

# 3<sup>rd</sup> European Conference on African Studies (ECAS 3)

**Panel 102:** Link Between Development and Indigenous  
Knowledge: An African Rebirth

## **Indigenous Peoples of Gabon and Sustainable Development Projects**

Emmanuel Mvé Mebia

Doctorant en Anthropologie, Université Lumière Lyon 2

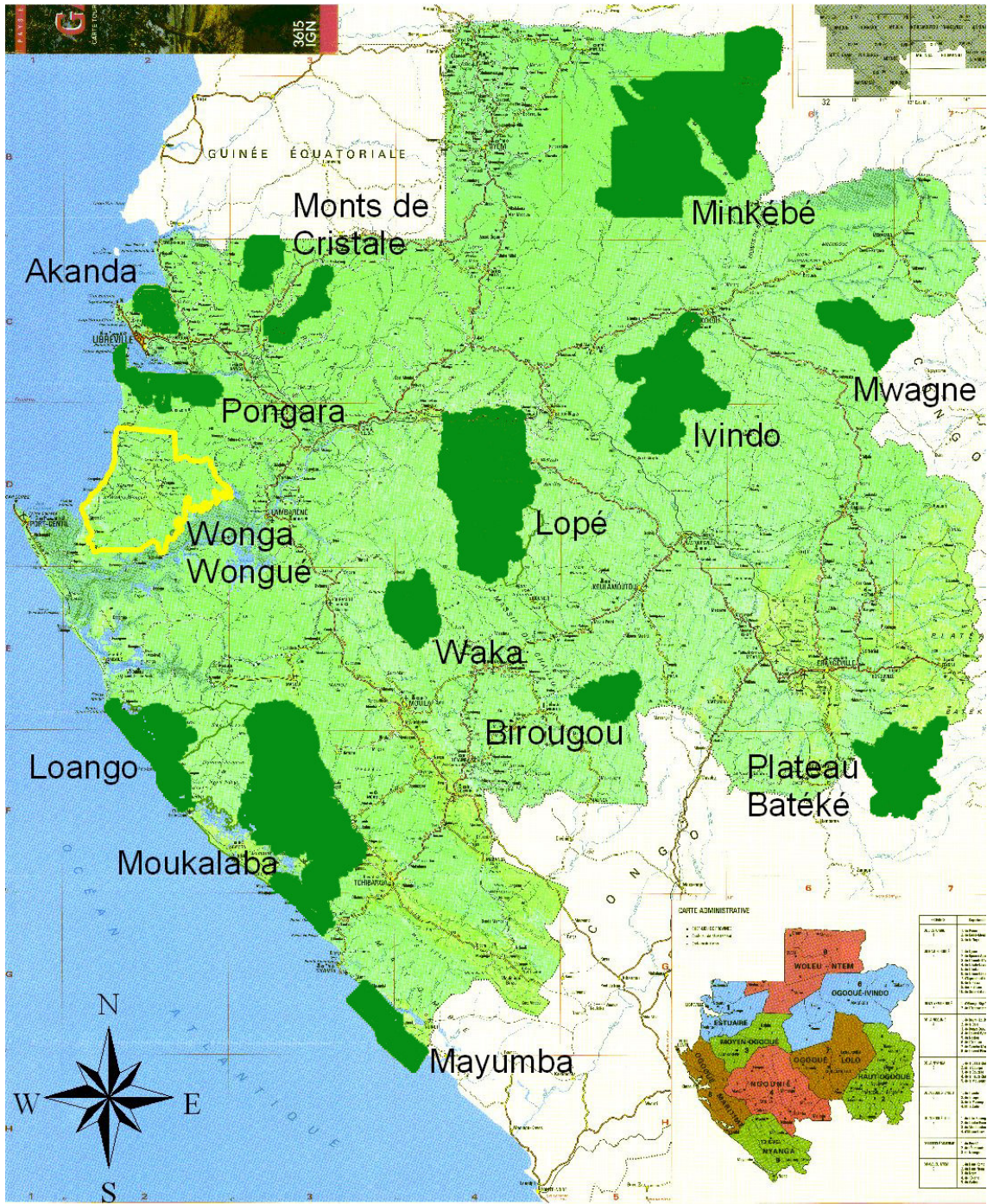
Courriel: [mvemebia@yahoo.fr](mailto:mvemebia@yahoo.fr)

**Key words:** National park, protected area, Logging concessions, development, sustainable management, convergence plan, human rights, biodiversity, cultural diversity, fauna, flora, traditional knowledge, tri-national initiatives, co-management (participatory management), community forest, good governance.

### **Abstract:**

Based on eight years of collaboration with indigenous and local communities of northern Gabon (particularly the Baka), my research focused on the lifestyle of the Baka with their environment. As results from my field research, I propose to present the experience of Gabon in the so-called "Pygmy" populations (especially in North of Gabon). My statement focuses on the interaction that is growing (good or bad) between environmental NGOs and the populations of hunter-gatherers in the process of settlement. In particular, it proposes to assess the contribution of endogenous knowledge in the development of national and local programs for conservation and preservation of natural resources (fauna, flora and mineral). The conclusion of my concerns is about the manner of transmitting knowledge, internal and external transmission, and its application to sustainable development programs.

*Leipzig, 4-7 june 2009*



**Reseau des Parcs Nationaux**

**Map 1:** National Parks Network (Source: IGN)

## Introduction

"These last 15 years, the conservation of nature has made more concerted efforts to develop principles and guidelines to reconcile indigenous rights and conservation measures. The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) requires governments obligations to preserve and maintain knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous communities and the protection and promotion of their customary patterns of use of natural resources " (Colchester, 2003)

Based on this observation, taken in its most literal sense, the term "indigenous" implies only the residence over a long period in a given area. However, in international law, this word is used to "culturally distinct ethnic groups, whose identity differs from that of a national society to which they belong (Colchester, 2003). To go back on the term "pygmy", which in european literature dates only to 1873, used this year by the german explorer Schweinfurth, who, during an exploration of the Great Lakes region, exclaimed meeting with small populations: 'Ah! I found the Pygmies of Homer! " (Quoted by Odambo and al, 2002). Among those groups known as "pygmies", the researches carried out admit the existence of a diversity of languages and cultures. (Mayer, 1981, Kohler and Lewis, 2002). This diversity is confirmed across the Congo Basin, where live 26 groups of pygmies (Köhler and Lewis, 2002) distributed within the vast area occupied by the great Niger-Congo language family (see Greenberg, 1963).

Research conducted in Gabon between 2000 and 2003 allowed us to identify seven groups of "pygmies", whose total population is about 7040 spread over the entire territory (Schmidt, 2005) with 757 Baka, 3480 Babongo, 2068 Bakoya, 500 Barimba, 180 Bagama, 50 Bakuyi and 5 Akoa (WWF, 2001, PSFE, 2002, Knight, 2003). Nevertheless, the pygmies groups of Gabon are particularly poorly known and the literature on them quite rare, despite the fact that they were the first pygmies discovered by Europeans in the nineteenth century (Bahuchet 1993: 76).

## Terminology

Pygmies are an "illusion of the other unknown and the ultimate difference" (SCHMIDTT-Soltau, 2005: 13). "Pygmy," the term was used in 1873 by the German explorer Schweinfurth (cited by Odambo, 2002), which in its mission of exploring the Great Lakes exclaimed meeting with small populations, "there it is, I met the Pygmies of Homer!. At the discovery of North America,, the context was almost the same, describing the "Eskimos" then we called Pygmy of Arctic. But in antiquity, the term "pygmy" is none other than the representation of a mythical people (GTPA, 2008). In antiquity, a **pygmy** (from Greek 'πυγμαίος', *pygmaios*, atop a cubit) is generally a man of small size. This name often "inappropriate" used to describe certain natural realities (victims of normal growth) has mainly been to designate certain groups. In recent years, the need to remove this shadow (cliché) seems required for human societies.

## Historical and current context

The necessity to review the historical trail of a human group leads us to identify at first glance, some geographical areas occupied by "pygmies". Based on research (georeferenced method) conducted to the 1940s, during the Second World War period, the spatial dispersion of some groups was known. Thus, their localization is



observable between Cameroon and the Middle-Congo. According to these studies (Vallois, 1940), "tribes" of pygmies from "West Africa" are: Bagielli (geographically located in the Ntem Valley, north of the Spanish protectorate, Guinea), Ba-Bongo (localized in south-east of Gabon), Ba-Binga of Mingourou and Ngoak (located near the meeting point N = 4 ° 00, E = 14 ° 00), Ba-Binga of Sanguié, geographically located at the meeting point (N=2° E=14° 00), Ba-Binga of Sanagha and N'goko, at the confluence of the Sanagha with the coordinates (N= 2° 00,E =16° 00), Ba-Binga of Lobaye and M'Baiki, located to one another near the geographical point (N= 4° 00, E=18° 00) showing the confluence of the Lobaye on the Oubangui River, Ba-Tua, at the confluence of the Ubangi and Congo River, south of the geographical point (N=0° 00, E=18° 00) on the right bank of the Congo river, in northern Toumba Lake (quoted by Twiesselmann , 1942).

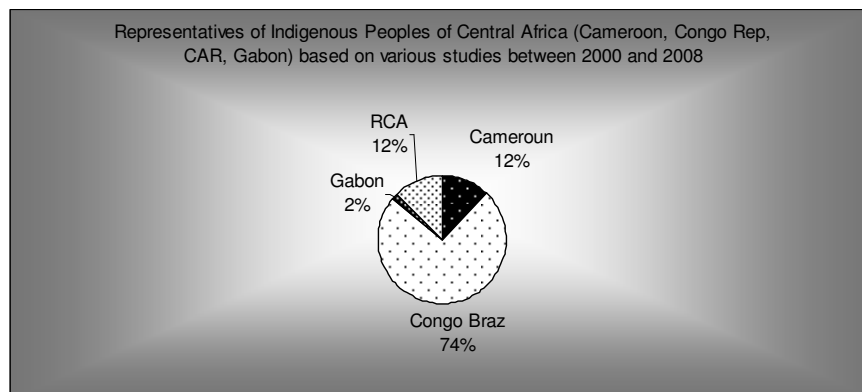
On top of those first descriptions<sup>1</sup>, other studies have characterized the importance of apprehending some of their behaviour (De Foy, 1984, Dhellemess, 1985), seeking to know the meaning given to the term *mbenga* with the concerned groups. During our field survey in 2000, our interlocutor (Mbassa Goba, Baka, botolo clan, Nfele-Nlame village to Minvoul, personal communication) stated that, "in the past, their ancestors were accustomed to wearing spears". In the forest areas of Cameroon, among the fifty ethnic Bantu language and existing Oubanguian (...) the Baka are in the periphery of the Dja and Medzan in Plain Tikar (Bahuchet, 2000). Otherwise, the Baka are not the only indigenous people group in Cameroon..

In Republic of Congo, a recent study gives the presence of 20,000 pygmies "Yaka" and "Babendjélé"<sup>2</sup> in northern part (ACHPR, 2008, see website: <http://www.gtpa.org>) for a total indigenous people number of 300,000 peoples (devided into two main groups: Babongo and babéngi) - from the Observatoire Congolais des Droits de l'Homme (2006).

