

Village hunters and city sellers

The bushmeat economy in the Dja Reserve (Cameroon)

Hilary Solly¹

In this article I will suggest that by focusing solely on young male hunters ECOFAC are omitting a crucial section of the local population who play a significant role in the bushmeat trade. These are both men and women who are not hunters but who purchase bushmeat as part of an integrated economic strategy, and who make an important contribution to the local economy. A closer reading of the Bulu local economy reveals how attitudes towards money vary depending on how it is earned and identifies the key players in livelihood improvement strategies.

I conclude that although hunters are involved in the bushmeat trade, they are not necessarily those who make optimal use of the income gained. It is rather the non-hunters, who purchase meat from hunters in order to sell it on in town, who play a more significant role in the local economy. Hunters have a reputation for wasting or frittering away the 'easy' money they have earned from bushmeat sales. However, non-hunter traders are more likely to reinvest the profit gained from the purchase and re-sale of bushmeat because, through this purchase, greater value is attributed to the product.

¹ Via Pasubio 88, Taino 21020 (VA), Italie.

Background

This article is based on research undertaken in the Dja Reserve, Southern Cameroon over a two year period between November 1996 and December 1998. The Dja Reserve is located in the tropical forest region of southern Cameroon approximately 200 km south-east of the capital Yaoundé. The Reserve covers a territory of 5260 km² with the Dja River providing a natural boundary, encircling approximately three-quarters of the protected area. It is recognised as holding significant biological wealth due to its location as it straddles the two major African forest types: the Littoral forest and the Congolese forest. Because the region encompasses two bio-geographical regions it contains a large diversity of species, not only species from both the Littoral and Congolese forest but also species endemic to the region. This wealth of flora and fauna makes the Dja Reserve one of the most important forests in Africa for the conservation of biodiversity.

The Dja Reserve was created with the status of Fauna and Hunting Reserve in 1950, reflecting the increased interest in conservation of the African colonial territories that took place during this period. In 1981, with the shift in focus from the protection of threatened species to conservation of biodiversity, it became a Biosphere Reserve, and in 1987 a World Heritage Site. However, despite the interest shown by the international community in the biodiversity of the region there was virtually no formal management of the Reserve until the arrival of ECOFAC in 1993.

In 1992 ECOFAC obtained funding from DG Development of the European Commission to run an ICDP in the section of Dja Reserve located in the southern Province of Cameroon. The project is managed in collaboration with the Cameroon government's Ministry of Environment and Forests (MINEF). The aim of the project is to combine biodiversity conservation with social and economic development for those populations dependent on the forest reserve's resources. There are three ethnic groups living inside the borders of this section of the Dja Reserve: Bulu, Badjoué and Baka 'pygmy'. This article is concerned with the Bulu population.

The increase in bushmeat hunting amongst the Bulu and its transformation from a predominantly subsistence activity to an increasingly commercial enterprise is due to a number of interrelated

factors. For the past 50 years, the Bulu population in the Dja Reserve has been predominantly one of cocoa farmers. However, structural adjustment and the subsequent drop in world cocoa prices in the late 1980's led to a large number of farmers abandoning their cocoa plantations. The situation was exacerbated by the worsening condition of the track and bridges in the Reserve, making it increasingly difficult for the cocoa company lorries to enter and purchase the farmers' harvest. The population adapted to this situation with an increase in commercial bushmeat hunting, encouraged by the high demand for bushmeat from urban centres. Bushmeat's high price-to-volume makes it an attractive commodity to be carried out of the Reserve and sold. During the 1990s cocoa prices have gradually improved. However, commercial bushmeat hunting remains a popular income option, particularly for young Bulu men.

The Bulu are living in 18 villages located along a 37 km stretch of track running from north to south and representing the border of the Reserve at this point. There are neighbouring Baka camps linked to some, but not all of the villages. The villages vary in size with between 20 and 250 inhabitants. A road bridge crosses the Dja River at the north. To the south the river can only be crossed by canoe. The village where I lived and where the majority of research was undertaken was Mekas, one of the largest villages in the western sector with a Bulu population of 208 and a Baka population of 72. The village is located 23 km from the road bridge in the north and 14 km from the southern river point.

