did not keep track of their usual destinations. A possible reason not given by visitors, but noted by the research, was the multiplicity of past attractions/experiences of the visitors. For those who kept track of their past travel experiences ( $n = 87$ ), the most popular destinations were the countryside containing villages, followed by more remote forests and mountains. These had been visited in the past by 70.8% and 68.5% of respondents, respectively. Beaches, noted as popular pleasure peripheries in modern conventional tourism, came only after protected areas such as botanic gardens, national parks, zoos and wildlife reserves (third most popular destination for 57.4% of the visitors) and freshwater attractions such as lakes and rivers (fourth most popular destination for 56.2% of the visitors). Cameroon seems to offer a variety of attractions that visitors who reach Muanenguba have experienced in other destinations of the world for various forms of tourism. It



can be inferred that visitors to Mwaam are likely to visit places considered usual natural landscapes and remote settings that are likely to offer nature-based and ecotourism experiences (objective iv). However, this could be established as a firm rule only if it was true for places other than Muanenguba, actually visited in Cameroon by tourists who reached Mwaam during the period of the investigation (January to June 2007).

When the investigation probed for attractions actually visited in Cameroon, the results from those who responded suggest that a lower proportion of visitors reached examples of their usual attractions found in Cameroon. This is because, as compared with enclave activity in all inclusive resorts found around more advanced destinations, most tourists travelling by long haul to Cameroon or working as expats in Cameroon – largely Westerners – tend to take advantage of the diversity of attractions and visit multiple attractions during single trips. While remote and natural settings remained popular among the destinations actually visited, 21.4% of the respondents were visiting Muanenguba exclusively (see section 1.4). It became important to rely on place or individual attraction in the analysis of the information given by the 78.6% of visitors who had visited other areas in Cameroon. The results – for the two most popular places visited – showed that the love for natural settings or countryside and other areas offering adventure and ecotourism experiences re-emerged to confirm the hypothesis that visitors to Mwaam are likely to look for ecotourism experiences. This is confirmed by the fact that a larger proportion of the visitors (46.1%) visited volcanic mountain areas other than Muanenguba, such as Mount Cameroon, Mount Oku and its lake, the Rhumsiki volcanic necks and the Western Highlands; equatorial rainforest areas around Ebolowa, Sangmelima and Mbalmayo; lakes, such as Lake Barombi and Lake Chad. Protected areas – national parks, such as Campo Ma'an and Waza Parks, and wildlife reserves, such as Dja, Ebogo and Mefou – were the second most popular set of attractions in Cameroon (32.4%). Beaches and seaside resorts in Limbe and Kribi – beach/coastal tourism – took the third place (26.6%). The non-dominance of beach/coastal tourism in Cameroon suggest that visitors, who would have experienced such conventional tourism attractions (beaches) in popular destinations of the world are bound to alternatives, i.e. exploration – a feature of nascent tourism – in natural and remote settings in Cameroon. Palaces, people and crafts in the Western Highlands – cultural/ethnic tourism (e.g. those of the dynasty of Bamoun in Foumban, the



Fondom of Bafut, or the *chefferie* in Bafoussam) took the fourth position (17.8%), and towns with colonial monuments – urban tourism – were last on the list (9.5%).

Two additional trends were identified. First, culture is very much alive in the urban centres of Cameroon. In the context of tourism, urban culture is expressed mainly in traditional music studios, welcoming every visitor, and in colonial architecture, such as the Alfred Saker Monument in Limbe, the German colonial governor's lodge in Buea, the Pagoda of King Bell in Douala, and the Independence Monument in Yaoundé. These were given as the key attractions accounting for the 9.5% of urban tourism. When this is added to the 17.8% for cultural tourism, the investigation in Muanenguba suggests that architectural and cultural attractions, at 27.3%, were nearly as attractive to visitors as beach or sun, sand and sea attractions (26.6%) in Cameroon during the 2006–2007 tourism season in Mwaam.

Second, beaches such as Seme, Mile 6 and Down Beach around Limbe are very closely associated with the Limb Botanic Garden and Zoo located in the same urban area. Similarly, the Campo Ma'an National Park is associated with the Kribi Beach. As confirmed by the visitors surveyed, and by the tourism officer in Nkongsamba, these associations of beaches, seaside resorts and protected areas around the coast – about 150 to 200 km away from Muanenguba – made it easy for slightly more than a quarter of the visitors from abroad (26.6%) to combine beach/coastal experiences with ecotourism or safari experiences during trips to coastal areas of Cameroon. This finding echoes Kontogeorgopoulos' (2004) study in Thailand, which showed that the association of ecotourism and conventional tourism destinations binds the two together.

It can be concluded that the research in Muanenguba can give clues to the forms of tourism enjoyed by tourists who visit Cameroon. Visitors to Mwaam who visit multiple attractions in Cameroon are likely to be lovers of countryside attractions that offer experiences that can be considered to be under ecotourism, but also beach/coastal, urban and cultural/ethnic attractions (see also section 7.7.5).

## 7.5 TYPES OF VISITOR

While the visitors' self-assessment may not be dependable in defining ecotourists, their contribution is relevant. Because of this, visitors to Mwaam were asked to say



what they considered themselves to be. The results (in Table 7.8) confirm the observation in section 7.3.4, i.e. an awareness of the concept of ecotourism not matched by practice:

Type of visitor	Number of visitors in the category	Relative frequency (%)
Ecotourist	38	36.9
Ecotourist and adventure tourist	5	4.9
Adventure traveller	12	11.7
Tourist	25	34.0
Researcher/Scientist	2	1.9
Cannot say	11	10.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 7.8: Types of visitor who came to Mwaam according to self-definition, January to June 2007. (Source: questionnaire surveys.)

Although visitors’ self-assessments cannot be relied on, more than a third of all visitors to Mwaam (36.9%) had heard about ecotourism, and considered themselves to be ecotourists. However, as already noted in Section 7.3.4, only 29.1% could identify some features of ecotourism, by making statements of principle or expressing views on the protection of nature and culture (Appendix 7b). More than a third (34%) of the visitors were general tourists by their own definition; 11.7% considered themselves to be *voyageurs aventures* (‘adventure travellers’); and about 2% called themselves researchers/scientist – rightly so, because they were carrying out zoological studies on amphibians and fishes. The degree of non-response – those who could not clearly identify their visitation type (10.7%) – and the dilemma of visitors who said that they were both ecotourists and adventure travellers (4.9% of all visitors) meant that some visitors could be judged only by their activity and behaviour, especially in Mwaam. Visitors such as *voyageurs aventures* and others who reached Mwaam but were primarily business trippers to Cameroon, said that they did not consider themselves as ecotourists, because it was hard not to default against the rules when they were on holiday. Yet they carried out practices that are consistent with ecotourism principles (objective iv – see section 7.7.5).

In addition to this visitor-led classification, it was necessary to use oral history, fieldwork primary data and verbal reports to identify those who had visited Muanenguba in the past. In general, as described in section 6.2 and other sections of



this chapter, visitors who have reached Mwaam so far can be distinguished as follows.

On the one hand, there are (or have been, historically), non-holiday visitors. The non-tourist group comprises long-staying church missionaries from the late 19th century to the 1980s, and volunteers comprising SAFAD water engineers from the UK (from 1990 to 1995) and from the American Peace Corps in the 1980s and 1990s. This group also includes Western research scientists and expedition groups from Birdlife International, the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew, WWF, CRES San Diego, etc. from 1991 to 2004. These non-national visitors stay for varied periods, lasting months or years. It was discovered that, through self-declaration, research scientists constitute a ‘special’ category of ecotourists, even though they are paid non-holiday visitors. Nationally, excursions for geographical and geological studies carried out by geology students from Dschang University were witnessed during fieldwork around Nkongsamba. Such excursions are witnessed locally from time to time. Locally, there are day visits for sacred, livelihood and sightseeing reasons carried out by indigenes and other locals (as detailed in section 5.4.3).

On the other hand, vacationers who reached Mwaam – mainly to trek in the caldera and see the Twin Lakes – during fieldwork were identified as follows:

- *By origin*: a few non-indigenous nationals, especially employed professionals, to see The Twin Lakes, and non-nationals i.e. resident expatriates, diplomats, missionaries, and professionals from abroad – see Table 7.5.
- *By time of visit*: weekend visitors, predominantly diplomats and expatriates with families and friends, and weekday visitors, predominantly professionals from abroad (as shown in sections 6.3.3 and 7.3.5);
- *By duration of stay*: day visitors, and those staying for an average of 2.5 days;
- *By visitor group size and composition*: sole travellers, mostly males, and groups averaging four tourists.

## 7.6 PRE-TRIP INFORMATION

### 7.6.1 Previous knowledge of Muanenguba.

There were slightly different views between Cameroonian and non-national visitors on pre-trip knowledge. Cameroonian visitors – guides and national visitors (7.8%)



surveyed – learnt about the Twin Lakes (the key attractions of Muanenguba) through geography lessons in school, through national TV, and to a lesser extent through pictures in geography books and from previous visits (see Table 7.9). Some 16.5% of the visitors surveyed – non-Cameroonians – showed that they had ideas about special features of Mwaam. The features noted comprised: ‘the famous’ Twin Lakes; the height of the highest peak of the Muanenguba Massif, 2,400 m; the flat nature of the caldera floor, locally called ‘Ebwo’, but referred to as ‘Muanenguba’ by all non-indigenous visitors (as explained in section 8.5.2); the presence of horses; cattle rearing (the main economic activity of the Mbororo settlers in Mwaam); and the ‘sanctity’ of Mwaam. This group of visitors confirmed that their knowledge of these elements derived largely from previous visits (as evident in section 7.7.3). Otherwise, most visitors who visited Mwaam during 2006–2007 (65.1%) had imprecise ideas about the special characteristics of Mwaam, and 9.7% did not respond. The unclear definition of the special or famous features such as the Twin Lakes, and the non-response highlighted by a large proportion of the visitors surveyed (74.8%) points to poor marketing of the destination, as well as the ‘lack of local written information: map, information to guide visitors: plan for tours, services available, history of the area and its peoples’, as stated by one visitor. These are local tourism issues under the theme ‘*the nascent nature of tourism in Muanenguba*’.

### 7.6.2 Source of trip information.

Non-national visitors surveyed in Mwaam had used a variety of largely non-institutional information sources to get ideas about Mwaam before visiting for the first time, as shown in Table 7.9.

Source of trip information	Number of visitors	Proportion of visitors (%)
Friends	59	57.3
Travel guides	6	5.8
Friends and guidebook	7	6.8
Friends and the Internet	6	5.8
Friends and family	3	2.9
Friends and photos	1	0.97
Internet	2	1.9
Cameroonians: tourist guides and hotels	8	7.8
School lessons, <i>locale</i> , TV, textbook, pictures (nationals)	9	8.7
Tour operator	1	0.97
Tour operator and guidebook	1	0.97
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 7.9: Sources of trip information for visitors, January to June 2007. (Source: questionnaire surveys.)



The data reveal that friends, family members, tour operators, the national *Wala* travel guidebooks, the Internet and pictures were sources of travel information for visitors who reach Mwaam. However, more than half of the visitors (60.2%), being non-nationals, relied on trusted friends and in a few cases family members resident in Cameroon for trip information. The national *Wala* guidebooks (used by 5.8% of the visitors) and non-local tourist guides and hotel staff – who helped 7.8% of the foreign visitors – constituted another important source of trip information. Some visitors (15.5%) used a combination of sources for their trip information. But friends, relied on by first-time visitors to confirm information from other sources, such as the Internet (5.8%), and from guidebooks (6.8%; Pettang, 2002, 2003), were common within the combinations. At present, the Internet – through travel reviews and photos of features of Muanenguba such as the Ekom Nkam Falls, Mwaam, and the accommodations and panoramic views – constitutes an emerging trend, and a potential trigger for tourism to Muanenguba. Nearly 2% of the visitors had used the Internet exclusively. Tour operators make an insignificant contribution as sources of trip information (less than 1%) to tourism in Muanenguba. Tourists are therefore largely non-institutional. The non-institutional nature of tourism means that visitors do not face any obligations to demonstrate environmental responsibility. But, as we shall see in section 7.7.5, visitors to Mwaam *do* have a sense of responsibility.

## 7.7 TRIPS: ORGANISATION, STAY AND ACTIVITIES

### 7.7.1 Trip organisation.

Tour operators did not contribute to trip organisation for the visitors surveyed in Muanenguba, except for travel advices received by a few visitors (4.8%) from Ebene Voyages, a regional coach company that rented out cars (including 4×4 cars) used by visitors, as part of its coach operation business for inter-urban travels; and ‘Visage Nell, an adventure tour operator in Italy who gave a few ideas’, as stated by one visitor. However, 7.8% of the visitors remarked that they had used tour operators, as and when necessary, as well as done independent travel to other countries in the past.

Most visitors who participated in the survey (76.7%) organised their trips independently of any help from any travel institutions. Visitors mentioned that ‘the lack of tour operators was not the main reason for choosing *independent* travel.’ The main factors behind the choice of non-institutional travel, as cited by 57.7% of the



visitors were: a love for ‘travel liberty’; freedom of choice of destination and activity; the idea that they did not like large-group tours (see section 7.7.2); and, most importantly, easy and independent decision-making. The next most important factor was related to price. Using comments such as ‘*plus simple*’, ‘*moins cher*’, ‘*plus agréable*’ and ‘*plus sympathétique*’, more than a third (34.2%) of the visitors said that independent travel was simpler, cheaper, and more pleasant. Other factors were: prior information and experience from previous visits; residence in Cameroon (for expatriates), which meant that there was no need for help with holiday trips; the feeling by some that they were safe travelling independently; and the claim by others that they have sufficient finances to enable them to organise their holiday trips to such places as Muanenguba.

About 4% of visitors relied on ‘trusted friends’ in Cameroon for trip organisation. Some 6.8% of the visitors had organised their trips to Mwaam with locals through local accommodation establishments (the Villa Luciole and Prestige Inn), or by staying in a village, such as Nsong in the south-west region of Muanenguba. According to these visitors, they liked to enjoy friendship and cooperation with locals (objectives iii and iv: see also section 8.2.3). This provided anecdotal evidence of a community-based approach to tourism in Muanenguba practised by a few visitors, and in line with ecotourism principles.

### 7.7.2 Visitor group composition and group size.

Because of the challenges presented by the remoteness of Mwaam on the Muanenguba Massif, with mountainous relief and seasonal roads, visitors tend to travel as groups rather than as individuals. In this regard, the special visitor registers (January to June 2007) produced useful statistics, as shown in Table 7.10.

Group composition	Number of visitors	Proportion of all visitors (%)	
Sole travellers	32	8.9	
Friends	125	34.6	91.1% visit in a group
Family	118	32.7	
Family friends	39	10.8	
Couple (family)	43	11.9	
Education/research tour group	4	1.1	
<b>Total</b>	<b>361</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

Table 7.10: Group compositions of visitors, January to June 2007. (Source: questionnaire surveys.)



According to these statistics, travel to Muanenguba is organised around groups of families and/or friends. A large majority, i.e. about 9 out of every 10 visitors surveyed (91.1% of the visitors who reached Mwaam) came as group members. A greater part of these (44.6% of all visitors) were visiting as family groups. These comprised families with children (32.7%) and couples without children (11.9%). Other visitor group types identified were those made up of friends (Photo 7.1) exclusively (34.6%) and those made up of two or more family groups together, referring to each other as 'family friends' (10.8%). National education tour groups constituted a minute proportion (1.1%) of all visitors. Only 8.9% of the visitors were sole travellers. Through monitoring in Mwaam, it was apparent that some groups had opinion leaders who, for reasons of insecurity about Muanenguba, influenced the choice of activities for members of their groups. Thus, through social influence, the predominance of groups prevented the investigation's statistical analyses from trusting relationships between the demographic features of visitors (such as age, incomes education and travel experience) and trip features (such as length of stay and positive contribution by way of initiatives and responsibilities that were environmentally friendly and/or people-friendly in line with ecotourism principles). However, it is important to note – as suggested by the crosstabulation analysis in section 7.7.5 (table 7.14f) – that group size showed statistically association with such contribution. About 51% of all the visitors who came in groups of one to three tourists were more likely to contribute positively (see appendix 7c). Also, the investigation discovered that some groups contained visitors who said that they did not know each other before arriving in Cameroon, but had 'teamed up' for trips to Muanenguba and other destinations during their stay in the same luxury hotel in the economic capital city of Douala upon arrival via the international airport.

The special register kept with the guard in Mwaam revealed that groups varied in size from two to ten, but a very large proportion of the groups (90%) contained two to five travellers. There were rarely more than two groups of visitors arriving in Mwaam on any day, or camping there on any night, during the period of the investigation. There were also some days without visitors, even during the peak months (December to April). Visitor groups were therefore characteristically few and far between. Average group size was calculated to be approximately three (3.32) persons. This reflects a couple with one friends, a couple with one child, or three



friends, as was commonly seen during Mwaam/destination tours (Photo 7.1). Small groups, especially when they are far between, as they are for arrivals in Mwaam, are likely to cause lower negative environmental impacts compared with large populations.



Photo 7.1: A group of friends arrive in Mwaam (left), and a family prepare to depart after camping (right). (Photos by Ivo Ngwese.)

7.7.3 Number of visits.

Muanenguba is not a once-in-a-lifetime destination for all visitors. Table 7.11 shows the variation in number of visits for the visitors who participated in the questionnaire survey.

Number of visits made	Number of visitors	Proportion of visitors (%)	
First time (1)	76	73.8	
2	14	13.6	21.3 % were repeat visitors
3	4	3.9	
4	2	1.9	
6	1	0.97	
10	1	0.97	
No response	5	4.8	
Total	103	100.0	

Table 7.11: Number of trips made by visitors to Mwaam. (Source: questionnaire surveys.)

As shown in the table, a large majority – nearly three quarters (73.8%) – of the tourists who reached Mwaam were first-time visitors to Mwaam. However, interest in the picturesque scenery of Mwaam led nearly one fifth (21.3%) of the visitors to return. The image of Mwaam, i.e. the special effect of the Twin Lakes (unique in Africa), was perceived as a key attraction, leading to repeat visits. This key role of the scenery in repeat visitation of a nascent tourism area is different from a variety of factors in popular destination. One example is group satisfaction due to facilities and services in the Belearic Island of Mallorca, as suggested by Campo-Martinez *et al.*



(2009: 13). However, prior experience – a subsidiary factor considered by these authors – played a similar subsidiary role in Mwaam. Registers for two seasons (2006–2007 and 2007–2008) showed that repeat visitors were predominantly expatriates residing (same family groups by name) in Cameroon, who were still likely to return to Mwaam with their families every year. During monitoring, a few returning expatriates were those who had accompanied friends from abroad to Mwaam, as discussed above in sections 7.2 and 7.6. Up until the 2007–2008 tourism season, when the study was conducted, these repeat visitors had made between 2 and 10 visits to Mwaam. The average number of visits made by repeat visitors was calculated to be approximately two (2.4 visits). The results of the crosstabulation analysis suggested that the number of visits – travel experience – had statistically insignificant association ( $Pearson\ x^2 = 19.9, p = 0.92 > 0.05$ ) with initiatives and responsibilities that are consistent with ecotourism principles in Muanenguba (see section 7.7.5, table 7.14h).

#### 7.7.4 Length of stay.

Visitors to Muanenguba stayed for varied durations, as the data on ‘length of stay’ (Table 7.12) show.

Length of stay (days)	Number of visitors	Proportion of visitors (%)	
Same day visit	13	12.7	
1	27	26.2	66.0
1.5 - 2	41	39.8	
2.5 - 3	7	6.8	
4	4	3.8	
5 – 10	9	8.7	
>10	2	1.9	
Total	103	100	

Table 7.12: Duration of visits in Muanenguba. (Source: questionnaire surveys.)

While 12.7% of the visitors surveyed were day visitors, more than four fifths of the visitors (87.3%) stayed for varying periods of time. Most of those who stayed over (66.0%) stayed for one to two days. The questionnaire survey further revealed that visitors who spend one to two days are visitors who stay focused on reaching, and staying at, the main destination: Mwaam. Others (those who stay for more than two days) have time to stop by at Ekom Nkam Falls and stay in local accommodation before reaching Mwaam. The prospect of visiting villages for cultural exchange and venturing into the more remote, forested Bakossi Highlands increased with length of stay. While all visitors who stayed for between 5 and 10 days (8.7%) participated in



cultural exchange (see section 8.2.3 – *nkinmut*), those who stayed for more than 10 days (1.9%) reached the Bakossi Highlands primarily to see Lake Bermin. Historically, visiting this part of the Bakossiland/Muanenguba has been more of a non-holiday, research scientist activity. The idea of longer-staying tourists experiencing a greater range of attractions and reaching more peripheral areas is not unique to the nascent tourism destination of Muanenguba. Barros and Machado (2010: 693) found something similar in the island of Madeira (Portugal), a destination where tourism is at the advanced stage. However, these authors also mentioned previous visit(s) as a factor determining length of stay. The association between length of stay and eco/people-friendly initiatives and/or responsibilities was statistically significant (see table 7.14e and in Appendix 7c).

The average length of stay was calculated to be nearly two and a half (2.43) days. This appeared to correspond largely to prevailing patterns of activities. It constituted a period of stay, featuring a stop at the Ekom Nkam Falls, and arrival and overnight stay at the Villa Luciole in Ekanang or the Prestige Inn in Bangem to plan the trip to Mwaam, or arrival directly in Mwaam on the first day, followed by an overnight stay on the second day, and departure from Mwaam by late morning, midday or early afternoon on the third day of the trip.

#### **7.7.5 Trip activities: conventional/popular activities, including responsibilities and/or initiatives.**

Visitors to Mwaam carried out a variety and combination of trip activities during their trip to Muanenguba, amongst which evidences of ecotourism were probed. As a prologue to trip practices in Muanenguba, trip activities carried out by visitors in the past were analysed, as part of a check on whether the visitors get involved in ‘their usual’ trip activities, which are considered under ecotourism, sustainability and ethical responsibility. The statistics in Table 7.13 were derived from questionnaire surveys on trip activities (those who responded:  $n = 86$ ) and visitor monitoring:



Usual trip activity	Number of visitors (%)	Proportion of visitors experienced in activity (%)
Camping	32	37.2
Wildlife safari (birdwatching)	34	39.5
Hiking (trekking) and mountain and rock climbing	64	74.0
Nature photography	45	52.3
Nature study	15	17.4
Swimming (in lakes, sea, etc)	43	50.0
Fishing	0	0.0
Hunting	2	2.3
Others	3	3.5

Table 7.13: Usual holiday activities carried out by visitors. (Source: questionnaire surveys.)

The statistics show that trekking (74%), nature photography (52.3%), swimming in water bodies including beach tourism activity (50%) and bird safaris (39.5%) were the most common activities in the travel life of visitors who came to Mwaam during the 2006–2007 tourism season. In addition, depending on the decision to have an overnight stay, 37.2% of the visitors have always camped. Swimming seemed to come into the picture for the ‘usual activities’ before safaris. Many of the visitors’ usual holiday activities corresponded to those they actually carried out in Mwaam. This seems to suggest that these visitors engage in their usual holiday activities (objective iv) in remote locations previously visited. However, in terms of the degree of engagement, Mwaam gave a slightly different picture, as the data in Table 7.14a show.

Trip activity	Proportion of usual participants	Proportion of actual participants in Mwaam
Trekking	74	77.6
Camping	37.2	44
Safaris	39.5	63.3
Sightseeing and Photography	52.3	82.7
Swimming	50	18.4
<b>Average</b>	<b>50.6</b>	<b>57.2</b>

Table 7.14a Usual holiday practices in remote destinations compared with actual activities in Mwaam (Source: questionnaire surveys.)

On average, nearly 7% more visitors (of all the visitors surveyed,  $n = 103$ ) were seen engaging in the five most popular or conventional activities in Mwaam, when compared with their usual pursuits in remote/nature-based locations. The unique scenery of Mwaam (the open, gently sloping to flat caldera, the Twin Lakes and the surrounding rim of Mwaam – see section 1.4.1) seemed to act as a facilitating factor for visitors to carry out holiday activities that they considered routine during holiday



trips to remote places fairly similar to Mwaam (Photo 7.2). A look at individual activities offers an interesting insight into the comparison and the uniqueness of Mwaam, as displayed in Figure 7.5.

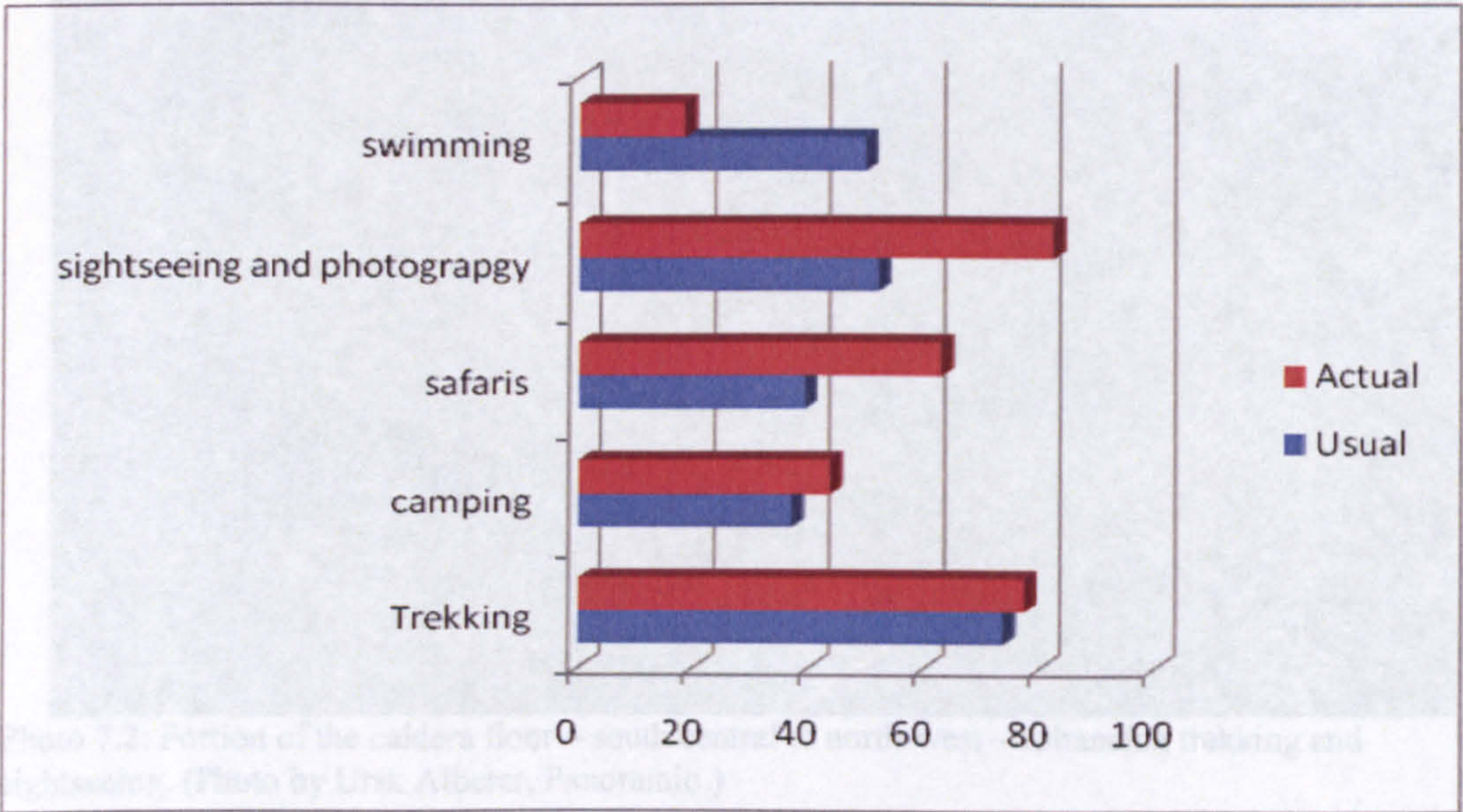


Figure 7.5: Usual activities compared with actual activities in Mwaam (Source: derived from Table 7.14a.)

The diagram seems to confirm the earlier assertion that the special scenery of Mwaam – an open and gently sloping caldera landscape (Photo 7.2) – creates special conditions for key nature-based holiday activities. This is why actual sightseeing associated with photography – the most popular activity – makes one of the greatest differences from its usual equivalent (30.4%) for most visitors. An interesting exception/paradox emerged: a slightly bigger difference is made on the usual side by swimming (32.4%). In the life of most visitors who reach Muanenguba, swimming did not seem to be a priority during their visit to Mwaam when compared with their usual conventional beach tourism in popular destinations. As we shall see later in this section, this also highlights the role of cultural taboos – the Twin Lakes are sacred sites – and the difficulty of descending the craters of the Lakes for swimming in Muanenguba.





Photo 7.2: Portion of the caldera floor – south central to north-west – enhancing trekking and sightseeing. (Photo by Ursk Alberer, Panoramio.)

The dominant, conventional or popular trip activities carried out in Mwaam comprised trekking in the form of hill walking, hill climbing and strolling, variously referred to as hiking (*la randonnée*), marching (*march*), or strolling (*balade, promenade*) favoured by the dominant flat grassy fields (77.6% – Photo 7.2); the use of binoculars and cameras for sightseeing and photography (82.7%); safaris (63.3%); and camping (also mentioned under accommodation – 44.0%). Several studies (e.g. Whelan 1991; Wight, 1996a, 1996b; Honey, 1999; Wood, 2002; Fennell, 2003: 35) have considered these activities to be among the most popular ecotourism activities, i.e. pleasurable practices aimed at self-satisfaction of the visitor and allied to the idea of enjoying scenery and nature (see section 2.4.3). Table 7.14b shows details of all holiday activities carried out during the period of survey.

As for trekking, monitoring in Mwaam revealed that visitors trek to the all-important hilltop separating the Twin Lakes for the view, go round the Twin Lakes (Photo 7.3), walk on the flat caldera surface or the fields of Mwaam, and climb the hills and the Buwo Peak. Hiking is not limited to the destination. As reported by experienced hiker M.T. in Pkongtamba, given that the Alehogum Peaks are nearer to the Mwaam side aspect of Mwaamguba, a few visitors trek through Ekangta (north of Mwaamguba, on the western slopes of Mwaamguba) from time to time. Trekking (hiking) takes a whole day for such visitors. According to information from



Dominant trip activities carried out by visitors.	Proportion of visitors (%)	Ethical responsibilities and initiatives (eco/people-friendly) by visitors	Proportion of visitors (%)
Trekking or hiking (strolling, hill walking and climbing)	77.6	Suggest correctives through views on non-natural, non-ethical and non-traditional elements, e.g. concrete constructions, high price for entry (tax) and nature conservation	29.1
Buying firewood for camping	19.4	Give waste materials to local guard/guide or carry them away	94.9
Camping in tents	44.0	Studying Mwaam	6.8
Swimming in the lake	18.4	Consider Mwaam as a respectable sacred place	6.8
Wanted to buy fish	5.1	Obtain permission from locals (and respect some local wishes)	33.0
Horse riding or wanted to ride horses	10.2	Carry out voluntary pro-poor activities (part of people-friendly activities), e.g. give gifts, lifts, eye treatment, first aid, community aid.	15.5
Stop by periodic market to buy items (e.g. fruits)	27.6	Carry out community-based activities e.g. village stay, buying locally, eating local food, greeting in the dialect	11.7%
Safari activities	63.3		
Sightseeing and photography	82.7	—	—
Community visits	28.2		
Paragliding from the rim of the caldera	reported	—	—
Take precious stones for souvenir	reported	—	—
Playing music using power generators	reported	—	—

Table 7.14b: Activities and initiatives – conventional and ethical/voluntary – carried out by visitors in Muanenguba. (Sources: questionnaire surveys and local witness.)

As concerns trekking, monitoring in Mwaam revealed that visitors trek to the all-important hilltop separating the Twin Lakes for the view, go round the Twin Lakes (Photo 7.3), walk on the flat caldera surface or the fields of Mwaam, and climb the rims and the Ebwo Peak. Hiking is not limited to the destination. As reported by accommodation staff in Nkongsamba, given that the Alehngum Peaks are nearer to the Nkongsamba aspect of Muanenguba, a few visitors trek through Ekangte (north of Nkongsamba, i.e. the southern slopes of Muanenguba) from time to time. Trekking (hiking) takes a whole day for such visitors. According to information from



the hotels, the hikers leave at any time from 5 to 6 am, and return between 6 and 8 pm on the same day. Villagers in Mburuku also reported that a few visitors trek from Ekanang (Mburuku) to Mwaam from time to time.