In Central African Republic (CAR), the "Ba / Aka, more known as Biaka or Bayaka are living in the southern part of the country, and would be 12,393, according to the annual report of the Working Group on Indigenous Peoples ( 2008)

On all the Congo Basin Area, some studies mention the presence of 26 pygmy groups (Kohler and Louis, 2002: 278).

According to different sources, the number of pygmies would be over 200,000 persons. They "represent the largest group of hunter-gatherers in the world" (Lewis and al, 2008), 200 000 (Waele, 2001), and are estimated at half a million people (FPP, 2008)



<sup>1</sup> Location of pygmies groups earlyer 1940s (established by Vallois.

<sup>2</sup> They are estimated at 30,000 peoples. Their presence was reported in northern DRC and southern CAR (Lewis, Freeman, Borreill, 2008)

## Issues of preserving the natural environment of the pygmies

Several studies, reports, establishing the relationship between indigenous peoples and forest have already been made in Cameroon, Central African Republic (CAR), and Republic of Congo and now in Gabon. Thus, under the observation made on the management of the environment, the main concerns is: what future for the forest people? (Bahuchet, 2000). The analysis of ten cases of conservation projects studied in seven African countries, shows that the principles and guidelines agreed at the global level, are applied in any case studied (Nelson, 2003: 17). At first, many projects have been implemented in the forest, despite the adoption by States of the Congo Basin, in 2007 of the ' United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples' and one of the 46 articles in this statement refers explicitly to the need for indigenous peoples, their "free, informed consent" when the project activities can potentially exclude them from their land (Article 10) (Lewis and al, 2008: 10) .

In Gabon, with the creation of 13 national parks, there is coexistence with indigenous peoples, including: Minkebe, Waka and Mwagna, experiencing the presence of three people: Baka, Babongo and Bakoya (IPACC / WCS, 2005). With these national parks should be added another Park: Birogou in the southern Gabon. As for Minkebe forest is concerned, simultaneously with the national park (7560 km<sup>2</sup>) and logging activities, the baka community, located in north and north-eastern Gabon, between Minvoul, Makokou and Belinga<sup>3</sup> (Mayer, 1981, Mvé mebia, 2001) requires a special attention to the guidance and support of its culture.

## Protected area concept?

In accordance with the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), to sustainably manage the natural heritage (1992), and ratified by Gabon on March 14<sup>th</sup>, 1997, a "protected area" is defined as: "a geographically defined area which is designated or regulated and managed to achieve specific conservation objectives ".

In other words, a protected area is "an area of land and / or sea, especially dedicated to the protection and maintenance of biological diversity and natural and associated cultural resources, and managed through legal means and efficient. (IUCN, 2004). This approach has enabled the development of 6 categories of protected areas:

- **Category Ia:** Strict Nature Reserve: managed mainly for science.
- **Category Ib:** Wilderness Area: managed mainly for wilderness protection.
- **Category II:** National Park: managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation

---

<sup>3</sup> Our field research.

●**Category III:** Natural Monument: managed mainly for conservation of specific natural features

●**Category IV:** Habitat/Species Management Area: managed mainly for conservation through management Intervention.

●**Category V:** Protected Landscape/Seascape: managed mainly for landscape/seascape conservation and recreation

●**Category VI** Managed Resource Protected Area: managed mainly for the sustainable use of natural ecosystems (IUCN-WCPA, 2004:14).

This categorization should thus correspond to forms of management (participative management) for the application of “good governance” across all strata of society. This analytical approach demonstrates the establishment of a mechanism of transparency in the management of natural resources. In this context, several initiatives are constantly emerging at the national, regional and international levels. In Libreville (Gabon), on the initiative of Ministers of Water Affairs and Forestry, the Conference was held from 23 to 24 July 2008, the Seminar for preparing the National Strategy for Sustainable Development (NSSD), workshop during which, the notion of “Good Governance” has been explained as “the search for an improved system of management of people and resources”. In light of the explanation, we mentioned (as a result to reach) the importance and necessity that:

- People participate in making decisions
- Justice deficiencies are corrected
- The management powers are decentralized at all levels of the life of the State (NSSD, 2008).

## Conservation advent and forestry legislation

The history of conservation begins in Gabon since the 1950s, a period that coincides with the deployment of logging operations, conducted by the CEB (Compagnie d'Exploitation du Bois) in the coastal zone. In its wake, other companies will come, contributing to the creation of villages. Also, with the gradual departure of the loggers, the area had to experience a new activity (oil) with the arrival of the Shell company in 1953 offering new economic opportunities (WWF-Gabon, 2001)

With the International Convention for the protection of fauna and flora in Africa, and of Decree of April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1954 on the protection of nature in the African territories, a few sites in the region enjoyed a special status, which the birth of: **Aires d'Exploitation Rationnelle de la Faune** », « **Reserve de Faune** » and « **Domaine de Chasse** ».

According to Law No. 0016/91 of December 31<sup>st</sup>, 2001, which repeals all earlier contrary provisions, including the Law No. 1 / 82 of July 22<sup>nd</sup> 1982, guidance in the field of Water and Forests, the Gabonese legislation framework recognizes the “Fortes Domaniales Classes” (classified forests) which include:

- «Les forêts de protection ;
- les forêts récréatives ;
- les jardins botaniques et zoologiques ;

- les arboretums.
- les aires protégées ;
- les forêts à usages didactique et scientifique ;
- les périmètres de reboisement ;
- les forêts productives particulièrement sensibles ou
- limitrophes du domaine forestier rural » (law 0016/01, article 8)

After creating 13 national parks since 2002, a new legislation (Law No 003/07 of 7 September 2007) complements the existing.

### **Minkebe forest in North eastern Gabon**

The proposal to conserve more areas in Gabon was initiated in 1985, after the technical assistance launched by the government with the support of the World Wildlife Fund and the World Alliance for conservation, in view of revising the system of protected areas and for the promotion of these networks of protected areas. Thus, this proposal allowed the establishment of a new protected area in the north-east of Gabon was examined.

Two priority sites for conservation of forest ecosystems were identified by the Department of Wildlife and Hunting and World Wildlife Foundation: the Gamba Complex Protected Areas and the Minkébé forest (WWF, 2001)

#### **From the Provisional Forest Reserve to the Minkebe Reserve**

Studies initiated by World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and Wildlife Conservation International (WCI) began in 1990 and focused on biological and socio-economic surveys to assess and evaluate the potential for wildlife and vegetation of the area, and the impact of human activities inside the forest of northeastern Gabon.

The results of these studies encouraged the Government to register 600,000 hectares of Minkébé Mountains forests as "Reserve Forestière Provisoire" – RFP - (Order No. 00348/MEFR/DGE/DFC, on September 24th 1997). This classification was welcomed by the international community as a "gift to the earth" of President Omar Bongo (quoted in *New York Times* and reproduced in the historical classification of the Minkebe protected area, 2001).

The year 1997 marks the start of the conservation activities of the "Minkebe Project" with funding from Netherland Cooperation (DGIS) and CARPE / USAID, and the continuation of final classification of the "Reserve Forestière Provisoire des Monts Minkebe" in Protected Area., in accordance to Gabonese law which is regulated by Decree No. 184/PR/MEF-CR March 4th 1987, laying determining procedures for the classification of State Forest.

"Missions outreach of the administrative, political, military authorities and local communities, have been conducted at the official launch of Minkebe Project in provincial capitals Makokou and Orem, by a joint Forestry/WWF delegation (Allogho Ndong, counterpart Minkebe project, 2001).

After several missions in almost all cities (prefectures and sub-prefectures), villages and clusters of villages "sanctioned by a minutes", and in accordance with applicable law in the Gabonese Republic, "following opinion in a month, likely to raise any objections". Otherwise, "the principle of adoption of the classification of protected area was acquired, after constat of non-event by the people concerned and a certificate of no objection was made"

After submitting the draft “Décret” to the Government General Secretariat, followed by consideration of the Administrative Court, which passed the General Secretariat of the Council of Ministers, the draft decree adopted the classification of Minkebe Mountain Reserve Forest in the protected area on December 30th 1999.

### **From the Minkebe Reserve to Minkebe National Park**

Two years after the registration in Minkebe Mountains Reserve, and due to the Earth Summit held in Johannesburg in 2002, the Reserve becomes Minkebe National Park (with twelve others elected sites in Gabon) by the will of the Head of the State of Gabon (announcement of September 4th 2002)..

But what laws regulate the management of newly created parks? The answer to this question comes with the adoption of Law No 0003/2007 on the national parks, As we noticed above, the National Park belongs to category II, which, by definition, is "a protected area managed mainly for the purpose of preserving ecosystems and for recreation (IUCN, 1992 ).

As for the Law No 0003/2007 of Gabonese Republic Forestry Guidance, its article 2 states: "This law aims, in the process of development of the conservation of natural and national cultural heritage to promote a protection policy and sustainable enhancement of national parks.". In addition the policy must take into account: "The strengthening of collaboration and regional and international cooperation, in accordance with international agreements" (paragraph 9).

The Title 3 of this law (institutional framework, Article 23) provides: "For the purposes of this Act, it is put in place an institutional framework including:

- : - a High Council of National Parks;
- a National Agency of National Parks;
- a Scientific Committee of the National Parks»

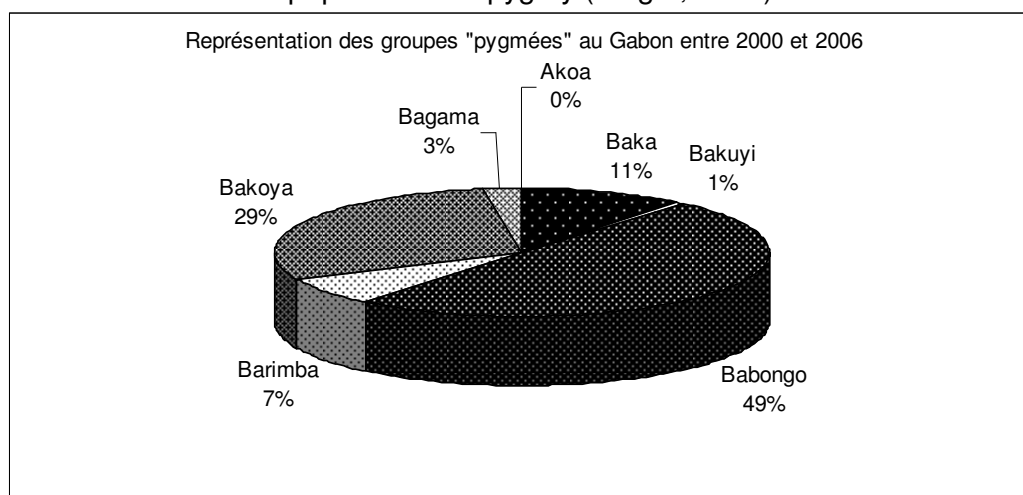
Since 1997, WWF in its conservation program, includes the development of landscapes management plan in the north-eastern Gabon (1), the conservation of wildlife in northern Gabon, developing protocols of agreement with stakeholders and implementation of regulations on wildlife (2), support of conservation at local, national and international scale in the north-east of Gabon (3), creation of additional protected areas in order to increase the area of forest under protection (4) (Springer, 2007).