The ECOFAC ICDP approach

The major conservation concern for ECOFAC in their management of the Dja Reserve is the commercial bushmeat hunting that is undertaken by both the local population and by those coming from outside the Reserve. ECOFAC believe that the extent of hunting currently being undertaken in the Reserve is unsustainable (Delvingt, 1997). It has taken measures to reduce commercial bushmeat hunting with a combination of suppression, compensation and substitution typical of many ICDPs. For ECOFAC suppression has involved the employment of military-style 'ecogardes' who undertake surveillance patrols, the confiscation of illegal arms and the seizure of meat being taken out of the Reserve to be sold. Compensation is where goods or services are provided to counterbalance the economic losses caused by the establishment of a protected area. Compensation by

ECOFAC has included the building of schools, dispensaries, and track and bridge improvements. Substitution is where alternative sources of income are sought to replace those to which access has been denied. For ECOFAC substitution has concerned the search for alternative sources of income to that gained from bushmeat. Ideas have included the diversification and commercialisation of Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFP) and agricultural produce, the regeneration of existing cash crops, and salaried manual labour provided by the project. ECOFAC has focused its substitution efforts on the young men living in the Reserve, who they see as key players in the bushmeat trade. An example of this has been their development of *haute intensité de main d'œuvre*² (HIMO). The idea of HIMO is to employ a maximum number of local males for the ECOFAC infrastructure projects. The work is timed to fall during the same period as the hunting season, in order to provide an alternative income to that gained from hunting and bushmeat sales (Vautherin, 1997).

The Cocoa and Bushmeat economy amongst the Bulu in the Dja Reserve

Data collection

Data were collected on the two major forms of income for the Bulu population in the Dja Reserve, cocoa and bushmeat. For the cocoa harvest, information was collected during two years of harvest. For the first year of the enquiry (1996/7) each cocoa plantation owner was asked how many kilograms of cocoa he had sold and at what price. In the second year the farmers were asked the same question but the sales that took place publicly with the cocoa companies were also attended. For this reason I consider the data collected for the harvest of 1997/8 as more accurate. In the second year of the inquiry the farmers were also asked details about how they had spent their cocoa harvest money. It is the second year's data that I make reference to in this article.

The cocoa harvest sales normally take place from around October to January each year depending on the weather and state of the roads. Sometimes farmers group together to sell their cocoa in order to attract a better price from the cocoa companies but this is rare except within immediate families. Lorries generally pass through the villages and buy the

² high intensity manual labour

cocoa directly from each farmer. Sometimes farmers will carry their cocoa out of the Reserve by foot and then by taxi to the town of Sangmelima where they sell it, but this does not happen often. They may also sell or exchange a part of their cocoa harvest within the village for goods or money. This occurs when a farmer wants to purchase something, either before the lorries have arrived to buy the harvest, or when no lorry is present to buy his cocoa.

Bushmeat data were collected between September 1997 and November 1998 on hunting trips made by Mekas villagers and the neighbouring Baka. The date and time of departure was noted; what type of hunting took place (gun, traps or dog) and at which location (and approximate distance from the village); what game was killed and whether it was kept, given or sold - if given to whom and if sold where (in the village or in town) and for what price. Initially the hunters were also asked what they did with the money they had earned from hunting but there was a strong reluctance to answer this question and eventually it was dropped. For the final analysis, data were taken for the full year running from 1 November 1997 to 31 October 1998.

Cocoa and Bushmeat income

During the economic crisis of the late 1980's cocoa prices dropped dramatically and many cocoa plantations were abandoned. The local Bulu population turned to commercial bushmeat hunting as an alternative means of earning the income lost from cocoa. Gradually the price of cocoa improved and it is now lucrative once more. Indeed, for the 1997/8 harvest (Table 1), cocoa farmers earned considerably more than hunters earned over the yearlong period with bushmeat sales (an average of 95,000 CFA compared with 53,000 CFA. From Table 1 one can see that there are more hunters than farmers. However, some hunters rarely sell their kill and most hunters will only sell a proportion of the meat taken, which reduces their average income. Not even the highest earning hunters earned as much as the top earning cocoa farmers. Figure 1 shows the earnings of the top ten cocoa farmers compared with those of the top ten hunters. Earnings are consistently and significantly higher for the cocoa farmers, with the top ten hunters earning between 95,100 CFA and 271,800 CFA compared with the top ten cocoa farmers, who earn between 147,600 CFA and 377,450 CFA.