Photo 7.3: Guided treks – hiking activities – in Mwaam. Left: around the Male Lake (Njumue) towards the western rim of the Mwaam (the caldera). Notice the deep crater descending to the left, two pyroclastic cones, and the western rim surrounding the caldera floor, Ebwo. Right: guide carrying bag for visitor, and female group member looking on in the distance. [Photos by Kristine Randall (left) and Ivo Ngwese, February 2007 (right).]

Sightseeing featured observing moving schools of fish as soon as visitors stand by the concrete rest huts (*buckaroos*) and look down the crater (about 300 m deep) of the Female Lake. Some visitors ventured down to explore the accessible northern shores of the lake, which has transparent and shallow waters with crowns of aquatic plants (fish habitats) peeping through the lake floor. As a result, some 18.4% of the visitors enjoyed a swim in the Female Lake (Edep). Safari activities observed in Muanenguba comprise visitor use of binoculars to watch birds, listening to the calls of birds in the fields and around the bushes of Mwaam, watching cattle egrets on cattle, and hawks commonly coming to hunt on Ebwo Peak. A visitor eagerly reported that she saw ‘bright yellow birds darting between the trees’. Besides the more popular activities, it was reported by the destination employees that a few visitors take stones for souvenirs. This was confirmed by ethnographic interviews in local tourism products. Fewer visitors (5.1%) wanted to buy fish – if available – from local fishermen. Such purchase would have benefited the local young men, but this did not occur during the visiting season under survey. The guard also reported that he had witnessed paragliding by a few visitors from the rims of the caldera and over the lakes.



It is contentious to consider conventional, popular or dominant activities under the heading of ecotourism. But some ethical responsibilities and initiatives in favour of the environment (eco-friendly) and local people and culture (people-friendly) appeared to be incorporated in nature-based/countryside holiday activities and were cited by visitors during questionnaire surveys (see also section 7.3.4) and/or confirmed during monitoring. Although such responsibilities and initiatives were not a perfect match with the popular activities, some aspects scored high enough to lead to the thesis that visitors to Mwaam are responsible in character. This was demonstrated in various ways. Almost all visitors (94.5%) avoided dropping rubbish from their food, and either took the rubbish away in carrier bags, or (in the absence of an existing code of conduct) gave the waste material to the local guard. Not dropping litter is a sense of responsibility that is part of the lifestyle of Western visitors, but is also in line with the ecotourism principles of respecting nature's aesthetic beauty (Honey, 1999; Holden, 2008). Nearly a third (29.1%) openly espoused views relating to respect for nature and culture. This is by advising that non-ethical elements, such as the construction of concrete structures, spoil the aesthetic beauty of Mwaam. One visitor remarked: 'I detest the concrete *buckaroos*! Allow the wild character of the site – avoid constructions, especially concrete.' This can be seen as paternalistic but advisable. Visitors in this domain also suggested high payments, using terms such as 'nature conservation tax', 'entry tax' and 'protection tax' for the 'incomparable geography of Mwaam'. In connection with this, another visitor observed: 'It may be necessary to have a plan, some ideas for trekking, and information such as road signs.' These first two responsibilities – waste management and nature conservation correctives – testify to ecotourism in the sense of suggesting that a proportion of visitors to Mwaam were involved in practices relating to care for the environment. Even villagers were able to notice that visitors detest local practices such as the burning of vegetation (see also section 7.3.4). A significant proportion of the visitors (33%) found various occasions to seek and obtain permission to carry out specific activities, such as joining local fishermen to fish for fun, and taking pictures of local houses. These are the three key ethical responsibilities that satisfy ecotourism in Mwaam (objective iv). There was also evidence of local learning in line with ecotourism principles (Honey, 1999: 22; Wight, 2002: 2): based on information from previous visits, and in respect of the indigenous veneration of Mwaam informed by locals, 6.8% of the visitors considered their trip to be – as stated by one visitor – 'a visit to a respectable sacred place, which should be treated



with care'. This corresponded in part to those who respected some norms after gaining local knowledge, and in part to those who asked for permissions. Another 6.8% of the visitors carried out studies out of curiosity generated by the picturesque scenery of Mwaam in order to enlighten themselves. Nature study (Wight, 2002: 2), interaction and inexperienced guiding (leading to the knowledge that the Twin Lakes are sacred) constitute aspects of personalised informal education with few learning opportunities at the nascent stage of tourism in Muanenguba, where the pristine image offered by the natural scenery is key. This is relative to formal institutionalised education and more learning opportunities as tourism expands to advanced stages. But as Krider *et al.* (2010: 782) found in Costa Rica, formal institutionalised learning at the advanced stages of tourism may compromise the pristine appeal of the destination. Even visitors who declined confessing to ecotourism, because of perception of the difficulty of committing to the associated obligations, demonstrated aspects of ethical responsibility. When all of these responsibilities and initiatives are added to the idea of visiting in small groups that are few and far between (mentioned in section 6.3.3) and the use of traditional accommodation in tourism (WTO, 2004b: 282) (discussed in section 7.7.6), it can be inferred that nascent tourism in Muanenguba has features that are fairly consistent with ecotourism principles.

As a further indication of responsibility and initiative, during the tourism season in which fieldwork was carried out (2006–2007), 18.4% of the 103 visitors also carried out what is locally conceived as being people-friendly, being interactive, and contributing both direct and indirect social benefits/wellbeing. This comprised, first, pro-poor voluntary initiatives/services, in line with the ecotourism notions of Wight (2002: 2), offered by 15.5% of the visitors, in order to – as stated by these visitors – show that they cared about local people (see also section 8.2). Such activities – reported by visitors and/or seen – comprised: medical assistance – using the visitors' first aid kit to treat the wound on the leg of a local Mbororo lady; carrying out ophthalmology – free eye treatment of locals; giving lifts to trekking villagers; giving gifts (foreign drinks such as wine, money, sardines, bread, chocolate, sugar, tea, etc.) to Mbororos and, in rare cases, locals; and participation in cultural exchange, which led to village and school community development activities, as we shall see in section 8.2.3. Second, there were community-based initiatives in line with the suggested ecotourism notions of Wight (2002: 2). These comprised for example,



staying with the local Mbororo chief's family, a village stay with locals, buying locally, eating local food, and amusing locals by greeting in the dialect and carrying firewood – 11.7% of the visitors (see also sections 8.2.2 and 8.2.3).

As we can discern from the spectrum of visitor activities given in Chapter Two (by Page and Dowling, 2002: 61; Lew *et al.*, 2004: 263), ecotourism is not a rigid concept that visitors translate impeccably into practice. Observations and visitor reports in Muanenguba indicated this in two ways during fieldwork. First, there were activities that would not be considered as ecotourism, both in the secluded destination of Mwaam and on the way to it. For example, sightseeing experiences extended to witnessing activities such as catching edible amphibians in the Jeborh Swamps, fishing activities in the Female Lake, watching fish swimming through transparent waters of the lake, Mbororo cattle rearing on the caldera fields (Ebwo) in Mwaam, and free-range animals (chicken, pigs, goats, sheep) and lizards in the villages *en route* to Mwaam. Similarly, voluntary services included prayers for villagers by some visitors on retirement from medical occupations calling themselves missionaries (1.9%). More than a quarter of the visitors (27.6%) stopped at periodic markets, but this was at various destinations in Cameroon, rather than around Muanenguba. However, a few of those who stopped at the markets and transit *carrefours* in Muanenguba bought fruits such as locally grown bananas, oranges and pineapples (see section 8.4). Wight (2002: 2) considers the building of community visits during holidays as ecotourism practice, probably because it leads to interaction. Community visits carried out by 28.2% of the 103 visitors surveyed in Muanenguba were seen as part of conventional treks, and their potential impacts, i.e. discomfort, destabilisation of customs or local benefit, could not be judged through questionnaire survey. Second, there were practices seen as unsustainable, but which permeated the tourism experience in Muanenguba. These activities are discussed in section 8.5.3 on negative impacts.

Looking at these ambiguities, it was thus considered that the mere identification of activities as conventional/popular and environmentally-friendly (eco-friendly) and/or people-friendly (initiatives and responsibilities) i.e. testifying to respect/care for the environment and local peoples and culture, as shown in Table 7.14b, was inadequate. Statistical analyses were performed at a significance (*p*) level of 0.05 (or confidence level of 95%), in order to check the relationship between variables that lead visitors



to carry out activities (initiatives and responsibilities) that are eco/people-friendly i.e. consistent with ecotourism principles. As a pre-analysis activity, a content analysis was carried out: the number of conventional activities was counted for each visitor who participated in the questionnaire survey; the number of responsibilities and/or initiatives were also counted (see Appendix 7b). The first of the analyses was a *cross tabulation* and *Chi-square* ( $\chi^2$ ) test using SPSS-PASW in order to determine whether the 103 visitors surveyed incorporated eco/people-friendly initiatives/responsibilities in their conventional nature-based holiday activities i.e. whether there is a relationship between eco/people-friendly activities and conventional activities. As recommended by Pallant (2007: 288), assumptions of expected cell frequency were considered. The tables in 7.14c show the result:

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	56.063	30	.003
Likelihood Ratio	52.286	30	.007
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.966	1	.015
N of Valid Cases	103		

Symmetric Measures			
		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.738	.003
	Cramer's V	.330	.003
N of Valid Cases		103	

Tables 7.14c: Output for the association between conventional activities and eco/people-friendly responsibilities/initiatives. (Source: crosstabulation and Chi-square output.)

The result shows a statistically significant (*Pearson*  $\chi^2 = 56.1$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) association between eco/people-friendly activities and conventional activities, in line with objective iv. Two-tailed related to the significance means that no assumptions were made about the direction of the relationship (in line with Pallant, 2005: 125). As part of the result, a test of the strength of association, shows a moderate association (Cramer’s V statistic = 0.33,  $p < 0.01$ ) between conventional activities and eco/people-friendly activities. This suggests that visitors who reached Muanenguba during the period of the study – January to June, 2007 – were moderately likely to intentionally or unknowingly incorporate initiatives and/or responsibilities (which contribute positively to the nature conservation and local people’s well-being) in their conventional nature-based or countryside tourism practises during their visits to Muanenguba. However, it is important to note that the the relationship is stochastic, i.e. involves randomness, likelihood or probability, reflecting the hazy nature of



ecotourism practices. The strength of association (0.33 or 33%) is thus suggestive rather than predictive. This is evident in the cross tabulation. The cross tabulation (appendix 7c, adjusted residuals - *a.r.*) suggests that, while 61.1% of all the visitors who carried out one conventional nature-based activity were more likely to also incorporate one eco/people-friendly activity (*a.r.* = 2.8), few of them were unlikely to incorporate two eco/people-friendly activities (*a.r.* = -2.6). Visitors who carried out two, three, and six conventional activities did not seem to have any remarkable association with eco/people-friendly activities (*a.r.* within the range  $\leq 2$  and  $>-2$  in all cases). While nearly one tenth (9.5%) of all the visitors who carried out four conventional activities were more likely to incorporate six eco/people-friendly activities (*a.r.* = 2.8), 41.2% of those who carried out five conventional activities were more likely to incorporate three eco/people-friendly activities (*a.r.* = 2.3). All of the visitors who carried out seven conventional activities (100%) were more likely to incorporate four eco/people-friendly activities (*a.r.* = 3.7). In this situation of randomness some order was apparent when the total count of visitors who incorporated each category of eco/people-friendly activities was considered. This is shown on figure 7.6

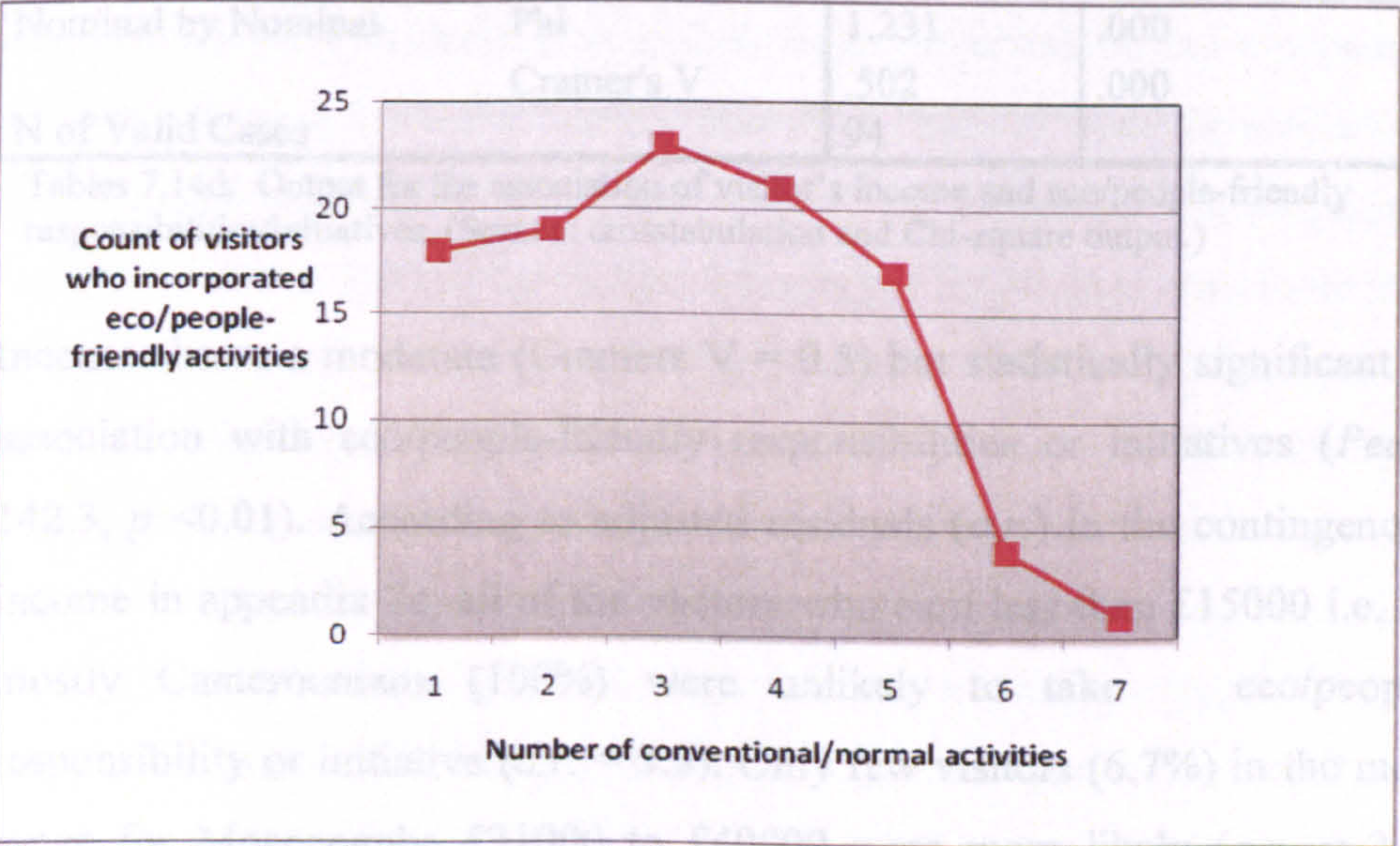


Figure 7.6: Relationship between popular holiday activities and proportion of visitors who carried out eco/peolpe-friendly activities [Source: Cross tabulation totals in appendix 7c(i)].

The graph suggests that more visitors were likely to intentionally or unintentionally incorporate eco/people-friendly activities into their normal nature-based activities upto the point whereby three normal activities were carried out. After three normal activities, fewer visitors seemed unlikely to incorporate eco/people friendly activities i.e. to take responsibility or initiative as they continued their holiday.



The second cross tabulation analysis was performed in order to determine the factors (predictors) that were likely to influence visitors to incorporate eco/people-friendly responsibilities and/or initiatives in their trip activities. Independent variables (factors) considered were visitor’s age ( $x_1$ ), visitors’ gender ( $x_2$ ), visitor’s income ( $x_3$ ), level of education (education,  $x_4$ ), number of visits (travel experience,  $x_5$ ), group size ( $x_6$ ) and length of stay ( $x_7$ ). The dependent or response variable was considered to be eco/people-friendly activities, i.e. responsibilities and/or initiatives (or, in short, positive contribution,  $y$ ). The results suggest that only three of the seven factors show statistically significant association with responsibilities or initiatives that are somewhat consistent with ecotourism principles. Crosstabulations for the three factors can be found in appendix 7c. One of the factors is income (tables in 7.14d).

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	142.333	84	.000
Likelihood Ratio	82.282	84	.533
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.910	1	.005
N of Valid Cases	94		

Symmetric Measures			
		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	1.231	.000
	Cramer's V	.502	.000
N of Valid Cases		94	

Tables 7.14d: Output for the association of visitor’s income and eco/people-friendly responsibilities/initiatives. (Source: crosstabulation and Chi-square output.)

Income shows a moderate (Cramers  $V = 0.5$ ) but statistically significant ( $p < 0.01$ ) association with eco/people-friendly responsibilities or initiatives (*Pearson*  $x^2 = 142.3$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). According to adjusted residuals (*a.r.*) in the contingency table for income in appendix 7c, all of the visitors who earn less than £15000 i.e. lowest and mostly Cameroonians (100%) were unlikely to take eco/people-friendly responsibility or initiative (*a.r.* = 3.9). Only few visitors (6.7%) in the main income range for Muanenguba £31000 to £40000 were more likely (*a.r.* = 2.1) to take responsibility/initiative. But a greater proportion (33.3%) of high income earners (£65000 and above) were more likely (*a.r.* = 5.5) to take take responsibility/initiative during their holiday in Muanenguba. The distinction between the highest and lowest income earners appears to confirm the moderate relationship. We can infer the visitors’ ability to use their (on average) high incomes, to overcome the ‘pain’ of



reaching the underdeveloped destination could be helpful in promoting activities that may be consistent with ecotourism principles for a destination at the nascent stage.

The second factor which also shows a moderate (Cramer’s  $V = 0.4$ ) statistically significant association ( $p < 0.01$ ) with eco/people-friendly responsibilities or initiatives is length of stay ( $\chi^2 = 102.7, p < 0.01$ ). This is shown on tables in 7.14e:

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	102.727	60	.000
Likelihood Ratio	63.749	60	.346
Linear-by-Linear Association	10.189	1	.001
N of Valid Cases	103		

Symmetric Measures			
		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.999	.000
	Cramer's V	.408	.000
N of Valid Cases		103	

Tables 7.14e: Output for the association of visitor’s length of stay and eco/people-friendly responsibilities/initiatives. (Source: crosstabulation and Chi-square output.)

As suggested by adjusted residuals (*a.r.*) for length of stay in appendix 7c, 23.1% of day visitors were unlikely (*a.r.* = 2.5) to be involved in any eco/people-friendly responsibilities or initiatives during their visit. Half (50%) of the visitors who stayed for 6 days were more likely (*a.r.* = 7.1) to incorporate six responsibilities or initiatives. About 60% of the visitors who stayed for 10 days were more likely (*a.r.* = 3.7) to incorporate four eco/people-friendly responsibilities or initiatives. All (100%) of those who stayed for 14 days seemed likely (*a.r.* = 2.9) to incorporate four responsibilities or initiatives. Shorter lengths of stay were less likely to lead visitor contribution by way of eco/people-friendly responsibilities or initiatives. Lorenzini *et al.* (2010: 18) found a positive relation between *average* length of stay and the general development of tourism attractions, e.g. heritage sites on a territorial basis in on the Marche region of Italy. In Muanenguba, a greater length of stay had the potential to make visitors show positive contributions in line with ecotourism principles. We can infer that the length of stay has varied effects, depending on the stage of the destination and scale of consideration. It appears that a length of stay that allows for beneficial cross-cultural interaction and understanding of the problems of a destination at the nascent stage of tourism is likely to influence visitors to show responsibility and/or initiative in practice in favour the destination.



The third factor which seemed statistically significant ( $p < 0.01$ ) and moderately likely (Cramer's  $V = 0.34$ ) to lead visitors to show eco/people-friendly responsibilities or initiatives was groups size ( $\chi^2 = 67.2, p < 0.01$ ). This is shown on tables in 7.14f.

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	67.236	42	.008
Likelihood Ratio	59.899	42	.036
Linear-by-Linear Association	.915	1	.339
N of Valid Cases	100		

Symmetric Measures			
		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.820	.008
	Cramer's V	.335	.008
N of Valid Cases		100	

Tables 7.14f: Output for the association of visitor's group size and eco/people-friendly responsibilities/initiatives. (Source: crosstabulation and Chi-square output.)

As suggested by adjusted residuals (*a.r.*) for group size in appendix 7c, 39.2% of the visitors who came as couples and/or with a group size of two were more likely (*a.r.* = 2.2) to incorporate three eco/people-friendly responsibilities or initiatives in their normal/usual holiday activities. A few (8.7%) of those who came in groups of three were more likely (*a.r.* = 2.6) to incorporate six responsibilities/initiatives. A good proportion (62.5%) of those who came in groups of four were more likely (*a.r.* = 2.3) to incorporate just one responsibility or initiative. Just over one quarter (26.5%) of those who came in groups of five were more likely (*a.r.* = 2.1) to incorporate four responsibilities/initiatives. A high proportion (75%) of the visitors who came in groups of seven were were more likely (*a.r.* = 2.2) to incorporate two responsibilities or initiatives. Finally 40% of the tourist who came in groups having eight members were more likely (*a.r.* = 2.1), intentionally or unknowingly, to incorporate four responsibilities/initiatives while 20% were more likely (*a.r.* = 4.4) to incorporate five responsibilities or initiatives. The irregular pattern of the association confirms the moderate strength of the relationship (Cramers  $V = 0.34$ ) between group size and eco/people-frindliness.

The absence of a strong association between any of the factors – income, length of stay and group size – and activities that somewhat consistent with ecotourism



principles implies that factors other than those used in this analysis possibly explain visitor's initiative or responsibility to Muanenguba. A key factor that was likely to influence visitors to show responsibilities and/or initiatives in line with ecotourism principles seemed to be what one visitor referred to as the 'scenic splendours' of Mwaam, especially *the effect of the caldera and Twin Lakes*: the former compares only to the Ngorongoro Caldera in Tanzania (with one lake). Most visitors say they have 'never seen them before', because they are found nowhere else in Africa, and probably not in other regions of the world either. Thus, while it is conventional for visitors' ethical responsibilities and initiatives to come second to their popular desires during most holiday trips, the case for Mwaam suggests – as remarked by one visitor – that a well-developed sense of responsibility, combined with 'the extraordinary scenery of the destination [coerces] the visitor to realise that some ethical requirements are obvious' (see Appendix 7b, visitor number 2). Locals refer to visitors who reach Mwaam especially during the rainy season as painstaking (see Photo 6.2). Thus the extraordinary scenery of Mwaam (the caldera and the Twin Lakes) combines with the moderately significant factors comprising the visitors' affordability and ability to use their (on average) high incomes, to overcome the 'pain' of reaching the underdeveloped destination, a length of stay that allows for locally beneficial understanding of the destination's problems and a group size with members enlightening each other on the problems of a tourism destination at the nascent stage. These were likely to influence visitors to suggest views on sustainability in principle or show responsibility and/or initiative in practice – consistent with ecotourism – in an attempt to help the destination.

Besides suggesting that the special scenery plays a role in coercing visitors to show initiative and responsibility, there is need further analysis. The persistence of tourism at the nascent stage for more than a century (i.e. insignificant progress in tourism) implies that Chi-square and Cramer's V statistics are only suggestions, and cannot be trusted as predictive models in order to describe similar relationships in the future. This relates to the predominantly moderate rather than strong associations between the factors and eco/people-friendly behaviour. Also, Pallant (2007: 155) suggests – as shown in table 7.14g – that the use of classes, e.g. for age and income, may limit the significance of variables, whereas original figures could have a more significant effect. There was also the issue of questionnaire restraint on visitors, leading to what Pallant (2007: 121) refers to as a careless answer from a visitor, or a true value from



a strange visitor (see section 4.9). Other factors comprised the dichotomous nature of some activities, e.g. community visits, which could be included among responsibilities and/or initiatives in line with ecotourism principles (Wight, 2002: 2), but were placed on the conventional side during content analysis – because they were part of treks – as noted earlier.

Variable name	Pearson Chi Square ( $\chi^2$ )	Cramer's V	Significance
Age ( $x_1$ )	23.8	0.25	0.47
Gender ( $x_2$ )	2.4	0.15	0.89
Education ( $x_4$ )	18.1	0.30	0.11
Number of visits ( $x_5$ )	19.9	0.20	0.92

Table 7.14g: Output for variables which show insignificant association with eco/people-friendly activities. (Source: crosstabulation and Chi-square output.)

After a review of the literature on quantitative studies of this type in tourism research, it became apparent that Chi-square methodologies are used to estimate the quantitative relationship between demographic characteristics of visitors and their interest in tourism activities. McKercher (2009) used Chi-square to analyse propensity to travel by Hong Kong residents. Mc Kercher’s research suggests that socially acceptable barriers such as affordability, work and family commitment are used to rationalise non-travel and conceal lack of interest. Crouch and Laing (2004) used the same approach to find significant associations between age, gender, education, occupation and travel experience (insignificant in Muanenguba) and variations in public desire for space tourism in Melbourne, Australia. Eraqi (2007) used a Chi-square test to reveal generally positive attitudes towards sustainability requirements, beset by misunderstanding of the concept of ecotourism for many tourism companies and agencies in Egypt. According to Dolnicar (2008:132) Chi-square is generally used for profiling in tourism research. But it cannot account for interaction effects between all the variables tested. This can lead to overestimation of the significance.

Any demand for a holiday is a desire to carry out activities that might – intentionally or unintentionally – incorporate features that are in line with ecotourism principles, as it is in Muanenguba. While econometric models are more commonly used to establish relationships in tourism research, and accuracy is considered important in establishing quantitative relationships (Frechtling, 2001; Witt and Song, 2009), ‘no single model consistently outperforms [others] in all situations’ (Witt and Song,



2009: 203). All authors recognise that human behaviour cannot be easily described, and this was not the objective of the analyses used in this thesis. It is important to consider the analyses and results as suggestive of the *activities* of 103 visitors at the time of survey (January to June, 2007). It was necessary to add another dimension to the analysis, i.e. to compare averages for visitors who advocate ecotourism, by espousing views on the protection of nature and culture, with the rest. Table 7.14h offers an interesting inference.

Variable	All visitors (averages)	Visitors who espoused views on ecotourism (averages)
Age (years)	42.42	44.33
Annual income (£)	29,723.72	36,790.00
Level of Education	3.14	3.32
Number of visit (travel experience)	1.43	1.67
Group size (persons)	3.32	3.75
Length of stay (days)	2.43	1.85
Number of conventional activities	3.14	3.52
Number of eco/people-friendly activities (responsibilities/initiatives)	2.14	1.45

Table 7.14h: Comparison between visitors who advocated ecotourism and the rest. (Source: calculated from questionnaire survey data.)

The table suggests that visitors who espoused views on ecotourism were, on average, older; earned higher incomes; and had better levels of education, and better travel experiences. However, apparently, owing shorter lengths of stay, this proportion of visitors did not appear to have enough time to take responsibility, although they carried out more conventional nature-based holiday activities. Their initiatives or responsibilities were below average. The idea that ecotourism knowledge is rarely translated into practice is already established in the literature (Cater, 2004: 488) (see section 2.4.4 and Appendix 7b). A test of difference (independent samples test) was attempted but could not yield any output because the two samples contain categorical data and nearly similar averages.

**7.7.6 Choice and use of accommodation: experiencing the mediation of modern convenience and indigenous tradition.**

Visitors’ choice of accommodation can help in identifying ecotourists. Surveys of the accommodation sector and visitors indicate that visitors to Mwaam make a variety or combination of accommodation choices. On the question of accommodation used during usual trips, the preference of most visitors surveyed in Mwaam (68%) revolved around environmentally sensitive or traditional types. This included 24.3% for eco-friendly accommodation, 20.4% for traditional types, and 18.4% for both



traditional and eco-friendly types. About 4% of the visitors preferred hotels exclusively. The degree of non-response (19.4%) supported two ideas. First, as stated by one visitor, visitors are ‘used to combinations of accommodation types during single trips’. Second, day visitors found it unnecessary to engage in a discussion regarding accommodation. For non-local guides (3.9%), decisions on accommodation were taken by the visitors they accompanied. Interestingly, some visitors had a dilemma as to accommodation in Muanenguba. Such visitors – as confirmed by one – preferred to ‘keep an open mind on accommodation, because of the lack of information on what is available in Muanenguba’. Table 7.15a shows the types of accommodation actually used.

Accommodations used by visitors around Muanenguba	Proportion of visitors (%)
Hotels in Nkongsamba	n/a
Bakossi <i>ndab echum</i> by the Female Lake (exclusively)	8.8
<i>Ndab echum</i> (around hotels, in village and in Mwaam: Bakossi and Mbororo) and visitors’ tents	8.8
Tents brought along	25.3
Villa Luciole and Prestige Inn (both having traditional houses) and traditional houses in the village andMbororo huts in Mwaam	45.1
Villa Luciole and Prestige Inn, and visitors’ tents in Mwaam	9.9
<i>Auberge</i> in Bangem	1.9
Valid cases (103)	100.0

Table 7.15a: Types of accommodation used by visitors in Muanenguba.  
(Source: questionnaire surveys.)

The statistics reveal that there were differences between preference for accommodation and actual use of it. The reason for this difference is that, because of the underdeveloped nature of tourism in Muanenguba, the tendency is for visitors to: use a combination of available accommodation, i.e. the two small, local hotel/traditional house establishments (Villa Luciole and Prestige Inn – see section 6.4.6) and reach Mwaam the following day using alternative accommodation (mainly tents); or to go straight to Mwaam and camp (9.9%); or to stay in the traditional houses (*ndab echum*) (8.8%) by the side of the Female Lake (Photo 6.1); or to stay with the Mbororo chief’s family in Mwaam. Day visitors reach Mwaam on a day trip and return without using any accommodation. A small proportion of visitors (about 3%) preferred tents or camps exclusively. But, in reality, a quarter of visitors (25.3%) exclusively used tents to stay the night(s) in Mwaam, as there are few options. The greatest proportion of visitors (45.1%) combined a stay in either the Villa Luciole or the Prestige Inn with a stay with the Mbororos in Mwaam or a stay in these hotels and a visit to a village, thereby using traditional *ndab echum*. While at the hotels,



which are simple in terms of their size and range of activities, privileged visitors pay £30 per night to stay in the few traditional *ndab echum* around the hotels and use main hotel services (see section 6.4.6 and Photo 6.4). Those who do not have the opportunity to use the *ndab echum* stay in the guest rooms. Some 8.8% of the visitors who used mixed accommodation stayed in various traditional houses and tents, and about 2% stayed in locally owned *auberges* (analogous to bed and breakfast) in Bangem.

When is it considered that more than third of the visitors who used accommodation

Oral sources suggest that few visitors stay in hotels in the local city of Nkongsamba. The investigation respected this view, but did not verify it during the fieldwork period. As noted in Chapter Six, such hotels do not play a significant role in tourism in Muanenguba, as there are few natural attractions to make visitors stay in that region (eastern) of the study area. These hotels serve predominantly national business travellers. An analysis of the individual types of accommodation used in Muanenguba revealed interesting items of general local use of accommodation, in line with ecotourism principles. Table 7.15b shows the outcome.

Individual type of accommodation	Number of visitors	Relative frequency (%)	
Tents	40	44.0	
Hotel rooms: -Villa Luciole -Prestige Inn	13	47.3	
	30		
<i>Auberge</i>	2	2.2	38.5 of visitors used traditional type lodging
<i>Ndab echum</i> : Village -Mwaam (destination) -Hotel <i>ndab echum</i>	12	13.2	
	10	11	
	9	9.9	
Mbororo traditional huts	4	4.4	

Table 7.15b: Individual types of accommodation used by visitors. (Source: questionnaire surveys.)

and little use of Mbororo huts (4.4% of 38.5%).