### **Specificity of “pygmies” of Gabon**

Among the fifty ethnolinguistic groups enumerated in Gabon, sept are from the so-called “Pygmy” groups (see representation of the figure below). These include the Baka, located in the north-east, and between Minvoul Makokou and Belinga (Mayer, 1981, Mvé Mebia, 2001) Bakoya, in the extreme north-east (Mékambo region), the Babongo in south-east, between Ikobé, Franceville Lastourville and Bongolo (Knight, 2003, Matsuura 2006), but also Barimba, Bakuyi and Akoa.. According to the preliminary studies carried out on all these groups, they respectively would represent: 51% (Babongo), 30% (Bakoya), 11% (Baka), 7% (Barimba), 1% (BaKuyi). They are scattered from North and North-east (Baka, Bakoya), at the Center/South (Babongo), southeast (Kuyi), northern coastal area and south-west (Akoa and Barimba) / (Schmidt-Soltau, 2005).



On a rural population of Gabon, estimated at 250 thousand inhabitants, it is estimated that 1% of the population are pygmy (Knight, 2003)



Among these groups, personal experiences gained from field forced me to keep a great memory of the Baka in Minkebe conservation project (2000 - 2008); then with the Bakoya, through the socioeconomic studies undertaken in the framework of the "Tri-national project (cross-border conservation project Dja-Odzala-Minkebe), for conducting a walk in the woods, toward the source of the Zadie river (Mékambo), with the trackers Koya (pl, Bakoya).

The first experiment is focused on the northern and north-western Minkebe National Park, with the different ecological reconnaissance missions. The second experiment (in 2003, short) was shared with the Bakoya guides from Ekata village to Mulè (Canton Loué, Department of Zadie) from 11-17 may (2003).

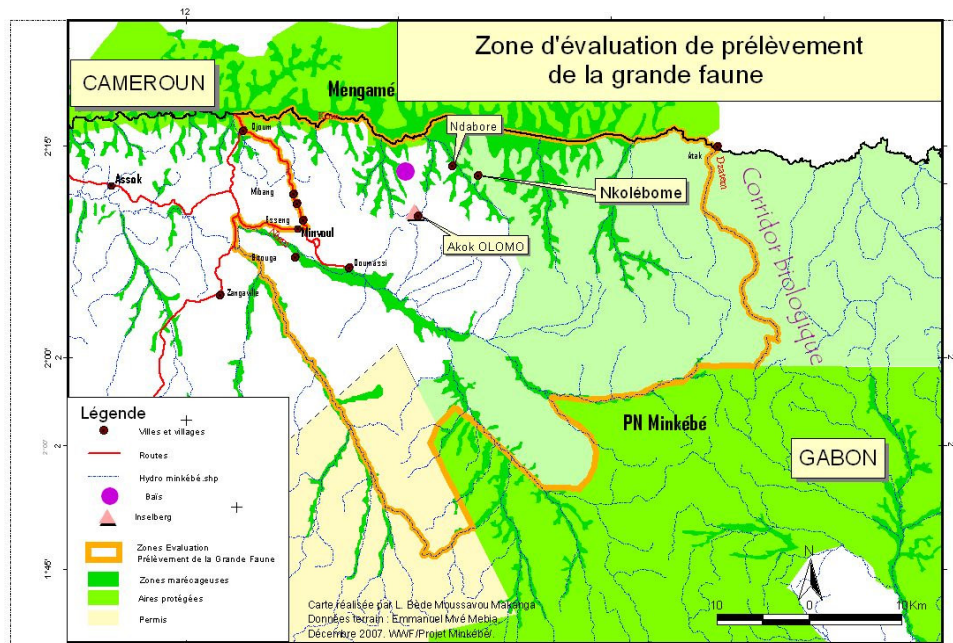
These combined experiences provide a walk in forest, estimated at about 800 kilometres, sometimes beyond the national limits border. The GPS (Geo Positioning System) points presented below may illustrate the ability of Baka and Bakoya, and their developed capacities for guidance in the forest (see table below).

**Table 1:** Ecological transect with the Baka and Bakoya

Country	Région	Baka village	GPS (in degree minute)		Observation	Year
			Latitude	Longitude		
CAMEROUN	South-east	Elik-Melen	2,39328	12,66445	Ecole Baka Project	2005
		Yen	2,32558	12,61837	Baka/Ndjem	2005
		Esso	2,27066	12,5665	Baka/Bulu	2005
		Bemvè	2,26128	12,54457	Agricultural camp	2005
		Atak	2,55866	12,52832	Fronteer transit camp (Ayina)	2005
		Ayina River : natural fronteer Cameroun-Gabon				
GABON - Zone Minvoul			2,23989	12,51143	Mewout 2	2005
			2,19022	12,48949	Mewout 1	2005
			2,1827	12,49976	Baka Camp	2005
			2,10123	12,43375	Hunting zone and Baka camp	2005
			2,09412	12,43375	Hunting zone	2005

	North-east		2,09654	12,24335	Otore camp (Baka)	2005
			2,06812	12,28771	Zamata	2005
			2,10676	12,2254	Baka/Fang camp	2005
		Doumassi	2,10723	12,18766	Baka and Fang village (100 Baka)	2005
		Mféfé-Nlam	2,16256	12,13845	About 200 Baka	2005
		Oveng-Alen	2°04,646	12°11,156	Majority Baka (40)	2005
		Zangaville	2,07444	12,04132	About 30 Baka	2005
		Mimbang	2,19315	12,12676	Fang/Baka	2005
		Nkogakom	2,18189	12,13145	Fang/Baka	2005
		Bitouga	2,11834	12,12954	Majority Baka (about 70)	
<b>country</b>	<b>Région</b>	<b>Bakoya village</b>	<b>GPS (in degree/ minutes)</b>		<b>Observation</b>	<b>Year</b>
GABON – Zone Mékambo	North-east		Latitude	Longitude		
		Maboula	0, 40,388'	14 °17,420	Bakoya	2003
		Ekata	0° 40,668'	14 ° 17,969	Bakoya/Bungom	2003
			0°41, 278	14°18,683	Point d'entrée en forêt	2003
			0°12,141	14°18,620	Zone de petite chasse	2003
			0°43, 056	14°18,877	Petite chasse	2003
			0°43, 530	14°18,607	Signes de chasse	2003
			0°43, 787	14°18,713	Pièges	2003
			0°46, 217	14°18,305	Extraction de miel	2003
			0°48,007	14°17, 422	Ancien campement de chasse	2003
			053,773	14°1564	Signes de cueillettes et chasse (coupes)	2003
			0°54,917	14°14804	Croisement de sentiers	2003
			0°56,069	14°15,091	Forêt de rivière (fin de transect)	2003

Source: WWF – Management pla area between Minkebe-Mengame



Map 2: Management plan area between Minkebe-Mengame  
(Source: WWF, 2008)

### Social organization and clan groups studied

On the whole extent of the geographical area inhabited by the Baka in Central Africa, it is estimated they were about 25,000 individuals with a minimum 42 clans (Leclerc, 2000). The socio-economic surveys conducted in north-east of Gabon, and particularly in the north-west of Minkebe National Park (see map above) showed there are 15 Baka clans, and each among them would retain a link to historical correlation fang clan<sup>4</sup> (Mvé Mebia, 2001). These ethnic linkages are illustrated by the establishment of connections, which have allowed me to establish the table below. In Gabon, the baka ethnic group is estimated about 400 individuals, in the Minvoul region (Mvé Mebia, 2001), and in eastern Minkebe region, they are about 300 (Schmidt, 2005).

#### Who are the Baka?

With a few bits of oral traditions collected, and from the question to know the basis of the word “Baka”, here is the answer:

(1) *Baka é ngoma bidé Ba/ka.  
Nga é kaka o pvé Fang, ba é kèba  
Da ka nè.*

(1) Baka contains two terms: « Ba » and « Ka ».  
**Kaka** is the term given to the Fang.  
**Baa** means those who are attached to Fang..

<sup>4</sup> Personal communication of Messôlbô Edou of Ndzèmbè clan from Mfefe-Nlam, 2000.

From this “piece of tradition” (bribe de tradition), one is led to believe that cohabitation Baka-Fang is an old story. However, we cannot say with accuracy whether the term “Kaka” applies only to Fang.

### Referring to the story of migration

“The Baka are a group of men affiliated. They come from *kati*<sup>5</sup>, where they did several exploits along their itinerary, including the breakthrough of Moabi (*Baillonella toxisperma*) or *Mabé* or *Adzap* [Fang language] (odzambogha story, same story in Fang). Mougombè and Moudjèmbo were the architects of this feat, with an instrument called *koba* (ax). After piercing the hole, they saw the Fang. They sought the path. Moudjèmbo showed them the path, but they also were thirsty and hungry. The two men went to provide them. With the help of their *koba*, both they entered the forest. Towards dusk, they brought fruits, honey and even medicines. After the feast, Moudjèmbo and Mougombè showed them the right way” (Mvé mebia, 2001). This baka legend converges on the same terms about the path taken by the Fang, who passed through *Adzo mbogha*, “*Fang Bese bengalor Adzo mbogha*” (Mbot, 1975). However, if all the Fang have crossed through, this does not mean they were alone, there was also the Baka (quoted by Cinnamon, 2004: 17).

#### The legend is completed:

“Therefore, Fang began organize themselves doing agriculture. Also, the friendship between us and the Fang had started” (Messolbô, Baka, *Nzèmbè* clan, personal communication, 2000)

In the Baka community, the term clan is currently designed by *mbi*, In our search field (Minvoul region) including Makokou and upper-Ivindo (we were up to Dzatem river), we counted 15 baka clans around Minkebe block forest (Mvé Mebia, 2002).

**Table 2:** Baka clans and associated fang clans (based on researches carried out between 200 and 2002)

N <sup>oo</sup>	Baka clan	Phonetical transcription	Associated (correspondent <sup>6</sup> ) fang clan *
1	<i>Botolo</i>	ḃòtòlo	<i>Essansia</i>
2	<i>Ekuambé</i>	ékuámbe	<i>Essabôk</i>
3	<i>Essilo</i>	ésìlō	<i>Yessôk</i>
4	<i>Essolo</i>	ésólo	<i>Essandône, Essobame</i>
5	<i>Likemba</i>	lìkembà	<i>Essissong</i>

<sup>5</sup> Baka term to refer to the south (compass point)..

<sup>6</sup> Correspondences result of mythical or real kinship between ethnic groups.

\*

6	<i>Makombo</i>	mākombō	<i>Essanyane</i>
7	<i>Mambè</i>	māmbè	<i>Essakuè</i>
8	<i>Mbongo</i>	mbōngō	<i>Essamenyung</i>
9	<i>Mobito</i>	mōbitō	<i>Essane</i>
10	<i>Movpandzé</i>	mōvpa:zē	<i>Essamessele</i>
11	<i>Ndôngà</i>	ndōngà	<i>Essanguì</i>
12	<i>Ndzembè</i>	nzēmbè	<i>Yemveng</i>
13	<i>Yandzi</i>	jànzì	<i>Essambone</i>
14	<i>Mambè</i>	māmbè	<i>Bekuègn</i>
15	<i>Yendumu</i>	jə:ndumú	*

### Social and economic impacts of hunting activity

Famous for its high biological value (presence of a diversity of fauna and plant species) and surrounded by a human population estimated at 70 000 inhabitants, Minkebe block forest is mostly characteristic because of its large population of elephants, placing at first position in areas of choice for elephants in the Congo Basin, with more than 30,000 individuals (MIKE data, 2004). This forest is unfortunately subjected to a constant pressure of hunting of elephants

To find and prevent the impacts likely to affect this important population of elephants, Minvoul (small town of about 6000 inhabitants located in north-west Minkebe National Park) was chosen as pilot site for monitoring potential threats, near an assessment area hunting, which extends on 2375 kilometres square (see map 2, above), we obtained the following results: 104 elephants killed in 2001, 77 killed in 2002, 70 elephants killed in 2003, 50 elephants killed in 2004, 35 elephants in 2005, 25 elephants in 2006 and 28 elephants killed in 2007, totalling 489 elephants killed in 7 years. Who are the key actors and who are the sponsors of this persistent activity?

