

## *Development in the Central African rainforest: concern for forest peoples*

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*The paper cites the life of the central African pygmy people and their relationship with neighboring farmers as valuable for the economic, social, and sustainable use of the rainforests. It points out that the nomadic lifestyle of the indigenous peoples is more compatible with sustainable exploitation of the forest than are sedentarization programs. The authors show that current biodiversity in the rainforest is the result of the introduction of exotic species, the creation of new habitats, and manipulation by the forest people for thousands of years — indeed, biodiversity exists in central Africa because of human habitation, and if human beings are excluded from large areas of forest, this will not conserve the present biodiversity. The authors make recommendations about land rights, protection of forest areas, traditional lifestyles, education and training for alternative ways of life, and the responsibilities of the forest people who use the reserves.*

*Le document décrit la vie des pygmées d'Afrique centrale, et leur relation avec les fermiers voisins, comme valable pour l'usage économique, social et soutenu des forêts humides. Il indique que la vie nomade des peuples indigènes est plus compatible avec l'exploitation soutenue de la forêt que sont les programmes sédentaires. Les auteurs montrent que la biodiversité des forêts humides est le résultat de l'introduction d'espèces exotiques, la création de nouveaux habitats et la manipulation par les peuples de la forêt pour des milliers d'années — en fait, la biodiversité existe en Afrique centrale à cause de l'humain, et si les humains sont exclus de grandes parties de la forêt, ceci ne conservera pas la présente biodiversité. Les auteurs présentent des recommandations sur les droits fonciers, la protection des aires forestières, les vies traditionnelles, l'éducation et la formation pour des vie alternatives et la responsabilité des peuples des forêts qui utilisent les réserves.*

Approximately 200 million hectares of forest lie within the boundaries of six Central African countries (Cameroon, Central African Republic — CAR, The Peoples Republic of the Congo — Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Rwanda, and Zaire). This area of forest represents 20 percent of the world's tropical moist forest, second in

size only to Amazonia, and contains a wide diversity of flora, fauna, and human cultures. The most prominent geomorphological feature of the central African rain forest is the basin of the Zaire River, which forms a vast depression in the center of the African continent. The low and central part of the Zaire Basin, which varies

in altitude from 200 to 500 meters, contains vast areas of forest that are seasonally or permanently inundated. On its eastern lip, the basin is rimmed by a chain of volcanic mountains that mark the Western Rift Valley with its highly fertile soils on which depend some of the highest population densities in all of Africa. Moving northward and southward from the central basin, the forest gradually gives way to gallery forests interspersed with savanna, and then finally savanna alone. These areas around the lip of the basin at the forest-savanna ecotone have richer soils and experience greater seasonality in rainfall. They also have higher population densities and are the source of most immigration into the forest.

Compared to other areas of Sub-Saharan Africa, population densities in central African countries are low. In Gabon and Congo, for example, there are fewer than six inhabitants per square kilometer, and in Equatorial Guinea and Zaire fewer than 20 inhabitants per square kilometer. In addition, the populations are unevenly distributed — more than 30 percent of the people are concentrated in urban areas. In Zaire, which contains 100 million hectares of closed forest, or roughly half of all of Africa's rainforest, approximately 40 percent of the population is urbanized. Despite central Africa's being sparsely populated, the people live in and rely upon the forests of central Africa more than in any other area of tropical forest in the world.

### Central African farmers

The majority of people living in central Africa rely upon the resources of the forest for a significant proportion of their subsistence. The predominant mode of subsistence is slash-and-burn agriculture, whereby an area of forest vegetation is cleared, burned, replanted, and cultivated for one to three years. Most households clear some new area of forest each year. In addition to cultivation, nearly all forest-living farmers supplement their diet and income by fishing, hunting, and gathering forest resources. People living along rivers often specialize in fishing, and nearly all farmers fish seasonally. Hunting forest animals, especially duikers (antelope) and monkeys, is the major source of protein for many. Commercial hunting for forest animals to supply protein to large towns and cities is common among African forest dwellers. Moreover, gathered forest resources, including

honey, nuts, fruits, leaves, and insects (mainly caterpillars and termites), provide important supplements to diets that would otherwise be lacking in diversity and essential nutrients. Additionally, Central Africans also rely on the forest for their building materials and their firewood.