Data in the table reveal that traditional houses are significantly used by visitors, a situation that may increase with as the destination matures. Also, although hotels rooms scored highly (47.3%), they do not dominate the accommodation sector in Muanenguba. This is due to several circumstances. First, the traditional houses (*ndab echum*) and hotels rooms together form part of the set-up of what the hoteliers (their owners) call ‘modern traditional lodges’, serving as guest rooms. Second, there are fewer lodges, because they currently require a laborious rejuvenation of aspects of disappearing traditional know-how to design and construct them with local materials. Third, the *ndab echum* are – as reliably stated by employees – difficult to maintain, and aimed chiefly at giving visitors who stay in them an authentic experience of a native home. The limited number of *ndab echum* – many of the surviving ones are



remotely located in the more traditional hamlets, and in Mwaam – gives visitors fewer options than the non-traditional guest rooms in the Villa Luciole and Prestige Inn *en route*. But the lodges are located at 9.6 km (Prestige) and 45 km (Luciole) by road from Mwaam. This leaves visitors to use mainly tents (44%), two traditional lodges re-introduced by villagers on the northern shores of the Female Lake (9.9%), and Mbororo huts (4.4%) at Mwaam.

When is it considered that more than third of the visitors who used accommodation (a total of 38.5%) stayed in or used the traditional *ndab echum*, there is significant evidence to support the thesis that, with respect to local accommodation, visitors to Muanenguba experience the local mediation of modern convenience and indigenous identity/authenticity through accommodation (the Villa Luciole and Prestige Inn) *en route* to the destination, and are offered the choice of a traditional stay or a camping stay at the destination (Mwaam). It is equally interesting to note that Mbororo settlers, who are the immediate locals in Mwaam, are not giving a non-original (non indigenous) image to the destination, because the hoteliers who own the modern traditional lodges *en route* to Mwaam, and the indigenes/custodians who live near Mwaam (i.e. who constructed the *ndab echum* in Mwaam – see section 6.4), have asserted the indigenous identity and preserved the image of Muanenguba by taking culture to the visitors. This traditional presence and its resultant respect by the predominantly responsible travellers was reflected in a greater use of traditional *ndab echum en route* and in Mwaam (34.1% of 38.5% – traditional houses used), taking photos of *ndab echum* in villages *en route* to the destination by almost all visitors, and little use of Mbororo huts (4.4% of 38.5%).

## 7.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has served to attain part of objective iv: to identify and discuss features of nascent tourism, including activities (responsibilities and/or initiatives) that were consistent with ecotourism principles (Appendix 7d). This is contained in the following findings.

More than three quarters of the visitors who reached Mwaam (77.3%) were people of working age, predominantly highly educated professionals (about 80%, graduates and postgraduates) from Western Europe, and expatriates working in Cameroon. Visitors came from 33 countries. But France – the former colonial ruler – was by far



the principal supplier of visitors, accounting for the greatest market share (57.3% of all visitors). Demographic data also show at least 13% more male than female visitors, contributed mainly by sole travellers.

Visitors (91.1%) come as non-institutional tourist groups (average group size being three persons), because of their preference for travel freedom, viability, travel experience, and easy and independent decision-making. They (more than three quarters of the visitors – 76.7%) organised their trips together with friends and family members using travel information provided by members of the group. In what was quoted as ‘friendship and cooperation with locals’, 6.8% of all the visitors preferred community-based approaches, and thus organised their trips locally. This tallied with the indigene-cherished *nkinmut*, i.e. the interactive or community-based approach (objective iii).

Mwaam, being an underdeveloped destination, receives predominantly first-time visitors (73.8%). But more than a fifth (21.3%) appeared to have been swayed by the picturesque scenery of Mwaam – especially the Twin Lakes – to return (repeat visitors with two visits on average). Most visitors stayed over (87.4% for nearly two and a half days on average, with prevailing patterns of activities). But there were also day visitors (12.7%).

While most of the visitors (79.6% of all) were on holiday as VFRs from abroad, non-national residents workers, exchange visitors, a proportion of Cameroonians etc., and expressed interest in remote, countryside natural and/or cultural attractions (73.3% of all), some (34% of all) were general-interest tourists motivated by their love for Africa, its people and famous places for various experiences, unconventionally including ‘*ambiance*’ (lively atmosphere) for a few. In terms of relations with the environment, 36.9% of the visitors considered themselves to be ecotourists. But only some of these matched this claim with practice.

Visitor carried out mainly popular/conventional countryside and nature-based tourism activities such as trekking and, in particular, hill walking (77.6% of the visitors), sightseeing and photography (82.7%), safaris (63.3%) and camping (44.0%). However, they also incorporated – intentionally or unknowingly – ethical responsibilities and/or initiatives that were environmentally-friendly and helpful for



the well-being of local people (consistent with ecotourism principles), e.g. caring about waste (94.5%), seeking permission to carry out some activities (33%), suggesting correctives or views on sustainability (29.1%), informal local learning (6.8%), and voluntary pro-poor and community based tourism (18.4%), e.g. gifts, donations, local purchases, as an indication of their care for the environment and for local people (in satisfaction of objective iv ). As an aspect of nascent tourism, factors that were likely to influence visitors to show responsibility and/or initiative comprise the extraordinary scenery of Mwaam, in combination with income, length of stay and group size. As suggested by an initial crosstabulation coefficient, those who carried out more conventional nature-based tourism activities were more likely to make a greater contribution; yet this was stochastic.

Visitors who stay over in Muanenguba (about 87.4% of visitors) experience the local mediation of modern convenience and indigenous tradition through their choice and use of mainly small-scale 'modern traditional lodges', but also the traditional *ndab echum*. Some visitors kept an open mind, owing to a dilemma as to what kind of accommodation they preferred, ready to embrace whatever the nascent tourism destination presented. In addition to the features mentioned in this summary, the idea of small, non-institutional groups that are few and far between (Honey, 1999: 22; Wight, 2002: 2) and the predominantly professional nature of visitors (TIES, 2005: 1) can be considered under ecotourism (see also Appendix 7d).



‘Memories of ... destinations are theatrically mediated’ (Hollinshead, 2004: 28).

- The experience is ‘*beggaring description* [i.e. indescribable] when the spectacular scenery and the horse riding activity are put together’ (Visitor – Student from France, 2005). ‘Such an unpleasant incident [illegal charge without receipts] ruins the experience of a wonderful trek’ (Visitor from France, 2007)
- Visitors are ‘agents of enlightenment and development’ (Local - Mayor of Bangem, 2007). ‘Visitors keep their own tradition but destroy and despise our [tradition]’ (Local - traditional healer, 2007).



# Chapter Eight

## INTERACTIONAL AND OTHER IMPACTS OF TOURISM

### 8.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the key features of nascent tourism is that locals need to be brought closer to tourists. This gives the visitors more enriching experiences of the destination while enhancing cross-cultural understanding. But research activities in Mwaam, and witness reports relied upon because of the scarcity of meaningful interaction seen during fieldwork – a feature of nascent tourism – helped to indicate that people in Muanenguba are exposed to varied modes and degrees of generally momentary interaction with tourists. This often leads to varied perceptions of tourism and varied treatment of tourists by locals on the one hand, and varied images of Muanenguba by the tourists on the other. The first part of this chapter (sections 8.2 and 8.3) is a narrative on such interaction and the resulting perceptions of guests and hosts, as well as a few conflicts (objective v). Also, ecotourism aims – among other standards – to benefit the destination communities and limit ecological damage at the destination. In Muanenguba, the nascent nature of tourism, the lack of its consideration by the wider community as a major economic activity, and scarce involvement in the nascent stages are reflected in the partial nature of the distribution and use of benefits. The latter part of the chapter (sections 8.4 to 8.6) assesses the benefits, brings together non interaction-induced problems emerging as tourism develops, and concludes with the factors that hinder development, some of which have been discussed earlier in the thesis.

### 8.2 INTERACTION AND LOCAL PERCEPTION OF TOURISM

Some interaction occurs in Mwaam. Contact also occurs *en route* during visitor stays in guest accommodation, and during stops at township security checkpoints and on-the-way village periodic markets (on market days) and transit *carrefours*. It is important to note that the predominance of visitor interest in the secluded destination of Mwaam (nature), associated with limited time for interaction *en route*, was the source of perception for the hosts.



### **8.2.1 Interaction and perception in Mwaam: guides and Mbororos.**

All visitors who reached Mwaam cooperated with the destination guard. As already discussed in section 6.4.2, the destination employees carry out activities such as guiding, observation, security and collection of access fees. These activities lead them to interact with visitors. Although relations between the guard and tourists appeared cordial, for example during routine visits by the guard to greet tourist groups at camp sites (Figure 8.1), interviews and questionnaire surveys revealed that there are conflicting perceptions: some financial demands from the guard were considered to be illegal charges by 3.5% of the visitors surveyed. According to one visitor, 'such an unpleasant incident ruins the end of the experience, after a wonderful trek' (see also section 8.3.2). Unlike the visitors, the destination employees considered payments (other than entrance fees) to them to be gifts. The investigator is reluctant to agree with this, on account of visitor complaints. Similarly, as described in the activities of the access fees collector or checkpoint attendant, the idea of seeking to interact at the destination rather than at the checkpoint is criticised by some visitors (see also section 6.4.2). It was further discovered that guarding was emphasised, and at times became the only option if visitors brought another guide. But the guard still used ploys to create avenues of paid guiding, by emphasising the need for him to guide, especially as topics on local ethnography appeared during some interaction scenes, for example on one occasion when a few visitors wanted to know about the use of traditional houses by the Female Lake. This domineering attitude was more frequently shown when the guide was non-local, compared with cases involving the characteristically few local guides. This included the investigator on one occasion: being an indigene led investigator to carry out the guiding activity. Another example of such situations was reported: it regards the Mbat village chief who took WWF scientists to Mwaam for interpretation in 2006. An interview with the chief revealed that the guard could not impose his role in the presence of indigenous hierarchy. This second example is one in which the hierarchy factor modified interaction. Although the chief was part of a member of a research expedition rather than a tourism guide, it would have made no difference if the scientists were vacationers. Although relations between the local guard and all other guides appeared to be cordial, the guard was always happier when he was employed by the visiting group, in which case the non-local guides became mediators. In all, the guard and other local guides, although untrained, can contribute



to a better understanding of local culture, somewhat in line with ecotourism principles (objective iv), in such a nascent tourism destination.



Photo 8.1: Interaction between the two destination employees and visitors in Mwaam. (Photo by Ivo Ngwese, 2007.)

For interaction that is not related to guarding or guiding in Mwaam, the Mbororos are the main local actors and beneficiaries. This is due to their settlement at the destination (see section 6.2.2). As contained in the examples of interaction reported during questionnaire surveys, listed in Table 8.1, it can be discerned that, by virtue of the location of the small community of immigrant Mbororo nomads around Mwaam, visitors tend to visit and interact more with Mbororos (32.8%) and interact less with natives in the villages *en route* (11.7%).

Tourists in Mwaam (n = 103)		Indigenes in the villages (n = 49)	
Activity	Proportion of visitors (%)	Activity (in the past)	Proportion of visitors (%)
I have seen locals in the villages on the way	25.2	I have seen visitor(s) passing and taking photos in the village	20
I have interacted with locals in the villages	11.7	I was involved in a conversation with a visitor	11.4
We used tourist guides	41.5	I have received a gift and/or taken a photo together with a visitor	6.1
We visited and/or interacted with Mbororos in Mwaam	32.8	I have seen visitors who spent a night or on a day visit	10

Table 8.1: Contact and interaction in Muanenguba. (Source: questionnaire surveys and ethnographic interviews.)



*En route*, visitors are more likely to see natives more frequently (25.2%) than interact with them. It seems that interaction *en route* is low down in their priorities. As we shall see hereunder (and as mentioned by both hosts and guests), this is accounted for by the lack of opportunity, apart from places of transit and Mwaam, and by cultural differences. About 2% of the visitors who participated in the questionnaire survey stayed with Mbororos, used their facilities, and ate some of their meals (e.g. drank cow's milk). A proportion of these few unwittingly thought that the Mbororos were the indigenes of Muanenguba. As mentioned by the Mbororo Chief, 'some of the [community] tourists who temporarily stay with us give us financial and material gifts while others simply thank us during departure' (see section 8.4). This implies that although community-based activities exist in tourism in Mwaam, some of the practices do not lead to socio-economic benefit for the hosts. When benefits come, if they are material (e.g. snacks and foreign drinks), Mbororos use them directly. If they are financial, they use the money in buying food items in the local periodic markets for their families. As the main beneficiary of interaction in Mwaam, the Mbororo chief's family (non-indigenous hierarchy) have adjusted to tourism – the social impact of tourism i.e. deroutinisation – by having space in their accommodation to enhance home stay for visitors and expecting benefits from the opportunities that come with it. During visitor observations, it was discovered that elders mostly look on after greeting the visitors in day visit circumstances. Mbororo youths are allowed to interact with and accompany some of those who stay with the chief's family during trekking, and let any interested visitor ride their horses for free (Photo 8.3). Mbororo visitors admire local food and the predominant traditional calabash utensils. One visitor remarked that his 'group played with Mbororo children'. When discussions result from such contact, it was observed that they centre on life and livelihood, especially on cattle rearing, although one visitor mentioned that 'discussions are simply cheerful; there are no specific subjects for discussions'.

For other cases of interaction the destination guides reported that a visitor from Belgium had left his phone number, hoping to be called to come and witness the sacred sacrifice that – as he heard – is performed in Mwaam. This is not acceptable, according to local custom (as discussed in section 5.4.5). The guard also recounted an incident when 'a native hunter/trapper encountered a visitor [who] paid money to get ideas on local hunting and trapping techniques because the visitor met a



mongoose caught by the trapper on a trap and still alive'. Away from this one sure episode of interaction, a few locals reported that they had seen visitors but not interacted with them in Mwaam. This seems to agree with the observation of one visitor – a kind of tourist referred to by Plog (2001: 16) as 'psychocentric', due to fear or suspicion – who remarked that 'locals come to watch us at the campsite – it's a bit creepy' and the observation of one villager that 'tourists seek to interact *en route* [because they need directions] but mind their business in Mwaam'. These comments suggest that less interaction leads to more suspicion in Muanenguba.

### 8.2.2 Interaction and perception *en route* to Mwaam.

With respect to interaction *en route* to Mwaam, the accommodation establishments (the Villa Luciole and Prestige Inn) and the security checkpoints are the main places for interaction *en route*. In the Prestige Inn, hoteliers sometimes make warm fires in the yards for visitors to interact with indigenes, in order to give the visitors some experience of village life. Interaction scenes feature roasting of food items such as plums and maize, and the playing of games such as draughts, along with discussions. Discussions centre on the scenery, the weather, directions to Mwaam, expectations and new experiences, such as the commonly roasted local plum fruit. During an interview in Ekanang, the village head reported that 'I meet visitors in Villa Luciole on occasions and ostensibly inform them during conversations that they are honorary members of the village, but with the objective of attracting financial and material benefits. In some cases I get drinks in return. I gave a guided walk through my village on one occasion.' The former is a case whereby indigenous honours or status seem pretentiously commoditised by a local notable or holder of indigenous power during a personal non-routine meeting – a negative social impact of interaction (see also sections 8.2.3 and 8.5). According to custom, guiding a visitor is the job of a local subordinate – called *nsedauh* in the native dialect – rather than a chief (*mu'ngwe*). In this case, the chief did it for money payment. Also, any gift received by the village head is customarily for the community, shared by elders from all families if not the entire village community. In this case, the chief said that such 'items are kept for personal use, and only shared if other notables witness [his] reception of the item(s)'. Therefore, although one could argue that this exchange was community-based, or an indicator of participation in community tourism (objective iii and iv), the wider community in the Bakossiland criticises behaviours by chiefs that are considered to be commoditisation, locally referred to a 'sale of *mbuog*' (as



shown in section 5.4.5) and which reduce respect of the local culture by visitors. Etically speaking, the involvement of local chiefs, e.g. the Mbororo chief in Mwaam and the chief of Ekanang, and interaction-induced behaviours accentuate indigenous inequalities.

The investigation found that at security checkpoints some impatient visitors complain that checking of the documents in Bangem and Ngwa-Nkongsamba by National Security officers wastes valuable time. According to one remark by an American diplomat, ‘police hassle on travel papers is not necessary, since expatriates always have papers’. However, checking identification is an activity done at entry points to all regions of Cameroon, and is within national security policy, although the checking time is questionable. This highlights conflicts related to tourism through security checkpoints (see section 6.4.7).

As already mentioned, there is a short duration of stay for tourists (see section 7.7.4), and few opportunities for villagers to meet the visitors. Apart from accommodation establishments and checkpoints – the key places for regular *en route* contact – such opportunities come to only a few locals, especially those who live in or attend village transit *carrefours* and in rare cases *en route* to village periodic markets. Interaction in such circumstances varies from what various villagers generally refer to as ‘simply seeing *bekale* [tourists]’, i.e. witnessing tourist passage, or having ‘brief [fleeting] contact with *bekale* from time to time and on rare occasions’. Some 11.4% of locals have been involved in conversations with visitors at *carrefours* and *en route* villages (see Table 8.1). At *carrefours*, any stopping non-product-delivery car is approached by both males and females (16 to 40 years) selling farm items (see also section 6.3.1). Thus interaction is less gender-biased and more business oriented, although tourists also get directions to Mwaam. The scarcity of *carrefour* interactions involving tourists who reached Mwaam made further verification of this idea impossible. Some social pathology is emerging as a result of such encounters and witnesses, as shown in Tables 8.2a and 8.2b, and Appendix 8a.



Perception	Number of visitors	Proportion of visitors (%)
Appreciate photos taken by visitors ( <b>village chief – man</b> )	1	2.0
Criticise photos taken by visitors ( <b>women</b> )	2	3.9
Criticise lack of purchase of local goods and associated lack of interaction ( <b>traders at carrefours</b> )	4	7.8
Criticise tourist stay in local hotels i.e. limited interaction or simply lack of it ( <b>village chief</b> )	2	3.9
Appreciate cultural exchange and wages from tourism ( <b>male and female employees</b> )	2	3.9
Think that visitors destroy and despise/destroy local culture (men, especially <b>chiefs and custodians</b> of sacred sites)	3	6.0
Concerned about the image of Muanenguba (adults <b>men and women</b> )	3	5.9
Concerned about discomfort caused by visitors due to remote photography and encounters ( <b>women</b> )	4	7.8
Concerned about development and protection of culture ( <b>men</b> )	12	23.5
See tourists and their contributions as agents of enlightenment (educated <b>men</b> – ‘Muanengoe elites’)	5	9.8
Suggest tourist-led development initiatives, i.e. beyond interaction ( <b>educated men, i.e. Muanengoe ‘elites’</b> )	1	2.0
Concentrate of farming, the main economic activity ( <b>men and women</b> )	12	23.5
<b>Number of remarks = 65 but n= 51</b>		

Table 8.2a: Local perceptions of tourism. Note: factions of the host community/genders are indicated. (Source: ethnographic interviews.)

As shown in Table 8.2a, some members of the host community and some genders are connected to particular reactions. Perception is shared or inclusive in some other cases (hence 51 respondents, but 65 remarks). About 20% of the villagers have seen visitors passing by and taking pictures in villages *en route*, especially those in the Nhia clan, such as Mbat (see Table 8.1). About 2% of the indigenes (chiefs, i.e. men) in these villages proudly think that ‘photos taken by the visitors show Muanenguba and the Bakossiland [a great place] to the world’. This is another case where tourism is welcome. A lady in Mbat – the last village before Mwaam – reported that, in the past, visitors always stopped and got out of their cars to take pictures of traditional houses and people, and interact with them. This lady complained that, nowadays, visitors who are embarrassed by children blatantly asking for gifts, drive past slowly, opening the windows of their 4×4 cars to take photos because they want to avoid such consequences of stopping. This causes discomfort. Tourists revealed that this



attitude is also due to the fact that they have little time, and multiple destinations to visit in Cameroon. But observations revealed that the fear of embarrassment and visitor patronisation by non-local guides were other factors inhibiting beneficial interaction, or the operation of the *nkinmut ethic* cherished by locals. These inhibitions are against pro-poor or community-based tourism standards.

The taking of photos was criticised by a small proportion of villagers (about 3.9%, women), who said that they were unsure about the kind of image (of them and their culture) that visitors project when they return to Europe. Locals reported that, sometime in the 1990s, a visitor took a photo of the Chede Falls (considered a sacred site around Muambong village), and returned a few days later in wonder after realising that the photo had come out blank, because he had taken it despite a prohibition by the village elders (men), who considered the act to be sacrilege. This was a classic example whereby interaction led to conflict. However, this was in a non-tourism circumstance, because the visitor was a research scientist.

About 10% of the local respondents had seen tourists who spent a night or simply took a day to visit their village, for example in Nsong and Muakwe (see section 8.1). Some of these villagers revealed from their experience that visitors meet traditional events by chance. Examples of such events were revealed by a visitor who said, ‘I witnessed a 40-day funeral, a Rural Women’s Day celebration, a traditional dance competition and a local schools football match, and I ate *nzab’ngen* [local staple food].’ A young male observed that visitors were deterred from the Abukumo (clan) sacred sanctuary in the 1980s, a period during which it was still common for visitors to meet sanctuary-goers. In rare circumstances a local – a respondent in each case – attested to witnessing a visitor sitting and drinking beer in a village periodic market, and asking for a place to treat locals who had eye problems. Other villagers in this category had seen tourists buying firewood, drinks, fruits, etc. on rare occasions at village transit *carrefours en route* to Mwaam.

A native doctor/traditional healer reported that he had an encounter with a visitor at the Mouangel village *carrefour* for 10 minutes: the visitor ‘wanted to talk about local sorcery and totems: he said that they [i.e. Westerners] are not afraid of totems.’ As a result of such brief discussions during fleeting contact, one native among about 6% of local villagers – chiefs and custodians of sacred sites – interviewed observed that



‘visitors keep their own tradition but destroy and despise’ the local traditions of Muanenguba. This included one who felt that ‘visitors are too secretive, asking many questions and seeking to know our sacred values without telling us their discoveries. They are keen to do everything we do, yet they do not trust us; they think we are foolish people.’ This was echoed by a native doctor who remarked that ‘visitors do private rituals and search for personal fortunes and treasures such as gold and diamonds in the Twin Lakes’ in Mwaam (see Appendix 8a). These alleged sacrilegious activities – unfounded accusations – are referred to in native parlance by elderly villagers as ‘having two hearts [visiting with evil and dubious intentions] and viewing with four eyes [seeing into the supernatural], which may lead to the takeover of Mwaam’.

In general, tourists stopping at village *carrefours* generate local criticism. Some local men and women trading at the *carrefours* (7.8% of locals interviewed) thought that the visitors were self-sufficient, having everything they needed: one of them remarked that ‘they contact [the locals] only when they need directions to the [Twin] Lakes’. In the French areas of Muanenguba the transit *carrefours* are more cosmopolitan, with more non-indigenes likely to have contact or interaction, and to benefit by selling items, compared with the less cosmopolitan English areas. This is not perceived locally by indigenes and tourism developers as an issue of unfair participation.

Considering the above, interaction can be viewed, first, in terms of local expectations; second, in terms of local concerns; third, in terms of overall acceptance or not of tourism; and fourth, in terms of emerging notions. Concerning expectations, the investigation suggests that there are varied expectations from interaction in tourism. Locals in commercial occupations interviewed at *carrefours* (11.8% of participants in local interviews) value contact with tourists only if it brings net sales and financial benefits. But these expectations are hard to come by in Muanenguba, because most visitors reach Muanenguba self-sufficient, owing to a lack of information and assurance about local provisions, a feature of the underdeveloped nature of the local tourism industry. Many members of the wider community (adult farmers, 23.5%) care more about their farming. They have scarce opportunities for and expectations from tourism. Because of underdevelopment, even local government officials and Muanengoe elites (men, about 2%), e.g. the mayor of



Bangem, support not only the idea of tourist friendliness, from which villagers can benefit, but also tourist-led development projects ('active contribution') for local communities. Thus little or nothing is done to discourage disreputable villager attitudes towards visitors. All genders and age groups expected and/or received donations or gifts from visitors: some 6.1% of the respondents (village adults) reported having received a gift from or had a photo taken with a visitor in the past (see Table 8.1). This includes a report by a villager in Ekangte, north of Nkongsamba, that 'some of the few visitors who hill-trek to Alehngum Peaks see the Chief at Ekangte with an envelope [a gift in Cameroonian parlance] on their way up the mountain.' This is another case where only the elder or chief in a position of indigenous power gains from interaction. Villagers reported that tourist donation of gifts is more likely on feast days such as the National Day (20 May). One female villager, who is suspicious of visitors, agreed that 'gifts from visitors are good, but I will not take a visitor's gift if I do not trust what I am given.' This perception was found to be popular with the elderly age group. On a different note, locals (men and women, nearly 4%) in Bangem and Ekanang feel that 'visitors stay in the hotels [the Prestige Inn and Villa Luciole] and avoid mixing with villagers who like to interact with them'. This is in addition to the general lack of interaction tendencies expected from visitors. While visitors commonly mentioned that limited interaction is due to safety and limited time, this local perception is anecdotal evidence that a small proportion of locals accept tourism. As opposed to this, a similar proportion of locals (male and female – destination and accommodation – employees in tourism, 3.9%) appreciate their wages and cultural exchange with the visitors.

In the villages it is habitual for children to excitedly shout the word *nkale*, *nkale* ('white person, white person' in the native dialect) when they see Western tourists. Children gather around a stopping visitor, asking for gifts and photo shots. This is viewed with excitement, and not discouraged by elders, who usually look and get involved when need be. One visitor who experienced interaction on the way observed: 'Five white faces give us our celebrity status ... we are very conspicuous. It is impossible to blend into the background and be an observer ... our every action is known by all around.' During such interactions, discussions centre on culture, beliefs, livelihood activities, health etc., blended with jokes. Among the villagers who experienced such interaction, one remarked that he had been delighted to discuss techniques of building *ndab echum* with a visitor.



Muanenguba, only a few actors, mainly in the elderly age group (chiefs, custodians). On concerns, while youths did not mention serious or gendered concerns, women (7.8% of those who participated in ethnographic interviews) were concerned about discomfort due to encounters, such as visitors watching them and some sacred activities, and visitors remotely taking photos of them. Men (23.5%) were concerned chiefly about development, protection of culture, citing issues such as sanctity and access to sacred places. The concern for image was common to both genders in the adult age group (6%). This suggests that issues of authenticity in nascent tourism are recognised by a small proportion of persons, in this case, reactionary elders locally referred to as ‘cultural peoples’. Overall reaction to tourism is shown by the statistics in Table 8.2b:

Reaction	Number of locals	Proportion of locals
Accept tourism	18	35.3%
Disappointed with or reject tourism	11	19.6%
Indifferent to tourism	22	45.1%
Totals	51	100%

Table 8.2b: Overall local reaction towards nascent tourism. (Source: ethnographic interviews.)

In Muanenguba (overall), 35.3% of the locals made positive remarks about tourists and tourism, e.g. ‘I like to see them’, ‘they are OK’, ‘they are helpful people’, etc. Some 19.6% seem to be disappointed with tourism, and 45.1% are still indifferent to tourism at the nascent stage (Appendix 8a). As already mentioned, acceptance by some locals is a function of expectation of community development and poverty reduction, e.g. through better prices, access fees etc., and individual benefits via gifts, employment and sales income. Rejection by others stems from lack of benefits, destruction of culture, suspicion and discomfort. Indifference is due to concentration on farming and limited experience of interaction. Varied reaction to tourism in Muanenguba is relative to an ethnographic study in Bigodi Village, Uganda, carried out by Lepp (2007: 883–83), which revealed that 94% of the villages had positive attitudes towards tourism due to community development, income, improved agriculture and the expectation of random good fortune. Similarly, Nicholas *et al.* (2009: 390) found that community attachment leads to positive attitudes towards Piton Management world heritage sites (volcanic features) near Soufriere in St Lucia. While these examples, including that of Muanenguba, are not exhaustive, it can be inferred that different local circumstances and the stage of development of the destination can determine exchange with and attitudes towards tourism. In the case of



Muanenguba, only a few actors, mainly in the elderly age group (chiefs, custodians and developers located within 10 km of the destination) are actively involved in discourse and spiritual/material practices allied to the destination and tourism at the nascent stage. Ap (1992: 685) social exchange theory stipulates that attitudes depend on the degree of exchange of resources between residents and tourism. Ap's (1992) social exchange theory seems to apply to Muanenguba where different social groups have varied exchanges with nascent tourism and react according to their participation. During ethnographic interviews, various groups in the host community seemed to show variations in the degree of acceptance of tourism. In this regard, 11 groups, seemed to emerge from the original 51 locals interviewed (Appendix 8b). The groups and related statistics suggest that differences not only in age and gender, but also in social class, related occupation or role, and location of interviews (e.g. non-native traders at different carrefours, tourism employees in Mwaam and in accommodation places, village heads in villages, developers and custodians anywhere, etc.) lead to different perceptions of tourism. As mentioned under community structure (section 5.2.1), schisms exist between generations (youths and elders) in the Bakossiland. Such schisms seem to apply to both nascent tourism and tourism-related issues such as access, sanctity, ownership and place (see Sections 5.4.5 and 8.5). Attitudes in Muanenguba (as everywhere) would change with time: greater variation in perception might come with more local involvement in tourism.

Host sensitivity towards visitors seems to be on the decrease, with increasing villager familiarity with the (mainly Western) visitors. Locals in Mbat, who now frequently see tourists, commonly remarked that villagers used to mistrust tourists, and hide away from them during the early days of tourism. Reduced sensitivity is also seen when interviewing educated indigenes ('Muanengoe elites', nearly 10%) or those who have interacted or worked with long-staying Western scientific researchers. Such respondents view tourism as a useful addition to the Bakossiland: one of them referred to visitors as modern 'agents of enlightenment'. As summed up by the mayor of Bangem: 'We like to see visitors because intelligent and peaceful people... buy locally, and pay for access to Mwaam. This reduces poverty.' The perceptions discussed above should not detract from the cheerful scenes, for example, when the visitor becomes more interactive, as explained by the emerging local notion of *nkinmut*.



### 8.2.3 Local notions of ‘tourist’ and ‘stranger’ (*nkale ne nkinmut*).

Tourism has brought about indigenous notions of ‘tourist’ (*nkale*) and ‘stranger’ (*nkinmut*) that are partly context-based. In the context of tourism, these notions are borne out of indigenous discernment and treatment of two types of visitor from the Western world: the pro-Mwaam ‘tourist’, who is looking for nature; and the pro-community ‘stranger’, who cares about the local community and culture, or who is people-friendly and pro-poor. *Nkale* (plural *bekale*) refers to any ‘white person’. It is based on the visitor’s race, that is, place of origin and colour. As regards Western visitors, indigenes do not know or consider the word *nkale* to be discriminatory. While most visitors do not care about the meaning of the term, those who attempt to find it out still unwittingly consider it to be a mere description, especially as it is overshadowed by host excitement and respect for the predominantly Western visitors, who are generally regarded as celebrities (as quoted earlier). In relation to tourism, *nkale* is applied to describe the destination-minded or exploring tourist. This goes with the perception that ‘all tourists are whites’. On the other hand, *nkinmut* (or *nkin*, plural *be kin*) is generally defined traditionally as ‘any stranger who visits and/or stays with someone in the community, and is looked after (guarded and guided) by indigenes’. The idea of being a stranger calls for care for this kind of visitor. Immigrants (national non-indigenes from the Western Highlands who have settled in the region, especially in the Mounjo Division, i.e. the Melong and Nkongsamba areas of Muanenguba, since colonial times) are also strangers (*be kin*). Similarly, the small Mbororo community that has settled in Mwaam since the 1950s is a stranger (*nkinmut*) community (see section 6.2). In this context, the ‘stranger’ status mellows with the years with care and guidance received from the indigenes: that is, the ‘strangeness’ reduces. Although these people are settled in around Muanenguba, they are, as stated by indigenous elders, permanently excluded from indigenous traditional practices in the villages, for fear of sale of the culture and domination of the indigenous peoples.

In the specific context of tourism, *nkinmut* (stranger) refers to the interactive, community-based or people-friendly stranger. *Nkale* (the tourist) becomes *nkinmut* (the interactive stranger) if he or she visits any village or person and is catered for. A local or national – indigene or non-indigene – who does the same will be called *nkinmut*. But such a visitor receives less local care compared with any Western visitor, because of ongoing acquaintance in the community and better knowledge of



some of the local customs. The investigation found an exception where interaction involved a top government official (a minister), who also reached Mwaam for sightseeing after carrying out his official duties in the local area. According to comments by a female French tourist regarding an encounter with a visiting male government minister in the Prestige Inn in Bangem in 2007, whereas the Western visitor group ‘received more friendliness, the government minister received more respect.’ This is routine in Cameroon. The reporter additionally remarked that ‘the locals [were] extremely deferential towards him, to the extent of bowing their heads before him; they [were] very responsive to the level of power he holds.’ The status and power of the minister commanded local respect and more catering than Western visitors, in return for government recognition. As it is in Cameroon, this was a case whereby the ideology of selectionism (discussed in section 3.2) superseded the *nkinmut* regard for the official, or where autochthony or political hierarchy modified local hospitality, local social interaction and the indigenous *nkinmut* concept in tourism. A similar process was reported in Ekom Nkam during the tourism minister’s visit in 2006 that led to the creation of the Delegation to serve tourism in the French areas of Muanenguba (see section 6.2.4).