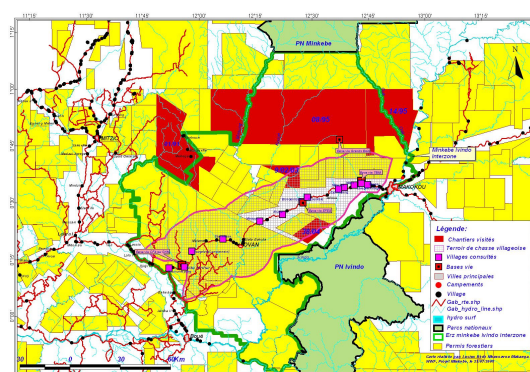
Long ago, the Baka have been identified as key “players” for hunting elephants and are supported by their Bantu neighbours’ and probably the international trade networks (WWF, 2008). As result today, the Baka hunters are exposed to the mobility to other areas, abandoning their families for long periods, lack of supervision (ie education) for children and so on. It is however sad to note the unequal distribution in the gain between “sponsors” and “performers”, often beneficiaries tenth (1/10th) of total income, which varies depending on the weight of the pair of ivory. In other words, when the sale of ivory costs 200 cfa (equivalent of 300 euros), the hunter’s income is equal to about 20000 f cfa (equivalent of 30 euros), while in Gabon, it varies between 15000 cfa and 18000 cfa (about 22-27 euros).

Traditionally attached to the "hunting" and "gathering" activities Baka of Northern Gabon urge more consideration for their cultural practices as *Libandi* (opportunity for forest communities to celebrate the memory of one or many parents dead in the village), which compels them to continue to rely on some natural resources, such as the consumption of meat of elephant.

To conserve, and sustainably manage the Minkebe elephants, used to say the Baka “we need to give us an official status of slaughter, and through this activity, make money, as the loggers” (Baka hunter of Esseng, anonymous required, personal communication, 2006).



(Photo 1: Elephant culling site Northwestern Minkebe National Park  
National Park  
(E. Mvé Mebia, déc. 2007)



Map 3: Logging concessions in southern Minkebe National Park (Source : MEF (Gabon))

### Legal implications of resource rights

Like many African countries, Gabon has ratified the Convention on Biological Diversity on March 14th 1997, after Cameroon (19 October 1994) and Congo Brazzaville (1st August 1996). This convention, as a legal reference, has to be applied, thus some people think. Its main objective is the "conservation of biological diversity, sustainable use and equitable sharing of benefits arising from the exploitation of resources (CBD 1992, Article 1).

According to the Gabonese legislation, the exercise of customary rights of use is free (...) in the rural forest area, villagers, traditionally living in close proximity to the field (domaine forestier) and reused in respect restrictive regulations for development or protection (Law 0016/01, Article 253). However, it should be noted that the Ministry of Water and Forests regulates where necessary the exercise of customary practices for the purposes of protection (Law 0016/01, 255). Otherwise, the exercise of customary practices also covers classified forests and production forests recorded (Law 0016/01, 256).

In addition to the current Law 0016/01 (Gabonese Forestry Code), the Law on National Parks of Gabon (Act 003/2007) was registered on September 11th 2007. Under customary practices chapter, it provides that, in the peripheral zones of national parks, the exercise of customary uses, including hunting, fishing, breeding and capture of wildlife, agricultural and forest activities, gathering plants, collection of minerals or fossils is free, reused in respect of existing legislation and, in the appropriate case, the terms of management contracts or land management plan ((Law 003/2007; Article 16). which means that management contracts may be concluded between the authorities of a national park and local communities in the peripheral zone (Article 19).

For the specific case of Gabon, we identified parks that may have an influence in the conservation programs of natural resources (see table above) with the potential involvement of indigenous peoples.



**Table 3:** location of indigenous groups and protected areas

<b>Ethnic group</b>	<b>Designed Protected Area</b>	<b>Location</b>
Baka	Parc National de Minkebe	North and Northeastern
Bakoya	Parc National de Mwagna	Northeastern
Babongo	Parc National de Waka	Center
Babongo	Parc National de Birogou	South
Barimba	Parc National de Moukalaba	Southwestern

For over a decade, Gabon aspires to develop its economy through ecotourism. In this context, national parks must be well managed, involving indigenous and local communities, because "their culture is closely linked to the forest, without ecological basis, it dies" (IPACC-WCS, 2005). In other words, national parks could be an opportunity to help preserve and promote traditional skills, knowledge, rituals, and rural communities' habits, a priori, with no threat to the environment.

We would like to remind that the idea of conservation through the establishment of national parks was born in the United States of America during the nineteenth century, a time of severe social crisis involving Indians and settlers of the Wild West. The first national park in the world Yosemite was established in the territories of the Miwok people (WRM, 2004), while the establishment of Yellowstone Park provoked a clash with local natives, which resulted in some social demands to the United States (WRM, 2004).

In 2008, a report by the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR / UA) shows that in Cameroon, "protected areas are also a threat to the rights of "Pygmies" in the land. In the second largest protected area of the country, the Dja Reserve (5260 km <sup>2</sup>) where there are some Baka camps (about 4000 people), community rights have been abolished (...) an evaluation in 1994 concluded the need of participation of the local community to "planning and decision making in the protected area." .

Not far from the Dja Reserve (Cameroon), Central African Republic (CAR) National Park, Nzanga-Ndoki (1222 km <sup>2</sup>) and the "Special Reserve tampon" in the dense forest of Dzanga Sangha (3159 km <sup>2</sup>), were created in 1980. Located in the south-west, "the protected area was established on land traditionally occupied by the Baka" (ACHPR / UA, 2008). The same report underlines, for the specific case of the CAR, that "the delimitation of this area has been declared, without consulting local people, thus reducing the space used by the Baka for hunting and gathering". The report also underlines that "a project of the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) in collaboration with the Government of CAR, is in the process of creating a new protected area that allows local people to undertake their own activities 'and observed that "the rights of the Baka are not mentioned".

Regarding the place of indigenous peoples, in terms of conservation projects, the statement of principles on indigenous peoples and conservation (prepared in 1996) is considered as the main instrument of policy for WWF. "It contains both the elements of saving, to avoid negative impacts on the rights of human resources and indigenous peoples' customary and positive engagement that seeks to develop sustainable partnerships with indigenous and traditional communities for conservation and sustainable management of their lands and territories (Springer, 2007). To this end, WWF recognizes that without the rights of indigenous peoples,

there is no constructive agreement between conservation organizations and groups of indigenous peoples "(WWF, 1996).

The Baka of Northern Gabon "are of the few groups (located between Minvoul, Makokou and Belinga) no Bantu, home oubanguian, whose talk<sup>7</sup> shows the use of the suffix, instead of "préfixation" characteristic of bantu languages" (Mayer et Voltz, 1989: 48).

From the archives of the mineral resources of Minkébé, consulted a few years ago, this region has been the subject of mining exploration up to 1946, by French operators.(Ministry of Mines, Energy, Petroleum and Resources hydraulic, archive undated). Historical research indicates the presence of iron on three sites, including Minkebe (60 million tons), Belinga (560 million tonnes) and Batouala (100 million tonnes)<sup>8</sup>.

The exploitation of iron of Bélinga, whose launch is scheduled for early 2010 (Lebas, 2008: 3) "could, ecologically, result in chaos (...) if all stakeholders are not associated" (WWF / "Conservateur" of Minkebe National Park, 2008).

In light of this situation, Minkebe-Bélinga may be considered as "critical sites". In other words, the sites which include the divergent interests that range, namely: conservation of biodiversity, logging concessions, gold mining exploitation, fishing activities, etc. Other criteria (sacred forest) can be taken into account as a result of "systematic evaluation" (World Bank, 2003: 4).

In the context of preservation and conservation of biodiversity in Central Africa, the institutional framework has been strengthened this last years, particularly through the establishment of a subregional convergence plan, whose main objective is summed up by "a concerted and sustainable management of forest resources in the sub-region and a network of protected areas representative of the biodiversity, ecosystems and for the well-being of our planet." Adopted by the Heads of States in Brazzaville in February 2005, this plan should take into account the human dimension, by the strengthening of the involvement of indigenous peoples as actors in the framework of the implementation plan of the plan convergence "(FIPAC, 2007).



**Photo 2:** Cultural events site in Imfondo  
Source: Mvé Mebia E – Imfondo13-04-2007

It should be emphasized that the convergence plan was adopted by the Conference of Ministers responsible for forests, during the meeting of Yaounde from 4 to 7

<sup>7</sup> In current language.

<sup>8</sup> These figures are reported by the Ministry of Mines (Archives of the Directorate of Geology and Mining Research, Gabon.)

December 2000, revised and improved in 2003, through the facilitation of FAO, through the project ' support and institutional strengthening of COMIFAC and the Alliance World Bank / WWF (COMIFAC, 2004).

However, the link between indigenous people and development has been reiterated at the International Forum of Indigenous Peoples of Central Africa (FIPAC) held in Congo Brazzaville from 10 to 15 April 2007. The idea of taking into account the concerns and specificities of indigenous peoples in national strategies for poverty alleviation and sectoral policies was raised and the "protection and promotion their traditional knowledge in relation with the management of biodiversity "(FIPAC, 2007)



**Photo 3:** Participants at the FIPAC/Imfondo/10-15-04-2007  
(Source: E. Mvé Mebia)

## Between sedentarization and semi nomadic

During our first field of socio-economic surveys, begun in 1999 and completed in 2001 in Minvoul region, about 20 km from the border with Cameroon, we found necessary to take into account the criterion" age" with some of the interlocutors baka. Thus, within the village Mfêfé-Nlame (neighboring residence of Awagha), the nearest baka village from Minvoul city, there was proposed a man, father of a numerous family, healer, always staying in the ' guard" (box of meetings), his name: Messôlbô Edou.

.Seeking to know the time of establishment in this village with his family and what were the different villages they had abandoned (...)? The man answered: "We had known the village through a Fang man of Etamentang, called Bebe Meye. The different villages which had been abandoned are: Peke (my birthplace), Zoua (Ndzem village) Nkolégneng and Momibonga. In Gabon side, we moved to Etamentang, a total of 5 villages (Messôlbô Edou, Ndzèmbè clan, personal communication, 2001)

The second person interviewed on the same point was an older, considered among the guardians of tradition in the village, said: "The starting point of my route is on the actual side of Cameroon, where my ancestors lived. There, our former villages were Andôk (located next to the river Melene) Mintebe (located next to the river Ndala) Mokakassa (located beside the river Fame). In Gabonese part, we lived respectively Ngbanda (not far from a site called Oyem) Mval, Londo (or Bangui, located beside of Evinayong) Mimbaché (near the Egnass river) Ngbé (to the village Sélé), Nkout (or

Sago, Ebara site) and Kombo (current site), a total of 9 abandoned villages (Ebio Ebôlfou, Mombito clan, personal communication, 2001).