Before the colonial period, forest peoples were primarily subsistence farmers, cultivating crops and extracting from the forest only those resources required for their own maintenance and reproduction. After World War I, when colonists introduced new crops, central Africans were induced to produce surpluses for the first time for cash. Thus today, in addition to their traditional swidden gardens, which normally contain cassava, plantains, corn, taro, and yams, most households cultivate one or several of the following cash crops: rice, peanuts, coffee, cocoa, or oil palm.

Although in many areas of central Africa, road systems and river transport are poor or non-existent, almost all forest farmers live along a river or road offering some access to outside markets. In some areas, there is a dynamic influx of immigrants. Many also live near a commercial operation that can offer opportunities for casual employment. Consequently, a substantial proportion of central Africans supplement their living by working, at least seasonally, for commercial coffee, palm, cocoa, or rubber plantations or for mining or logging operations.

Most farmers of central Africa reside in small villages with between 10 and 250 inhabitants. Village residence is usually determined by clan affiliation. Chieftainships imposed by colonial administrations in the early twentieth century persist today. However, because they were created for administrative purposes, often in ignorance of cultural affinities, chiefdoms do not always represent traditional tribal affiliations. Moreover, because the majority of central African tribal peoples were divided into segmented lineages without chiefs, kings or any form of centralized authority, modern-day chiefs and other government officials are not always effective leaders or trusted representatives of tribal opinion. Cultural identity is based on language, kinship, oral history, cultural practices (e.g., initiation ceremonies, body markings, marriage and kinship rules) and, often, identification with a specific area of forest. The forest nearly

always figures prominently in the history as well as in magico-religious myths and ceremonies of Central African peoples and is thus important to their sense of identity and psychological well being.

#### AFRICAN PYGMIES

For the purposes of this report, we shall refer to as "pygmies" those peoples distributed across the forested regions of central Africa who are particularly short in stature and who traditionally have lived by specializing in hunting and gathering wild forest resources, which they consumed themselves or traded to neighboring Bantu and Sudanic-speaking farmers in exchange for cultivated foods. Implied in this definition is the long history of contact and extensive economic and political relations between pygmies and farmers in the central African rainforest for at least 2,000 and possibly as long as 4,000 years (Ehret and Posnansky 1982).

Pygmies are distributed discontinuously across nine different African countries (Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Zaire, CAR, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, and Congo) and live in innumerable distinct ethnic groups that are separated by geography, language, custom, and technology. Pygmies in most areas are unaware of the existence of pygmies in other areas, and there is no sense of solidarity between different populations. The one characteristic that is common to them all, no matter their location or level of acculturation, is their disdain for the term "pygmy." Without exception they prefer to be called by their appropriate ethnic name (e.g., Mbuti, Efe, Aka, Asua, etc.) and consider the term "pygmy" as pejorative. That there is no one generic term other than the European word "pygmy" (derived from the Greek *pyme* meaning a unit of measure, whose length was from the elbow to the knuckle) bears testimony to the absence of any pan-pygmy awareness. Unfortunately, until the people themselves generate a different term, we are forced to use the word pygmy, but we will use individual ethnic names whenever possible.