Communities in the Bakossiland have a common customary procedure for treating any *nkinmut* – the type of tourist referred to as a ‘drifter’ (Holden, 2008: 51), who is more people-friendly in character, or who cares about the community (objective iii), in some cases living with indigenes (the community-based approach in tourism) – differently from a *nkale*, who likes nature-based holiday activities, or who is less interactive with indigenes. In practice, as described by village chiefs, any *nkale* who visits a village (who becomes *nkinmut*) gets a warm welcome, is catered for by the villagers, and receives some local education through the interaction. This is much appreciated by the *mbuog* (the community, in this context). The visitor may offer gifts, and surely give ideas on sustainability in return. This is in line with ecotourism principles. When the visit is considered to be developmental, the visitor is offered a libation – a traditional welcome featuring some or all of locally tapped palm wine drinking, eating of kola nut (Photo 8.2), drumming and a traditional welcome song, i.e. imploring ancestors. Examples of such occasions comprised the filming of pristine flora and fauna in Nyasoso in April 2007 by film producer from France and three Western scientists purposely ‘to market Muanenguba as a tourism destination in the Western world’, and a 10-day holiday trip during which a visitor group from



the UK, made up of two males and two females, participated in cultural exchange and donations for community development with Muakwe village, near Bangem: both events were borne out of previous holiday visits. These practical examples constitute – according to indigenes – the normal process of traditionally welcoming the more interactive (or people-friendly) *nkinmut*, making the *nkinmut* feel at home, and also become an honorary member of the host community in the Bakossiland. This is a kind of community-based approach in tourism accepted by indigenes, because the entire village community benefits. In such circumstances, the *nkinmut* can accompany the host during daily livelihood activities. In our case study, villagers reported that there was great amusement in Muakwe village at an attempt by a female member of the visiting group to speak the dialect, copy local dance styles, accompany village girls during wood collection in the bush, hoist an *esuo* (traditional basket) containing collected firewood onto her back, and trudge through the Bangem transit *carrefour* (locally called ‘Squares’), helped by the young girls. Although not seen or reported as practised, even night-time leisure activities such as *bolobolo* dancing – now disappearing – can be carried out in honour of *nkinmut*. The exchange visitors who visited Muakwe village fitted the *be kin* (singular, *nkinmut*) status more exactly, and were made members of the society, because they contributed to and took part in community development activities (Photo 8.2). One of them remarked that, as part of the exchange, ‘[they] ate as guests of the local people most often.’





Photo 8.2: Two visitors (*bekin*) being made honorary members of the village community – eating kola nut, drinking palm wine from the calabash (*muesi*) and wearing the traditional bag (*epal*) – during a ceremony in Muakwe. (Photo by Chris Williams.)

In the context of tourism, and according to local opinion, the pro-community visitor will have the tendency to become *nkinmut* and make the locals happier by seeking their cooperation and interaction, i.e. engaging with indigenous culture, in line with objectives iii and iv. Any visitors who stay in the locally owned accommodation, e.g. the Villa Luciole and Prestige Inn (see section 6.4.6), who seek to stay in the company of the destination employees, and use local guides, are *bekin* to the various frontline host actors named. Traditional welcome procedures are absent in these cases, because they are not village settings. The pro-Mwaam, nature-based, wanderlust, less interactive or hedonistic visitors (e.g. all day visitors) with less time always remain *bekale* (singular, *nkale*) by being more interested in the natural features of Mwaam than in the villages and people. In general, most visitors stay as tourists (*bekale*), since there is little time to get into the *nkinmut* mould or get round to visiting the villagers.



In relation to tourism, the guiding indigenous tenet for defining the responsible or community-based visitor (*nkinmut*) in the Bakossiland seems to be based on aspects of interaction such as people-friendliness, cultural exchange and reciprocal local care – that is, a Western tourist being traditionally welcomed in a village setting, or simply being catered for by an indigene, who usually calls the visitor ‘my stranger’ (*awhi nkin*). Because tourist settings vary from remote places (Mwaam – *nkale*) to *en route* centres of potential or limited interaction (*nkinmut*), *nkale ne nkinmut* is a continuum rather than a divide. Overall, the concept of *nkinmut* in Muanenguba locally defines community-based tourism.

### 8.3 VISITOR IMAGES OF TOURISM AND MUANENGUBA

The image of a nascent tourism destination such as Mwaam is crucial, as it determines future trends in tourism. While the picturesque scenery and the existence or not of services and facilities are sources of remark or satisfaction in the nascent tourism destination of Muanenguba, the quality of existing facilities and services plays a greater role in advanced destinations. This is what Pizan *et al* (1978) found out in Cape Cod, USA. In reaction to interaction, or the lack of it, visitors have images of Muanenguba. The grandeur of the key attractions – Mwaam, the (caldera) destination and its Twin Lakes, and Ekom Nkam Falls – and the varied but limited *en route* experience of the human elements of Muanenguba and the Bakossiland during trips to Mwaam, were the main sources of perception for tourists. However, visitors made some important remarks on the services provided, and on the local people. Visitor remarks on attractions, services and people give a glimpse of the image of Muanenguba from the perspective of the tourist. This is shown in Table 8.3.

Remarks	Proportion of visitors (% , non-exclusive)	
	Ekom Nkam Falls (n = 569)	Mwaam (n = 103)
Relating to or praise for natural beauty	60.7	70.4
Hospitability and friendliness	27.9	10.4
Difficult access/remoteness	10.0	19.4
Poor set-up	5.1	7.8
High entrance fees	5.1	9.7
Serenity of the destination - Mwaam	-	17.4
The special view of the Twin Lakes	-	20.9
No negative comments on Mwaam	-	53.4%

Table 8.3: Visitor remarks about Muanenguba and local people.  
(Sources: records in Ekom Nkam and questionnaire surveys.)

As shown in the table and seen in the visitors’ register, most visitors who stopped to see the Ekom Nkam Falls (60.7%) describe the falls ‘as magnificent, impressive,



fantastic, beautiful, superb, etc. A visitor remarked that these falls give ‘Africa ... *un grand “A”* [a big ‘A’ grade]’ in tourism. Using terms such as ‘*hospitaliers*’, ‘*accueillantes*’ and ‘*agréable*’, a significant proportion of other visitors (27.9%) think that the villagers and the bar (Millennium Transcontinentale in Ekom Nkam) are hospitable, welcoming and pleasant. While more comments on hospitality in Ekom Nkam reflect the indispensability of passing through the village before reaching the waterfalls, more comments on the landscape in Mwaam seem to be due to the special impact of the Twin Lakes on image. However, several comments were negative, and related to nascent tourism issues such as poor accessibility and the management set-up, i.e. underdeveloped tourism services and high entrance fees (see section 8.6).

In places other than Ekom Nkam – that is, in Mwaam and in settlements *en route* – the iconic traditional house (*ndab echum*), the caldera and the Twin Lakes of Mwaam are indisputably the distinguishing features of the Muanenguba tourism landscape that make the study area special compared with other destinations in Cameroon, and which can leave lasting memories in the minds of most visitors. However, impressions from visitors to Mwaam were considered very important in determining the image of Muanenguba contributed by these places, or by those elements that shape the local identity. These impressions were drawn from general remarks about aspects of Mwaam and Muanenguba other than trip activities.

On the negative side, some visitors (9.7%) complained that the fees paid for access to and photography in Mwaam were high. In relation to this, one visitor remarked: ‘I agree to pay something to help the locals preserve the site, but 4,500 CFAfrancs is ridiculous when there is no service [in Mwaam] ... It is a shame that I shall be unhappy to recommend the site to friends, although it is *truly breathtaking*.’ Another visitor remarked that ‘although it was truly worth paying to see the site [Mwaam], the guards charged me an illegal 2,500 CFAfrancs per day instead of a standard one-off entrance fee, and this is too expensive, as I know roughly by having travelled for a long time what prices should be.’ Yet another, ethically conscious, visitor expressed his disapproval for price discrimination between Cameroonians (paying little or nothing) and non-national visitors (paying more), adding that ‘it will be fair to also hold nationals rather than just the Western visitors accountable for sustainability.’ As opposed to this, another visitor expressed his admiration of the



fact that ‘there is no discrimination for food [banana] in Bangem.’ In line with the objective of identifying features of ecotourism in Muanenguba (objective iv), these remarks suggest that, although visitors to Mwaam are willing to show initiative or responsibility, they are sensitive to prices to varying degrees. Some visitors retained memories of unfair treatment by destination employees and checkpoints (7.8%). Others (19.4%) were concerned about the remoteness of Mwaam, caused by the state of the road. This is emphasised more in Mwaam than in Ekom Nkam, because Mwaam is the summit area of Mount Muanenguba. It was surprising that, while these tourists remarked that roads – the state of roads (*état de la piste*) – were poor or eroded, making access difficult, a significant 10.3% of the visitors ( $n = 103$ ) who appeared enlightened about underdevelopment and sustainable tourism thought that the roads were okay in accordance with the level of development of Muanenguba, and the nature of the destination. In particular, one visitor remarked that the roads are ‘adequate, even excellent for the dry season and type of visitation – ecotourism’. Otherwise, the greater proportion of visitors (53.4%) said that they had nothing (on the question of negative remarks) against the touristic site (Mwaam).

On the positive side, visitors attest to the destination’s natural beauty, the special spiritual feelings generated by the unique experience of the Twin Lakes, the pristine nature of Mwaam, and the local people they encountered:

With regard to natural beauty, most visitors (70.4%) think that the natural landscape of Mwaam is *très beau* [very beautiful], still preserved, wonderful, *splendide* and picturesque. One visitor summed this up by saying that ‘les sites sont encore très fréquent [the attractions are still very pristine]’. A few of these visitors think that Mwaam is *plus naturelle* [the most natural place], capable of having a good reputation. But such a reputation would lead to mass tourism, which is against ecotourism principles. This is in line with the eloquent observation of one visitor as follows:

‘...Faire attention au tourisme de masse qui pourrait être catastrophique. ‘  
[‘...Watch out against catastrophic mass tourism.’].

Another visitor in this category remarked that ‘I felt like an abject failure during trekking to Mwaam from Bangem. I blame my Celtic roots, because I am not used to working hard to get such a treat’ – that is, the photogenic scenery of Mwaam. A few



visitors were most impressed by horse riding in the caldera fields in Mwaam with the help of local Mbororo youths (Photo 8.3) – an experience that a visitor described as *beggaring description*, i.e. ‘indescribable when the spectacular scenery and the horse riding activity are put together’.



Photo 8.3: A tourist treated to a horse ride by a Mbororo youth in Mwaam. (Photo from The Max Experience.)

With vestiges of the beginning more than clues to the future, the otherness of the experience caused by what visitors considered to be the ‘scenic splendours of Mwaam’, and the totality of other natural features (as discussed in section 1.4), generate spiritual feelings in visitors. In the light of this, in April 2007 a visiting French film producer passionately likened the destination (Mwaam) to landscapes described in classic science fiction by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, such as *The Land of Mist*, 1926 (the story of a special destination that raises questions about human life: the hopes, fears and despair of a generation), and *The Lost World*, 1912 (the story of a delightfully adventurous search for a hidden plateau – like Mwaam – in the Amazon, where dinosaurs were still thought to wander). In particular, a visitor, among 20.9% who specifically commented on the Twin Lakes, the like of which almost all first-time visitors had never seen anywhere else in the world, remarked that ‘the site of the Twin Lakes is glorious, and worth the pain of travelling’. Another visitor from France described them as ‘*fier magnifique* [super-magnificent]’. In the opinion of one visitor, ‘the Twin Lakes make Mwaam *originale*.’

Those who commented on the pristine/montane nature of Mwaam (17.4%) used descriptions such as ‘*calme et paisible* [calm and peaceful]’ on account of the



freedom, space, security and serenity there, and referred to its '*calme et fraîcheur*' on account of the open caldera floor and the airiness of the location. This is confirmed by the observation of a particular visitor, who felt that:

*'Camping is very good and conducive, because much of the site is grassland with vast open air, quiet, far away from town and void of many people. This is compared to Lake Barombi Mboh which is near a city-Kumba and a high School, where leaf droppings and student disturbance and sometimes stealing causes discomfort.'*

One visitor was thrilled by the spectacular display of thunder and lightning during evening rains. In the opinion of another visitor, 'these characteristics [combine with topographic splendour to] give every visitor a special type of life in Mwaam'.

On the basis of the receptive and friendly attitude of locals towards visitors from various countries, some (10.4%) described the people around Mwaam as 'receptive' '*accueillantes*', 'welcoming', 'friendly and gracious'. One visitor observed that '*l'accueil est chaleureuse* [the welcome is warm]'. These impressions arise from interaction with both the Mbororo settlers in Mwaam and the locals who live in *en route* places (see section 8.2.2). Visitors were generally satisfied with the hospitality of the Villa Luciole and Prestige Inn (the local accommodation), and most of them gave a 'five-star rating' for the standard of service, for value for money, for the absence of a strict pricing policy – referred by one visitor as the 'possibility of bargaining' – and for the local mediation of indigenous tradition and modern convenience. As a demonstration of hospitability, a visitor from the UK who was part of the group that participated in cultural exchange around Bangem found that a lady in a village offered items – referred to by the visitor as '*pièces de résistance*' – that were 'worth more money than [the lady] would normally spend in a week'. In another case, a visitor was impressed by the experience of 'a villager [who] borrowed from a neighbour, and a shopkeeper [who] made an effort to get what is unavailable in his shop from elsewhere, in order to serve her'. The same visitor and her group 'were invited to almost every house in a village, although [her group] had very limited time to oblige'. The best evidence of friendliness is provided by the visitor whose feelings are expressed in the following remark, made after the rare experience of a traditional event around Bangem:

*'The women dance and sing to drum accompaniment... Dusk begins to fall, and I am suddenly struck by the otherness of the experience; I am in a field in an African village, dancing with local people. I feel a sense of being a long way from my home,*



*but at the same time a sense of being very connected to the planet, and totally at home.'*

Through interaction, some visitors considered their experiences – according to their remarks – as life-changing. These were mostly visitors who had time to interact with villagers around Bangem: one of them considered it ‘strange that woman have to respect men more, e.g. by restocking *ndab echum* with firewood if deemed to have spoken disrespectfully about their husbands’. According to this female visitor, feminism – which gives her equal respect in the Western world – is still to permeate the Bakossiland. The same visitor was impressed by traditional wood property management, whereby ‘menstruating and pregnant women use dry-stocked firewood to cook, as they are not allowed to carry a heavy load from the bush’. One of the visitors (male), who was involved with a local primary school, was surprised that ‘primary school sports are restricted to football and handball’. This contrasted greatly with the wide variety in their home country. However, this was stereotypic, because this visitor did have the opportunity to see the traditional youth leisure activities. Other experiences of otherness from the perspective of this visitor comprised the high sense of educational responsibility bestowed by society on children from primary school level: he was amazed that children ‘do not attend school without a biro; they hand school uniforms over to their junior relatives upon completion of primary school, participate in planting and raising crops, and carry firewood and crates of beer for a village occasion.’ There was also the idea of ‘not having to fill out risk assessment forms while engaging children in manual work’ and the experience of ‘infants five years old making their way home from school unaccompanied by an elder’. Other experiences considered by visitors as unique comprised the limited access of villagers to television, films and pictures, leading to what one visitor considered as ‘limited vocabulary and concepts’. This was another stereotype, given that, as analysed in Chapter Five, there are well-developed social structures and indigenous principles, such as the role of and access to sacred sites (see section 5.4). One visitor had the ‘belief that Africa is hot all the time, but [discovered that] high rainfall brings cold in Mwaam’ and makes roads muddy. Another found it unique that people of the same sex sometimes ask each other to dance in a night club; and ironically ‘the absence of a tradition of coffee drinking, although coffee is the main cash crop in the Bakossiland’. It is important to note that coffee was introduced as a cash crop during colonial times, and has stayed as such. In



sum, these impressions relating to gender inequality, limited variety in sports, infant/youth responsibility, limited experience of the wider world and weather conditions account for otherness – albeit some stereotypes – when compared with life activities in the Western world from where these tourists came.

Luckily, such experiences of uniqueness during fleeting interactions with the locals combine with the scenic splendours of Mwaam to eclipse any disreputable operations and logistical limitations, such as those discussed in section 8.6. One visitor concluded that Mwaam (the principal tourist site of Muanenguba – the mountain) is ‘*un paradis unique*’ and ‘the best place for tourism ever’.

#### 8.4 BENEFITS OF TOURISM

As a prelude, it is important to identify locally produced items purchased routinely or occasionally by visitors. Data collected from surveys on visitors’ expenditure show that, for almost every visitor to Mwaam, routine expenditures are mainly on entrance fees (£2.50 per visitor) and photography (£2.00 per camera, £5.00 for video equipment). Those stopping for sightseeing at Ekom Nkam pay an entrance fee of £2.00, with an additional £1.50 to take photographs. It was observed that the pricing policy on video cameras is ineffective. This is because the developers or councils consider only specific video equipment, whereas most modern digital cameras used by visitors have video facilities. On an infrequent basis, some 19.4% of the visitors who participated in the survey pay for firewood to use during camping (£2.00 per bundle), as noted in section 7.7.5. Visitors and visitor groups accompanied by guides paid £0.50 to £2.00 per guide, depending on private arrangements in far away urban centres. Those who used local accommodation paid £10.00 per night for guest rooms and £30 for traditional houses. The main farm-sourced items named by locals as products purchased rarely by tourists at *carrefours* or at periodic markets include fruits such as bananas, pineapples and oranges. A minute proportion of the visitors buy fruits (e.g. bananas, £0.10 per ‘hand’, and oranges at £0.05 each). Local witnesses attest that, in the past, visitors have rarely bought traditional bags, calabashes and baskets, at the cost of between £1 and £2. As far as the fieldwork could ascertain, these are the existing and potential products of tourism in Muanenguba as reported by locals.



Consequent on this, the minimal financial – economic – benefits of the early stages of tourism are restricted to certain sectors of the local tourism industry. The main beneficiaries are the councils, through entrance and photography fees, and the two guest accommodation establishments, the Villa Luciole and the Prestige Inn, through visitor expenditure on accommodation and food. Special tourism/fieldwork registers revealed that at least 621 visitors arrived in Mwaam in 2007. This contributed about 2,794,500 CFAfrancs (£2,794.50) to the council during the year. The councils used the cash to pay the wages of the two employees; to build buckaroos, toilets, concrete staircases for trekking for Mwaam, and service other non-tourism council operations; and to build buckaroos and walkways for the Ekom Nkam Falls (see Chapter Six). Hoteliers who incidentally are elites use their earnings to pay staff wages and run the lodges, and keep the rest as profits. One of the key features of ecotourism is that part of the income derived goes directly into the ecological attraction, i.e. protected areas, species, environmental education, etc. Although not a key indicator, the payment of staff salaries and path maintenance can also be considered (objective iv). In the case of Muanenguba, there is a lack of understanding of this: the main development authority – the Bangem Rural Council mayor – remarked that ‘access fees to Mwaam form a key source of revenue for council operations other than tourism, and are insufficient to enhance tourism development needs.’ Thus, in the context of the current use of entrance and photography fees, there is limited evidence of tourism-led nature conservation (i.e. ecotourism principles, according to Honey, 1999: 22), despite the fact that destination and accommodation staff are engaging in inexperienced interpretation – a situation that was absent before 2000 – and are paid wages from the fees. The conservation of natural resources was carried out chiefly by CERUT (see section 6.4.4). Rather than contribute to nature conservation in practice, tourist activities that are consistent with ecotourism principles have intangibly contributed to local awareness of nature conservation: as already mentioned in section 6.4.1, birdwatching trips in 1990s ushered in a decade of environmentalism (1990s) in the Bakossiland. Almost all locals note this, albeit in different ways. An educated indigene expressed his admiration of this, and of current visitor practices, by observing that ‘the Westerners come to the Bakossiland, see the Twin Lakes, respect our tradition, and enlighten us about our natural wealth.’ The destination guard observed that ‘when visitors either take litter away or give it to us, we realise that littering is unethical.’ These evidences suggest that awareness of the contribution of nascent tourism to local environmental awareness (objective iv) is limited to



destination employees in Mwaam, and to some educated members of the host society. While two accounts alone are insufficient to give a comprehensive view of this impact, the scale of tourism did not offer any more.

Although the diversity of expenditure items hints at a diversity of beneficiaries, the wider society – local communities and individuals – has only a slight connection with and dependence on the economic benefits coming from tourism. For the few individual villagers who found a rare opportunity to sell firewood for camping, fruits – mainly bananas – and snacks at *carrefours*, etc., the proceeds are considered to be economically helpful, for example in acquiring minor requisites for their families. But they commonly declined to consider such ancillary income as a reliable source for survival. Although paid for guiding, most guides consider the company of any Western visitor ‘a privilege, as well as an opportunity to visit a special place without paying for transport’. This idea of young persons (e.g. guides) who are otherwise unemployed acting as companions rather than paid workers, and depending on budgets of those whom they called ‘privileged persons’ – those who are well off – is ingrained in modern Cameroonian society, and is not limited to tourism. To highlight the independence of locals and guides from tourism, no one, apart from the employees in Mwaam and the accommodation establishments, received an annual income in excess of 5,000 CFAfrancs (£5). Guiding brings positive economic (income) and social (interaction) impacts simultaneously. But when one considers that there is limited use of local guides, the benefit of guiding is not locally felt (see section 6.3.1). Such benefits are unequally distributed, in that they go to a few individuals linked to local accommodation establishments. Scarce local participation in guiding in Muanenguba is against ecotourism principles, leading benefits to be limited to the key actors (objective v).

As discussed in sections 7.7.5 and 8.2.2, a few locals gained from voluntary (social/personal) services such as lifts (transport benefits), and medical assistance such as treatment of wounds and ophthalmology (health benefits) offered by travelling visitors. Villagers also reported that others had received gifts from visitors in rare cases. One example, reported by villagers, is during rare visitor stops for photography of traditional houses in Mbat. Material items such as sardines, snacks and foreign drinks are offered by visitors to individuals from time to time. However, no clear example of material gifts for individual villagers was apparent during



fieldwork. Socially, as indicated in section 8.2.3, the local primary school in Muakwe village (near Bangem) received financial donations, and used the money to acquire equipment such as desks as a part of community development and cultural exchange with a tour group that had returned following collaboration during a previous visit in 2004.

Culturally, the linking of indigenous accommodation, i.e. *ndab echum*, to tourism was born out of the initiative of a visitor and partnership with elites in Mburuku. Through such initiatives, a symbolic economy of tourism is emerging: nascent tourism has turned a symbolic asset (the traditional *ndab echum*) into an economic asset, and has increased its iconic status. Although such initiatives are private, and benefit mainly hoteliers, the indigenes have become aware of the relevance of their cultural properties. The frequent taking of pictures of *ndab echum* by tourist makes indigenes commonly realise – as stated during local interviews – that their cultural properties and the Bakossiland are special. Also, although the re-introduction of *ndab echum* in Mwaam is principally meant to symbolise custodianship, it is a contribution by tourism to revitalisation of the iconic status of vernacular architecture, in line with ecotourism principles (WTO, 2004b: 282; objective iv).

## 8.5 PROBLEMS EMERGING ALONGSIDE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

While nascent tourism in Muanenguba is credited in a number of ways, several issues are emerging alongside its development. There are social issues, such as the influence of limited interaction on local attitudes (an aspect of commoditisation) and perception, as well as conflicting perceptions at the destination and national security checkpoints (discussed in section 8.2) – contribution to the problem of place, exacerbation of the debate on ownership. There are cultural issues, such as intervention in the sanctity of the Mwaam and Ekom Nkam, and the associated influence on indigenous principles that accommodate access (discussed in sections 5.4.3 and 5.4.5) and alteration of the design of traditional houses, leading to unperceived issues of authenticity (discussed in section 6.4.2). And there are environmental impacts, such as the reduction of aesthetic beauty, and some environmentally unsustainable practices carried out by visitors. This section discusses issues that have not been analysed earlier.



### **8.5.1 Contribution to the problem of place at the destination: Mwaam, Ebwo and Muanenguba.**

A destination can be a single location or a set of multiple attractions visited during a holiday. The idea of place is important in situating the attraction that is visited – that is, in the psychographic positioning of the attraction. This helps to account for the location of visitors (Ryan, 1997: 125). In this analysis, ‘place’ is used to refer to Mwaam, the destination visited by tourists, developed by the council of Bangem, and operated as a sacred site by local representatives, that is, people with custodianship responsibilities in Mwaam. This third group of stakeholders is locally referred to as ‘guardians of traditions of the Bakossiland’, and they live in clan communities located within 10 km of Mwaam, i.e. custodian communities (mentioned in section 5.4.1). These diverse activities of custodians/indigenes, developers and tourists are associated with notions embodied in place names. Barenhodt *et al.* (2004: 32) observe that tourism depends on such diverse notions of place. Ethnographic interviews and triangulation of varied opinion on the terms related to Mwaam (the destination and tribal sacred site) were conducted by way of a number of extended interviews with the caretaker or chief custodian – the key informant – and verification with all other respondents to interviews in various locations. They revealed that in Muanenguba tourism has blurred the sense of place by relegating the name of the destination, and has given interpretations to place through the names ‘Mwaam’, ‘Ebwo’ and ‘Muanenguba’. As we shall see in the subsequent analysis, the local tourism industry, made up mainly of tourists (Westerners) and developers (the councils, and the hoteliers owning the two key accommodation establishments) does not use the more traditional name of the destination, Mwaam. In addition, while ‘Muanenguba’, popularised by the first tourists, denotes modernity, the names used to refer to the destination (interpretation of place) are synchronic to varied relations of different factions of both the host community (i.e. indigenes in near and far areas, non-indigenes and developers) and visitors to the destination, the most celebrated part of the Bakossiland (see section 5.4.3).

Indigenes within 10 km of Mwaam – the custodian community, or those who show a resource exploitation or spiritual relation with Mwaam – use the terms ‘Ebwo’ and ‘Mwaam’ interchangeably. As commonly stated during interviews, the use of any of the terms is a matter of custom inherited from various forefathers. The term ‘Mwaam’ – analogous to ‘the place’ – has no clear historic or mythological source.



‘Mwaam’ is a less common, more local, and custodian-based term. It is emphasised in Nhia, the clan made up of six villages – Muelong, Muabi, Muasum, Poala, Mbat and Ekambeng – each of which owns a sacred site around Mwaam. It is also popular in representative clans, that is, the clans that join Nhia in annual sacrifices (Muamenam and Nninong: see section 8.5.2). The use of the traditional term ‘Mwaam’ seems to ascribe authenticity to the destination. The fact that it is emphasised by the custodian faction of the community is evidence of this claim. As described by villagers in these clans, ‘Mwaam’ includes everything around the Twin Lakes. This comprises the rim of hills surrounding Ebwo, the Twin Lakes and craters, the Jeborh Swamps, the peaks inside the caldera, and those adjoining it.

‘Ebwo’ means ‘compound’ in the native dialect. ‘Ebwo’ is analogous to the physical appearance of the place (Mwaam). It describes the appearance of the magnificent caldera floor – about 3 km<sup>2</sup> of level or flat fields – dominating the landscape of Mwaam, as seen by any visiting person. The term ‘Ebwo’ overlooks the less dominant but famous attraction, the Twin Lakes. Verification indicated that the use of the term relates to indigenous veneration of the scenic splendour of the caldera floor. The caretaker and other elders – the older generation of the host community – remarked that Ebwo is the traditional mother of all compounds in the Bakossiland, and their forefathers live in the Twin Lakes in the middle of Ebwo. By facilitating trekking, the predominant evenness of the caldera floor in Mwaam (called ‘Ebwo’ by custodians) enhances both resource exploitation for indigenes and visit activities. It thus offers locals and visitors a choice of relationship with the place, Mwaam. ‘Ebwo’ is used instead of ‘Mwaam’ because it compares it to the level nature of an inhabited compound, and the way it facilitates indigenous life activities in the villages of the Bakossiland. The distinction between ‘Mwaam’ and ‘Ebwo’ (*Mwaam n’Ebwo*) becomes clear when the chief custodians, i.e. the villagers of the Nhia Clan, use the term *Ebebe-mwaam* – meaning ‘Mwaam’s compound’ – to describe Ebwo, the caldera floor, which is part of Mwaam. Interestingly, this is not translated in the heated land dispute because – as stated by the caretaker – ‘all indigenes in the Bakossiland respect the custodian school of thought and its exclusive rights to call it Mwaam and determine conditions for sacrifices, according to custom.’

There is distance decay – reduction in variation with distance – in opinions on the terms: that is, beyond 10 km downhill from Mwaam, the main destination area. All



indigenes who live in such far areas as Manjo, Tombel, Loum and Nkongsamba (i.e. the wider Muanengoe community), who also venerate the cradle (a spiritual relation with Mwaam, but hardly shown in practice) use the more widely known term 'Muanenguba, to refer to the three areas: the mountain (Muanenguba); Mwaam (the place or destination); and Ebwo (the physical appearance of the place, or the caldera floor at the destination). Independent of location, all non-indigenes use the term 'Muanenguba'. Similarly, key actors in the tourism industry (i.e. those who have a business or vacation relation with Mwaam – the developers, councils, hoteliers and their guest accommodation establishments and tourists) all use the term 'Muanenguba'. Visitors often talk about 'a visit to Muanenguba', but they are actually visiting Mwaam. As described in Chapter One, Muanenguba is the whole mountain, which comprises the lower slopes – the older Alehngum volcano – on top of which the younger Ebwo volcano sits, with its further components or secluded landscape of Mwaam, including the rim of the caldera, the peaks, the caldera floor or Ebwo, the Twin Lakes and the Jeborh Swamps. It follows that a stay in any settlement area, or in the guest accommodation in Mburuku and Bangem, is a stay on the slopes or in Muanenguba, which comprises the environs downhill from Mwaam.

The more traditional terms 'Mwaam' and 'Ebwo' used by custodians intangibly contribute to the survival of the Muanengoe traditions in the face of what Cartier and Lew (2005) referred to as 'seductions of place', given that Mwaam has been toured or patronised (Cartier and Lew, 2005: 3) by the term 'Muanenguba', which was adopted and popularised by the first visitors. The idea of place names in Muanenguba is a reflection of the conflict of spiritual/cultural and material/economic values, or the struggle between tradition and modernity. It is thus synchronic to the varied connections or relations of different factions of the Muanenguba tourism community with Mwaam. Custodians treat Mwaam or Ebwo as a sacred site (see also sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.3). While developers – the key recipients of benefits at the nascent stage – treat Mwaam as a source of income (i.e. an economic relationship), visitors have a holidaying – post-materialist – relationship. But both use the modern term 'Muanenguba'.

### **8.5.2 Exacerbation of the debate on ownership.**

The debate on ownership arises because the natural features that currently constitute key nascent tourism attractions (those in Mwaam, and the Ekom Nkam Falls) have



been adopted and used as sacred sites by indigenes since ancient times. In the late 20th century there was growing interest by the councils in controlling tourism, and by the government in what is generally referred to as 'territorial administration' – that is, controlling the land, people and natural features of Cameroon (see section 6.2). Therefore there are varied opinions on the ownership of the destination, Mwaam, and this is related to sacrificial practices and the control of tourism. Local factions involved include: the custodian communities within 10 km of Mwaam, involved in annual sacrifices; the wider Muanengoe community, i.e. the clans and villages located both inside and outside this area, belonging to it, but not traditionally involved in sacrifices; non-political elites, i.e. educated indigenes who do not occupy political positions; and the tourism decision-makers – councils represented by mayors, i.e. elites who are politicians. In practice, annual sacrifices in Mwaam are carried out jointly by three of the six clans closest to Mwaam: Nhia (the chief custodians), and Muamenam and Nninong (the two other custodian clans, which join Nhia during sacrifices). Distance, and differing participation in sacrifices, are associated with varied local opinions regarding ownership. The development of tourism facilities in Mwaam is carried out by the Bangem Rural Council (BRC). Thus the council faction has views on ownership that differ from those of the custodians. As we shall see, Mbororo immigration and the government proposal to create protected areas constitute externally imposed factors, but ones that also complicate the ownership debate (see section 6.4.1). Indigenes commonly affirm that before the coming of *bekale* (Westerners – tourists), native ownership customs were respected in Mwaam. The development of tourism has exacerbated the debate on ownership.