Table 1. Cocoa and Bushmeat sales for 1997/8 (NB.1,000 CFA = 10 FF).

no. of farmers/hunters	39 farmers	49 hunters
total sales 97/98	3.7 millions CFA	2.6 million CFA
highest earner	377,450 CFA/yr	271,800 CFA/yr
average income	95,000 CFA/yr	53,000 CFA/yr

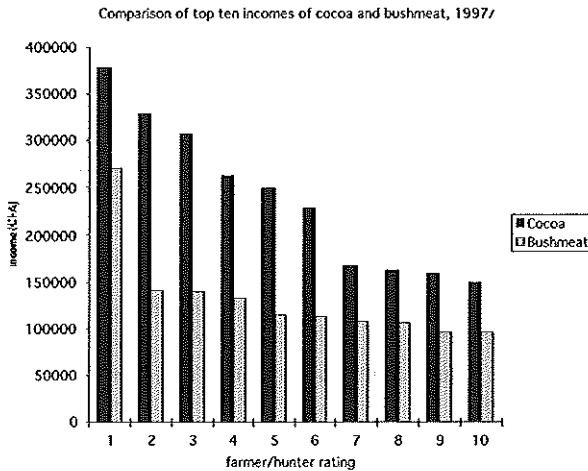


Figure 1. Comparison of top ten incomes of cocoa and bushmeat, 1997-1998.

The attraction and wasteful nature of hunting income over cocoa income

However, despite cocoa farming being more profitable than hunting, cocoa plantations remain abandoned and old unproductive plantations are often not being replanted with new trees. The habits of the people changed during the period when cocoa was not profitable and the Bulu men have become used to hunting as a means of obtaining an income. In addition the nature of the money earned through hunting is different. Cocoa farming involves a degree of time, energy and money investment. A cocoa farmer must clear an area of forest for his plantation, create a nursery for the young cocoa plants, plant them out, treat them each year with herbicides and pesticides (previously provided by the Cameroon government for free but more recently having to be purchased by the farmer), clear the plantation of undergrowth each year and wait up to four or five years for the first harvest. Trap hunting on the other hand involves little investment. A hunter need only purchase enough cable to lay a line

of traps and take the time to place them and check them. In addition, rather than earning a once yearly income from cocoa hunters are able to earn smaller amounts of money throughout the year. Part of the appeal of commercial bushmeat hunting is that the income gained is 'quick, easy money', involving low investment and with rapid returns. This type of earning technique is particularly attractive to young unmarried men who have few responsibilities and the freedom to do as they like with the money they earn.

There are now men in the village of Mekas who have never invested in developing their own plantations and are not used to this type of work. If a young man works a plantation it is likely to be the plantation inherited from his father, often old, partially abandoned and therefore not very productive. In addition, if there is more than one son in the family then the plantation will be divided between the sons. This can result in two or more individuals working one plantation, which can lead to problems and disagreements. It is often easier to go off hunting where, although you may go with a group of people, you lay your own traps and earn you own money from selling the animals killed.

In addition, Bulu culture tends not to support accumulation of wealth, but rather emphasises qualities of generosity and sharing (Geschiere, 1995; Rowlands and Warnier, 1988). When individuals have money they are under considerable peer pressure to demonstrate their generosity by spending their income in a social way. This makes the cocoa harvest quite a stressful period. Most farmers try and do something long-term with the money they earn with cocoa, such as paying school fees or buying clothes, petrol, soap etc. However, there are always those who succumb to the pressure and end up spending their harvest money on immediate gratification, demonstrating their wealth and generosity, but ending up with little material evidence of their earnings. Money earned with hunting tends to be earned in smaller, more manageable amounts. This can be spent easily and without too much shame because, despite the pressure placed on the Bulu to demonstrate their wealth with gestures of sociability, those who squander their cocoa harvest income are mocked and looked upon with some disdain.