African pygmies have long been considered the original inhabitants of the African tropical rainforest and are still today viewed variously as noble, egalitarian, forest dwarfs or fierce, unruly savages who are embarrassing throwbacks to an earlier stage of human evolution. In

fact, there is no suitable definition or precise description of the African people referred to by most of the world as pygmy, since there is no physical or cultural feature that distinguishes them absolutely from other Africans. While they are known for their short stature, the average height of many pygmy populations overlaps with that of other populations in Africa and in other tropical forest areas of the world (Bailey, 1991). Genetically, there is no evidence that pygmies are distinct from other Africans; there is no "pygmy marker" that is common to all pygmies and exclusive of all other Africans (Cavalli-Sforza 1986). Similarly, linguistically and culturally, pygmies cannot be considered distinctive from other central Africans; there is no distinctive "pygmy language family," and pygmies across central Africa exhibit a broad range of cultural adaptations, many similar to those of Bantu and Sudanic-speaking African farmers.

Contrary to many romanticized accounts of pygmy life, there are no people living today in central Africa independently of agriculture as pure hunter-gatherers, and all evidence suggests that this has been true for many hundreds of years (Bahuchet and Guillaume 1982) — if indeed pygmies ever lived in the forest without access to agricultural foods (Bailey and Peacock 1988; Bailey et al. 1989).

Today, most pygmies are what we call specialized hunter-gatherers. They specialize in extracting resources from the forest and thus are nomadic in habit. They consume some of those resources themselves, and some they trade to others to acquire cultivated foods, iron implements, and other material items. Everywhere pygmies have been carefully studied, including the most remote corners of their geographic distribution, researchers have found them relying on cultivated foods for at least 50 percent of their diet (Bahuchet 1985; Bailey and Peacock 1988). Moreover, pygmies everywhere have extensive relations with neighboring Bantu and Sudanic-speaking farmers, relations that extend beyond economic trade to include all aspects of political, religious, and social life. Indeed, it is not possible to consider pygmy culture and subsistence in isolation from the African farmers with whom they trade and live.

In many areas of central Africa, specific clans of pygmies have traditional relations with specific clans of farmers, and these relationships



are passed from one generation to the next, creating a complex web of economic and social exchange that leads to high levels of cooperation and support. Pygmies provide forest products — protein-rich meat in particular — to farmers while the farmers provide much-needed starch to pygmy foragers. The meat, honey, and medicinal products from the forest are significant contributions to farmer survival, while pygmies would be hard pressed to do without the iron implements and the political representation provided by farmers. In most areas, pygmies are viewed by farmers as essential to successful ceremonies, while farmers can have considerable control over many crucial pygmy events, including marriage, circumcision, and burial. Relations between pygmies and farmers are so extensive that elaborate fictive systems tie the two groups together in a web of kinship that ensures social and economic interdependency. In some areas intermarriage — pygmy women marrying farmer men (but farmer women never marrying pygmy men) — is extensive (Bailey 1988).

Close relations between pygmies and farmers extend to their perceptions of rights to land. Each farmer clan has rights recognized by all neighboring farmer clans to a specific area of forest, which they may clear for crop cultivation or where they may hunt, fish, gather, and extract required materials. The clan of pygmies traditionally associated with that same farmer clan also has recognized rights to exploit the same area of forest. The farmers assist their pygmy partners in maintaining exclusive rights to this area, and violations by either pygmies or other farmers are contested through negotiation, or sometimes violence. In this way, most, if not all, areas of forest in central Africa are claimed by indigenous people, and elaborate informal indigenous mechanisms exist to guarantee specific land rights.

It should be clear that, for the purposes of designing programs for development or conservation, pygmies cannot be considered in isolation from indigenous forest farmers. *Central African farmers and pygmies exist together, are interdependent, and should be considered as an integrated economic and social system.*

This is a system that is generally not recognized by African governments and is only minimally integrated into the formal politics and economy of the national societies. Yet for the people

themselves, the system facilitates the spread of risk in an uncertain, seasonal environment and offers support to people vulnerable to unpredictable changes brought by outside agents.