The indigenous interest group, made up of the wider Muanengoe community, believes that Mwaam belongs to 'all descendants of Ngoe, the founding ancestor of all people in the Bakossiland'. They commonly claim that the destination is the cradle of all descendants of Ngoe, and agree that their forefathers live at the bottom of *edip ne'njumue* (the Twin Lakes). Therefore they consider themselves always physically absent but spiritually represented during annual sacrifices by Nhia, Nninong and Muamenam. This is, in effect, an indigenous declaration of property rights.



Those interviewed in the villages of the Nhia clan – elders, chiefs, custodians of sacred sites, locals – head the custodian interest group. Through a patrimonial audit that considered the logic behind their opinions, it became apparent that their line of argument is based on an egoistic ‘traditional caretaker is the owner’ principle (see section 5.4.1). Their custodianship right is interpreted as ownership. In their opinion, Mwaam belongs to the Nhia people or caretakers, referred to by natives from the wider community as ‘chief custodians’ rather than owners. Similarly, other clans adjacent to Mwaam (Nninong and Muamenam) consider their participation during sacrifices as joint ownership with the custodians.

As a result of the long distance, the cost of travel, the welcome avoidance of trekking along sloping bush paths, and the demands placed on natives by cash cropping, the peoples of the Muanenguba (Muanguboh) clan, from which the name of the study area was originally taken – also adjacent to Mwaam, located on the southern slopes – are passionate about their belonging to the custodian group, but are uncommitted with regard to inclusion during sacrifices. Natives in Nhia alleged during the investigation that these people (near Nkongsamba: see map, Figure 6.1) claim ownership and do separate sacrifices in Mwaam – a place whose caretaking duties were acquired by the Nhia people in ancient times. Further verification with inhabitants of the Muanenguba clan revealed that they used to commune with the people of Nhia during sacrifices in Abukumo (the clan sanctuary in Nhia, one of the ‘eyes of Mwaam’) and during *ndie* – traditional thanksgiving – in Mwaam. The Mburuku and Mouanguel villages are also located as close to Mwaam as the other neighbouring clans – Nhia, Muamenam, Nninong and Muanenguba. But these communities are also not represented during sacrifices in Mwaam. During verification in Ekanang village, headquarters of the Mburuku clan or Canton Mbo, a common rationale given by respondents was that their exclusion from the groups of custodians of Mwaam is due to missing links created by improper handing-down of rights of representation – cited as ‘no replacement of [their] representatives who used to participate in annual sacrifices in Mwaam’ – to succeeding generations in the clan. In the meantime, people from Canton Elung – also called the Mouanguel clan – commonly gave evidence that their transfer to the Mounjo Division (separation with villages in the Nhia clan) during the colonial period took them away from their customary involvement in Mwaam. This kind of transfer also separated Muamenam from Nninong, but did not keep Muamenam away from Mwaam. Mwaam, the main



sacred site of the Bakossiland and the tourist destination, has various sub-sacred spots whose ownership seems to suggest how neighbouring clans ‘relate with the cradle’. The sites and their designated ‘owners’ are listed in Table 8.5:

Site	Custodian village	Geographic area
Edep (Female Lakes)	Poala and Muabi	Villages in Nhia
Njumue (Male Lake)	Muasum	Village in Nhia
Nleh'mbwe (source of river Mbwe)	Mbat	Village in Nhia
Mua'dua (Dua'mwaam)	Muelong	Village in Nhia
Mekaumuen (Ukaumung)	Muamenam villages	Muamenam clan
Abu'piping (Elung'piping)	Nninong villages	Nninong clan

Table 8.4: Sub-sacred spots in Mwaam and custodian communities. (Source: ethnographic interviews).

The table shows that the Nhia Clan occupies more sub-sacred spots (four) around Mwaam, compared with the other nearby clans of Muamenam and Nninong. The Muanenguba and Mouanguel clans own no sub-sacred spots. Natives from Nhia, especially those from Muelong village, observed that everybody seems to do what they like in Mwaam because the area is secluded, but when serious social problems such as a plague need to be warded off, custom demands that the right people (representatives from Nhia, Nninong and Muamenam) are involved to perform sacrifices. This is exactly what happens (see section 5.4.5).

The local political interest group comprises tourism decision-makers and politicians (i.e. council mayors, non-political elites, and government officers, especially those working with the forestry department, MINEF, supporting the idea of protected areas – discussed in section 6.4.1). They claim that the destination is owned by the Bangem Municipality and the government as ‘one the prestigious landscapes of Cameroon’. This opinion, of the characteristically more educated and development-oriented members of the host community, is shared even by elites born in Mwaam’s principal custodian village, Poala. The ownership debate is complicated by Mbororo immigration and establishment of a village in Mwaam, a destination that all indigenes consider to be their cradle. With Mbororo occupation, the most celebrated part of the Bakossiland (Mwaam, the tourist destination) has been partially alienated. The Mbororos live there, but agree that they ‘have no traditional rights in Mwaam’. So far, their nomadic economy in Muanenguba has been useful for the host community (see sections 1.5.4 and 6.2.2), but their occupation of the cradle and recent government recognition is bemoaned by natives, because of threats to



ownership and custodianship. This fear was heightened in 2006, following the government declaration that it intends to create an integrated ecological reserve around Mwaam.

This ownership argument was verified to be true at Ekom Nkam village, location of the Ekom Nkam Falls, the most popular stop-and-see attraction of Muanenguba, managed by and allegedly belonging to the Nkongsamba Council. However, the case of Ekom Nkam is less complicated, because the falls are more localised, involving only the developer/decision-maker and controller of that area, the Nkongsamba Council, and the village community, which claims ownership and carries out sacred sacrifices, as in Mwaam.

While no open conflicts are reported, these differing opinions have future implications for local social dynamics and future use of these touristic sites. But this is still to be seen, since tourism is still to develop to a level where the benefits are sought by more than just those who are currently involved, including the custodian clans and the councils (the wider community). It can be discerned that, while there is a local debate on the ownership of sacred sites that currently constitute tourist attractions (Mwaam and Ekom Nkam Falls) partly caused by tourism, a dividing line is created between the control of tourism by decision-makers (mayor of councils, i.e. those with achieved status and power) and the control of sacred sacrifices by native custodians (with ascribed status and power). These two factions constitute a small, select group of actors – i.e. upper tiers of the local hierarchy, participating in the nascent stages of tourism.

### **8.5.3 Reduction of aesthetic beauty, and unethical visitor practices.**

Nascent tourism is beginning to reduce the aesthetic beauty of the destination, Mwaam. This environmental problem is caused by the construction by the councils of concrete structures (buckaroos, trekking staircases and walkways: see section 6.4.2). However, the tracks created by the hoofs of cattle and horses during rearing in the fields have also slightly altered the aesthetic characteristics of Mwaam. While cattle tracks are hardly likely to detract from the tourism experience, they are not considered to be issues by locals, owing to their lack of understanding of eco/sustainable tourism.



It was reported that, at the Villa Luciole, a few visitors (3%) buy live birds such as nightingales and pigeons, and animals such as bush cats and monkeys, and take them to their own countries. According to personal observations from the late 1980s to early 1990s, some Western scientists collected samples of chameleons and medicinal plants, notably *Prunus africana*, with the help of the paid villagers for research reasons. A few visitors (3.1%) joined locals during the common local dry season, catching dragonflies as part of their expression of friendliness. One visitor reported that he cut what he considered as 'beautiful natural flowers out of curiosity to have a closer look'. In any case, taking away plants and animals is an environmentally unsustainable practice, because it causes genetic erosion and threatens biodiversity, against ecotourism principles (objective v). Other tourist practices that undermine ecotourism standards were both seen during monitoring and reported by the destination guard: some 5.1% of the visitors, mainly Cameroonians, are still unaware of ethical travelling. This was revealed by their throwing litter. According to the local guard, on one occasion in the past 'a few visitors used dogs to do [sport] hunting'. On another occasion, a visitor group played loud music. The last two holiday activities disturbed the usual tranquillity of Mwaam.

## 8.6 PROBLEMS HINDERING TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Tourism in Muanenguba has not grown significantly since the late 19th century when the first visitors came. The problems hindering tourism development and niches such as eco/responsible tourism are, to an extent, part of a broader discourse on underdevelopment in Cameroon, in Africa as a whole, and in the rest of the developing world. Such problems are both endogenous (local actor induced) and exogenous. This section brings the problems together. Some of the problems are included in the analyses of the structure of nascent tourism development in Chapter Six. This comprises haphazard development, and limited and varied understanding of the concepts of ecotourism and sustainability. These are marked by the absence of a local tourism policy, by inefficient operations at the destination, which lead to the dissatisfaction of visitors and local financial losses, by an inadequate and unethical basic infrastructure around the attractions, and by a lack of cooperation between the few key actors – the councils (the current controllers of tourism, and developers of the attractions), the Delegation of Tourism, and the accommodation establishments. During one interview, the delegate remarked that 'the government has neglected tourism, like other aspects of development in Cameroon.' Hindrances also come



from misappropriation and/or unsustainable use of funds from entrance fees by councils, and scarce and unfair participation, e.g. in guiding activities (discussed in sections 6.3.2, 8.2.1 and 8.4); from a lack of local written information (discussed in section 7.6); and from an ongoing reduction in the number of traditional *ndab echum*, which constitute symbolic assets for tourism (discussed in sections 5.4.4, 6.3.2 and 6.3.6). Other inhibitors include limited infrastructure and logistics, potential geological hazards and environmental degradation, unforeseen political problems, language problems and security issues. These are discussed below.

#### **8.6.1 Infrastructural and logistical problems.**

Because Muanenguba is a nascent tourism destination in the developing world, it has many infrastructural, hospitality and logistical problems. Roads in the destination's municipality, around Bangem, are almost impassable for vehicles during the peak rainy season months - from June to September: this greatly reduces arrivals. The absence of bridges over rivers on the way to the remote Bakossi Highlands has led to inadequate links between attractions in that subregion and tourism (see sections 1.4 and 6.3.2). One visitor hired a bicycle to get to Mwaam, but found that 'there were no bikes to take a visitor back to town after camping'. Another visitor who reached the offbeat Bakossi Highlands remarked that 'I appreciate the geographic setting, traditions and hospitality. But to reach Bajoh, Ebasse, Deck was tedious, since there are no bridges; the area ... lacks [good] routes, electricity and piped water.'

Rain gates are present in the Njom and Mburuku entrance places i.e. the upper slopes of Muanenguba. The gates are meant to prevent heavy-duty lorries from using the roads when rains fall, making the roads muddy and risky to use. Although this was not their intended purpose, they also help to prevent spoilage, aggravated in the past by heavy-duty vehicles, and keep the roads safe for the passage of tourist cars during the tourism season. Before the introduction of rain gates, the roads used to be degraded by lorries. The absence of traffic lights, and the presence of potholes on tarred roads, make car travel risky – what a visitor referred to as 'a game of chicken between cars travelling in opposite directions' – as roads are left for a long period with potholes without repair. This is in addition to what the same visitor called 'mad horning' – the frequent use of car horns on national roads – by Cameroonian drivers, which disturbs visitors' comfort. Visitor monitoring indicated that, although visitors receive information from the guard in Mwaam, hiking is uncontrolled, because no



trekking trails have been created. This reflects the nascent nature of tourism in Muanenguba.

Because tourism is nascent, the hospitality industry is underdeveloped. The guest accommodation establishments such as the Villa Luciole and Prestige Inn provide hospitality, or food and beverage services. But although these accommodation establishments have TV facilities, there are problems that also relate to utilities, as mentioned by one visitor: 'Reception is poor and programmes are few. Power cuts are [also] common. Water is cold, but this seems okay, as the weather is hot.' A visitor who visited a village around Bangem with her group said, 'We were sometimes unsure what some of the ingredients in [their] food might have been.' The local restaurants or food sheds located at some *carrefours en route* to Mwaam are rarely used due, because of a lack of trust in what one visitor perceived as 'poor local sanitation'. Food services at the *carrefours*, largely serving national travellers who travel to and from the Western Highlands (see Table 6.2 and related discussion) were not seen to be as bad as considered. Visitors rarely have pre-travel information on what is available locally (as mentioned in section 7.6). They are therefore bound to ensure self-sufficiency. As shown in section 8.2.2, this limits the local benefits.

Like tourism itself, there is underdevelopment of the marketing aspects of tourism in Muanenguba, but this is part of a national issue. Mwaam, its Twin Lakes and Muanengoe traditions are seldom presented in national television documentaries. When this does happen, it is always aimed at celebrating cultural diversity. In general, there is scarce and unguided use of the national media to market destinations in Cameroon as attractions. This issue, which is typical of many offbeat destinations, has limited the opportunity for Muanenguba to gain through tourism developments.

Toilets at the destination (Mwaam) were only constructed during the course of the research (July 2007). Before this time, toilet practices there were inevitably unsanitary.

#### **8.6.2 Potential geological hazards, micro-climatic and biodiversity issues.**

Mwaam faces the possibility of geological hazards (limnic eruptions), the occurrence of visual pollution (bush-burning) and biodiversity reduction, as discussed below.



Lakes of the Cameroon Volcanic Line (see Chapter One), including the Twin Lakes of Muanenguba in Mwaam, are atypically subject to the phenomenon of *limnic eruption* (also referred to as 'lake overturn' or 'exploding lake'). According to geologists at the University of Buea, a limnic eruption occurred at the Female Lake of Muanenguba in 1992. The event featured a sudden change in the colour of the lake water for days, owing to geologic activity under the lake, which led to the release of carbon dioxide. This led to the death of fish, and a distortion of the fishing and tourism season. Unfortunately, this has not been investigated in depth. A future event might be far more devastating. The effects can be deadly both to visitors in Mwaam and to locals in the villages. Limnic eruptions led to the death of 37 people around Lake Monoun in 1984, and of 1,700 people and a good number of cattle around Lake Nyos in 1986.

The investigator observed that visual pollution and smog caused by bush-burning carried out by local farmers, especially Mbororo settlers in Mwaam impedes visibility in some areas during the dry/visiting season. Visitors do not get involved in bush-burning. However, because of the cold nights in Mwaam, they use firewood for camping. Although firewood produces smoke that negatively affects the microclimate of Mwaam, this was observed to be indispensable but insignificant, compared with bush-burning by locals. Tourist demand for firewood is restricted to a few villages *en route* to Mwaam, and locals confirm that firewood is still abundant at the current early stage of tourism development. Cloudiness causes fog during the wet season. While these human and natural phenomena impede visibility from time to time, no visitor bothered to complain.

Biodiversity loss is another environmental issue in Muanenguba: people are aware that it is becoming increasingly difficult to hunt and trap animals. Some local hunters say that they used to have more trophies 15 year ago compared with the present. This is because the numbers of wild animal have declined. To some hunters, it is because the animals (totems) have become 'intelligent, like humans' (their owners). While ecotourism is still at a preliminary stage (part of nascent tourism), it is undermined by locally generated biodiversity reduction. For example, several megafauna, such as elephants, leopards, lions, buffalo, chimpanzees and gorillas, are 'feared [locally] extinct' because of hunting carried out in Muanenguba during the latter part of the 20th century (Wild *et al.*, 2004: 107). Hunting in Mwaam has been banned by the



Ministry of Environment. But poaching is going on, as hunters who double as trappers get on with their activities, which form an ancillary source of livelihood (see section 1.5.4). This is reducing the potential for Mwaam to offer forms of ecotourism such as safaris. But because bird hunting is not a popular native activity, Mwaam has been inadvertently saved for bird safaris. In the townscapes of Nkongsamba, Bangem, Melong and Manjo, urbanisation has encroached on forest areas, leading to forest habitat loss and a reduction of biodiversity. This effect is also felt in smaller towns such as Barre, Ebone and Ndongue.

### **8.6.3 Unforeseen occurrences, language barriers and security problems.**

Unforeseen occurrences such as socio-political and economic crises negatively affect tourism development, but are rarely considered in the formulation of tourism policies. In February 2008 there was a one-week transporters' strike in Cameroon. The strike developed into a national uprising against the government because of an increase in fuel prices, the rising cost of urban living, and unsolicited government alteration of the national constitution to prevent much-needed changes. The Bangem Rural Council, controller of tourism in Mwaam, lost an estimated £200 in access fees during the week-long peak season period, because visitors were prevented from travelling to Mwaam by road blocks. Also, it was fascinating to discover – as depicted in Figure 6.2 – that tourist arrivals in Mwaam from November 2008 to January 2009 dropped by a significant 49.4% compared with the corresponding months during the previous season, 2007–2008. This coincides with the global credit crunch, which has led to a collapse in long-haul travel, preventing Western visitors from travelling to distant destinations such as Cameroon and Muanenguba. Although the wider communities in offbeat destinations such as Muanenguba are only barely reliant on tourism, such unexpected impacts of global crises can be massive. The influence of the global socio-economic order can reach destinations characterised by nascent tourism.

Mbororo settlers reported that, on one occasion, language barriers limited their interaction with visitors. This did not happen with the indigenes, and has in general never been a big issue in tourism in Muanenguba. This is because, although visitors do not speak the local language, the ability to express themselves in English, enhanced by the high levels of education of visitors (about 80% being graduates –



see section 7.3.4) and the dominance of arrivals from France (the former colonialist) were seen as factors that enhanced communication in the two official languages.

There have been only two reports of accidents and stealing in the past 20 years. This does not lend credence to good guarding, though, because employment in guarding and fees collection in Mwaam started only in 1998. It is reported that, in the late 1980s, a villager in Mbat saw what looked like the quiet transportation by a female visitor of the corpse of a spouse, who is alleged to have died as a result of an unknown accident. To assure visitors of security, a young man was reported to have been prosecuted in Bangem and sent to jail for five years for stealing from visitor-packed vehicles in 2006.

## 8.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Locals are exposed to different forms and degrees of – generally limited – interaction. In Mwaam, non-indigenous Mbororo settlers and destination staff get involved. *En route*, accommodation services and national security checkpoints are places for interaction. Otherwise, there is fleeting contact between locals and visitors at transit *carrefours* and local witnesses of visitor activities in *en route* locations.

At the currently nascent stage of tourism, the benefits go mainly to the frontline actors: the developers (i.e. the councils – controllers of tourism) and the accommodation establishments, as well as non-local guides and destination employees of Bangem. For the wider community of villagers and locals, only anecdotal evidence exists for the social and economic benefits of tourism, from the *petit* sale of firewood, some fruits and some snacks at transit *carrefours en route* to Mwaam. In the sociocultural and environmental domains, voluntary gifts, tourism-induced initiatives that increase the iconic status of symbolic assets (i.e. the traditional *ndab echum*) and turn them into economic assets, and local environmental awareness are emerging benefits of tourism development in Muanenguba.

However, issues have emerged alongside tourism development. Social issues include, first, the contribution to the problem of place, and exacerbation of the debate on ownership. Second, there is the influence of fleeting contact on local perception and attitudes, as well as conflict at the destination and national security checkpoints. Because of the limited time of stay for visitors, the predominant visitor interest in



Mwaam (the natural), and the varied modes of generally limited contact, there exists among locals varied treatment of tourists, who are differentiated as hedonistic or natural-attraction-minded, i.e. tourists (*nkale*), and interactive or people-friendly, i.e. strangers (*nkinmut*). Although interaction is limited, it influences hierarchy in ethnic cases, i.e. deroutinisation of traditional functions and commoditisation tendencies shown by village chiefs, albeit accounting for the community-based responsibilities of tourists – but is influenced in political cases (i.e. the case of the government minister), to the dismay of some visitors. Limited interaction brings local variation in the perception of tourists and tourism: acceptance, rejection and indifference. There are also emerging local debates on access, ownership and place suggest. From the perspective of the predominantly highly educated visitors, Muanenguba offers a satisfying tropical holiday experience. This is by virtue of the photogenic scenery (see Photos 1.1 and 1.2), and the receptive nature of the locals. However, there are some visitor stereotypes.

Cultural issues comprise: tourism intervention in the sanctity of the destination, locally considered as the cradle; the vitalisation of native principles to accommodate access, and inauthentic alteration of the design of traditional houses (problem of authenticity). Environmental issues include the reduction of aesthetic beauty, and some unethical practices.

Underdevelopment and operational limitations in tourism are related to the limited and varied local understanding of the concept of ecotourism; to government neglect; to the absence of a local tourism policy; to misappropriation and/or unsustainable use of entrance fees, unfair participation, lack of local written information and reduction in the number of *ndab echum* – symbolic assets and key tourism products. Other current inhibitors include limited infrastructure and logistics; potential geologic hazards and environmental degradation i.e. visual pollution and reduced aesthetic beauty; unforeseen socio-political crises, the effects of global social order, such as the credit crunch, and language problems.



For a destination that is still rootedness in indigenous culture regardless of more than a century of nascent tourism, context is interesting, but theory application is limited because tourism practice is persistently scant (Author, 2010).



# **Chapter Nine**

## **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

This investigation is a pioneering study of the nascent tourism industry in Muanenguba. It has been a narrative on aspects of, and the relationship between, local culture and tourism development. The objectives were to: (i) identify the natural features linked to nascent tourism; (ii) examine the material culture of the native communities, and analyse their customs and values; (iii) determine the modes and extent of their involvement; (iv) identify and discuss features that are consistent with ecotourism principles, and determine associated factors; and (v) identify the impacts of and hindrances to sustainable tourism development.

To satisfy these objectives, trekking, observations and witness sources were used to obtain data on natural resources and attractions; and ethnographic approaches – participating, interacting, conducting themed interviews, and verifying information generated from communities near the destination – were applied to obtain data on local culture. Visitor registering and access-point-generated destination tours, questionnaire surveys and monitoring strategies were applied to obtain data on tourism. This chapter starts with a summary of the findings. It also contains contributions to knowledge made in the investigator's capacity as a member of two knowledge communities (insider and researcher), concluding remarks and possible areas for future investigations.

### **9.1 SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS, ANALYSES AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE**

#### **9.1.1 Synthesis of the findings.**

The Muanenguba Massif – the study area, containing Mwaam, the tourism destination – is a shield volcano in the south-west region of Cameroon. It is a legacy of polygenic vulcanicity that occurred from 156 to 56 million years ago. From palaeo-ecological evidence, Cheek *et al.* (2004) suggest that Muanenguba was part of the Guinea-Congolian refuge at the time of the Pleistocene. This has enabled the Muanenguba area (part of the Bakossiland) to develop some unique biodiversity



characteristics. The volcanic geology (the caldera and Twin Lakes) and biodiversity contribute to make Muanenguba a remarkable but currently underdeveloped destination for nascent (early-stage) tourism.

Because of their exceptional scenery and relative accessibility, Mwaam (the destination of Muanenguba) and the stop-and-view Ekom Nkam Falls are currently the main attractions (objective i). This finding, whereby only a selection of natural landforms are connected to the early stages of tourism, is a common characteristic of developing country destinations due to problems of seasonality of climate and geographic access (Teye, 1988; Butler, 2001; Krider *et al.*, 2010). In Muanenguba, by enabling the visitor to view picturesque pyroclastic cones, inselburgs (e.g. Muandelengo), and some drive-through montane forest slopes (e.g. Muanjikom), inter-visibility – the activity of seeing scenery on slopes and over deep river valleys – is a separate factor connecting some remote landforms to sightseeing *en route* in Muanenguba. Such remote features, currently underutilised as a result of inaccessibility of climate are likely to be visited as tourism expands.

Although travel to Muanenguba started in the late 19th century, it is still an out-of-the-way destination, characterised by the coexistence of exploration and local action. These are features of the early stages of Butler's Destination (Tourism) Area Life Cycle – TALC (Cooper and Jackson, 1997: 54; Butler, 1980: 5–12, 2004: 156). Against the idea of one-stage-after-the-other, suggested by TALC, the coexistence of early stages in Muanenguba is notable. As a result of Western environmentalism in the 1990s, the concepts of ecotourism and sustainability have become discursive features of nascent tourism development through ecotourism and protected area initiatives. Locally, ecotourism became understood to varied degrees, and was mobilised symbolically and rhetorically for different purposes by various key actors: indigenous NGOs, such as CERUT and NCUDA Ltd, show more understanding and interest in its development than the developers and decision-makers (hoteliers and councils), who are simply interested in tourism development and its expansion as welcome aspects of the local economic structure. While it is worth suggesting that only some actors show understanding of the concept of ecotourism at the early stages of tourism, awareness of it might increase as tourism expands in Muanenguba; but tourism expansion has the potential to suppress sustainable forms of tourism e.g. ecotourism. Currently, because of limited and varied local understanding of



sustainable forms of tourism in Muanenguba, nascent tourism development is haphazard. This is characterised by government neglect; by the absence of a local tourism policy; by operational inefficiencies (e.g. limitations relating to tourism information, misappropriation of entrance fees, unfair participation in the control of initial tourism development, etc.); and by a reduction in the number of traditional houses, which constitute both cultural symbols and key tourism products – the effect of modernisation (see sections 6.4.2 and 8.6). Other problems include limited infrastructure and logistics (in line with TALC; Butler, 1980), potential geological hazards and environmental degradation, the effect of unforeseen socio-political and socio-economic crises (the credit crunch), and language problems. The potential effect of geologic hazards – i.e. limnic eruptions – on tourism is unique to Muanenguba and Cameroon. The last two problems can, with non-tourism-led immigration in Mwaam, also be applied as useful exceptions to TALC. Lew (1998) found in the Asia-Pacific area – somewhat in line with TALC – that better infrastructure and logistics might increase tourism and reduce the potential for ecotourism. This study suggests that problems of nascent tourism i.e. underdevelopment, unfair participation and the effect of the economic crisis, can be found at mature destinations (as noted in Section 2.5).

Visitors currently reaching Mwaam are predominantly small, independent, short-staying, first-time, male-dominated travel groups made up of well-educated, mid- to late-career professionals (including resident expatriates and diplomats), who express an interest in wilderness scenery and foreign cultures. The demographic features of these visitors corroborate scholarly descriptions of ecotourists presented by exponents (e.g. Whelan, 1991; Wight, 1996a, 1996b; Honey, 1999; Wood, 2002; Fennell, 2003) and institutions (e.g. TIES, 2005: 2–3) (objective iv, see Section 2.4). The dominance of visitors from France (former colonialist, 57.3%) echoes the dependency theory: tourism seems to develop along colonial lines at the nascent stage. However, there is limited local community dependence on nascent tourism, and almost no foreign ownership. It appears certain that the tourism demography, male/French dominance and small groups will stay the same for the foreseeable future. If tourism in Muanenguba expands beyond the early stages in the long term, it is likely that demographic diversity, larger group sizes, more repeat visitors and greater lengths of stay would be noticed in Muanenguba. Evidence suggests that national holidaymakers – a previously undetected class of visitor – will increase as



the Cameroonian working class becomes acquainted with the idea of holidaying. But while history suggests that these changes may take another long period of time, the changes are likely to be detrimental to sustainable forms of tourism. While the visitor numbers might increase, any dependence on an increase in arrivals, instead of on diversification of the local economy for planning, can be risky.

Although the nascent tourism industry in Muanenguba does not fully enhance the visitors' ethical regard for the destination, they practise varying degrees of (mainly) conventional countryside and/or nature-based tourism (18.4–82.7% of visitors), incorporating some initiatives and responsibilities that are somewhat consistent with ecotourism principles, i.e. ethical responsibilities and voluntary pro-poor and community-based initiatives (6.8–94.5% of visitors; objective iv). These niches may become more noticeable with the advancement of tourism beyond the nascent stages. Popular trip activities comprise in Muanenguba correspond to the most popular ecotourism activities noted – as in Section 2.4 – by exponents. As an aspect of responsibility, some tourists suggested correctives for sustainability. These act as supplements to local viewpoints (Jacobsen, 2007: 104) albeit possibly paternalistic or Western-centric and incompatible with peasant lifestyles in Africa (Akama, 1996). This study notes that, while the need for initiative and responsibility to permeate the ecotourism experience (Wight, 2002: 2) has limited emphasis in the literature, these characteristics define an aspect of nascent tourism in Muanenguba (objective iv). An emerging thesis is that it may be conventional that ethical responsibility and initiative trail conventional practices (i.e. usual/popular activities) during holidays. In addition, this study also notes that consciousness of ecotourism standards is not translated into practice (in line with Cater, 2004). However, the exceptional scenery at the destination (the existence of caldera and Twin Lakes, see section 1.4) might coerce visitors to realise that some ethical responsibilities and initiatives need to be incorporated into conventional practices in order to protect the destination's physical environment and aid the well-being of the locals (consistent with ecotourism). As suggested by the crosstabulation analyses (see section 7.7.5), the scenery factor seems to combine with other factors comprising, incomes high enough to help the visitors overcome the inconvenience of reaching the destination, a length of stay that allows for enough interaction and learning about underdevelopment problems facing such a unique but remote destination and the influence of members of small activist groups. However, this is stochastic and limited to the sample at the time of survey.



Visitors may not necessarily show responsibility and initiative as the destination advances beyond the nascent stages. In addition, other factors may come to determine visitor choices.

The study of Muanenguba indicates that the wider community – largely indigenous – is barely reliant on tourism development at the nascent stage. The host communities in Muanenguba – for which tourism is currently a marginal activity – are predominantly peasantry and agrarian (objective ii): local people rely mainly on the soil for traditional subsistence/sedentary food cropping, cash cropping, animal keeping and non-indigenous cattle rearing. They produce items largely unused by the local tourism industry. The main cultural products for tourism are the traditional house (*ndab echum*), camping firewood, and fruit (e.g. local bananas). As a result of their *in situ* location (see Table 8.1), non-indigenous community of Mbororo nomads in Mwaam show more involvement in nascent tourism through interaction. In addition to Mbororos participation, the indigenous factors of power and status have created a selective structure of local participation (in line with objective iii) at the nascent stage of tourism. Indigenous factors of power and status delineate the involvement of only the key local/indigenous actors, i.e. mainly those in the upper tiers of hierarchy. These comprise custodians of tourism attractions/sacred sites with ascribed status, and developers with achieved status. Muanenguba is among the areas for which tourism will be insignificant for the foreseeable future (Holland *et al.*, 2003). The selective structure of participation would reduce with increasing consideration of tourism as a vital economic activity by the wider community. This is because tourism expansion might increase the demand for local and traditional items, and because economic challenges around Muanenguba may engender the need for alternative sources of income, such as the staging of folklore and the marketing of artefacts for souvenirs, thereby increasing the formalisation of tourism. Evidence from the *petit* sale of firewood, some fruits and some snacks at transit *carrefours* suggest that women and youths might benefit greatly.

Currently, because of limited wider community participation in tourism development activities (e.g. decision-making) at the nascent stage (against objective iii), the chief local recipients of economic benefits from tourism are the developers – the councils, i.e. the controllers of tourism, headed by the political elites (mayors) and hoteliers (non-political elites) – and a tiny proportion of inexperienced local employees in tourism



(see section 6.4.2). Only anecdotal evidence exists for the social and economic benefits of tourism for a small number of people in the host community, for example from the *petit* sale of items *en route* to the destination, and from voluntary offers by tourists to locals. In the cultural domain, tourism-induced housing initiatives have increased the iconic status of the traditional house. Indigenous principles are reinvented to accommodate tourism/access around tourist attractions that are also considered to be sacred sites. Positive cultural impacts are community-wide, because commonly shared indigenous culture is stimulated. In the local environmental domain, awareness of nature conservation is still low, but is emerging alongside nascent tourism in Muanenguba. Such awareness may increase if sustainability initiatives are maintained. However, this may not be for the foreseeable future, when one considers a strong indigenous culture and more than 100 years of tourism without progress beyond the nascent stages.