Another Baka, interviewed on July 12<sup>th</sup> 2001 in Bitouga village, in the wake of our conversation, has given us some information about his status, and his origins. According to him, he was born in Ekele-Dja, see Cameroun side (Amaya Bandze, Ndonga clan, personal communication, 2001). .

This phenomenon is known in all the villages inhabited by the Baka in Minvoul region, whose age is between 50 and 90 years and beyond, but we must observe their apparent constancy desires to return in the forest, for activities of hunting, gathering, and the consequences on hunting activity, studied together during our researches. This stage, which is (perhaps) the end of a constant mobility, begins a new period of transition, which implies a change of residence, resulting from the passage of the "Residential Mobility" (Mobilité Résidentielle) to "Logistical Mobility" (Mobilité Logistique) resulting in the decline of forest journeys (Matsuura, 2007). But there is no doubt that the whole system of their thought still is based entirely on the forest. The result of this study provided estimates of annual killed elephants in northwestern Minkebe National Park. (Mvé Mebia, 2001, 2007).

#### Statistics on culling elephants in northwestern Minkebe National Park (2001 – 2007)

**Table 4 :**

Eléphants killed	Year						
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<b>Total</b>	104	77	70	50	35	25	28

Although in decline, the quota of elephants killed by the Baka, in 2007 (see table above) compared to previous years, due to probably the WWF/MINEF' fieldwork actions of supervising, the skills of indigenous peoples to eat the elephant meat for the *libandi* ceremonial exist, maybe the development of eco tourism in baka seems relevant for Minkebe conservation project (Mvé Mebia, 2001)



**Photo 4:** meeting with the Baka of Mféfé-Nlame-  
Source: Mvé Mebia, 2005

However, should confirm some performers (Baka) the involvement of authorities (expected to implement conservation measures) in the "business". As for the local management authority of Forest and Water is concerned, through the chief of local department that we had contacted, he said: "We can contribute to the conservation and sustainable management of wildlife resources in Minvoul, if and only if there are ways, such as the communication medium less expensive than the phone to be in permanent contact with the emergency services ... " On the site of slaughter (see photo 1), we submitted our survey to Pygmy hunters on the reasons of hunting elephants, here's the answer:

"Your question is fundamental, and we also believe that our response is crucial. If we practice hunting, because our parents raised us with the meat. Thereafter, our parents gave us the power to exercise this activity we will unfortunately not be able to leave as some wish. However, it is possible to reduce the quota, and this leads us to question the authorities to open the discussion, and they tell us what quota we could have... "

About the sharing of "product" (meat and ivories), our interlocutor responded:

"The meat is divided into two equal parts, the owner of the gun takes part and we take ours. Everyone to decide whether to eat or sell (...). The piece meat (about 1 kilogram) costs 2 mille CFA. This money allows us to buy soap, oil, clothing, salt, tobacco and alcohol. For the ivories of elephant, generally, the owner is responsible for selling, and the price is determined by weight. For a large pachyderm, we can earn 50 mille or 60 mille CFA ...<sup>9</sup> " (WWF Report, 2007).

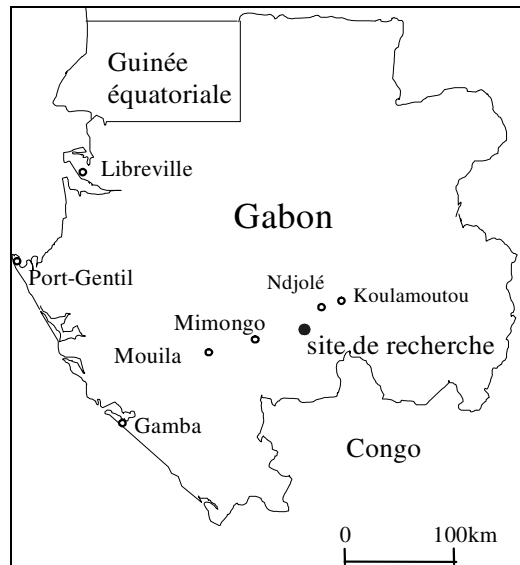
### Recognition of the hunting activity with low impact?

At the territorial level of Gabon, it is known that the Baka are "hunter-gatherers." However, if they are involved in the elephant hunting, "it is not just for their own food needs" (WWF Report, 2008). Some of their traditional rites, such as *libandi* (funeral events) often require the consumption of *Ya* (elephant meat) during these moments in memory of the deceased. However, hunters know that there is an established law by the Government on the species' full 'and' partially protected. Moreover, if the Forest Code recognizes customary uses, it does not specify in each case the conditions for use of wildlife. During a recent mission to achieve a documentary film on Minkebe forest, the old patriarch Baka requested the mediation of WWF team, to convey to decision makers' on the number of elephants to be killed ( Nze Minkoume, *Essilo* clan, personal communication, 2006). This concerns still dwells.

With the settlement, the patterns traditionally maintained in the forest today face to monetary exchange terms, setting up local or regional transactions, between forest services and the village (Mvé Mebia, 2001). Thus, with the settlement and development of social relationships, the mobility of hunter-gatherers has changed (Mvé Mebia, 2002, Matsuura, 2007). However, although disparities remain, Baka and Babongo, which are immediate neighbors of the Fang, Tsogho and Massango "live in symbiotic and mutualist without many conflicts about natural resources." The Babongo live in the same villages as mitsogho farmers (Matsuura, 2007), like the Baka live in the same villages as the fang (Mvé Mebia, 2001).

---

<sup>9</sup> Interview conducted on the site of the slaughter of elephants in December 2007



**Map 4.** Field of research at the Babongo Gabon  
(Matsuura, 2007)

## Concepts and measures for indigenous peoples

Under the terms of sub-regional convergence (COMIFAC, 2004) and in accordance with certain strategic directives (see line 8 - Research - Development), a first "Community" pilot project (***Projet de conservation et de valorisation du Parc National Minkebe et sa périphérie par les Baka du Haut-Ntem***) was supported by CARP (Central Africa Regional Program on Environment) in 2006. Unfortunately, this project did not go forward, because of the amalgamation of it late implementation of (Mvé Mebia, 2006).

November 2006, a project (on establishment of birth cards and children immunization) conducted jointly between the Ministry of Social Affairs and National Solidarity, UNICEF and Gabonese indigenous Peoples, was launched in Minvoul. However, Baka communities of Minvoul try to develop a program on community-based ecotourism

As for MINAPYGA (Mouvement des Indigènes National Pygmées du Gabon) is concerned, it directed the following projects:

- The support of an agricultural cooperative pilot in Mékambo (2004).
- Distribution of pans to Pygmy women of Mékambo (2004).
- Distribution of school supplies to pygmies children of Mékambo in 2004
- Implementation of two literacy centers for the benefit of the pygmies of Mékambo in December (2005)
- Launch of the traditional games of the indigenous peoples of Mékambo in order to introduce them into modern sports programs (Odambo ALéonard, Bakoya, MINAPYGA leader, personal communication, 2008)

With the implementation of the project "Accompanying measures of Ntem project" supported by the European Union (2005), for the achievement of community



plantations (which is stopped), two reasons seem to justify the failure of this project: absence of a preliminary study Project (1) the organization of the Baka family structures (2) because "the system of filiation defines rules in the implementation of agricultural work (...). By its function and its classification rules, the relationship obviously has implications when it comes to implementing a project development and conservation. Knowledge of rules of residence and marriage for example, helps explain the spatial mobility of population, its trade areas, or about women "(Bahuchet and Leclerc, 2000). It is on these principles, some preliminary research has been conducted in Gabon, to know the history of the family, lineage or clan in Gabon (Mayer, 1992, Mvé Mebia, 1999) and assume the social and economic characteristics of each component.

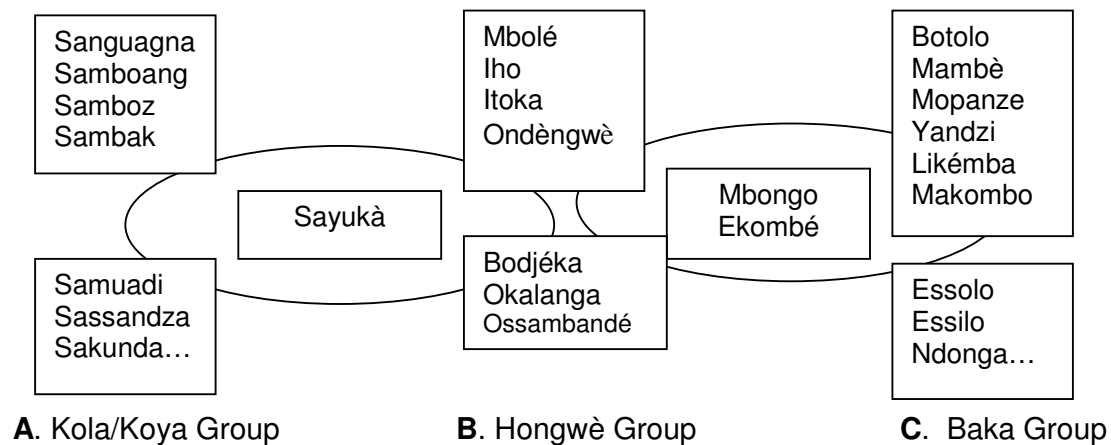
In the area of the Zadie (Mékambo) where we stayed from 30 April 2003 to 17 May 2003, as part of the transboundary socioeconomic studies Dja-Odzala-Minkebe (WWF, 2003), a few interviews in the axis Mékambo Ekata (55 km) allowed me to identify lineages and/or Bakola (Bakoya) clans namely: **Samuadi, Sanguagné, Sasandza, Sakundà, Sambak, Sayuki, Samboz, Samboang**. Our interlocutor (Bungom) said: "The Koya arrived in the region of Mékambo in 1936, from Congo. At this time, the Bungom agreed to live with the "unknown", provided to integrate an ungom family . Thus began the brewing of costumes. " Our partner had to clarify that all clanymes whose predicate (prefix) is identified by "**Sa**" belong to the group 'Muesa (Djiandé Mazungu Joachim and Makeba Pingo, mbola clan, village Ekata, personal communication, 2003). The same sources confirmed that, in the past, space along Zasdié River at source 'Mule' to the Djoua River was inhabited by the Bungom.

### Cultural assimilation between groups

In the framework of socio-economic studies in the department of Zadie (Mékambo) on the roads Mékambo Mazingo and Mékambo-Ekata (2003), we noticed, 6 *ikaka* (or clans), namely:

- *Iho,*
- *Itoka,*
- *Ondèngwè,*
- *Bodjéka,*
- *Okalanga,*
- *Ekombé.*

After this interview, I provided myself a theoretical assumption of the closeness between hongwè group (Ekombé and Mbongo clans geographically located in the villages, Mekouma (N = 0 ° 48.607 'E 04 = 14 °, 485') and Mbongo clan met in the village Mandombo (N=0° 40205 ', E = 14° 17161) and Baka group (Mbongo and Ekuambè clans), respectively, encountered in the Baka villages of Minvoul, namely: Bitouga (N=02° 07, 083', E=12° 07, 782') and Oveng-Alène (N = 02° 04 646 ', E =12° 11 156). In this presentation, we got the combination (see figure).