Villagers say that money earned from bushmeat is wasted, frittered away on cigarettes and alcohol (and this could well be a reason why the hunters were so reluctant to explain how they spent their bushmeat money). There is a regularly expressed feeling that nothing can be done with the money earned from bushmeat hunting; *When I say... that the*

forest, the game can, for example, help him to buy a piece of clothing - he (the hunter) will say that this money cannot help him to do something. It helps, for example, to perhaps simply buy (palm) wine or cigarettes - and that money that can help him to buy clothes, he must work for it some other way (young Mekas man, 13/07/98).

Another time when I asked a hunter what he did with his money from hunting he responded, *I waste it, the money is not there to be saved*. He compared the money earned with hunting to money gained through witchcraft. Like witchcraft, it is obtained through killing (although an animal and not a human being). Rather than an individual earning money through his own hard labour (as with cocoa), the hunter like the witch, must 'make blood run' to get money quickly and easily. In addition, as with money earned through witchcraft, you can never do anything of value with it. The same man then used the example of his wife who had collected the first harvest from their new cocoa plantation which he wouldn't have bothered with. She only received 7,000 CFA for the sale, but she did something useful with this money even though it was only a small amount. This comment also suggests the sense of responsibility that women have in relation to money. Often when men talked about why they stopped hunting they said it was when they got married and were pressurised by their wives to start a cocoa plantation. They explained that it was because their women could not see the sense in hunting, as little of use was done with the income.

Thus cocoa and bushmeat incomes can be defined according to the nature of the money earned. Money earned through cocoa is generally 'responsible money'. It is earned through long-term investment of time, energy and money. Men who harvest their cocoa plantations are predominantly married with children and have all the responsibilities that go with this position. They tend to spend their money 'responsibly' on the needs of their family and home. Commercial bushmeat hunters are generally young, single and without the responsibility of children. Theirs is a short-term investment for immediate rewards (Table 2).

Table 2. The contrasting characteristics of income earned through cocoa and bushmeat sales.

Cocoa harvest	Bushmeat hunting
high investment	low investment
long term benefit	immediate benefit
high income 1x per yr	small income regularly
hard earned, slow' money	quick, easy' money
responsible' (useful) money	irresponsible' (wasted) money

From this discussion on the nature of money earned through selling bushmeat, one might conclude that hunters do little of value with the money earned from hunting. A logical argument would therefore follow that to suppress commercial bushmeat hunting activity in the Dja Reserve would have little detrimental effect on the local population's livelihood. There are two arguments I would make against this assumption. First, there are always cases where a hunter will go hunting in response to an unplanned and urgent need for money, often relating to an unexpected event such as death or illness. Secondly, and the point that I wish to expand on, is that it is not exclusively hunters who play a role in the bushmeat economy of the Dja Reserve. There are both men and women who live in the Dja Reserve and who are not hunters, but who trade in bushmeat. These individuals make an important contribution to the local economy. In the next section I will argue that these non-hunter bushmeat traders, through their purchase of game from the hunters, transform the perceived value and therefore the role of the money earned when they sell it on. In other words, they 'responsibilise' bushmeat income, turning it from a fast earned, low valued means of earning money to a valuable commodity from which the income should be reinvested.

The non-hunters role in the bushmeat trade

Of all the meat sold by Mekas hunters, 84 % is sold in the village of which 81 % is to local people and 3 % to *buyem sellem* who come to the village to buy meat and sell on in town. Only 16 % is taken out of the Reserve by the hunters themselves to be sold. Therefore, the vast majority of bushmeat is sold in the village to local people. The question is what is being done with this bushmeat? Are these local people living in the Reserve consuming all the meat themselves, or doing something else with it? Data collected on goods being taken out of the Reserve strongly suggests that a significant proportion of this game bought in the village by villagers, is destined for the urban market outside the Reserve.