### Patterns of adaptation, acculturation, and development

While most pygmies in central Africa still live within the traditional farmer-pygmy relationship, most also engage in activities outside that relationship and, like their farming partners, have managed to adapt in myriad ways to changes caused by development and commercialization. This is true not just in individual localities where development has been more extensive, but in every area of central Africa. Any one population of pygmies spans the full range of acculturation and adaptation to changing conditions.

### COMMERCIAL HUNTING

Because of the growing populations around the edges of the Zaire Basin, there is increasing demand for meat from the forest. Increasingly, pygmies are becoming commercial hunters, spending a greater proportion of their time hunting forest game and selling larger quantities of meat to traders who come great distances from towns and cities located at the edges of the forest. These traders bypass the traditional farmer-pygmy relationship and pay cash or trade starch for meat to induce pygmies to intensify their hunting. The effect is to break down the traditional farmer-pygmy relationship, to bring pygmies into the money economy, and inevitably to cause the depletion of wild game, thus endangering not only the forest fauna but also the subsistence base and basic way of life of the pygmies and their farmer partners (Bailey 1982; Hart 1979; Bahuchet n.d.).

### EMPLOYMENT

Many pygmies also work on a casual, sporadic basis for commercial coffee, rubber, or palm plantations or for logging companies. No pygmies are in positions of authority or receive high salaries. They generally work seasonally, planting, weeding, or harvesting on plantations or identifying trees and supplying other workers with meat on logging operations.



## FARMING AND SEDENTARIZATION

In recent years, and for various reasons, some pygmies have become sedentary, village-living farmers. In some regions, insufficient areas of forest remain to support the pygmies' specialized hunting and gathering life. In others, overhunting has depleted forest game. Moreover, in every region there have been periodic formal campaigns by national governments to force pygmies, or induce them with gifts, to settle in villages and become sedentary farmers. Missionaries in almost every region have also been active in sedentarization efforts. There are myriad reasons given for the need for these programs, but the most often-cited are three:

- *first*, pygmies are at a primitive stage of evolution, and intervention is needed to bring them into the modern economy;
- *second*, pygmies must be brought into the mainstream of the national culture and economy to become productive members of the society; and
- *third*, pygmies must become independent of their farmer "patrons," who exploit them unfairly.

Those who design and implement these sedentarization programs do not recognize the economic or social value of the traditional farmer-pygmy relationship, nor do they appreciate the contribution that forest nomads make to the national economy by efficiently exploiting forest resources on a sustainable basis. The pygmies themselves are seldom, if ever, consulted or given a decisionmaking role in the design and implementation of these programs. Most sedentarization programs have failed, as the pygmies return to the forest when the gifts run out or they abandon their gardens when the first good honey season begins. However, increasingly there are pygmies who have voluntarily turned to farming and who live in villages along the roads. However, like traditional African farmers, they spend at least some time in the forest and depend upon it for a significant supplement to their mixed-farming subsistence. A few such sedentary farming pygmies also like their farmer neighbors, grow some cash crops in addition to their subsistence crops. However, cash cropping by pygmies is far from common in any region.

## URBANIZATION

A very small number of pygmies have moved into towns and can even be seen in major cities. Some are hired as guards, armed with bow and arrow or crossbow, to protect stores in urban settings. Others become homeless beggars, curiosities for foreign tourists and African urban dwellers. The great majority return to the forest after a short time.

## EDUCATION

The level of education of central African farmers is variable, but generally does not extend beyond fourth or fifth grade. For many, getting to school can require a 10-12-kilometer walk each way, and books, blackboards, paper, and writing implements are scarce or unavailable. Instruction is frequently interrupted or uninspired because teachers go unpaid. Schools with higher-grade instruction are situated in population centers distant from tribal villages and require payment for tuition, clothes, and food beyond the means of most subsistence farmers.