These diagrams show three ethnic groups sharing the same physical environment. Clans or lineages identified for each group, allowed us to observe the intermediate lineages or clans, which are: *Sayuka* (from the Koya and Hongwè), *Mbongo* and *Ekombé* (from Hongwe and Baka groups).

The study carried out between Ivindo River, Mazingo and Ekata (two villages occupying the extreme positions of the Department of Zadie) we had identified two clans baka, namely *Mbongo* (among eleven other Bantu villages) and *Ekombé* (in two Bantu villages). - See table on the villages and clans –

These three combinations between Koya, Hongwè Baka, and Bungom have allowed us not only to highlight all the clans of Ekata village (occupied by Bungom), but also its foundation. Thus we obtained the clans: *Samalélo*, *Yehéssa*, *Sambéyani*, *Sassabi*, *Samayawé*, *Sayuka*, *Sassandza*, *Sanguagna*, *Samboang*, and *Samwadi*. As for the founding of the village Ekata, our interlocutor revealed that the name Ekata comes from *dikata* by its foundation. *Dikata* (site of dense vegetation and thick) is a site that had occupied the Bungom, but that was not easily accessible around 1950 from the Upper-Zadie River . Going up gradually in the past, our interlocutor has identified 7 villages (before occupation of the current site) that are: 1. Matéa 2. Koumamoutou 3. Angonda 4. Babangoué 5. Angomba 6. Ekata (1). 7. Ekata (2). (Djandé Mazoungou, personal communication) . In the grouping of villages Ekata-Maboula-Ilaonènè, the classification of separate clans according to the groups involved, except mahongwè is not an easy task. The Koya could be confirmed as "a variety of ungom" (B 22 b) according to Guthrie (1971). The result is that the Bakoya speaks the same language as the Bungom (Mayer, 1987).

### “Pygmy” school: cases of public school of Ekata

In order to assess the degree of involvement of children Koya in school life, a survey was conducted in the village Ekata on May 10th 2003, within the school, with the head of the institution. The choice of this village is justified not only for its status as a grouping of villages, but also its multi-ethnic character. There are three ethnic groups,

namely: Bungom, Mahongwè and Bakoya. According to the head of the village we met at the arrival, the Bakoya group is predominant and represents about 80% of the population of the village. Here, Bakoya are represented in the leadership.

### Composition of enrollment by group

Under the total number of pupils enrolled at the beginning of the school year 2002/2003 in the public school of Ekata (Mekambo), we noted 157 students at the beginning of the year (October). According to the Director of the institution, this number fell by more than half. Among the dropouts, only children from households Koya were indicated. The total number of students present until the end of the year was 58. This total is distributed in the table below:

**Table 5** :. Distribution of pupils (from 3 ethnic groups) by grade level.

Nimber and education level	Bungom		Bakoya		Mahongwè	
	B	G	B	G	B	G
CP1	6	2	8	3	1	1
CP2	1	3	2	3	1	1
CE1	4	5	1	1		2
CE2	1	2				
CM1	1	1			2	2
CM2	1	1			1	
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>

The interpretation of the table above shows irregular Koya children to school. According to the teacher, "this regression of Koya children, who are the majority (80 students) at the beginning of the year is essentially the result of:

- neglect or refusal by the parents shown to contribute the costs of mutual education,
- the commitment of parents in the activities of hunting and fishing, more than any other activity,
- Each dry season, the villages are abandoned for a stay in the woods (forest camps) by a family group, including students registered. Also, the teacher, had completed, "we often observe that pupils who are absent in the morning, are currently selling the bushmeat in the evening (Ilambi Mbimba Pierre Noel, personal communication, 2003). In the north-west of Minkebe National Park where, live about 400 Baka, 150 children do not attend school. School enrollment in the Baka community in the region is 1% (Mvé Mebia, 2001). The reasons for low rates of schooling are the same as those outlined in Bakoya.



**Photo 5** : Doumassi : quelques enfants et parents baka  
(E. Mvé Mebia, mars 2005)

## Coexistence inter clan : -Hongwè Baka-Kota-Ungom-Kwelé

**Table** : villages and associated clans in Mékambo region (northeastern Gabon)

Villages	Socio-ethnic groups	Clans
Itoumbi II	Ikota, Bungom, Bakoya, Baka	Bokunda, Mbongo, Sabulolo, Sangwagna Ilombi, Sakunda, Dabomo, Mehezu Oyemba, Samwadi, Bosenwu
Imbong	Kwele, Bungom, Mwesa, Bakoya, Ikota	Sabenga, Samboz, Sasel, Sasolu, Satsenda, Satsendika, Iboh, Sasir, Sayenda, Sawis
Etakangaye	Ikota, Bungom, Bakoya	Bedjonwu, Bongoye, Masaka, Mbongo, Nguma, Sasaza, Alombayi, Samwadi, Sayenda, Sadunga
Ehanzo	Ikota, Mahongwe, Shake	Isseke, Mbawu, Mahele, Sabuyaka, Sabukaza, Sabuguenza, Ngomako, Sabukobo, Mwemba, Molanda, Mbongo
Ingoualandjondjo	Ikota, Mahongwe	Zembi, Bognoyi, Zimba, Miongo, Bongoye, Bwelo, Bweko, Molanda, Bognanga, Bokodi, Bokuluna, Bokola, Bokuedi, Bongwale, Mehanza, Issele
Ikei Boka-Boka	Ikota, Kwele	Mbongo, Eyambe, Bongomba, Sabea, Datsela, Miongo, Bongoye
Mbela Baya	Ikota	Bondole, Bozokou, Issele, Ibenga, Mbawu, Ngongwe, Mbongo, Basaka, Bongoye, Bongwasito, Butola, Bendjongo
Zambakangaka	Ikota	Ngomangwe, Bonyanga, Mbongo, Mwemba, Bongwale, Mekandje, Bombela, Bedjongo, Bonyundje
Batouala	Ikota	Isseke, Sibaka, Ngomungwe, Bonyanga, Bozembi, Mekandje, Mwembe, Bongwale, Datsela, Bongoye, Mbongo, Bohenza, Dakoma
Bonamaza	Mahongwe, Ikota	Ikoyi, Molanda, Ipundje, Bongoye, Bonyanzeke, Tsalo, Samaku, Mbongo
Massaha	Ikota, Shake	Samaku, Sabodji, Bondjiya, Mbongo, Bombiya, Bazodji, Bopasi, Ngongwe, Bongoye, Weba, Issele
Malassa	Mahongwe, Bungom, Ikota, Shake	Samakono, Samutondo, Sanga, Samundede, Samuna, Sapaz, Sabukombo, Molanda, Buma, Bongoye, Ekombe, Bokongo, Mengozo, Mbongo
Mekouma	Mahongwe,	Ngambi, Itoka, Ondengwe, Bokalanga, Tsilambu, Mulembe, Iho, Bongoye, Ekombe, Onyemba, Bweko,

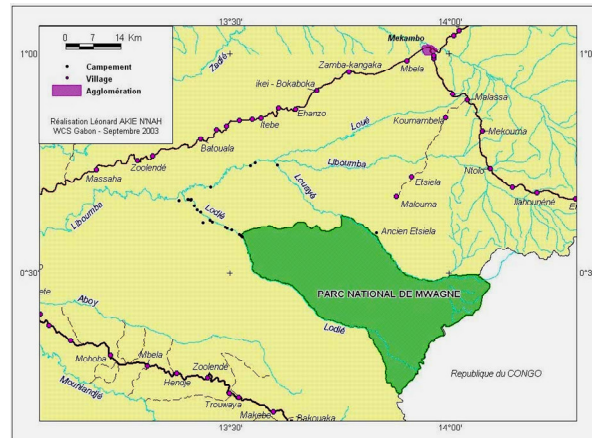
		Odjeka, Molanda, Mbembangoye
Ilahounene	Mahongwe	Bokalanga, Bohindwe, Sakunda, Mbole, Issele, Itoka, Samokumu, Ngambi, Sabukaza, Ngombu, Olemba, Isseka, Satse, Boleko, Odjala, Olemba
Ekata	Bungom, Mahongwe, Bakola	Sambeyani, Sansaza, Samayawe, Mbole, Sasabe, Masaka, Samwadi, Mbongo, Sayuka, Sanguagna, Sakunda, Sambak, Samboz, Sambwang, yesa,

## **Expectations from the panel discussions**

- i) What is a realistic framework that can be the basis for coordination in the planning process involving all vital stakeholders (indigenous people) in the effort to militate against impacts of globalization and environmental change?
- ii) Who are the custodians of African indigenous knowledge?
- iii) How can viewpoint and interests of African indigenous people identified in the planning process for the mitigative strategies against impacts of globalization and climate change?
- iv) How can specific local traditions, socio-economic or cultural attributes in Africa underpin collaborative process in building African image for sustainable development?
- v) How can existing human, social and intellectual capital in Africa be utilized to enrich the mechanism of institutional coordination in the planning process for mitigative measures against climate change and globalization?
- vi) What are the most useful African indigenous knowledge (IK) that are relevant to the mitigation measures on environmental degradation and globalization?

In view of the post-oil (Après-petrole), Gabon has undertaken a vast field of structural reforms to improve the management of its natural resources through the establishment of a Forest Environment Sector Program (PSFE). A major objective of this program is to focus on "Good Governance" and "direct involvement of local communities" (Schmidt-Soltau, 2005: 11). In relation to this specific context, new directions are possible, for example the involvement of the education systems in greater importance of ecological and environmental conservation objectives from the cultures and traditions (PPF, 2003: 10)

**Map 5 :** North and North east of National Park of Mwagna : location of Bakoya-Bungom-Mahongwè (source : WWF Gabon, 2007).



## Recommendations

Since the Rio Summit (1992) to the Durban meeting (2004) the main guidelines, for sustainable management of biological diversity have included the need, to take into account the cultural dimension. Otherwise, considered as a “common good” biological diversity must tend to two fundamental guidelines: co-managed protected areas (Government-designated protected areas where decision making power is shared) and community conserved areas (natural and modified ecosystems (...) and cultural values, voluntarily conserved by indigenous and local communities through customary laws or other effective means (IUCN/WCCPA, 2004).

If, for some time conservation programs have incorporated the concept of respect of social spaces (Colchester, 2003: 51) it is also important that traditional knowledge be formalized (Crawhall, 2005) in finding the right tools for the conservation

In terms of recommendations, we roll over again the views of indigenous peoples, namely:

- 1) the institutionalization of FIPAC, legal framework of indigenous peoples in Central Africa
- 2) Implementation of the convergence plan with the involvement of indigenous peoples
- 3) Taking into account the concerns and specificities of indigenous peoples in national strategies for poverty reduction
- 4) The implementation in Gabon of a mechanism of assessment the impact of projects and programs on indigenous peoples.
- 5) The establishment by Governments of an enabling environment by developing programs and legislation in a consultative and participatory approach to the establishment and effective management of protected lands, owned to communities (CBD, Sub Regional Workshop Libreville 2008).



6) Save and promote linguistic and cultural heritage of indigenous peoples, in accordance with the Action Plan of the Declaration of Unesco (2001).