Among the negative impacts of tourism are varied opinions on the idea of place (the destination, Mwaam), because tourism has blurred the sense of place, and varied interpretation of it. Tourism has also exacerbated local debates on ownership and access. This is because current key attractions (the destination – Mwaam, or the cradle – and the Ekom Nkam Falls) constitute sacred sites. The investigation discovered that varied opinions on place, ownership and access for Mwaam reflect, first, different degrees of connection between the cradle and the indigenous communities (villages and clans) in near and far areas, and are founded on indigenous (custodian, elite, and wider native community), political (local council and central government) and Western environmentalist standpoints. Second, the opinions are a reflection of the conflict of spiritual (traditional: custodian) and material (modern: developer, tourist, environmentalist) values. In Muanenguba, apart from the debate on protected areas and the ecotourism initiative (see section 6.4.1) inspired by western environmentalism, all other discourses involve mainly indigenous factions. This leads this investigation to suggest the thesis that Muanenguba faces an *indigenous political ecology*. This is because the selective involvement of locals i.e. custodians and the mayors of councils (politicians) in tourism-related discourse (debates) and practice (sacred affairs and tourism decision-making) at the nascent stage – part of the dependency theory (Harrison, 2001). This is associated with, ‘unequal power relations’ (Gossling, 2003b: 26). Political



ecologies in Muanenguba may become more intense, with greater involvement of the wider community and non-indigenes as tourism advances.

Other negative impacts (trivial) have emerged alongside nascent tourism. Socially, fleeting contact influences local perceptions and attitudes, and leads to visitor stereotypes as well as conflicts at the destination and visitor access points. In particular, because of the limited time of stay, the generally limited but varied modes of interaction between locals and tourists, and the destination-minded character of most tourists, locals differentiate between tourists as interactive and people-friendly, i.e. engaging with hosts and the indigenous culture (strangers, *nkinmut*), and as hedonistic (tourists, *nkale*). Because tourism is still nascent, impacts on gender traditions are still imprecise. But the study hints at the reinforcement and alteration of traditional gender roles. Similar impacts were found in Bali (Indonesia), where traditions have not been radically altered (Cuckier, 2002), although tourism is more advanced. Through interaction, tourism influences hierarchy in ethnic cases. It leads to deroutinisation of customary functions and commoditisation, albeit partly accounting for community-based activities of tourists. But tourists are influenced by interaction scenes in political cases. Negative cultural impacts comprise tourism intervention in the sanctity of the destination and inauthenticity arising from the non-traditional use and alteration of the design of the iconic traditional house. Negative environmental impacts comprise a reduction of aesthetic beauty, due to the construction of concrete around attractions, and the unethical practices of a few visitors. Impact and perception might become significant as tourism advances beyond the nascent stage, with wider community involvement.

Although still largely indigenous, the socio-cultural set-up of the Bakossiland – of which Muanenguba is a part – is changing. Westernisation, post-colonial government intervention, modernisation, non-tourism-led Mbororo immigration and *in situ* shifting conceptions of customs in the host society account for the changes. Against these processes of change, the indigenous Muanengoe communities, especially those with custodianship responsibilities for the tourist destination, still show rootedness in tradition. This is through their common views of the natural, such as their unanimous claim of ancestry from Mwaam (their cradle), and of the supernatural, such as sacred sacrifices in honour of their forefathers, i.e. ancestor worship (objective ii). This is guided by the common belief that their ‘forefathers live in the Twin Lakes’ of



Muanenguba in Mwaam. To the indigenes, visiting Mwaam – a spiritual connection with the cradle and associated forefathers that reduces according to the spatial principle of distance decay (Marshall, 1996: 309) – for various livelihood, leisure and spiritual motives is not considered to be holidaying (objective iv). Thus, while the society is oriented towards tradition and modernity as values, tourism is only a subsidiary agent of change at the nascent stage. It is likely to become a key factor of change as it grows, and this could have negative implications for the development of sustainable forms of tourism. For example, it could minimise the local views of (the sanctity of) Mwaam and the role of custodians.

A *symbolic* economy (a traditional outlook) of nascent tourism – a strategy for survival – has developed in Muanenguba via the use of the traditional house: through community labour and cooperation with the developer of Mwaam (the Bangem Rural Council), i.e. a rare aspect of wider community participation in nascent tourism, custodians have constructed traditional houses (*ndab echum*) at the destination. This has conflated local culture with nature at the destination, served to assert indigenous presence (identity), and symbolised custodianship (see sections 6.4.2 and 8.5.2). This is a case where local views of nature have led to the construction of traditional houses (symbolic assets), which are now contributing to the tourism experience. In *en route* accommodation places, indigenous hoteliers have turned the same traditional icons into economic assets by introducing them as part of their establishments, locally called ‘modern traditional lodges’. These iconic features (traditional houses) remarkably lead visitors to experience the local mediation of modern convenience and indigenous tradition. This agrees with Wang’s (2000: 219) view that tourism mediates modernity and tradition on the one hand and the local and the global on the other. The development of a symbolic economy of nascent tourism via the packaging of traditional assets (houses), unintentionally or intentionally, for tourism is associated with the trivial issue of authenticity, and saves most of the visitors with less time the unaccomplished task of visiting the villages. Experience in the mature destination of Bilbao (Spain) led Weidenfield (2010: 851) to suggest that the deterioration of iconic/symbolic attractions that have a strong impact on image can lead visitors to seek alternative destinations. When it is considered that such symbolic assets (traditional houses) are reducing in number in Muanenguba, the symbolic status that is evident at the early stages might be undermined by tourism expansion. However, image and the survival of the symbolic economy also depend



on the key natural attraction Muanenguba – the Twin Lakes and local world views i.e. sanctity. This study thus accepts the view of Mowforth and Munt (2003: 99) that even if ‘the society survives [due to low-scale tourism and symbolism in this case, aspects of] its culture may irreversibly be altered.’

### **9.1.2 Analyses linked to the findings and the indigene–researcher dichotomy.**

This thesis was the outcome of compiling and indexing field data, followed by various analyses of the findings: for information on culture, both in-the-field and post-fieldwork interpretation was carried out. While the use of elite samples (key informants, elite nominated persons) was associated with the potential for respondents to determine the quality of information, such persons possessed vital cultural information. The contribution of their authority in indigenous knowledge to bias was diffused by triangulation and wider opinion outside the custodian territory. The strategy of moving from key informants to other informants, or from the custodian community to the wider community, was especially relevant where local debates called ‘extended cases’ (van Velsen, 1967) emerged. For information on visitors and tourism, analyses followed the procedure of coupling data from the special registers created during fieldwork at the destination with data from questionnaire surveys and observations, after which Microsoft Excel worksheets and statistical analyses (*crosstabulations and Chi-square tests*) were performed in SPSS-PASW and used to develop a nascent tourism profile. Adjusted residuals and Cramer’s V statistics were used to interpret the nature of the associations between factors and eco/people-freindly responsibilities/initiatives. However, their stochastic nature implies that they have limited reliability in describing visitor contribution to sustainability at the nascent stages tourism.

Although the investigator’s dual role as indigene and researcher, i.e. being a member of two knowledge communities – *being sensibly native*, was associated with relational issues (as identified in sections 4.8 and 4.9), it enhanced the gaining of *indigenous knowledge*, interpreting cultural information, understanding the local context, gaining a grasp of the salient features, and developing the ability to distinguish between and argue from different levels (e.g. etic and emic) and sources of data. Therefore, in the absence of an adequate longitudinal dimension, this study is a reliable snapshot of nascent tourism development in the south-west of Cameroon.



The research process used to achieve these results indicates that collaboration with key actors, which itself is necessary for sustainable forms of tourism such as ecotourism, can help in tracking visitor arrivals in a seasonal, underdeveloped tourism destination. It enhances facilitative and working relationships for surveying visitors by way of convenience sampling (Collis and Hussey, 2009) from entrance points, and surveying key informants via judgemental sampling according to experience of relevant phenomena (*ibid*: 213). It also indicates the value of periodic market in triangulation (ethnography), as well as the next-to-arrive method for surveying visitors in nascent tourism.

### **9.1.3 Contributions to knowledge and limitations of the study.**

The study is a pioneering illustration of both the epistemological dimension (knowledge status of the insider/researcher) and the locational dimension (first study and narrative on nascent/eco tourism in the Bakossiland, south-west of Cameroon) dimensions. It reveals just how valuable a meso-scale (mountain/tribal area) study can be in articulating the emerging relation between indigenous culture and aspects of nascent tourism in Cameroon. It provides material that has not hitherto been collected in an area that has not been previously researched, and can aid studies of other equatorial and tropical volcanic mountain areas.

The study identifies a nascent tourism destination in Cameroon and West Africa, characterised by seasonal practice of exploration and growing local (key) actor involvement. This is somewhat consistent with popular models in the literature, such as Butler's Destination/Tourism Area Life Cycle – TALC (Butler, 1980; 2004). This study suggests that in the description of early-stage tourism – part of TALC – it is important to consider exceptions, such as: the coexistence of early stages, in this case, exploration and local action; timescales, i.e. more than a century without progress beyond the nascent stage in Muanenguba; the influence of nature conservation strategies (Reinmann, 2004; Cole, 2007b), in this case, protected area and ecotourism initiatives; the role of indigenous views of the supernatural; the ethical responsibilities and/or initiatives of some visitors; the existence of non-tourism-led (Mbororo) immigration to the destination; and the potential impact of geological hazards. These are factors that are likely to delay take-off for a nascent tourism destination. In particular, the study was carried out at a time when unforeseen occurrences, such as a national socio-political crisis (March 2008) and



the global credit crunch, contributed to the findings. It hints that the influences of the national and global socio-economic order on tourism can reach out-of-the-way destinations characterised by nascent tourism. There appear to be no special reasons for experiencing more than a century of travel without progress beyond the nascent stage (one exception to TALC), except perhaps state incapacity translated at local level, the late coming of Western environmentalism and advocacy for nature conservation since 1990 rather than tourism expansion, an age-old lack of interest from potential actors, and the persistence of rootedness in indigenous customs.

The study contributes to development theories charted by scholars (e.g. Lea, 1988; Harrison, 2001, see Section 2.5). The modernisation theory is exemplified by the proliferation of environmentalist ideas – ecotourism and protected area initiatives (see section 6.4.1) – from the 1990s, by the role of predominantly highly educated tourists in suggesting correctives for sustainability (Appendix 7b), and by the contribution of one visitor (an expat) to the development of ‘modern traditional lodges’ for tourism. However, the mediation of modern convenience and identity through the concept of modern traditional lodges (see sections 6.4.2 and 6.4.6) and rootedness in native religion (against modernisation) put Muanenguba in context. Allied to traditional modernisation, the study contributes to the literary works of several exponents, charting the concepts of commoditisation (e.g. Cohen, 1988; Greenwood, 1989; Saarinen, 2004) and authenticity (e.g. MacCannell, 1973; Cohen, 1988; Nash, 1996; Wang, 2000; Timothy and Boyd, 2003). Both externally induced/modernising processes leading to changes – acculturation and inauthenticity – in the host society and the social process of indigenous community identification, i.e. ethnicity, as an antithesis to modernisation have been described. Nascent tourism is a subsidiary factor operating against the indigenous culture (identity), and issues of authenticity and acculturation are only barely recognised at the early stage of tourism in Muanenguba owing to the low level of tourism. The packaging of the traditional house, a symbolic asset – the existence of a symbolic economy – to assert local identity in the process of providing tourism accommodation services is important. It leads visitors to experience the mediation of modern convenience and authenticity in the process of preserving ethnic identity (Hollinshead, 1996: 317), albeit partly commoditising it. Thus, it limits the concepts/processes of acculturation and modernisation, and constitutes part of a broader orientation of the host society (the Bakossiland) towards tradition and modernity as values.



The dependency theory (Lea, 1988; Harrison, 2001) also operates in Muanenguba. This is via the dominance of visitors from France (former colonialist) and a colonial mode of tourism development: Westernisation of the society, post-colonial territorial administration of tourism attractions, i.e. the role of elites with achieved status in tourism development and unequal power relations with other indigenous factions – a political ecology, as suggested by Gossling (2003) (see sections 5.4.5 and 6.4.2). However, the persistence of the traditional role of custodians and at times, village chiefs (elites with ascribed status, who carry out sacred activities pre-dating tourism), the existence of an *indigenous* dimension of the local political ecology, local ownership of tourism accommodations, local leakages in tourism fees, and, above all, the limited reliance of the host community on tourism at the nascent stage constitute limitations of the dependency theory in the context of Muanenguba.

The main destination area – Mwaam – is summarily referred to by a visitor as ‘*une paradis unique*’ owing to the stunning views offered by the extraordinary/pristine scenery, comprising the Twin Lakes, the caldera floor and its special features of tranquillity, and the openness, airiness, and breezy tropical montane weather. These features, together with visitor payment of access fees, the ethical responsibilities, and voluntary pro-poor and community-based initiatives of some of the visitors, the idea of visiting in small autonomous short-staying groups, the low levels of visitor traffic, and the revitalisation and use of iconic traditional houses, constitute the key indicators of aspects of nascent tourism that are somewhat consistent with the requirements and principles of ecotourism and/or sustainability (objective iv; see Appendix 7d). However, there is still divergence in knowledge of the principles and practice of ecotourism (Cater, 2004). The study has yielded special-interest travel motivations, such as the anticipation of ‘*ambiance*’ around any famous touristic site, the ‘tracing of footsteps of parents’ by a few Europeans, the particular discovery of Cameroon and her people, and ‘love for Africans’, as stated by visitors.

Using a variety of evidence (in Chapters Five, Six and Eight), the study connects various aspects of the indigenous/local social structure to nascent tourism in Muanenguba. Such evidence relates, first, to the influence of customs of power and status – ascribed via custodianship, and achieved through Westernisation and post-colonial politics – on selective participation in the nascent stages of tourism (see



sections 5.2.3, 5.2.5 and 6.4.2). Second, it relates to views of the natural and supernatural, i.e. the sanctity of the destination (Mwaam), and the demonstration of such views, decreasing with distance in communities as one moves away from the destination (see section 5.4.3). Third, there is a hierarchy of sacred sites, starting with Mwaam, and a corresponding hierarchy of connections to nascent tourism (see section 5.4.2). Fourth, as an aspect of indigenous political ecology, the host society and tourism attractions face emerging debates on sanctity, access, ownership and sense of place, exacerbated by nascent tourism, and founded chiefly on the indigenous/custodian, elite/political standpoint, but also on the environmentalist standpoint (see sections 5.4.5, 6.4.1, 8.5.1 and 8.5.2).

Through ethnographic strategies, the study has discovered, first, indigenous mechanisms used by the host community to sustain culturally sacred sites that constitute tourism attractions (see section 5.4.5). This is according to the principles of visiting ‘without two hearts’ – without sacrilegious intentions – and ‘without four eyes’ – without seeing into the supernatural. Second, the study discovers fundamental precepts such as attractiveness and lack of access, traditional responsibility, and the alleviation of supernatural/social ills and natural hazards, for the adoption and maintenance of local sacred sites, some of which are also tourism attractions (objective ii – see section 5.4.2). This has resulted in a reliable classification of sacred sites. Third, as shown in section 8.5, an indigenous principle guiding custodianship of the destination and other community cultural properties (the traditional ‘caretaker is the owner’ principle) and a geographic concept guiding local engagement with the destination (varied interpretation using names and disparate participation in sacred activities according to distance decay) were identified. Finally, the study evoked indigenous tenets guiding the definition of community-based tourism (objectives ii and iii – see section 8.2.3). This comprises interactional features such as people-friendly (*nkinmut*) initiatives and cultural exchange, i.e. engaging with the hosts’ community and culture – being the interactive stranger or an ‘experiential’ (eco)tourist (Holden, 2008: 48).

Besides contributing to knowledge, some leading-edge action for eco/sustainable tourism has been demonstrated, because the investigation process was naturally accompanied by local sensitisation (see section 4.8). This constituted a responsible approach by the investigator, who played the dual role of indigene and professional



researcher. Initial action resulting from suggestions given following this investigation was that, at the time of writing, the Bangem Rural Council – controller of tourism at the destination – has started to display access fees at the entry point to Mwaam (since June 2008), in order to prevent illegal charges to visitors. Similarly, as determined by the investigation, local stakeholders are now aware of the key objects of the local tourist gaze, namely the traditional house and The Twin Lakes.

Despite these contributions, this study was limited by some factors. These comprise the absence of a longitudinal dimension, the near absence of local data on tourism from developers, an initial concentration on the ethnographic (qualitative approach), the limited availability of local history and village documents, the nascent nature and marginality of tourism as an economic activity, limited local understanding of sustainable forms of tourism such as ecotourism, and limited experience in social research interviews, the limitations on indigenous privileged knowledge imposed by sacred taboos, the effect of underdevelopment on the behaviour of respondents towards the investigator (see section 4.9), and rapidly changing circumstances in the study area. Also, although Muanengoe culture is considered to be the same by the villagers, topographic variations and administrative divisions – the French (east) aspects and the English (west) aspects – made the research setting heterogeneous.

The idea of the Westernised local elite making decisions making for tourism development and the predominantly highly educated Western visitors suggesting correctives for sustainability (Appendix 7b) is a paternalistic approach to tourism development. This is only partly compatible with the wider community of (predominantly) peasants, who still value farming, access to markets and related infrastructure, and are predominantly indifferent to nascent tourism (see Appendix 8). While the need to degas the Twin Lakes for security of tourist is indispensable, biodiversity conservation suggested by Western scientists, access to remote attractions via improvement of infrastructure as tourism expands, tourism information on Muanenguba (suggested by visitors) and the existing practice of taking care of waste and other correctives suggested by tourists would suit the tourists. Some of these approaches, e.g. improving infrastructure/access, are unsustainable. On the other hand, the creation of management committees for tourism (following the existing model of clan associations – inclusivity) and a local tourism policy (including east–west cooperation and as in ancient times), the use of



traditional boundary trees to mark trekking trails, and the use of locally made traditional baskets to contain waste in Mwaam – an existing practice in the villages (i.e. suggestions from indigenes), the creation of traditional facilities to improve the locally cherished *nkinmut* (interactive stranger) concept and cross-cultural understanding, revitalisation of the traditional house, and incorporation of the Mbororo settlers (connecting immigrant nomads to tourism) through horse-riding programmes constitute less paternalistic adaptations that would maintain local culture and include all classes of local people. These adaptations are considerable, in case tourism becomes an economic option. This can be judged only with adequate tourism education, and better understanding of the concept of sustainability. The feasibility of the adaptations is helped by community-based (committees) experience in areas other than tourism, and common world views and/or customs acceptable to most members of the host community. Thus recognition, reinforcement and adaptation of local knowledge systems are considered to provide a potential basis for an alternative development model (World Bank, 1998; Appleton *et al.*, 2005). This observation considers that tourism has not been relied on as a source of livelihood for more than a century of its existence in Muanenguba. This leads to the thesis that having an extraordinarily picturesque tourism attraction i.e. the the caldera and Twin Lakes, does not necessarily make tourism a reliable economic activity for some destination communities.

### 9.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The investigation contributes to the theory and practice of nascent (early-stage) tourism. Nascent tourism is an area of study that has limited literature, because tourism literature is skewed towards destinations that are advanced. The investigation discovers that exploration and local action coexist, leading to a local nascent tourism discourse and practice, understood to varying degrees and mobilised rhetorically and symbolically by various actors for different purposes. This coexistence is common in most tropical rainforest destinations of Cameroon, where tourism is still a marginal part of local economies. By virtue of their relative accessibility, only a few key attractions are linked to the early stages of tourism. Similarly, as part of an indigenous political ecology of nascent tourism, the factors of status and power ascribed to a few indigenes with custodianship responsibilities, and achieved by the developers, have biased participation in and benefit from the nascent stages of tourism development. The wider local community – largely agrarian and indigenous, and showing spiritual connections with the destination (their cradle), and scant involvement in or reliance



on nascent tourism – is oriented towards both tradition and modernity as values. The dominant processes of change (*modernity*) comprise, historically, Westernisation, post-colonial government influence and immigration and, currently, modernisation and *in situ* shifting conceptions in indigenous culture. Nascent tourism is a subsidiary but emerging agent of change, exacerbating issues relating to access and sanctity, authenticity, ownership, sense of place and aesthetic beauty.

The visitors are predominantly well-educated, median-age professionals and expatriates, travelling as small, short-stay, male-dominated autonomous groups. They practise, albeit not impeccably, varying degrees of conventional, nature-based/countryside tourism, incorporating unpremeditated ethical responsibility and voluntary pro-poor and community-based initiatives – that is, niches of nascent tourism somewhat consistent with ecotourism principles. The host community is exposed to generally limited interaction with tourists, and delineation of them as people-friendly and hedonistic. As a *traditional* outlook of nascent tourism, custodians and hoteliers – i.e. two of the key actors – have packaged the iconic traditional house, both unintentionally and intentionally, for tourism. This has helped to symbolise custodianship, assert indigenous identity, and preserve the image of Muanenguba. This symbolic economy of tourism leads visitors to experience local mediation between modern convenience and indigenous tradition.

The experience of a century of tourism in Muanenguba suggests that tourism is unlikely to progress beyond the nascent stage for the foreseeable future. However, if tourism advances beyond the nascent stage in the long term, its links with the destination's natural attractions and indigenous culture are likely to increase. So, too, might the demographic diversity of the visitors (more than just explorers), the involvement of more than just a few indigenous actors at the top of the hierarchy, the agency of tourism *vis à vis* cultural changes, and the intensity of discourse on sanctity, access, ownership and interpretation of Mwaam (place). The results of the crosstabulation analyses and Chi-square tests suggest that the extraordinary scenery of the destination, the ability to use averagely high incomes to reach remote destinations, the length of stay that allows for adequate interaction and (cross-cultural) understanding of underdevelopment problems, and arrival in small activist groups are the factors that are likely to lead visitors to take initiative and/or responsibility (in favour of the destination and indigenous culture) to permeate tourism experience in Muanenguba for the foreseeable future. It is expected that, with the implementation of the Bakossi National Park (BNP), this part of the study area will now be managed as a protected area. However, as it is in Cameroon, while the effectiveness of the BNP will remain a question, Everard's (2007: 27) idea that national park life is bad for fauna when



compared with wildlife is valid. Also, the local social dynamics that will result from such protection are, as yet, unsubstantiated.

For future investigations, it might be necessary to develop an ethnographic insight into the idea of place (Mwaam, the destination), and further clarify ownership and custodianship. This action is necessary because nascent tourism has blurred the sense of place and led to different interpretations of place i.e. the name of the destination. Its expansion might intensify the debate on place (see Section 8.5). The action would help to determine inclusion at the destination and other attractions, as well as control the development of sustainable forms of tourism. Until the period this study, tourism records were not kept by the local authorities and developers. Continuous collection and keeping of tourism registration data – using guidelines suggest by this research – is also necessary. This has the potential to produce trends, which can help future tourism research to inform policy. It might be necessary to monitor tourism policies in the region, and to reassess the impacts of a possible expansion in tourism on involvement, exposure of culture, local economy and the environment, for example on fuelwood consumption. Given that visitor numbers have not increased significantly over more than a century, it is necessary to continue to monitor influences beyond the physical impact of increasing numbers. Research on the new BNP and safari potential of the offbeat Bakossi Highlands is necessary in order to discover untapped potentials for sustainable forms of tourism development. In this regard, the potential longterm impacts of the ecotourism and protected area initiatives (which led to the creation of the park) on the physical environment and indigenous culture may be addressed. Research projects on some less dominant but delightful trip activities (e.g. interaction, tourist eating of local food, and attendance at traditional events, etc.), and on sustainable methods for connecting aspect of local/indigenous culture to tourism, may be equally useful. This might increase local people's participation. Research could be carried out on just how well-known the Caldera and Twin Lakes of Muanenguba are and how they compare with other national sites such as Mount Cameroon, Lake Barombi, Lakes in the Western Highlands, and other similar landscapes in Africa (e.g. the more famous Ngorongoro in Tanzania). Allied to this, research on the emerging class of Cameroonian visitors, their motivations and destinations is necessary. These might help determine why a century of tourism has not taken Muanenguba beyond the nascent stage.







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# APPENDICES

## Appendix 1: Notes on relevant terms

### (a) Muanengoe terms

*Abombe-ekud* – Volcanic peak with bridged crater.

*Abum a ndab* – Nuclear family.

*Abun* (plural *mebun*) – Clan sanctuary: shrine, sacred site and cultural property.

*Ah'non* – Bird: commonly sighted around Muanenguba.

*Ahon* – Society of noble Muanengoe men.

*Ahoof'edeb* – Waterfall: some are believed to harbour ancestral spirits (e.g. Ekom Nkam Falls, visited by some tourists).

*Akosse* – Language on the western slopes of Muanenguba.

*Alehngum* (meaning 'powerful' or 'magic stone') – The site of the highest peaks: believed to be the source of the heaviest rains around Muanenguba.

*Alenkih* – Family woodlot, traditional property; in some cases former homesteads.

*Alluoh* – Amphibians caught and eaten from swamps at the destination, Mwaam.

*Bakossiland* (*Ekosse*) – Land that includes the western and eastern aspects of Mounts Kupe and Muanenguba.

*Bakossi language* (*Akosse*) – Language on the western slopes of these mountains. Mutually intelligible with that spoken on the eastern slopes.

*Bakossi peoples* (*Bekosse*) – Peoples on the western slopes of these mountains. Together with the people on the eastern aspect – Mboh people – called *Muan'ngoe*.

*Benyame/Unyame* – ancestors or forefathers.

*Bwiad/bwe* – Ancient times: i.e. the time of forefathers and years past.

*Doob/Diob* – God.

*Ebese* – Worship: applied to Western Christianity.

*Ebwo* (meaning 'compound') – The floor of the caldera at the destination; traditionally so called because it is very gently sloping.

*Edehp* – Stream or river.



*Edep* – Means lakes in general: viewed and/or used for swimming by visitors.

*Ehoh'mbouh* – Language on the eastern slopes of Muanenguba. Mutually intelligible with that spoken on the western slopes.

*Ehoo* – Animal given in sacrifice, or donated for entry into a sacred society.

*Ekalerh* – Sacred society.

*Ekan* – Animal totem.

*Ekoko* – Staple maize meal.

*Ekongkong* – Intermontane ridge; favours village settlement as well as road and bush path location for transport of local produce and tourist use.

*Ekoom* – Sacred journey taken by wizard or sorcerer.

*Ekwelerh* – Traditional bungalow.

*Elad* – Grouping or group in the community

*Eleh* – Rocky cliff; contains ancestral spirits, used for indigenous echo sounding. Some harbour waterfalls.

*Esonge* – The hunting society (sacred).

*Esubau* – Traditional staple food: fufu eaten with soup called *nzab'engen*.

*Kiau* – Community head (village, clan) with ascribed status.

*Mbbuoh* – Sacred site; term applied when used as area for preparation and evaluation on the occasion of a sacred society dancing event.

*Mbiah* – Extended family.

*Mbo* (Bakossi East Cameroon) – Peoples on the eastern slopes of Muanenguba in the Bakossi (Ekosse) land.

*Mbororos* – West African Fulani migrant/settler group, occupying Mwaam, the tourist destination, and practising nomadic herding since the 1950s.

*Mbulauku* – Property.

*Mbuog* – Muanengoe culture generally, but used interchangeably to refer to society (people bound together by culture), tradition, norms, values, customs, and community.

*Mpal* – Hunting.

*Muanengoe* – Unifying name for people on the western and eastern aspects of Mounts Muanenguba and Kupe (indigenes of the Bakossiland). The word 'Bakossi'



is used by Western scientists, but is not accepted by those on the eastern (French) slopes.

*Muanenguba* ('magic' or 'powerful child') – Name of the mountain (study area, northern part of the Bakossiland), of which Mwaam, the tourism destination or summit area, is part.

*Muankum* – Sacred society of Bakossi males: used for rite of passage to maturity.

*Mwaam* – Indigenous name for the caldera area (the tourist destination).

*Ndab echum* – Traditional conical house.

*Ngoe* – Founding ancestor of native people in the Bakossiland.

*Nhon* – a notable, rich person, or member of the Ahon society.

*Njumebwel* (meaning 'kingstick', 'man tree' or 'head tree') – Tree totem harbouring ancestral spirits around villages.

*Njumue* – Male Lake, and husband of Edep in Mwaam.

*Nkale* (plural *bekale*) – general name for 'white person' and/or tourist from the Western world.

*Nkaulauh* – conversation: a suitable method for re-engaging with villagers after years in the Diaspora. Used to interview on ethnography during fieldwork.

*Nkinmut* (*nkin* in short; plural *bekin*) – Any stranger or visitor who stays for a period and is 'taken care of locally'. Note the difference from *nkale*.

*Nyam-ahin* – Any wild animal (for safari); some extinct owing to hunting.

*Nyoh* – 'Mother' or 'Mrs'; applied to respect elderly women.

*Nzab'engen* – Local traditional soup (sauce), commonly prepared and eaten with fufu.

*Nzau* – Farm plot.

*Nzeng-akwa* – Ebwo Peak, watching over the lakes and preventing lake anger against the people.

*Sorh* – 'Father' or 'Mr'; applied to respect elderly men.

*Suu* – Fish caught by men in the Female Lake in Mwaam; a food source.

*Tumbe* or *Aloh* – Village, clan.

*Yih* – The northern aspect (of Muanenguba) equivalent for 'grandma', which in most cases replaces 'mum' for older women (more than 60 years of age).



**(b) Alternative terms for some place names in Muanenguba**

Alehngum – Elengum.  
Ebwo – Eboga, Ebwoge, Ebebe'mwaam.  
Ekoko – Ekokerh  
Kiau – Kiong  
Lake Beme – Lake Bermin.  
Mbororos – Fulanis, Fulbes.  
Mbuog – Mbuoh.  
Mburuku – Mbouroukou.  
Muandelengo Inselburg – Bime Rock.  
Muanengoe – Muan'ngoe.  
Muanjikom – Muanzekoh.  
Mungo – Moungo.  
Njumue – Njumedep.  
Nkinmut – Nkii'mu.  
Nyale inselburg – Mekog rock.  
River Chide – river Jide or river Chede.  
River Mbwe – river Mbu, river Mbee.

**(c) French/Cameroon words.**

*Auberge* – Bed and breakfast.  
*Buckaroos* – Small huts (sun sheds) for visitors  
*Canton* – Clan (a group of villages related by kinship; part of the tribe).  
*Carrefours* – Transit centres along the tourist route; actually means crossroads in French.  
*Envelope* – gift



**Appendix 2: Villages and clans of Muanenguba**

Villages	Clan	District or Sub-division	Sub-region (Division/Province)
Muelong, Poala, Ekambeng, Muasum, Mbat, Muabi	Nhia clan	Bangem	Kupe-Muanenguba Division (English, South-West Province): Headquarters – Bangem
Njom, Muaku, Muekan, Nkack, Elum’Ekambode Muebah, Epenebel, Ebonemin, Elum’Muanenyom	Nninong clan		
Muetan aku, Ngomin, Mbwogmut, Mualoh, Enyandong, Mejelet (Ntehoh I)	Central Asume clan		
Ebamut, Ntehoh II, Muandelengo, Ekanjo, Ndong	Ebamut clan		
Ekanjo-Bajoh, Epen, Edib, Nyale, Ebasse, Deck, Kodmin	Babubog (Babibog) clan		
Mboh, Ekaku, Muangwelong, Muakwe, Mbuku, Ndibse	Bangem clan		Moungo Division (French, Littoral Provincial): Headquarters – Nkongsamba
Nkikoh, Nyan, Muanjikom, Mbila, Ekangte	Elung (Muannoh) clan		
Mouanguel, Mbouassum, Muangwekan, Muankwa, Nninong, Ediengo, Nzobi, Elemboh, Ndoku, Ekolbuni	Canton Elung	Melong	
Mburuku, Ekanang, Nkah, Nlongko, Desoh, Mbomango, Mbokola, Mbondong, Muakwen, Njinjou, Nsankeu, Etabang, Ekah, Nlolack, Nzakou, Mbokem, Mbokamba, Ebakom, Mama, Ebangmama, Nkanjo I, Esekeu, Nlelem I, Nkosung, Nyabang, Pasim, Ngai-mbo, Ekolkang, Mboangong	Canton Mboh		
Ekom, Eboukou, Soundop, Manjibo, Mpaka, Bareko, Mbarembeng, Bakem	Canton Bare-Bakem	Barre	
Ekangte, Muanenguba, Mbonko	Canton Muanenguba	Nkong-samba	
Nkongsamba, Essel, Ebloukon, Baroek, Ngwa	Canton Baneka (Muaneka)		
Bello, Abang, Muakoumel, Nsong, Muandong, Muasum, Ndum, Bajoungue, Njimbeng	Muamenam	Manjo	
Ebone, Manengole, Ndoungue, Bassante, Bakwat, Muanjam, Big Mop, Nnamba.	Canton Manehas	Ebone	

Source: Ethnographic interviews



**Appendix 3: Protected areas in Cameroon**

Protected area	Date created	Surface area	Characteristics
Limbe Botanic Garden, Jungle (cultural) Village and Zoo	1892	48 ha	Botanic garden: earliest centre for genetic conservation and learning for Cameroon. Second most popular destination after Mount Cameroon (highest peak in West Africa)
Waza Park	1934	170,000 ha	National park: created for tourism education and research. Biosphere reserve status in 1982
Etinde Reserve	1988		Forest reserve: part of Mount Cameroon
Bambuko Native Authority Forest	1939		Participatory forest management: part of Mount Cameroon
River Mabetia-Moliwe Reserve	1988		Participatory forest management: part of Mount Cameroon
River Mokoko Reserve	1952	27,000 ha	Participatory forest management: part of Mount Cameroon
Benoue Reserve	1968	180,000 ha	Wildlife reserve for hippopotamus, buffalo
Faro Reserve	1947	330,000 ha	Wildlife reserve for rhinos, giraffes
Bouba Ndjida Reserve			Wildlife park for antelopes, lions, elephants and élan de Derby, and for hunting
Manangia Dinosaur Site in Mayo Rey Division	1988		Dinosaur fossil site: 240 footprints and 50 tracks dating back 120 million years, fossilised
Kalamaloue Reserve	1972	4,500 ha	Wildlife park for elephants
Korup Park	1988	126,000 ha	Wildlife Reserve: high endemism. Contains potential cancer and HIV cure liana (birds, reptiles amphibians)
Dja Reserve	1950	5,260,000 ha	Forest reserve and national park: World Heritage Site for apes, birds, elephants
Campo Ma'an Park	2000	42,500 ha	National park and research centre (Chad–Cameroon pipeline-instigated): gorillas, chimpanzees and marine turtles
Mbi Crater		370 ha	Volcanic crater/reserve
Douala/Kribi Reserve		180,000 ha	Forest/wildlife reserve
Mozogo-Gokoro Reserve	1932	1,400 ha	Forest reserve: floral diversity
Lobeke Reserve		43,000 ha	Forest reserve



Protected area	Date created	Surface area	Characteristics
Kalfou Reserve		4,600 ha	Forest reserve
Lake Ossa		4,000 ha	Lake and wildlife reserve
Santchou Reserve		7,000 ha	Forest reserve
River Kimbi Game Reserve			River and wildlife reserve
Banyang Mbo Sanctuary			Wildlife sanctuary
Lake Ejagham			Lake and forest reserve
<i>Bakossi and Muanenguba</i>		<i>239,000 ha</i>	<i>Bakossi National Park and Integrated Ecological Reserve</i>

Source: Compiled from Ministry of Tourism Cameroon (*Circuit touristique*), Pettang (2002, 2003), Bird (2004), Cheek (2004) and fieldwork.