Very few pygmies are literate. Because of their mobile lifestyle, they seldom attend school for more than a few weeks. In many areas there is overt discrimination against pygmies in schools, by both teachers and farmers who value pygmies' skills in the forest but belittle their capabilities to learn in school. In almost every region of central Africa there are a few literacy programs exclusively for pygmies. These are often associated with settlement schemes initiated and administered by missionaries. Thus far, they have had limited success, as pygmies strive to maintain their mobility.

## HEALTH

Health facilities are poor throughout rural central Africa, but especially for peoples living in remote areas. Dispensaries are usually available but rarely supplied with medicines. In many areas, local tradesmen with no medical knowledge are the main suppliers of antibiotics, antimalarials, and other drugs.

Virtually all farmers have indigenous health care systems with traditional healers using herbs and divination techniques to cure natural and supernatural (e.g., witchcraft and sorcery-induced) illnesses. In most regions, the local pyg-

mies either are the principal traditional healers or play important roles.

Pygmies tend to use dispensaries and other sources of Western medicine less than their farmer-partners do. This is no doubt due in part to pygmies' high mobility and tendency to be farther from the source, but other factors contribute to their lower reliance on non-traditional health care. In some areas they are discriminated against by health care workers. They are less integrated into the cash economy and so have fewer means of paying for medicines. Being the primary traditional healers in many areas, they are more likely to rely upon the traditional health care exclusively.

Both central African farmers and pygmies are less well nourished (judged by weight/height and skinfold thickness) than are Western populations. While farmers tend to be better nourished than their pygmy partners, there is evidence that pygmies experience less dramatic fluctuations in body weight than do farmers. There is a high prevalence of parasitic and infectious diseases among both farmers and pygmies. Malaria, tuberculosis, amebiasis, and filariasis are all prevalent. In some areas, river blindness caused by filaria inflicts up to 20 percent of adults. Because manioc is the staple food for many central Africans, goiter is highly prevalent, especially among the farmers. Hypertensive and coronary heart disease and chronic diseases more typical of industrialized countries are rare. Pain caused by trauma is a common occurrence in the lives of forest people. Hernias among both sexes are a common ailment. Accidents with machetes and other tools are not infrequent among farmers, and pygmies experience trauma to their feet and other body parts almost routinely as part of their forest foraging existence. Infection secondary to trauma is prevalent.

**FERTILITY AND MORTALITY** Africans are known to experience the highest average fertility rates in the world, with total fertility rate (TFR) in many countries averaging 6.5-8.0. In contrast, in central Africa, many populations have astonishingly low average fertility, due primarily to high rates of primary and secondary sterility. In many areas, 25-45 percent of post-menopausal women have had no, or just one, live birth (Romaniuk 1967; Voas

1981; Caldwell and Caldwell 1983). Although there are many possible causes for the high rates of infertility, the most likely is infection, with gonorrhea causing tubal occlusions and blockage (Belsey 1976).

Many farmer and pygmy populations that are the traditional inhabitants of the central African rainforest have high rates of infertility, with total fertility rates ranging from 2.5-3.5. The more recent immigrants to the forest and the populations on the edge of the forest, on the other hand, tend to have higher average fertility rates. Consequently, populations expanding into the forest are growing populations, while the indigenous populations may be declining or, at best, stable.

Each pygmy population tends to have a fertility rate similar to the farmer population with which it associates. In many areas, Africans consider pygmies as highly fertile, but this is not supported by the evidence at hand.

Infant and child mortality rates for central African farmers and pygmies are poorly known. It appears that in areas where fertility rates are low, infant and child mortality rates are surprisingly low (Bailey 1989), whereas in areas with higher fertility, mortality rates climb also. The principal causes of infant and childhood death are infectious and parasitic diseases, including malaria, tuberculosis, and amebiasis. Sick cell alleles occur at higher frequencies among central Africans, especially eastern pygmies, than among other Africans (Cavalli-Sforza 1986). There is no evidence that pygmies differ from farmers in their mortality schedules. This suggests that the two groups are equally exposed and susceptible to the same diseases, although this has not been studied systematically (c.f. Dietz et al. 1989; Hewlett et al. 1986; Mann et al. 1962).