Through initiatives (such as the workshop on the biodiversity of Libreville) organized with the participation of indigenous peoples, the focus has been on 'Good Governance', defined as "governance based on power, relationships, responsibility and transparency" . Some define it as "interactions among structures, processes and traditions that determine how power is exercised, how decisions are taken on issues of public interest and how citizens or other stakeholders are involved. It is the combination of explicit and implicit policies, practices and institutions that affect public life "(IUCN, 2004).

**Note:** We propose in this study (Appendices 1, 2 and 3) the project of a participatory work on the fauna and flora with the Baka of Gabon, in order to develop a national project on ecotourism based on indigenous peoples.

## Conclusion

Ecologically, including the creation of 13 national parks (approximately 10% of its territory) Gabon has experienced great progress. However, the categories and plans to landscape management remain to be defined in accordance with convention on Biodiversity (IUCN, 2004, WWF, 2008). Moreover, in the specific case of North and North-eastern Gabon, where live Baka and Bakola, they will soon discover the largest project event for exploring iron of Bélinga early 2010 (Brainforest, 2008). The event is huge, according to the report prepared by experts, "the region is destined to experience an unprecedented growth (...) if nothing is done in terms of pipeline development, it will be a total chaos" , pointed out the "Conservateur" of Minkebe National Park (2008). Considered as a major objective, both by civil society actors (NGOs) that public decision maker (government) and economic operators (mining and forestry actors), the concept of "development", as argued by Christoph von Fürer - Haimendorf (cited by Obadia, 2008) does it not present a "risk of erosion" of traditional lifestyles? Recently, I carried out a mission of chats shared with communities from 10 to 16 April 2008 at Minvoul (north-west of Minkebe National Park), the Governor of Woleu-Ntem Province wanted to know our methodological approach to work with Baka, I told him that I would like contribute with the Baka a multidisciplinary approach., based on the respect of their culture. While noting the importance of the forest, 'development' could also result from the attitude taken towards it, as underlines this baka proverb " ***Li mbé, na hosolo bidé*** ". In other words, any tree that bears fruit does not deserve to be cut."

## Références

- AKWA NEKA, Géorges, GAMI, Norbert, NTONGBO, Anne, MABAZA, Gustave, MVE MEBIA, Emmanuel, MIKALA, Rufin, 2003 : *Rapport synthétique d'études socioéconomique de la zone transfrontalière Dja-Minkebe-Odzala*, WWF, Gabon, 64 p.
- Association Edzengui, 2006 : « Projet EB/ETT, Ecole Baka/Ecole des Traditions de Forêt », dans le cadre du Projet Intégré d'Appui au Développement endogène des pygmées, Libreville, Gabon.
- BAHUCHET, serge 1992 : *Dans la Forêt d'Afrique centrale. Les pygmées Aka et Baka, Histoire d'une Civilisation Forestière*, T.I, Peeters-Selaf, Paris.
- BAHUCHET, serge 2000 : *Les peuples de forêt tropicale aujourd'hui* (Vol. III) Région Afrique centrale, Programme Avenir des Peuples des Forêts Tropicales, Bruxelles, 455 p.
- BORRINI-FEYERABEND, Grazia et al (with input from Marco Bassi, Peter Bille Larsen et al), 2004: *Indigenous and local communities and protected areas – Towards Equity and Enhanced Conservation*, IUCN, 112 p.
- Banque Mondiale, 2003 : *La nouvelle « politique forestière » de la Banque mondiale : Guide à l'intention des ONG* ; 10 p.
- CADHP/UA, 2008 : *Rapport du Groupe de Travail d'Experts de la Commission Africaine des Droits de l'Homme et des Peuples sur les populations/communautés autochtones*, GTPA.
- CAVALLI-SFORZA, Luca 1996 - Qui sommes-nous ? Une histoire de la diversité humaine, Paris, Seuil.
- CINNAMON, John M, 2004: Mobility, Genealogical Memory, and Constructions of Social Space in Northern Gabon (Généalogie, Mobilité Sociale et Ethnohistoire du Nord et du Nord-est. Gabon, in *The Special Factor in African History: The Relationship of the Social, Material and Perceptual*. Ed, Howard and Richard Shain, pp 177-219. Leiden: Brill Academic Press.
- COLCHESTER, Marcus, 2003 : *Nature Sauvage, Nature Sauvée ? Forest Peoples Programme*, 151 p.
- COMIFAC, 2004 : *Plan de convergence pour la conservation et la gestion durable des écosystèmes forestiers d'Afrique centrale*, Secretariat Exécutif, Yaoundé, 40 p.
- DHELLEMES, L 1985 : *Le père des pygmées* (avec la coll de P. Macaigne) Paris, Flammarion, 231 p.
- DGSEE (2001), Gabon : *Enquête démographique et de santé*, Ministère de la planification, de la programmation de développement et de l'Aménagement du territoire, FNUAP ; ORC MACRO.
- DIARF, 1999. *Plan d'aménagement forestier et cynégétique du Massif forestier de Minkébé*, Volume 3 : Résultat des travaux réalisés par le WWF dans le cadre de l'exécution du projet ; Ministère des Eaux et Forêts et du Reboisement/WWF-Gabon, 31 p
- FIPAC 2007 : Communiqué final sur les travaux du Forum International des Peuples Autochtones d'Afrique Centrale, Impfondo (Congo-Brazzaville) 10-15 avril.
- GTPA/UNESCO, 2008 : *Des peuples autochtones francophones en mouvement*, Coordination Autochtone Francophone, CD-DVD.

Indigenous Information Network, 2005: *Strengthening Environmental Conservation and Sustainable Development Skills for Pastoralist and Hunter-Gatherers of East Africa*, IIN, 100 p.

GUTHRIE, Malcolm 1971: *Comparative Bantu*, vol. 2, Famborough, Gregg Press.

KLIEMAN, Kairn A, 2003: « *The pygmies were our compass* » *Bantu and Batwa in the history of west central Africa, early times to c. 1900 C.E.*, Social History of Africa, 233 p.

KNIGHT, Judy 2003: *Relocated to the roadside: preliminary observations on the forest peoples of Gabon*, Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, The University of Oxford

KÖHLER, Axel and LEWIS, Jérôme, 2002: Putting Hunter-Gatherer and Farmer Relation in Perspective. A commentary from Central Africa, in *Ethnicity, Hunter-Gatherers, and the 'other': Association of Assimilation in Southern Africa?* Edited by Suzan Kent. Washington: Smithsonian Institute, pp 276-305.

LEBAS, Landry 2008 : Etude de l'importance de l'Ivindo pour les populations locales afin d'évaluer les impacts potentiels du Projet Bélinga sur le milieu naturel et humain et pour proposer aux parties prenantes des recommandations pour la gestion et le suivi du projet (Rapport Brainforest), 29 p.

L'Union, 2003 : « Les "Baka" de Minvoul regroupés en association », in *L'Union*, n° 8281 du vendredi 8 août 2003.

IUCN, 1994 : *Lignes directrices pour les catégories de gestion des aires protégées* ; Commission des Parcs Nationaux et des Aires protégées, de l'Union Mondiale pour la Nature avec l'assistance du Centre Mondial de la surveillance continue de la conservation, IUCN, 102 p.

MATSUURA, Naoki, 2006: *Sedentary lifestyle and social relationship among Babongo in Southern Gabon*, African Study Monographs, Suppl, 33, 71-93, Graduate School of Science, Kyoto University.

//\_ 2007 : *Sédentarisation et changements des relations interethniques entre des fermiers et les peuples de la forêt : une compilation des visites entre les Babongo du Gabon et les Baka du Cameroun* ; University of Kyoto, 17 p.

MAYER, Raymond et VOLTZ, Michel 1989 Dénomination ethnoscientifique des langues et des ethnies du Gabon dans *Revue Gabonaise des Sciences de l'homme*, Acte du Séminaire des Experts, Luto, Libreville-Gabon.

MAYER, Raymond, 1992 : *Histoire de la famille gabonaise*, Centre Culturel Saint Exupéry, Libreville.

MBOT, Jean Emile, 1975 : *Ebughi Bifia*, « Démonter les expressions » : *Enonciation et situation sociale chez les Fang du Gabon*. Paris, Musée de l'Homme, Institut d'Ethnologie.

Ministère de l'Environnement, du Développement Durable, de la Protection de la Nature, de la Prévention et de la Gestion des Calamités Naturelles, 2008, Séminaire National sur le Développement Durable, Libreville, 23-24 juillet.

MVE MEBIA, Emmanuel, 2001 : *Habitat baka et organisation socioéconomique dans la périphérie nord et nord-ouest de la Réserve de Minkebe (Gabon)* ; Mémoire de DESS tourisme culturel UOB/WWF-projet Minkebe, 103p.

MVE MEBIA, Emmanuel, 2009, Projet « Mabé », Peuples Autochtones et Traditions de Forêt au Gabon, Projet de terrain soumis à l'UNESCO (En première ligne face aux changements climatiques) le 21 mai 2009.

MEDJO MVE, Pither 2008 : "Aperçu ethnolinguistique des pygmées Bakoya de la région de Mékambo (Gabon)" in *Eléments de description des langues du Gabon* (Sous la direction de Pr. Daniel Franck IDIATA), Les éditions du Cénarest, 248 p.

NELSON, John, Hossack, Lindsay, 2003 : *Les peuples autochtones et les aires protégées en Afrique : du principe à la pratique*, Forest Peoples Programme, 312 p.

OBADIA, Lionel 2008: "The Conflicting relationships of Sharpes to Nature: Indigenous or Western ecology?" In *Journal for the Study of Religion, Nature and Culture* Equinox Publishing, Unit 6, The Village, pp 116-134, London.

ODAMBO, Léonard et al, 2002: Les Baka, Peuple de la forêt, in *Mbolo*, n° 46, pp 12-17

POWELS, Olivier, VANDE WA, Jean-Pierre 2008: *Les reptiles du Gabon*, Smithsonian Institution, 271 p.

RAPONDA WALKER, André, SILLANS, Roger, 1961 : *Les plantes utiles du Gabon*, Fondation Raponda Walker, Sépia.

République gabonaise, Ministère des Eaux et Forêts, 2001. Loi 16/2001

République gabonaise, Présidence de la République, 2007. Loi 003/2007 relative aux parcs nationaux

SCHMIDT-SOLTAU, Kaï., 2005 : *Programme Sectoriel Forêts et Environnement (PSFE) Plan de Développement des Peuples Autochtones. Rapport Final*. July 2005. World Bank, Washington, 48 p.

SPRINGER, Jenny 2007 - *Trip Report: WWF Indigenous Policy Implementation in the Minkebe Project Area*; april 17-20, Minvoul, 11 p.

TURNBULL, C 1961: *The Forest Peoples*; Simon and Schuster, Newyork.

TWIESELDMANN, François, 1942: *Contribution à l'étude anthropologique des pygmées de l'Afrique occidentale*, Mémoires du Musée Royal d'Histoire, Belgique ; 32 p.

UNESCO, 2002: *Déclaration universelle de l'Unesco sur la diversité culturelle*, adoptée par la 31ème Session par la Conférence Générale de l'Unesco, 2 novembre 2001, Paris.

VERDU, Paul et al 2009: *Origins and Genetic Diversity of Pygmy Hunter-Gatherers from Western Central Africa Report*, Current Biology, February 24, CNRS.