## Appendix 4

### (a) Summary of research methods.

Objective attained and type of data collected	Method of data collection	Corresponding data source (s)
<p><b>Natural resources and links with nascent tourism (objective i)</b></p> <p>Data on the main destination: The caldera and Twin Lakes, Alehnghum and Ebwo peaks, etc. and associated volcanic features (pyroclastic cones, Muandelengo Inselburg, Ekom Nkam Falls, Lake Bermin, etc.) as well as potential features e.g. Dua'mwaam.</p>	Treks to natural attractions, observations and associated enquiries.	Natural features and nearby villagers, i.e. oral tradition (witness sources).
<p><b>Material culture: Socio-economic structure and traditional norms and practices (objective ii) and changes</b></p> <p><i>Muanengoe</i>: data on mythology; social organisation (kinship, villages and clans, indigenous institutions and leadership systems); world views and practices; the role of elites; gender issues; sacred sites and practices, etc.</p> <p><i>Local economies and traditional sources of livelihood</i>: peasant farming, animal husbandry; Mbororo settlers and cattle rearing; ancillary activities, i.e. hunting, fishing and amphibian catching, palm tapping, petty trading, traditional medicine practice (<i>ngang</i>) and periodic marketing (<i>dua, dion</i>).</p> <p><i>Data on human tourism products</i>: traditional architecture, local food items and crafts, etc.</p> <p>*Local remarks on effect of Westernisation on local society modernisation</p>	<p>Ethnographic approaches:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Field visits.</li> <li>2. Participant observations.</li> <li>3. Elite nominations and interviews on ethnographic themes.</li> <li>4. Triangulation for key emerging issues e.g. access, ownership; place (Mwaam) (extended surveys).</li> </ol> <p>*Survey for changes in the local society: interviews; observations of vernacular features.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Villages and transit areas: periodic markets and <i>carrefours</i>.</li> <li>2. Clan community meetings and events; national events, and participating individuals and groups.</li> <li>3. Key informants; village notables or cultural people: heads, members of <i>ngwe</i>, custodians, traditional healers.</li> <li>4. Villages and villagers connected to emerging ideas.</li> </ol> <p>*Local houses on the way to Mwaam, and village elders' oral traditions.</p>



Objective attained and type of data collected	Method of data collection	Corresponding data source (s)
<p><b>Local participation, interaction and perception (objectives iii and v):</b></p> <p>Indigenous visits to Mwaam; designated participants in sacred affairs (custodianship); places and modes of interaction and remarks; negative impacts of tourism.</p>	Participant observations in transit centres and interviews; triangulation on debated issues.	Mwaam, accommodation places, transit <i>carrefours</i> , villagers: witnesses and participants; visitors.
<p><b>Nascent tourism and trip activities that are consistent with ecotourism principles (objective iv):</b></p> <p>History of tourism, the tourism season, origins of visitors, demographic characteristic of visitors, motivations, types of visitor, other local attractions visited (besides Mwaam), trip organisation, source of trip information, number of visits, visitor group compositions and sizes, length of stay, trip activities (mainstream and ethical), use of accommodation, visitors' expenditures and visitor impressions of Mwaam, issues, etc.</p> <p><b>*Supportive materials.</b></p>	<p>1. Visitor access point registration and checkpoint enquiries.</p> <p>2. Tourist access-point-generated research trips: destination (Mwaam) tours, visitor structured questionnaire surveys and visitor monitoring.</p> <p>3. Facilities survey.</p> <p>4. Interviews with local and regional authorities.</p> <p><b>*Photography and cartography.</b></p>	<p>1. Special tourist registers (Mwaam and Ekom Nkam); security checkpoints at Ngwa, Bangem.</p> <p>2. Mwaam, Ekom Nkam Falls, Bangem and Ngwa security checkpoints; Mbat entrance fees collection point.</p> <p>3. <i>Carrefours</i>, guest accommodation, Mwaam and Ekom Nkam.</p> <p>4. Councils, delegations, NCUDA Ltd (charity), and CERUT (NGO).</p> <p><b>*Natural features, activities and interactions; CERUT base map.</b></p>



## **(b) Questionnaire for visitors**

### **Introduction**

This discussion is intended to gather ideas about tourism in Muanenguba. Your ideas will help us to improve the tourism industry in this local area. We will therefore appreciate your generous contribution.

1. Country of origin \_\_\_\_\_ Residence \_\_\_\_\_ Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ Gender: M/F

Marital status:

- (a) Married
- (b) Single
- (c) Divorced
- (d) Widowed
- (e) Concubinage
- (f) Others

Age (yrs):

- (a) less than 20
- (b) 21–30
- (c) 31–40
- (d) 41–50
- (e) 51–60
- (d) more than 60

Annual income (Currency \_\_\_\_\_):

- (a) less than 10,000
- (b) 10,000–20,000
- (c) 21,000–30,000
- (d) 31,000–40,000
- (e) 41,000–50,000
- (f) 51,000–60,000
- (g) more than 60,000

Education:

- (a) Primary
- (b) Secondary
- (c) Higher
- (d) Postgraduate

2. When did you first travel abroad?

– What is the main reason for your visit to Muanenguba?

- (a) Business
- (b) Tourism
- (c) Conference
- (d) Research
- (f) Resident/work
- (g) Exchange visit



- (h) Family visit
- (i) Others.

- What was your point of entry into Cameroon? Douala or Yaoundé
- What are your main interests as a visitor during holiday?
- How has this changed over time?

3. What kind of visitor do you consider yourself to be?

- (a) Research person/scientist
- (b) Ecotourist
- (c) Adventure traveller
- (d) Tourist
- (e) Other (name it)

4. What are your usual destinations?

- (a) Towns and cities
- (b) Villages and countryside
- (c) Forests and mountains
- (d) Sacred sites
- (e) National parks, botanical gardens, zoos
- (f) Beaches
- (g) rivers and lakes

5. What kind of accommodation do you prefer during your trips?

- (a) Luxury hotels
- (b) Traditional houses
- (c) Environmentally sensitive accommodation in remote locates
- (d) A combination (specify)
- (e) Others (specify)

6. What are your usual trip activities?

- (a) Camping
- (b) Wildlife safari (birdwatching)
- (c) Trekking/ mountain (rock) climbing
- (d) Nature photography
- (e) Nature study
- (f) Swimming: lakes/sea shores/others
- (g) Fishing
- (h) Hunting
- (i) Sightseeing
- (j) Others (specify)

7. Who organises your trips?

- (a) Tour operator (name)
- (b) Self (why?)
- (c) Both

8. Do you have specialist knowledge of any natural characteristics of Muanenguba?  
Yes or No



If yes, what do you know about Muanenguba?

9. How did you hear about Muanenguba?

- (a) Internet
- (b) TV
- (c) Friends
- (d) Travel guides
- (e) Tour operator and promotion
- (f) Pictures
- (g) Others

\*How many visits have you made to Muanenguba including the present visit?

\*Which places apart from Muanenguba have you have visited in Cameroon?

10. What is your method of travel to Muanenguba?

- (a) Motorbike
- (b) Four-wheel drive
- (c) Trekking
- (d) A combination (specify)

\*Which road have you used?

- (a) Melong–Bangem road
- (b) Tombel–Bangem road
- (c) Others

\*What do you think of the condition of the roads and paths you are using?

- (a) Excellent
- (b) Adequate
- (c) Slight erosion
- (d) Severe erosion
- (e) Poor
- (f) Other

11. What is your travel composition?

- (a) Family
- (b) Couple
- (c) Educational tour group
- (d) Individual
- (e) Friends
- (f) Others (specify)

\* If you are visiting as a group member, what is your group size?

12. Did you:

- (a)
  - Trek and climb on rocks and hills
  - Use firewood
  - Swim in the lakes and waters
  - Buy fish around the lakes
  - Ride Mbororo horses



- Watch animals and birds
- Use binoculars and cameras
- Shop in the periodic markets

- (b)
- Work with tourist guards and ask questions
  - Visit or live with the Mbororo people in their homes
  - Visit or live with the Bakossi people
  - Kill insects and animals
  - Pick flowers
  - Burn the bushes
  - Throw litter
  - Carry out a study
  - Visit sacred places (which?)
  - Seek permissions and respect local wishes
  - Others (which and where?)

**\*Which of these is your most preferred or most exciting activity?**

**13. What kinds of accommodation have you stayed in/are you planning to stay in around Muanenguba?**

- (a) Tent or campsites in the Caldera and lake area
- (b) Hotel in Bangem, Melong or Nkong Samba
- (c) Traditional conical Bakossi house in a village
- (d) Mbororo hut
- (e) other

**\*What is your impression regarding local facilities and services?**

**14. Apart from the destination (Twin Lakes), which areas have you been to around Muanenguba?**

- Which other areas are you planning to visit?
- How many days have you stayed for already?
- How many days are you planning stay for?

**15. What have you paid for in and around Muanenguba and where exactly?**

Item	Location	Price
(a) Entrance fee		
(b) Hotel		
(c) Food (types)		
(d) artefacts and souvenirs (types)		
(e) Guarding and guiding		
(f) other		

**16. Have you witnessed any traditional events? Yes or No**

- If yes: what event?
- Where did it take place?

**Have you met the local people? Yes or No.**



– If yes: who and where?

Did you talk with the local people? Yes or No

– If yes, what did you talk about?

17. What do you like about Muanenguba?

– Why?

\*What did you dislike?

– Why?



### **(c) Questionnaire aux visiteurs**

Ce questionnaire permet d'obtenir des informations à propos de la région du Muanengouba et des Bakossi. Vos idées nous permettront d'améliorer l'industrie du tourisme dans cette région. Votre bien aimable contribution sera vivement appréciée.

1. Pays d'origine \_\_\_\_\_ Domicile \_\_\_\_\_ Métier \_\_\_\_\_ Sexe: M/F

Situation matrimoniale:

- (a) marié
- (b) célibataire
- (c) divorcé
- (d) veuf/veuve
- (e) concubinage
- (f) autres

Age:

- (a) moins de 20 ans
- (b) de 21 à 30 ans
- (c) de 31 à 40 ans
- (d) de 41 à 50 ans
- (e) de 51 à 60 ans
- (f) au de la 60 ans

Revenu annuel (monnaie \_\_\_\_\_):

- (a) moins de 10,000
- (b) 10,000–20,000
- (c) 21,000–30,000
- (d) 31,000–40,000
- (e) 41,000–50,000
- (f) 51,000–60,000
- (g) au de la 60,000

Éducation:

- (a) primaire
- (b) secondaire
- (c) supérieur
- (d) études doctorales

2. Quand êtes-vous allé à l'étranger pour la première fois?

– Quelle est la raison principale de votre visite au Muanengouba?

- (a) les affaires
- (b) le tourisme
- (c) la conférence
- (e) recherche
- (f) résident/travail
- (g) visite d'échange
- (h) visite de famille
- (i) autres (citer)



- Quel était votre point d’entrée au Cameroun? Douala ou Yaoundé
- Qu’est-ce qui vous intéresse particulièrement en tant que visiteur?
- En quoi votre intérêt a-t-il changé avec le temps?

3. Pour quel type de visiteur vous considérez-vous?

- (a) personne scientifique/chercheur
- (b) écotouriste
- (c) voyageur d’aventure
- (d) touriste
- (e) autres (citer)

4. Quelles sont vos destinations habituelles?

- (a) les villes
- (b) villages et campagnes
- (c) forêts et montagnes
- (d) lieux sacrés
- (e) les parcs nationaux, jardins botaniques, jardins zoologiques
- (f) plages
- (g) fleuves (rivières) et lacs

5. Quel genre de logement préférez-vous pendant vos voyages (séjours)?

- (a) hôtels de luxe
- (b) maisons traditionnelles
- (c) logements sensibles à l’environnement, à des endroits retirés
- (d) autres (citer)

6. Quelles sont vos activités habituelles de voyage?

- (a) campement
- (b) safari de faune (observation des oiseaux)
- (c) marche/ascension des montagnes et des roches
- (d) photographie de la nature
- (e) étude de nature
- (f) baignade dans les lacs, mers, autres
- (g) pêche
- (h) chasse
- (i) longue vue
- (j) autres, citer

7. Qui organise vos voyages?

- (a) l’organisateur de voyages (indiquer)
- (b) vous même (pourquoi?)
- (c) les deux

8. Avez-vous une connaissance spécialisée des caractéristiques naturelles de Muanenguba? Oui ou non?

Si oui, que savez-vous du Muanenguba?



**9. Par quel canal avez-vous eu des informations au sujet de Muanenguba?**

- (a) Internet**
- (b) télévision**
- (c) amis**
- (d) documentaire de voyage/brochures**
- (e) organisateur et promotion de voyages**
- (f) les photos**
- (g) autres (citer)**

**Combien des visites y compris la présente, avez-vous entrepris au Muanenguba?**

**Quels endroits autres que le Muanenguba avez-vous visité au Cameroun?**

**10. Par quel moyen accédez-vous au Muanenguba?**

- (a) en moto**
- (b) en voiture**
- (c) randonnée**
- (d) une combinaison**

**Quelle route avez-vous emprunté?**

- (a) Melong–Bangem**
- (b) Tombel–Bangem**

**Quelle appréciation faites-vous de l'état des routes et des pistes empruntées?**

- (a) excellentes**
- (b) adéquates**
- (c) faible érosion**
- (d) érosion sévère**
- (e) mauvais**
- (f) autres (citer)**

**11. Quelle est la composition de votre group?**

- famille**
- couple**
- groupe éducatif d'excursion**
- individuel**
- amis**
- autre, citer**

**12. Avez-vous:**

- a) – marche et grimpe les roches et les montagnes?**
  - utilisé du bois?**
  - nagé dans les lacs et les eaux?**
  - achetez le poisson autour des lacs?**
  - êtes-vous montés des chevaux de Mbororo?**
  - admiré les animaux et les oiseaux?**
  - utilisé les binoculaires et les appareils photos?**
  - fait des achats dans les marchés périodiques?**

**b)- travaille avec des gardes du tourisme et pose des questions?**

- visité ou vivé avec les Mbororo dans leurs maisons?**



- visité ou vivé avec les Bakossi?
- tué des insectes et les animaux?
- cueillir des fleurs?
- brûlé les buissons?
- jeté des ordures?
- mené des études?
- visité des endroits sacrés (les quels)?
- demandé la permissions et respecté des souhaits locaux?
- d'autres (quels et où)?

La quelle des activités ci-dessus est votre activité plus préférée?

13. Quels types de logement voulez-vous habiter ou avez-vous habite Muanenguba
- (a) tente ou des terrains de camping dans la région de caldeira et de lac
  - (b) un hôtel à Bangem, Melong ou à Nkongsamba
  - (c) les cases traditionnelles pointues de Bakossi en campagne
  - (d) hutte de Mbororo
  - (e) autre (citer)

Quelle est votre impression des service locales?

14. Quelle autre secteur du Muanenguba avez-vous visité hors mis la destination (Lacs Jumeaux)?

- Quelles autres secteurs désirez-vous visiter?
- Combien de jours avez-vous déjà passé dans le Muanengouba?
- Combien de jours avez-vous l'intention de passer?

15 Où avez-vous dépense?

Article	Situation	Montant
(a) frais d'entrée		
(b) hôtel		
(c) repas		
(d) objets d'arts et souvenirs (types)		
(e) Guides		
(f) autres		

16. Avez-vous été témoin des cérémonies traditionnelles? Oui ou non?

- Si oui, quel événement?
- Où était-il a-t-il eu lieu?

- Avez-vous rencontré les villageois? Oui ou non?
- Si oui, qui/ou?

- Avez-vous discuté avec les villageois? Oui ou non?
- Si oui, de quoi avez-vous parlé?

17. Qu'est-ce qui vous attire le Muanenguba?

- Pourquoi?
- Qu'est-ce qui vous a déplu?



– Pour quoi?

#### **(d) Key informants**

##### **Sorhn Sammeh'kule**

Sorhn Sammeh (a family head, 65years old) is the caretaker of Mwaam (the main destination). He inherited this status in the late 1980s. He is the one who 'knows the ins and outs – traditional secrets – of Mwaam', and leads in conducting sacrifices and rituals in Mwaam. He sends traditional letters (herbs), locally called *asung*, to other representatives for traditional activities in Mwaam, for example when perceived evil needs to be warded off. He was important in contributing information on myths about Mwaam. Like other custodians of cultural properties, Sorhn Sammeh – as remarked by several informants and by himself – has exclusive rights: for example, the right to say 'no more tourism'. He contributed consistent opinion on ownership of and all indigenous practices in Mwaam.

##### **Toki**

Toki (46 years old) is the first ever tourist guard/guide in Mwaam. He has done this job since 1998, and works together with the checkpoint attendant, whose name is Epuoma. Toki actually performed a ritual for me. The philosophy behind it was to ask ancestors to grant me traditional blessings and success in my research – 'the first initiative [of its kind] from a son of the soil'. This qualifies the information obtained from Toki to be *indigenous privileged knowledge*. It was natural for Toki and Epuoma to bury their materialistic desires to serve my ends. Toki said, 'If I had resources I would have celebrated in style when I heard that you [from overseas] requested to see me for your research.' He enjoyed status, and was the keeper of the special register, in which the rule was truth in records, for reasons I have stated. There were financial benefits from this, in addition to opportunities for drinking and eating snacks that I purchased on two occasions. Toki has a *detailed knowledge* of what goes on in Mwaam, and helped to enhance my Mwaam (destination) tours.

##### **Elau-ngambeleh (Bleck)**

Bleck (a member of the Ahon society, 39 years old) graduated in African literature from the University of Douala in 2002. He is an elite, a frontline traditional positivist who is unemployed, and would prefer traditional promotion of Muanenguba as an occupation instead of a civil service career. Bleck is usually an associate, *par excellence culturelle*, to any elite who becomes president of the Nhia (custodians of Mwaam) Cultural and Development Association (NCUDA). He has a dream 'to recreate or unite all people of Muanenguba mercilessly separated by colonialism'. Bleck doubled as the male research assistant. Bleck is very popular in the English villages, and was very effective in introducing me in various places. He also pre-tested the questionnaires before I undertook the fieldwork.

##### **Alhadji Dewah (Alaji)**

Alaji (a family head in his mid 70s) is the chief of the Mbororo settlers in Mwaam. His status comes from his being the eldest surviving member of a family (within the Fulani or Fulbe tribe) that became pioneer settlers in the 1950s. Alaji has comprehensive knowledge of what happens in Mwaam, apart from the traditional secrets. Alaji seems to be used to interviews, but is reserved in some cases, when he realises that the Mbororo occupation of the destination is threatened. Visitors note that Alaji is hospitable, helping visitors with accommodation when they decide to



stay around the Mbororo village. He is rich by virtue of ownership of a large herd of cattle. A few visitors leave with the impression that Alaji and his people are indigenes. He accepts his position as a settler, and respects indigenous policies in Mwaam.

### **Sorhn Pah**

Sorhn Pah (in his late 60s) is the custodian of Abukumo – the sacred site (*abun* or clan sanctuary) – ‘eye of Muanenguba’ – with the widest sphere of influence by geographic territory. He is not the hereditary holder of this position (see section 5.5.1 custodians). Sorhn Pah – the regent of Abukumo – wanted to take me to Abukumo for initiation, but I did not want to be initiated into *Muankum* (see Appendix 1(a)), a process that is not a condition for entry into a shrine, but is a traditional necessity for someone of my age who comes from the custodian village, and is a long overdue initiation. This was a process of privileging my search for indigenous knowledge.

### **Pa Ngede (Pa’ngeh)**

Pa’ngeh (family head in his mid 60s) has lived in both the French (Muamenam clan) and English (Nninong clan) areas. He was born in Muamenam, but moved to his village, Muaku (Nninong), at the age of about 35. I lived with Pa’ngeh in Muaku during my village stays, and avoided Muelong (only visited) – my own village – because of social ties, and their negative effects on my research. Pa’ngeh is a notable kingmaker (*nhon*) in Muaku, who has participated in and knows about traditional practices in both regions of Muanenguba. His ideas spurred the extended case for the relative *ngum* of *mebun* (greatness of clan sanctuaries). His frequent mix of French phrases in conversations makes him very jovial.

### **Nyoh Esungo-Hoojau (Yih)**

Yih (78 years old) is a notable. Until the early 1990s, Yih was President of the Muelong Village Christian Women’s Fellowship and Muelong Women’s Association in Nhia clan, where the villager clan sanctuary called Abukumo is located. Before that decade, Yih took part in rituals in Abukumo in the past. When Yih was younger she also used to travel to Mwaam to catch edible amphibians, as well as attend periodic markets, in addition to her other matrimonial tenure of employments. I could still meet and discuss with Yih even though she travelled to the coast for a family visit (Limbe and Buea) midway during the investigation. Use of the term ‘*yih*’ attracted motherly care from her: she was always interested in my well-being. Yih’s dynamism has been handed down to her progeny: her eldest daughter is the catering manager who coordinates food processing during April festivities in Nhia, the clan that heads the custodianship of Mwaam. I interviewed them together on one occasion.

### **Sorh Abraham Ngape (Sorhn hoo)**

Sorhn hoo, who is called Patriarch by some village Christians for being the oldest (more than 100 years old), is the eldest surviving male native elite nominated for interview in the study area during fieldwork. Until the 1970s, Sorhn hoo was a hunter and partaker in sacrifices in Mwaam, and he was a reliable source of information on the legends of Mwaam. It was a privilege for me to meet him. Sorhn hoo had a new story for me, such that a three-hour meeting was not enough, and I returned to see him during visits to Bello market.



**(e) Ethnographic themes for village interviews and discussions, generated after reconnaissance (late January 2007)**

- Kinship/genealogy (the family, the village, the clan).
- Hierarchies, power (chiefdom and position in tourism), indigenous institutions.
- Myths and beliefs, and manifestations of beliefs.
- Cultural property; sacred sites; ownership and control (custodians), activities and role in society.
- Events: folkloric, sacred and secular and tourism links.
- Economic activities: farming and non-farming.
- Local services and products available to visitors in and around villages and towns.
- Experience with visitors: visits to villages, interaction activities and perception of visitors and tourism activities.
- Development associations and role or activities.
- Changes in customs.

**(f) Themes for interviews with destination employees**

- Personal history.
- Education and training for the job.
- Duties of the employee.
- Important locations around Mwaam.
- Visitor activities and interaction with visitors.
- Other actors involved in Mwaam, and their roles.
- Relations with all types of people visiting Mwaam.
- Opinion of nature (how he values natural features) shown to visitors.
- Perception of visitors.
- Waste disposal in Mwaam.
- Campsite location and management.
- Recent tourism development activities carried out by the councils.

**(g) Key emerging themes for extended surveys**

- The ownership and custodianship of Mwaam (*awoh'mwaam ne'noh'mwaam*); terms relating to the destination: 'Mwaam' and Ebwo (*mwaam n'ebwo*).
- Abukumo sanctuary, other sacred sites, and opinions on access to the sites.
- Varied modes of interaction and the notions of 'tourist' and 'stranger' (*nkale ne nkinmut*).
- Sociocultural changes, e.g. reduction in number of traditional houses – a key tourist product – and other effects of Westernisation and modernisation.
- Introduction of new protected areas.

**(h) Question guides for follow-up on sacred sites: extended shrine survey**

- In your opinion, how did sacred sanctuaries originate in the Bakossiland?



- How many types of sanctuary are there?
- Why are they located where they are?
- What role do the various sacred sites play in Muanengoe society?
- Who participates in sanctuaries around your village?
- How are shrines related to each other and/or to Mwaam?
- Apart from shrines, where else are rituals and sacrifices performed?
- Are tourists allowed to enter and take part in sacred site activities?

**(i) Question guides for follow-up on ownership and custodianship of Mwaam**

- How do you and people in your village call the Twin Lakes area: Mwaam, Ebwo, or Muanenguba?
- Why and how did your naming originate?
- Does your village have a sacred spot in Mwaam? Yes or No?
- If yes, name it, and its location and its importance.
- How do people in your village see Mwaam?
- Which villages/people take part in annual sacrifices in Mwaam?
- Besides Mwaam, where else are sacrifices performed?
- How is Mwaam related to clan sanctuaries: 'the eye of Mwaam'?
- Are tourists allowed to participate in annual sacrifices in Mwaam?

**(j) Question guides for councils in Nkongsamba and Bangem, CERUT in Bangem, and Divisional Delegations of Environment and Forestry, and Tourism**

- What are your responsibilities?
- How does your institution get involved in tourism and natural resources management?
- Do you have an idea of ecotourism?
- What are your specific objectives for tourism in Mwaam/Ekom Nkam?
- What activities do you carry out to achieve these objectives?
- What problems do you face while trying to develop tourism?
- Which 'parties' are involved in decision-making for tourism?
- Do you cooperate with the villagers when carrying out tourism development initiatives?
- How about the proposed Muanenguba Integrated Ecological Reserve (MIER)?
- How do you use fees collected for access to Mwaam/Ekom Nkam Falls?
- What jobs have your department created locally due to tourism?
- What benefits has tourism brought to the area?

**(k) Key activities: fieldwork and post-fieldwork**

**November to December 2006**

– Pre-testing of questionnaires.

**January 2007**

– Field introductions and reconnaissance: University of Buea, Pan-African Institute, Ekona Research, National Geographic Centre.

– Two-hour meeting with an assistant at the Mount Cameroon Ecotourism organisation.



- Made initial contact with the National Security: police officer at the checkpoint in Bangem, and gendarmes brigade in Ngwa (Nkongsamba).
- First caldera tour: meeting with tourist guard/guide and Mwaam entrance attendant.
- First few questionnaire surveys during caldera tour, and institution of the ‘special visitor register’.
- Translated research questionnaires from English to French.
- Checking of periodic market days/dates for visits, observations and interviews.

### **February 2007**

- Designed ethnographic themes.
- First interview with the steward of the lakes, Mr Paul Apang (family head).
- First interviews with key informants.
- Questionnaire surveys
- Meeting of Nhia elites in Buea, and elite nomination of informants (participant observation and patrimonial auditing).
- First set of periodic market visits.
- First contacts with modern traditional lodges and development of the *guide-research strategy*.
- Observation of some natural features.
- 11 February celebration attended in Bangem (participant observation).

### **March–April 2007**

- Most important months for discoveries: Ekom Nkam Falls, the role of *carrefours*, key emerging themes.
- Visits to some sacred sites for ‘indigenous privilege knowledge’.
- Interview with Mbororo chief.
- Questionnaire surveys
- Discovered and surveyed raingates.
- Interview with CERUT official and acquisition of their literature.
- Survey of accommodation facilities.
- Second set of periodic market visits.
- Some focus on visitors’ attitudes in Mwaam.
- Homecoming of elites, and development festivities (Nhia and Nninong clans).
- Visited Ekom Nkam Falls and Dua’mwaam.
- Focused on survey of tourism policymakers: councils and delegations.

### **May 2007**

- Followed up key emerging themes (triangulation/extended surveys).
- 20 May celebration was attended in Nkongsamba (participant observation).
- Observation of features in the Bakossi Highlands (Lake Bermin, Muandelengo Inselburg) and triangulation of information on culture (e.g. the Lake Migration Legend).
- Questionnaire surveys
- Surveyed *carrefours* and Ekom Nkam, and observed the waterfall and five visitors.
- Observations at Elungmung (Muanjikom Highlands) and Ndibse soda spring.
- End of periodic market visits.

### **June 2007**

- Triangulation (continued) and traditional housing change survey.
- Meetings with the cartographer: map drawing, discussion and adaptations.



- Checking native vocabulary with a local language expert (researcher at Buea University).
- Questionnaire surveys
- Meeting with the Muanenguba Fire Management Committee: information about them, and assessment of their possible contribution to joint management of tourism.

#### **July–September 2007**

- Attended workshops on ‘Writing a PhD Thesis and Preparing for the PhD Examination’ 4 July 2007 and ‘Writing Development’ on 16 July 2007.
- Compiled and indexed all information (in order not to lose data) in mid July.
- Developed the methodology chapter.
- Conducted analyses of tourism and ethnographic data.

#### **October–December 2007**

- Develop findings on tourism.
- Write up supporting PhD transfer application and submit.

#### **January–November 2008**

- Travel to Cameroon in January; maps corrected, more information on arrivals and queries.
- Write up rest of chapters following research methods chapter.
- Write two academic papers and attend a conference.

#### **November 2008 – September 2009**

- Writing of drafts, corrections, proofreading.

#### **October 2008 – January 2010**

- Final proofreading, binding and submission of thesis.

#### **June 2010 – January 2011**

- Corrections and resubmission of thesis

#### **(I) Themes for discussions with the Mbororo chief, Alhadji Dewah**

- Date of arrival in Mwaam.
- Economic activities and problems.
- Relations with indigenes.
- Knowledge of sacred of Mwaam.
- Mbororo beliefs.
- Developments in Mwaam.
- Visitors’ activities witnessed.
- Interaction with visitors.
- The future of Mbororo life in Mwaam.



**Appendix 5: Some international legal mechanisms for indigenous affairs (and tourism)**

<b>Legal mechanism</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Area of intervention</b>
Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism	1975, 1980	Tourism issues and code of ethics in LDCs
UN Commissions	1993, 1999	Tourism and sustainable development
Manila Declaration	1997	Social impacts of tourism
UNESCO Symposium	1998	Sacred sites
Baggio Declaration	1999	Indigenous self-determination
World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) Roundtable	–	Indigenous intellectual property rights
Conference of Parties (COP) on the UN Convention on Biodiversity	2000	Informed consent
Quebec Declaration	2002	(International Year of Ecotourism, IYE; Mountains, IYM and Indigenous Peoples, IYIP) Globalising/publicising the destination concerns
Oaxaca Declaration	2002	Indigenous tourism
World Park Congress	2002	Protected areas (parks, reserves, etc.)
Indigenous People's Interfaith Dialogues	2002	The effect of globalisation on tourism
International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs	–	General indigenous affairs
African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR)	–	Property rights

Source: Compiled from Honey and Thullen (2003), Johnston (1999, 2003) and Wood (2002).