### Recommendations

Based on our observations of the processes of development and acculturation underway in central Africa, we offer several recommendations to those engaged in planning and administering development projects in central Africa.

- Few, if any, unoccupied lands exist in central Africa. For the purposes of planning the development or protection of any area of land, it should be assumed *a priori* that any forest is occupied by some person, or some clan, lineage.

or group. Even if no overt signs of occupation (e.g., houses or garden sites) are evident, the land is most likely occupied intermittently and exploited by people whose lifestyles depend upon frequent movement. The present diverse composition and distribution of plants and animals in rainforest is the result of the introduction of exotic species, the creation of new habitats, and the chronic manipulation by the forest people for thousands of years. Because of the long history of long-fallow shifting horticulturalists, along with mobile foragers in central Africa, all present-day forest areas are really a patchwork of various successional stages of growth created by people, and no areas are what most proposals and reports refer to as "pristine," "untouched," "primary," or "mature" forest. In short, these forests are human cultural artifacts. Present-day biodiversity exists in central Africa *not in spite of human habitation*, but *because of it*.

The relevance of this for planning the protection and management of bio reserves is that if we are to exclude human beings from using large areas of forest, we will not be conserving the present biodiversity we hold so precious, but rather we will be altering it significantly and probably diminishing it over time. Thus, land should be considered as free and available for conservation only in relation to careful study, including exhaustive interviewing of local and adjacent indigenous farmers and foragers.

- The land rights of all forest peoples must be recognized. In most central African countries, all land legally belongs to the state. However, even the state must recognize traditional rights. Increasingly, as population pressure rises in forested areas, land is for the first time becoming a commodity to be bought and sold. The state governments or traditional chiefs and local officials are selling concessions to companies, church groups, and individuals without also purchasing rights or securing permission from the indigenous people who have inhabited and used the land for generations. Traditional rights need to be articulated by these people themselves as the first step toward securing them.

- The value of a nomadic lifestyle should be recognized as an effective strategy for exploiting the tropical rainforest in a sustainable way and as vital to the economic, social, and psychological well-being of forest peoples. Sedentarization programs are in most cases incompatible with sustainable exploitation of the forest, as resources around large settlements become

overexploited. While mobility creates difficulties for governments and agencies to provide education, health, and other services to tribal peoples, there are means of accommodating mobile lifestyles and ensuring that tribal peoples are not denied equal opportunities.

- Protection of forest areas (reserves and parks) is not incompatible with the continued presence of forest peoples. Instead, forest peoples can enhance efforts to protect forest flora and fauna. At low densities, forest peoples with their mobile lifestyles are unlikely to overexploit forest resources. The creation of protected areas should not necessitate the removal and resettlement of forest peoples, nor should it require severe restrictions on their rights to forest resources. Often indigenous groups are permitted to remain in protected areas as long as they remain "traditional" — a term usually defined by policymakers without consultation with, or extensive historical knowledge of, the peoples themselves. Such restrictions lead to "enforced primitivism" (Goodland 1982:21), whereby tribal people are expected to remain "traditional" (sometimes for the purposes of enhancing their value as a tourist attraction) as the rest of the world passes them by. If limitations are placed on technology and the extent or means of forest use, then special education and training for alternative ways of life should be built into the planning and budgeting of protection schemes. Groups at the clan or lineage level might be given considerable latitude in the management of areas to which they belong. The management policy for reserves should be general enough and flexible enough to allow for variation in management styles across local groups and over time. The more control handed to people at the local clan level, the greater will be the sense of stewardship and responsibility for the protection of the land and its resources by the people who use the reserves on a daily basis.