WWF, 1996: *Indigenous Peoples and conservation: WWF Statement of principles* (principles for partnership between WWF and Indigenous peoples' organizations in conserving biodiversity within indigenous peoples' lands and territories, and in promoting sustainable use of natural resources)

**Appendice 1:** Recovery test vocabulary (preliminary) of the fauna observed and heard during reconnaissance missions in the Minkebe forest (personal data, 2000-2007)

N°	Baka name	Phonetical transcription	Scientific name	English user name
1	Pame	[paamə]	<i>Potamochoerus porcus</i>	Bushpigr
2	kema	[ema]	<i>Cercopithecidae</i>	* monkey to design a family of Cercopitheque
3	əbobo	[əbobo]	<i>Gorilla Gorilla Gorilla</i>	Gorilla
4	Sekū	[sekū]	<i>Pan troglodytès</i>	Chimpanzee
5	Ndengbe	[nde:ngbè]	<i>Cephalophus monticola</i>	(blue) Duiker
6	ɲoto	[mɔtɔ]	<i>Aulacode</i>	Hedgehog
7	ɲboko	[mboké]	<i>Sincerus caffer nanus</i>	Buffalo
8	Sua	[suaa]	<i>Panthera pardus</i>	Panthèer
9	ɲbuli	[mbuli]	<i>Tragelaphus spekei</i>	Sitatunga
10	ɲboke	[mboké]	<i>Atherurus africanus</i>	Porcupine
11	ɲbongo	[mbɔngɔ]	<i>Tragelaphus Eurioceros</i>	Antilope
12	dʒama	[dʒama]	<i>Genetta servalina</i>	Génette Serveline
13	Londo	[lɔndɔ]	<i>Aonyx Capensis</i>	Otter of Congo
14	kpegna	[kpeɲa]	<i>Orycteropus afer</i>	Aardvark
15	keleba	[keléba]	<i>Manis gigantea</i>	Griant pangolin
16	ɲboko	[mbokó]	<i>Sincerus caffer nanus</i>	Buffle
17	kokolo	[kɔkɔlɔ]	<i>Pholidota</i>	Pangolin
18	ətoungui	[ətunɲi]	<i>Felis aurata</i>	Golden cat
19	Bemba	[bɛmba]	<i>Cephalophus sylviaador</i>	Yellow backpack antilope
20	Likpongbo	[likpɔngbɔlɔ]	<i>Tyroptera tricolore</i>	Bat (Chiroptera)
21	Bea	[bɛa]	<i>Hylochoerus</i>	Hylochere

22	mokoakele	[mòkòákélé]	<i>Cataphractus congicus</i>	False Gharial
23	Ngando	[:ɲán]	<i>Osteolaemus tetraspis</i>	Crocodile
24	Ngota	[ngòtá]		Dwarf Duiker
25	yoka	[jóká]	<i>Dendrohyrax arboreus</i>	Tree Hyrax
26	kunda	[kúdá]	<i>Kinxys erosa</i>	Toru of land
27	kunda lende	[kúndalèndè]		Toru of water
28	mopembe	[mòpèmbe]	<i>Cercopithecus nictitans</i>	Haucher
29	tamba	[tám̄bá]	<i>Mandrillus sphinx</i>	Mandrill
30	Akolo	[àkóló]	<i>Hyemoschus aquaticus</i>	Chevrotain aquatique
31	kalu	[kálú]	<i>Colobus polykomos</i>	Guézeza
32	m̄bambe	[mbá:mbe]	<i>Varanus Ornatus</i>	Varan
33	tambango	[tám̄bángó]	<i>Cercopithecus de Brazza</i>	Cercopithèque de Brazza
34	m̄balanga	[mbālāngā]	<i>Dipsadoboa Viridis</i>	Green snake
35	Poungue	[pɔŋɛ]	<i>Galago aleni</i>	Galago (3espèces)
36	katu	[katù]	<i>Perodlerlecus potto</i>	Potto de Bosman
37	m̄eke	[mèkè]	<i>Pithon sebae</i>	Pithon de seba
38	m̄ambe	[màm̄bè]	<i>Cercopithecus pogonias</i>	pogonias
39	Sangada	[sán:ɲanda]	<i>Colobus satanus</i>	Black colobus
40	gbelekesse	[gbélekés]	<i>Cercopithécus cephus</i>	Moustac
41	Nibom	[nìbòm]	<i>Cephalophus dorsali</i>	Céphalophe black dorsal stripe
42	ya	[yá]	<i>Loxodonta africana cyclotis</i>	Forest elephant
43	Sendo	[Sèndó]	<i>Sciurus vulgaris</i>	Écureuil
44	m̄ozembe	[mòzèm̄bè]	<i>Cephalophus Ogilbyl</i>	Céphalophe à pattes blanches

			<i>Crusalbaum</i>	
45	Nguendi	[ngɛ́ndí]	<i>Cephalophus callipygus</i>	Céphalophe de Peters
46	ɱeke	[mɛ́kɛ̃]	<i>Python de Sebae</i>	Python Seba
47	ɛtungui	[ɛ̀túŋjí]	<i>Felis Serval</i>	Serval and Servelin
48	dʒama	[dʒáma]	<i>Civettictis civetta</i>	African civet
49	ɱboka	[mbóka]	<i>Nandinia binotata</i>	Nandinie
50	ɱbouma	[mbúma]	<i>Bitis gabonica</i>	Gabon Viper

**Appendice 2:** Recovery test vocabulary (preliminary) approached some edible fruit trees around Minkebe forest (personal data, 2000-2001).

N°	Baka name	Phonetical transcription	Scientific name	African username (fang)
1	<i>Mabé</i>	[mábɛ]	<i>Baillonella toxisperma</i>	<i>Adzap</i>
2	<i>Ngatà</i>	[ŋatá]	<i>Myrianthus Arboreus</i>	<i>Engokông</i>
3	<i>Nlê</i>	[ɛ̃nlɛ]		<i>Omang</i>
4	<i>Kana</i>	[kána]	<i>Panda Oleosa</i>	<i>AFân</i>
5	<i>Bambou</i>	[bámɓ]	<i>Gambeya Lacourtiana sp.</i>	<i>Abâm</i>
6	<i>Péké</i>	[pɛ́kɛ]	<i>Irvingia Gabonensis</i>	<i>Andôk</i>
7	<i>Libaba</i>	[libába]	<i>Dacryodes macrophylla</i>	<i>Atôm</i>



8	<i>Mungola</i>	[mũḥṵlṵ]	<i>Trichoscypha Sp</i>	<i>Engông</i>
9	<i>Mengôm</i>	[mḗḥṵ]	<i>Cula Edulis</i>	<i>Ewôme</i>
10	<i>Pô</i>	[Pṵ]	<i>Pogo Oleosa</i>	<i>Angale, Ndôe</i>
11	<i>Ngbé</i>	[ḥḡbḗ]	<i>Anopyxis klaineana</i>	<i>Ebom</i>
12	<i>Ngongoo</i>	[ḥṵḥṵ;]	<i>Pendospondis microcarpas</i>	<i>Ofoss</i>
13	<i>Mungola</i>	[mṵḥṵlṵ]	<i>Trichoscypha Sp</i>	<i>Engông</i>
14	<i>Ngatà</i>	[ḥṵatà]	<i>Myrianthus Arboreus</i>	<i>Engokong</i>
15	<i>Mundongui</i>	[mũndṵḥṵ]	<i>Trichoscypha abut</i>	<i>Mvut</i>
16	<i>Makpaa</i>	[makpá ;]	**	<i>Okôme</i>

**Appendice 3:** Recovery test vocabulary (preliminary) approached some traditional medicine trees around the traditional medicine baka (personal data, 2005)

N°	Baka name	Phonetical transcription	Scientific name	African username (fang)
1	<i>Mundo</i>	[mũndṵ]		<i>Ntumbong</i>
2	<i>Kungu</i>	[kuḥḡḡ]	<i>Piptadenia Africana</i>	<i>Tôm</i>
3	<i>Bôssô</i>	[ḥṵsṵ]	<i>Combretodendron Africanum</i>	<i>Abing</i>

4	<i>Nguèlè</i>	[ŋgɛ̀lɛ̀]	<i>Pterocarpus Soyauxii</i>	<i>Mbel</i>
5	<i>Ngbo</i>	[ŋgbó]	<i>Guibourtia ehi</i>	<i>Oveng-Kol</i>
6	<i>Ngbanda</i>	[ŋgbàndà]	<i>Erythrophloeum Guinense</i>	<i>Elone</i>
7	<i>Movingui</i>	[mòvifɔ̀gi]	<i>Distémonanthus benjamins</i>	<i>Eyene</i>
8	<i>Mbili</i>	[mbili]	<i>Ptérocarpus Soyauxii</i>	<i>Essi</i>
9	<i>Etèngué</i>	[ɛ̀tɛ̀ŋgɛ̀]	<i>Pycnanthus angolensis</i>	<i>Eteng</i>
10	<i>Gouga</i>	[gugè]	<i>Alstonia boonel</i>	<i>Ekouk</i>
11	<i>Botunga</i>	[bòtufà]	<i>Polyalyhia Suaveolens</i>	<i>Otunga</i>
12	<i>Nguèlè</i>	[ŋgɛ̀lɛ̀]	<i>Pterocarpus Soyauxii</i>	<i>Mbel</i>
13	<i>Ngambé</i>	[ŋgambɛ̀]	<i>Piptadeniastrum Africanum</i>	<i>Atuign</i>
14	<i>Boloma</i>	[bɛ̀lòmà]	<i>Cylicodiscus Gabonensis</i>	<i>Edun</i>
15	<i>Ngbo</i>	[ŋgbó]	<i>Guirboulia Tesmanii</i>	<i>Oveng</i>
16	<i>Movingui</i>	[mòvifɔ̀gi]	<i>Distémonanthus benthamianus</i>	<i>Eyene</i>
17	<i>Bèmba</i>	[bambò]	<i>Gilbertiodendron sp.</i>	<i>Abem</i>
18	<i>Mbalaka</i>	[ɛ̀mbaláká]	<i>Pentaclethra macrophylla</i>	
19	<i>Menkuo</i>	[mɛ̀nkuò]	<i>Xylopiya aethiopica</i>	<i>Okala</i>
20	<i>Kombo</i>	[kòmbò]	<i>Musanga cecropioides</i>	<i>Asseng</i>
21	<i>Bangi</i>	[bafɔ̀gi]	<i>Milicia Excelsa</i>	<i>Abang</i>
22	<i>Tekeleke</i>	[tɛ̀kɛ̀lɛ̀kɛ̀]	<i>Nesogordonia papaverifera</i>	**
23	<i>Soa</i>	[soá]	<i>Plagiostyles africana</i>	**
24	<i>Popolo</i>	[pòpòlò]	<i>Anthonotha macrophylla</i>	**
25	<i>Kio amboko</i>	[kiòambòkò]	<i>Uvariopsis sp.</i>	**
27	<i>Tokumboli</i>	[tòkumbòli]	<i>Chytranthus sp.</i>	**

28	<i>Payo</i>	[páyó]	<i>Irvingia Excelsa</i>	Essong
29	<i>Kanga</i>	[kafǵ]	<i>Amphimas Pterocarpoides</i>	Zalang
30	<i>Melea</i>	[méleá]	<i>Desbordesia glaucescens</i>	**
31	<i>Moyali</i>	[móqáli]	<i>Anthrocarion Klaineinum</i>	**
32	<i>Boloma</i>	[bólómá]	<i>Cylicodiscus gabonensis</i>	**