**Appendix 6a: Origin of visitors visiting Mwaam (June 2006 to January 2008)**

<b>Country of origin</b>	<b>Total number of visitors</b>
Algeria	1
Australia	1
Belgium	47
Benin	2
Cameroon	112
Canada	10
Columbia	1
Czech Republic	2
Denmark	3
Djibouti	1
Ecuador	2
France	505
Germany	29
Greece	1
Guyana	5
Holland	19
Israel	3
Italy	36
Japan	1
Korea	2
Lebanon	1
Lithuania	1
Namibia	3
Panama	1
Poland	3
R. S. Africa	5
Romania	1
Russia	1
Spain	15
Switzerland	33
UAS Country	1
UK	22
USA	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>882</b>



**Appendix 6b: Weekly arrivals in Mwaam (February 2007 to January 2008)**

	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun	Monthly totals
Jan	15	20	23	44	14	13	14	143
Feb	12	15	4	4	0	28	23	86
March	6	7	2	11	22	4	37	89
April	13	4	22	16	14	27	27	123
May	1	1	8	16	2	15	4	47
June	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
July	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Aug	0	6	3	1	0	4	6	20
Sept	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oct	6	3	0	0	0	9	3	21
Nov	6	2	8	8	12	6	19	61
Dec	28	4	2	21	9	45	29	138
Weekly totals	87	62	72	121	73	151	162	728



Appendix 7a: Extract of information including the variables used in the cross tabulation analyses.

Visitor	Origin	Age ( $x_1$ )	Gender ( $x_2$ )	Income ( $x_3$ )	Education ( $x_4$ )	Number of visits ( $x_5$ )	Group size ( $x_6$ )	Length of stay ( $x_7$ )	Number of initiatives and/or responsibilities ( $y$ )	Number of conventional/popular activities
1	France	45	1	35,000	4	2	8	2	2	5
2	France	35	1	35,000	4	1	8	2	4	6
3	France	45	0	35,000	4	2	8	2	4	6
4	France	55	1	65,000	2	1	8	2	5	7
5	Cameroon	35	1	600	4	1	8	2	0	6
6	France	55	0	5,000	2	1	5	0.5	1	5
7	France	55	0	5,000	2	1	5	0.5	1	5
8	Cameroon	35	1	800	2		2	0.5	0	1
9	Cameroon	35	1	700			6	0.5	0	1
10	France	25	0	15,000	3	1	5	0.5	2	5
11	France	25	0	15,000	2	1	5	0.5	3	5
12	France	45	0	35,000	4	1	5	0.5	2	5
13	Switz	45	1	45,000	4	1	1	1	1	1
14	France	55	0	25,000	3	1	3	1	4	3
15	France	55	1	65,000	3	1	3	1	4	3
16	France	55	0	25,000	3	6	3	1	4	1
17	Switz	55	1	35,000	3	3	1	1	2	2
18	France	25	0	15,000	3	1	1	2	1	1
19	France	65	0	65,000	3	1	3	2	1	2
20	France	35	0	25,000	3	1	3	2	1	3
21	France	45	1	35,000	3	1	3	2	1	2



22	France	25	0	15,000	3	2	2	2	1	1
23	France	25	1	25,000	3	3	1	2	2	3
24	France	25	1	25,000	3	1	2	2	3	3
25	France	55	1	55,000	4	2	3	2	3	1
26	France	35	1	45,000	4	2	3	2	2	2
27	France	35	0	25,000	3	1	3	1.5	2	3
28	France	65	0	5,000	2	1	3	2.5	1	2
29	France	35	0	25,000	3	1	3	2.5	2	2
30	France	35	0	25,000	3	1	3	2.5	3	3
31	France	25	0	25,000	3	1	1	2.5	3	4
32	France	65	0	5,000	2	1	4	2	1	1
33	France	35	1	25,000	3	1	1	4	1	4
34	Belgium		0			1	2	1	0	4
35	Belgium		0	35,000		1	2	1	0	4
36	Switz	45	0		4	1	1	2	2	3
37	France	65	0	15,000	3	1	2	2	3	3
38	France	55	0	45,000	4	2	2	2	3	4
39	Canada	55	1	45,000	4	1	1	1	2	3
40	France	65	0	5,000	3	1	2	2	3	4
41	France	65	1	15,000	4	1	2	2	3	4
42	Italy	55	1	45,000	4	1	2	2	3	3
43	Italy	35	1	35,000	4	1	2	2	3	3
44	Italy	35	0	25,000	2	1	7	1	2	2
45	Italy	35	1		3	1		2	2	6
46	Italy	45	0	25,000	4	1	7	2	2	5
47	Italy	25	0	25,000	2	1	7	2	2	5
48	Italy	25	0	45,000	2	1		2	1	3



49	Italy	45	0			2	1		2	2	4
50	Italy	55	0	45,000		4	1	7	2	3	4
51	Cameroon	35	1	3,500		4	4	1	14	4	3
52	Cameroon	45	1			3	3	4	0.5	1	3
53	Cameroon	25	1	30		2	2	4	0.5	3	2
54	Cameroon	35	1	1,500		3	2	4	0.5	1	2
55	Cameroon	35	1	1,500		3	2	4	0.5	0	2
56	UK	45	0	45,000		3	2	5	10	4	5
57	UK	35	1	25,000		3		5	10	3	5
58	UK	35	0			3		5	10	3	5
59	UK	55	1	25,000		3	1	5	10	4	5
60	UK	25	0	25,000		3	1	5	10	4	5
61	UK	35	1	45,000		3	1	5	2	4	5
62	UK	25	0			3	1	3	6	3	5
63	Cameroon	25	1	400		2		3	6	0	1
64	France	55	1	15,000		3	2	2	2	2	2
65	France	45	0	25,000		3	1	2	1	2	2
66	France	45	1	35,000		3	1	2	4	2	2
67	France	35	0	35,000		3	10	1	2	3	4
68	France	55	1	45,000		4	1	2	3	1	1
69	France	65	1	15,000		2	1	1	1	3	3
70	France	55	0	35,000		2	1	1	1	1	1
71	France	35	1	25,000		4	1	2	1	2	2
72	France	45	0	35,000		3	1	3	12	1	5
73	France	55	1	35,000		3	1	2	4	2	1
74	France	45	1	45,000			1	2	4	1	1
75	France	35	1	35,000		3	1	1	1	1	1



76	France	35	1	45,000	4	1	2	2	1	1
77	France	45	1	35,000	3	1	2	1	3	2
78	France	35	0	45,000	4	1	4	1	4	1
79	France	35	1	25,000	3	1	4	2	1	1
80	France	45	1	35,000	3	4	4	3	1	4
81	France	35	1	35,000	4	1	2	1	1	1
82	Belgique	55	1	55,000	3	1	3	2	2	3
83	Belgique	55	1	45,000	4	1	3	0.5	1	4
84	Belgique	65	1	55,000	4	1	3	1	2	3
85	Switz	35	1	35,000	4	1	6	1	2	3
86	Switz	55	1	35,000	2	1	6	1	2	3
87	Holland	45	1	35,000	4	1	1	1	3	3
88	Holland	35	1	45,000	4	1	3	3	2	3
98	Holland	35	0	35,000	4	1	3	1	3	4
90	Holland	35	1	35,000	3	1	3	1	2	4
91	Germany	35	1	35,000	3	1	2	2	3	4
92	Spain	35	0	35,000	3	1	2	0.5	2	2
93	Greece	45	1	55,000	3	3	2	1	3	2
94	Lebanon	25	1	35,000	3	1	2	2	3	2
95	USA	55	1	25,000	3	1	2	2	2	4
96	Canada	45	1	35,000	3	1	2	2	1	2
97	Canada	45	0	35,000	3	2	2	2	2	3
98	France		1	35,000	3	2	5	2	1	4
99	France		1		3	1	5	1	1	5
100	France		1		3	1	5	1	1	4
101	Cameroon		1	0	3		5	1	1	4
102	USA	35	1	35,000	4	2	3	6	6	4



103	USA	35	0	35,000	4	1	3	6	6	4
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Note: Ecoactivities was entered as a short form of initiatives and responsibilities, i.e. eco/people-friendly activities, to be permitted by SPSS-PASW 18. Levels of education were coded as primary – 1, primary, secondary – 2, further – 3, higher – 4, and postgraduate – 5. Adjusted residuals (*a.r.*) – special attention given to those greater than 2 or less than -2 – were used to interpret the nature of the relationships in the crosstabulations.



**Appendix 7b: Extract of information for the 29.1% of visitors who suggested correctives on sustainability (indicating how responsibilities and initiatives consistent with ecotourism principles were counted).**

Visitor	Origin	Residence	Occupation	People-friendly initiatives	Eco-friendly responsibilities and corrective suggested	Total number of initiatives and/or responsibilities
1	France	Cam	Expat		Respect nature and culture, avoid building non traditional houses; litter (h) – 2	2
2	France	France	Institutrice	Permission – 1	Respect nature – the beauty of...ethical requirements are obvious; litter (h) – 2	3
3	France	Cam	Expat	Permission; gift to Mbororos – 2	Respect nature and culture, avoid non-traditional houses; litter (h) – 2	4
4	France	France	Publisher	Permission; health aid: dressed wound of a local lady – 2	Avoid building non-traditional elements on site; litter (h) – 2	4
14	France	France	Teacher	Permission; I did respect the Twin Lakes – sacred – 2	I do not like concrete because it is not natural; nature study; litter (g) – 3	5
15	France	France	Business	Permission; I respected local wishes on Twin Lakes – sacred – 2	The construction in concrete is not natural; nature study; litter (g) – 3	5
16	France	cam	Teacher	Permission; I respected local taboos on Twin Lakes – sacred – 2	The building of concrete structures to the Male Lake is not natural; study; litter (h) – 3	5
24	France	France	Negole	Permission – 1	Higher payment for Twin Lakes; litter (h) – 2	3
25	France	France	Professor (university)	Permission – 1	Need tourist information; please use the money to clean garbage/put dust bin; litter (g) – 2	3
29	France	France	Teacher		Higher payment for natural beauty; provide garbage bins; litter (g) – 2	2
30	France	France	Teacher	Permission – 1	Higher payment for natural beauty; litter (h) – 2	3
31	France	Cam	Teacher		Provide waste bins; litter (h) – 2	2
37	France	France	Retired		Les sites très fréquents ... tourism de masse ... catastrophique ... tourisme ecologie; litter (h) – 2	2
38	France	France	Doctor		C'est un site superbe ... la visite d'un maximum	2



Visitor	Origin	Residence	Occupation	People-friendly initiatives	Eco-friendly responsibilities and corrective suggested	Total number of initiatives and/or responsibilities
					des touristes... ; litter (h) – 2	
39	Canada	Canada	consultant		Concrete steps and traditional houses: avoid them; litter (h) – 2	2
42	Italy	Italy	Doctor		Conservation tax... best place for tourism ever; litter (h) – 2	2
43	Italy	Italy	Doctor		Pay entry tax; litter (h) – 2	2
44	Italy	Italy	Teacher	Sacred sites were respected by us – 1	Litter (h) – 1	2
45	Italy	Italy			Pay tax for nature conservation; litter (g) – 2	2
46	Italy	Italy	retired		Paid conservation tax and I wish to do more; litter (g) – 2	2
47	Italy	Italy	officer		Protection tax; litter (h) – 2	2
49	Italy	Italy	officer		Conservation tax to help the site; litter (h) – 2	2
50	Italy	Italy	Doctor (veterinaire)	Chat about with local native doctor and accept beliefs (sacred) – 1	Nature conservation tax; litter (h) – 2	3
67	France	Cameroon	Comptable	Permission to fish – 1	Appreciate the guides for collecting waste materials; litter (g) – 2	3
73	France	Cameroon	Cadre (chief executive		It will be fair if nationals are also responsible for sustainability; litter (h) – 2	2
77	France	France	Sales assistant	Permission; consider the idea that the Twin Lakes are sacred – 2	Litter (g) – 1	3
82	Belgique	Belgium	Assureur	I like access to sacred sites with permission – 1	Litter (g) – 2	3
98	Holland	Holland	HR Manager	Permission – 1	Prices need to be practicable; litter (h) – 2	3
91	Germany	Cam	Diplomat	Permission – 1	Respect Ekomo Nkam Falls – sacred; litter (h) – 2	3
93	Greece	Greece	Director	Permission – 1	Concrete buckaroos: allow the wild character of	3



Visitor	Origin	Residence	Occupation	People-friendly initiatives	Eco-friendly responsibilities and corrective suggested	Total number of initiatives and/or responsibilities
			company		the site....; litter (h) – 2	

Note: litter (h) – took litter home; litter (g) – gave litter to guides. Suggesting correctives (visitor’s views on sustainability) was counted as one activity, independent of number of statements made.



Appendix 7c: Aspects of output for cross tabulation analyses.

i) Analysis for the association between conventional activities and eco/people-friendly responsibilities/initiatives.

Case Processing Summary									
		Cases							
Valid		Missing		Total					
N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent		
Ecoactivities * Conventional	103	100.0%	0	.0%	103	100.0%			

Ecofriendly * Conventional Crosstabulation											
		Conventional									
		1.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	5.0	6.0	7.0			Total
Ecoactivities .0	Count	3	1	0	2	0	1	0	7		7
	Expected Count	1.2	1.3	1.6	1.4	1.2	.3	.1	7.0		7.0
	% within Conventional	16.7%	5.3%	.0%	9.5%	.0%	25.0%	.0%	6.8%		6.8%
	Adjusted Residual	1.8	-.3	-1.5	.6	-1.2	1.5	-.3			
1.0	Count	11	6	5	6	6	0	0	34		34
	Expected Count	5.9	6.3	7.6	6.9	5.6	1.3	.3	34.0		34.0
	% within Conventional	61.1%	31.6%	21.7%	28.6%	35.3%	.0%	.0%	33.0%		33.0%
	Adjusted Residual	2.8	-.1	-1.3	-.5	.2	-1.4	-.7			
2.0	Count	1	8	11	7	4	1	0	32		32
	Expected Count	5.6	5.9	7.1	6.5	5.3	1.2	.3	32.0		32.0
	% within Conventional	5.6%	42.1%	47.8%	33.3%	23.5%	25.0%	.0%	31.1%		31.1%
	Adjusted Residual	-2.6	1.2	2.0	.3	-.7	-.3	-.7			
3.0	Count	1	4	4	4	7	1	0	21		21
	Expected Count	3.7	3.9	4.7	4.3	3.5	.8	.2	21.0		21.0
	% within Conventional	5.6%	21.1%	17.4%	19.0%	41.2%	25.0%	.0%	20.4%		20.4%
	Adjusted Residual	-1.7	.1	-.4	-.2	2.3	.2	-.5			
4.0	Count	2	0	3	0	0	1	1	7		7
	Expected Count	1.2	1.3	1.6	1.4	1.2	.3	.1	7.0		7.0
	% within Conventional	11.1%	.0%	13.0%	.0%	.0%	25.0%	100.0%	6.8%		6.8%
	Adjusted Residual	.8	-1.3	1.4	-1.4	-1.2	1.5	3.7			
6.0	Count	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2		2



Expected Count		.3	.4	.4	.4	.3	.1	.0	2.0
% within Conventional		.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.9%
Adjusted Residual		-.7	-.7	-.8	2.8	-.6	-.3	-.1	
Count		18	19	23	21	17	4	1	103
Expected Count		18.0	19.0	23.0	21.0	17.0	4.0	1.0	103.0
% within Conventional		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

32 cells (76.2%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .02.

ii) Analyses for factors determining visitors’ contribution via eco/people-friendly responsibilities/initiatives.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid			Missing		
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
EcoactivitiesY * AgeX1	97	94.2%	6	5.8%	103	100.0%
EcoactivitiesY * GenderX2	102	99.0%	1	1.0%	103	100.0%
EcoactivitiesY * IncomeX3	94	91.3%	9	8.7%	103	100.0%
EcoactivitiesY * EducationX4	99	96.1%	4	3.9%	103	100.0%
EcoactivitiesY * NumnbefvisitsX5	97	94.2%	6	5.8%	103	100.0%
EcoactivitiesY * GroupsizeX6	100	97.1%	3	2.9%	103	100.0%
EcoactivitiesY * LengthofstayX7	103	100.0%	0	.0%	103	100.0%

EcoactivitiesY \* IncomeX3 Crosstabulation

		IncomeX3														Total	
		0	30	400	600	700	800	1500	3500	5000	15000	25000	35000	45000	55000		65000
Ecoactivities	0 Count	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	6
Y	Expected Count	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.3	.5	1.3	1.9	1.0	.3	.2	6.0
	% within IncomeX3	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	3.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	6.4%



Adjusted Residual	-3	-3	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9	2.6	-3	-6	-8	-1.3	-8	-1.1	-5	-5
1 Count	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	2	3	8	6	0	26
Expected Count	.3	.3	.3	.3	.3	.3	.3	.3	.6	.3	1.4	2.2	5.5	8.3	4.1	1.1	26.0
% within IncomeX3	100.0	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	80.0%	25.0%	15.0%	26.7%	40.0%	.0%	27.7%
Adjusted Residual	1.6	-6	-6	-6	-6	-6	-6	-6	.7	-6	2.7	-2	-1.4	-1	1.2	-1.3	.2
2 Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	9	10	3	2	26
Expected Count	.3	.3	.3	.3	.3	.3	.3	.3	.6	.3	1.4	2.2	5.5	8.3	4.1	1.1	26.0
% within IncomeX3	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	25.0%	45.0%	33.3%	20.0%	50.0%	27.7%
Adjusted Residual	-6	-6	-6	-6	-6	-6	-6	-6	-9	-6	-1.4	-2	2.0	.8	-7	1.0	-1.1
3 Count	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	4	7	3	2	22
Expected Count	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2	.5	.2	1.2	1.9	4.7	7.0	3.5	.9	22.0
% within IncomeX3	.0%	100.0	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	20.0%	50.0%	20.0%	23.3%	20.0%	50.0%	23.4%
Adjusted Residual	-6	1.8	-6	-6	-6	-6	-6	-6	-8	-6	-2	1.9	-4	.0	-3	1.3	-1.0
4 Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	2	3	0	11
Expected Count	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.2	.1	.6	.9	2.3	3.5	1.8	.5	11.0
% within IncomeX3	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0	.0%	.0%	20.0%	6.7%	20.0%	.0%	11.7%
Adjusted Residual	-4	-4	-4	-4	-4	-4	-4	-4	-5	2.8	-8	-1.1	1.3	-1.0	1.1	-7	1.2
5 Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Expected Count	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.1	.1	.2	.3	.2	.0	1.0
% within IncomeX3	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.1%



Adjusted Residual		-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-2	-3	-5	-7	-4	-2	5.5	
6	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
	Expected Count	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.1	.2	.4	.6	.3	.1	.1	2.0
	% within IncomeX3	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	6.7%	.0%	.0%	.0%	2.1%
	Adjusted Residual	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-2	-1	-1	-3	-4	-7	2.1	-6	-3	-3	
Total	Count	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	5	8	20	30	15	4	3	94
	Expected Count	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	5.0	8.0	20.0	30.0	15.0	4.0	3.0	94.0
	% within IncomeX3	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

100 cells (95.2%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .01.

EcoactivitiesY \* GroupsizeX6 Crosstabulation

		GroupsizeX6								Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
EcoactivitiesY 0	Count	0	3	1	1	0	1	0	1	7
	Expected Count	1.0	2.0	1.6	.6	1.1	.2	.3	.4	7.0
	% within GroupsizeX6	.0%	10.7%	4.3%	12.5%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	20.0%	7.0%
Adjusted Residual		-1.1	.9	-.6	.6	-1.2	1.8	-.6	1.2	
1	Count	5	6	6	5	6	0	0	0	28
	Expected Count	3.9	7.8	6.4	2.2	4.2	.8	1.1	1.4	28.0
	% within GroupsizeX6	35.7%	21.4%	26.1%	62.5%	40.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	28.0%
Adjusted Residual		.7	-.9	-.2	2.3	1.1	-1.1	-1.3	-1.4	
2	Count	4	8	7	0	2	2	3	1	27
	Expected Count	3.8	7.6	6.2	2.2	4.1	.8	1.1	1.4	27.0
	% within GroupsizeX6	28.6%	28.6%	30.4%	.0%	13.3%	66.7%	75.0%	20.0%	27.0%
Adjusted Residual		.1	.2	.4	-1.8	-1.3	1.6	2.2	-.4	
3	Count	4	11	4	1	3	0	1	0	24
	Expected Count	3.4	6.7	5.5	1.9	3.6	.7	1.0	1.2	24.0
	% within GroupsizeX6	28.6%	39.3%	17.4%	12.5%	20.0%	.0%	25.0%	.0%	24.0%



Adjusted Residual		.4	2.2	-8	-8	-4	-1.0	.0	-1.3	
4	Count	1	0	3	1	4	0	0	2	11
	Expected Count	1.5	3.1	2.5	.9	1.7	.3	.4	.6	11.0
	% within GroupsizeX6	7.1%	.0%	13.0%	12.5%	26.7%	.0%	.0%	40.0%	11.0%
	Adjusted Residual	-.5	-2.2	.4	.1	2.1	-.6	-.7	2.1	
5	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Expected Count	.1	.3	.2	.1	.2	.0	.0	.1	1.0
	% within GroupsizeX6	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	20.0%	1.0%
	Adjusted Residual	-.4	-.6	-.5	-.3	-.4	-.2	-.2	4.4	
6	Count	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Expected Count	.3	.6	.5	.2	.3	.1	.1	.1	2.0
	% within GroupsizeX6	.0%	.0%	8.7%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	2.0%
	Adjusted Residual	-.6	-.9	2.6	-.4	-.6	-.3	-.3	-.3	
Total	Count	14	28	23	8	15	3	4	5	100
	Expected Count	14.0	28.0	23.0	8.0	15.0	3.0	4.0	5.0	100.0
	% within GroupsizeX6	100.0%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
			%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

50 cells (89.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .03.

EcoactivitiesY \* LengthofstayX7 Crosstabulation

		LengthofstayX7												Total	
		1	1	2	2	3	3	4	6	10	12	14			
EcoactivitiesY	0	Count	3	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	7	
		Expected Count	.9	1.8	.1	2.7	.3	.2	.3	.3	.1	.1	.1	7.0	
		% within LengthofstayX7	23.1%	7.4%	.0%	2.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	6.8%	
		Adjusted Residual	2.5	.1	-.3	-1.4	-.6	-.5	1.5	-.6	-.3	-.3			
1	Count	5	7	0	11	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	29	
	Expected Count	3.7	7.6	.3	11.3	1.1	1.1	.8	1.1	1.4	.3	.3	.3	29.0	
	% within LengthofstayX7	38.5%	25.9%	.0%	27.5%	25.0%	25.0%	66.7%	50.0%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	28.2%	
	Adjusted Residual	.9	-.3	-.6	-.1	-.1	-.1	1.5	1.0	-.14	1.6	-.6			
2	Count	3	9	1	12	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	29	
	Expected Count	3.7	7.6	.3	11.3	1.1	1.1	.8	1.1	1.4	.3	.3	.3	29.0	
	% within LengthofstayX7	23.1%	33.3%	100.0%	30.0%	25.0%	25.0%	33.3%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	28.2%	



Adjusted Residual		-4	.7	1.6	.3	-.1	.2	1.0	-1.3	-1.4	-.6	-.6	
3	Count	2	5	0	12	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	24
	Expected Count	3.0	6.3	.2	9.3	.9	.7	.9	.9	1.2	.2	.2	24.0
	% within LengthofstayX7	15.4%	18.5%	.0%	30.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	25.0%	40.0%	.0%	.0%	23.3%
4	Adjusted Residual	-.7	-.7	-.6	1.3	1.3	-1.0	-1.1	.1	.9	-.6	-.6	
	Count	0	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	11
	Expected Count	1.4	2.9	.1	4.3	.4	.3	.4	.4	.5	.1	.1	11.0
5	% within LengthofstayX7	.0%	14.8%	.0%	7.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	60.0%	.0%	100.0%	10.7%
	Adjusted Residual	-1.3	.8	-.3	-.8	-.7	-.6	-.7	-.7	3.7	-.3	2.9	
	Count	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
6	Expected Count	.1	.3	.0	.4	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	1.0
	% within LengthofstayX7	.0%	.0%	.0%	2.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.0%
	Adjusted Residual	-.4	-.6	-.1	1.3	-.2	-.2	-.2	-.2	-.2	-.1	-.1	
6	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
	Expected Count	.3	.5	.0	.8	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.0	.0	2.0
	% within LengthofstayX7	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.9%
Total	Adjusted Residual	-.5	-.9	-.1	-1.1	-.3	-.2	-.3	7.1	-.3	-.1	-.1	
	Count	13	27	1	40	4	3	4	4	5	1	1	103
	Expected Count	13.0	27.0	1.0	40.0	4.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	5.0	1.0	1.0	103.0
	% within LengthofstayX7	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

71 cells (92.2%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .01.



**Appendix 7d: Features found to be consistent with principles of ecotourism/sustainability in Muanenguba (in line with Honey, 1999: 22–24; Wood, 2002: 11; Wight, 2002: 2 and especially WTO, 2004: 260, 268, 278, 282).**

Indicator	Description
Visitor arrivals	About 650 visitors per year; can accommodate a few thousands; hardly more than 14 arrivals per week (or 2 per day); visitor groups few and far between
Travel mode	Small, non-institutional groups of families and friends (for 91.1% of the arrivals); average group size four persons
Length of stay	Short: two and a half days on average (one night in Mwaam).
Seasonality and traffic levels	Most visitors (more than 85%) arrive during the dry season (November to April); 80.1% arrive during the peak months (December to April). No more than a few cars – traffic
Conventional (popular) trip activities.	Trekking and hill climbing, sightseeing, together with safari and photography, camping
Ethical responsibility of visitors	Some 29.1% expressed views to define, advocate or suggest correctives for ecotourism and sustainability. About 95% carry away their rubbish or give to local guide/guard. Some 33% found various occasions to seek permissions to carry out specific activities, etc.
Voluntary pro-poor and community-based initiatives	Some 18.4% of the visitors offered gifts, medical aid, gave lifts for trekking villagers, participated in cultural exchange and village community development activities, village living, local purchase, etc.
Visitor satisfaction	Internet reviews give Mwaam five-star ratings; remarks such as ‘super magnificent’ Twin Lakes, a ‘ <i>paradis unique</i> ’ and ‘best place for tourism ever’, ‘friendly and gracious people’ etc., reveal emotions of visitors; willingness to pay access fees.
Local education and learning	Evidence of informal learning (some 6.8% of all visitors surveyed) about nature and culture
Degree of safety of visitors	Most visitors feel safe, owing to naturalness, tranquillity, airiness and openness of the caldera: flat floor for easy trekking. No safety standards, but no reported visitor accidents.
New legislation	New proposed protected areas: the Muanenguba Integrated Ecological Reserve (MIER); the Bakossi National Park (BNP) instituted with local debates; importance for tourism, only implicit.
Degree of local participation in decision-making and tourism	Participation of a few indigenes, allied to custodianship and developer roles.
Degree of survival of native traditions	The famous traditional house ( <i>ndab echum</i> ), reducing but re-introduced at the destination and introduced around visitor accommodations.



**Appendix 8a: Local perception of tourists and tourism in Muanenguba: acceptance, rejection and indifference.**

Interview places	Group description	Respondent number	Age	Gender	Perception	Examples of reason(s) given by some or all respondents in the category (including emerging themes)
Periodic markets, schools	5 girls	1	18	F	1	Their donations to community and the village school (development)
		2	17	F	1	I like their donations
		3	10-15	F	0	Never met them
		4	14	F	0	Only seen them pass
		5	16-20	F	0	Hear about but never seen them
	6 boys	6	16-20	M	1	Heard about their donations
		7	15	M	1	Like to see them
		8	16	M	1	They are OK
		9	10-15	M	1	They are helpful people
		10	10-15	M	0	Hear about them from fellow villagers who have seen them
		11	17	M	0	Not met
Mwaam	2 Mbat women amphibian catchers	12	40	F	0	Watching us catch <i>allouh</i> causes discomfort.
		13	33	F	0	Different culture and discomfort
Carrefours (Ngwa, Lele, La Foret and Bangem)	5 non-native female traders	14	21-25	F	1	Have bought banana, water, snacks (income)
		15	31	F	-1	Visitors are self-sufficient, having everything they need: they contact us only when they want directions to the Lakes (limited interaction)
		16	33	F	0	They do not buy or stop (limited interaction)
		17	28	F	0	Visitors stop rarely (limited interaction)
		18	31-40	F	0	Interaction lacking
		19	38	F	1	My employment in the hotel and interaction with them.
		20	51-60	F	1	I like to see them pass and interact.
		21	55	F	-1	Discomfort if visitors see sacred activities
Hotel Villages, periodic markets	8 Other women	22	56	F	-1	Used to stop, interact and offer gifts in the past. These days, they take photos remotely whilst passing in cars... discomfort and unsure about images projected when visitors return.
		23	78	F	0	Occupied by farming; I will not take a gift from a visitor if I do not trust it
		24	63	F	0	Farming



Interview places	Group description	Respondent number	Age	Gender	Perception	Examples of reason(s) given by some or all respondents in the category (including emerging themes)
		25	63	F	0	Care more about and concentration on farming
		26	51 -60	F	0	Farming and live far from tourist places
		27	61 -70	F	0	Farming
Mwaam	2 Employees	28	46	M	1	Employment in tourism; exchange of ideas (interaction)
		29	35	M	1	Peaceful nature of visitors
Carrefour La Foret	1 Non native trader	30	33	M	-1	Stop rarely; buy scarcely (limited interaction and income).
Mainly Villages (2 interviews at periodic markets)	7 Cultural people: Chiefs Custodians, Chiefs, native doctors	31	71 -80	M	1	Gifts; friendship
		32	60	M	1	Their gifts; photos taken by them show Muanenguba... to the world (image)
		33	65	M	-1	Visiting reduces the sanctity of sacred sites
		34	56 -60	M	-1	Visitors keep their own tradition but despise and destroy ours
		35	61-70	M	-1	Visitors do private rituals... for personal fortunes and treasures such as gold and diamonds from the Twin Lakes
		36	61-70	M	-1	Visitors stay in the hotel and avoid mixing with villagers... (limited interaction)
		37	51 – 60	M	-1	Visitors do not know the use of cultural properties
	10 Other men	38	120	M	1	Visitors can buy at better prices (development).
		39	46-50	M	-1	Visitors interact only en route not at destination.
		40	52	M	-1	Interaction is lacking
		41	51 – 60	M	0	Over concentration on farming - not bothered.
		42	65	M	0	Farming
		43	71	M	0	Farming does not allow us to see visitors
		44	51 - 60	M	0	Many farms
		45	68	M	0	Not concerned due to farming
		46	68	M	0	Farming; do not live around tourist route
		47	73	M	0	Farming needs to be done and tourist pass far away
Bangem and Nkongosamba Towns	4 Muanengoe 'elites'	48	39	M	1	Tourists come to the Bakossiland, respect our tradition...(image)
		49	48	M	1	Visitors are agents of enlightenment and development
		50	56	M	1	Intelligent and peaceful people... They buy locally and pay



Interview places	Group description	Respondent number	Age	Gender	Perception	Examples of reason(s) given by some or all respondents in the category (including emerging themes)
		51	51	M	1	entrance fees... reduces poverty. But they need to 51 clarify their objectives and report their research
						Friendliness is not enough... active contribution to development.

Appendix 8b: Variation in acceptance of tourism within community groups

Groups	Group description (gender, occupation or role in the community - columns 2 in Appendix 8a)	Age code	Degree of acceptance (number of locals who said yes/total number of locals in the group)
1	5 girls	1	0.4
2	6 boys	1	0.67
3	2 Mbat ladies (amphibian catchers in Mwaam)	2	0
4	5 non-native female traders	2	0.2
5	1 female employee	2	1
6	8 other women	3	0.13
7	2 male employees	2	1
8	1 non native male trader	2	0
9	7 cultural people (men)	3	0.29
10	10 other men	3	0.1
11	4 Muanengoe elites (men)	3	1

Note: Data from ethnographic interviews were treated as suggested by Pallant (2005: 14, 230): local subjects’ age codes (0–29, young or 1; 30–44, middle or 2; 45+, old or 3. Ages from interview notebook – averaged for groups); subjects’ gender codes for locals and visitors (0, female - F; 1, male - M); local subjects’ perception codes (1, acceptance; –1, rejection; 0, indifference).