Planning the organization and management of bio reserves in central Africa will be most effective if it enlists the participation of indigenous people at levels below that of the regional government and even below that of tribal chief. During the planning process, it will be most effective to consult with clusters of villages, which are often traditionally organized into moieties. Programs of community-based conservation that are centralized and designed to train well-educated, non-indigenous people as teachers, census takers, guards, wildlife moni-



tors, health workers, managers, and trainers will most likely be less successful than spending the additional funds to train the less educated local inhabitants and giving them large, but local responsibilities.

- Resettlement or sedentarization programs for indigenous peoples are rarely justifiable; however, in the rare cases where they are judged necessary, the following guidelines are recommended:

- Full agreement from both the peoples to be resettled and the peoples onto whose land they are being moved should be secured.

- The people should be given access to areas of forest sufficient to retain their former lifestyle.

- People should be settled in small villages — not merged into large villages — with residence consistent with traditional social relationships.

- Villages should have facilities adequate for proper sanitation and hygiene.

- Special social services may be necessary to assist adjustment to the new situation.

- Intervention schemes break down traditional economic and social relationships. The pygmy-farmer relationship has existed for many generations and is vital to both groups' economic, social, and psychological well being. Programs aimed exclusively at pygmies, although designed to eliminate what is perceived as economic exploitation by farmers, actually disrupt social and economic networks that reduce risk and uncertainty. Such programs produce unnecessary animosity toward pygmies by farmers and more often than not lead to marginalization of pygmies.

- Pygmies should be assured of equal rights as full citizens of the state and assured of equal access to services offered to other citizens. Often pygmies are discriminated against in schools and denied treatment at dispensaries. They are often not given identity cards and are often omitted from local or national censuses. As governments take action to rectify such violations of basic human rights, they must take care not to seek justification for resettlement, sedentarization, or other mechanisms for forced acculturation.

- For any development project, forest peoples should be an integral and early part of the planning process. Development agency directives inevitably state that indigenous peoples must be consulted before a project is implemented; yet we have seen little evidence that the voice of the local people is actually heard.

Most project assessments include recommendations for measures to protect the interests of indigenous peoples, but those measures are rarely the product of careful consultation with the people themselves. Moreover, the essential elements of projects are usually planned long before and far removed from consultation with forest peoples. Project plans are altered slightly late in the planning process only to conform to policy directives concerning protection of tribal peoples' rights. A more effective approach — one that would both protect the interests of the forest peoples and take advantage of their unique wisdom — would be to integrate forest peoples into the planning process from the beginning. To increase forest peoples' input into development planning, we recommend the following:

(a) Local peoples' representatives (not necessarily "elite" members) should be asked to participate in the early stages of project planning. This may require such representatives to be transported to the nation's capital city or to other locations.

(b) Planners and consultants who know either the local tribal language or the regional dialects should be sought. Often consultants know only the official language of the country (usually a European language) and seldom know even the language of the region (e.g., Kiswahili, Lingala), making direct communication with local tribal people impossible.

(c) Very specific guidelines should be established for written reports by project planners and assessors. Such guidelines should be designed to ensure that project personnel make every effort to talk to local people. Reports might include: how many people were interviewed; in what language(s); the specific circumstances of the interviews; the position(s) or status of those interviewed; and the tribal affiliations of those interviewed.

- In the forest areas of central Africa, tourism is only nascent right now, but it is sure to grow with the creation of national parks and the growing popularity of eco- and ethno-tourism (see *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 1990) in the developed countries. Before it is too late, countries should design safeguards to prevent forest peoples' use rights and resource management decisions from being usurped by the tourist industry. If forest peoples are made part of the formation of tourism strategies (rather than manipulated by those seeking unfair profits), tourism can enhance cultural awareness and

the knowledge of ethnic history while avoiding the "people in a zoo" phenomenon. The durable success of a tourist industry in any central African country depends on the enthusiastic participation of indigenous peoples who will be crucial for maintaining the region's cultural and environmental integrity.

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