The movement of goods into and out of the Reserve

Between November 1997 and October 1998 data was collected on all goods and people arriving in and leaving the Reserve at the southern river point, which is crossed by canoe. The ferryman who takes people across the river for a small fee undertook the data collection. Every person, family or group who crossed the river with the ferryman was asked the motive of

their journey and what goods they were carrying with them. If they had goods, they were asked what they intended to do with them (i.e. to give, sell or keep). A total of 2928 journeys of one or more people were recorded, with 2257 people travelling out of the Reserve and 2054 people entering/returning. Generally, the people entering and leaving the Reserve at this point were those coming from or wishing to go to villages in the southern section of this sector of the Reserve (Mekas, Nkolazé and Kongoulou).

It should be noted that although we were able to register both the outward and homeward bound journeys of many individuals, sometimes people would enter or leave from a different point in the Reserve. In these cases only one journey would be registered. In addition it is probable that some people crossed the river at this point using some means other than the ferryman. In this case their journey would not have been recorded.

Journeys and goods leaving the Reserve

Of the 2928 journeys made, 1511 were exits from the Reserve. The major destination stated was the town of Sangmelima 40 km away. However, destinations also included the towns of Mvomeka'a, Meyomessala and the city of Yaoundé, as well as villages located along the roads to these urban centres. The two principal reasons given by the people for why they were making this trip were to sell bushmeat (20 %) and buy goods (20 %), (Table 3). Of those trips made out of the Reserve, 42 % involved the transportation of bushmeat. Of those carrying meat out of the Reserve 63 % were men, 32 % women and 5 % couples. An estimated 1471 animals were transported out of the Reserve during this period. Of the meat carried out, 72 % was to sell, 18 % was for consumption and 10 % was to be given. Bushmeat was by far the most significant product leaving the Reserve. Other produce was of far less significance but included 27 exits made to sell cocoa (totalling approximately 1057 kg, 100 % of which was to sell), 65 exits were made with chickens (114 chickens in total, 81 % of the time these were for consumption, normally having been given to the person as a gift during the visit). 98 exits were made transporting plantain, 30 with *macabo* and 53 with peanuts. The majority of these farm products were not for sale but were taken to town to give to the traveller's children or other relatives living in town. Other farm products carried out included manioc (6 times), maize

(6 times), bananas (twice) and tomatoes (once). Other forest products leaving the Reserve (apart from bushmeat) were extremely rare, with only four exits made carrying *ndo'o* (bush mango or *Irvingia gabonensis*).

Table 3. Reasons given for journeys out of the Reserve.

buy goods	297	look for bushmeat	2
visit family-in-law	25	traditional healing	7
personal needs	138	work	67
collect person/thing	58	visit friend	35
funeral/bereavement	21	visit children	24
school	33	visit family	89
festival	12	sell bushmeat	299
return home	146	visit hospital	36
return home (with bushmeat)	127	sell merchandise	49
political meeting	2	religious visit	12

Journeys and goods entering the Reserve

The majority of people entering the Reserve were wishing to visit or return to the villages located in the southern section of the track. The principal reason for entry was to return home (73 % of entries), meaning that the majority of those entering the Reserve were returning from a trip made out. Of the 1417 trips made into the Reserve 58 % (822 entries) involved the transport of goods purchased in town. The most valuable commercial product was *odontol*, an alcohol made from distilled palm wine. 100 % of the *odontol* was to be sold. This was followed by cigarettes, again of which 100 % were destined for sale. Other products sold for commercial purposes were rice, sugar, petrol, soap and salt (Table 4). The total purchase value of all these products was 2.317,629 CFA and the total sales value 3.490,570 CFA (Appendix), showing purchase prices in Sangmelima and sales prices in the Dja Reserve).

Table 4. Major commercial products purchased in town and brought into the Dja Reserve.

Product	Quantity purchased	Value of purchase	% sold	Value of sale
<i>odontol</i>	844 litres	675,200 CFA	100	1.519,200 CFA
cigarettes	251 cartons	589,850 CFA	100	1.004,000 CFA
rice	1260 kg	352,800 CFA	51	269,892 CFA
sugar	433 kg	268,460 CFA	73	268,677 CFA
petrol	1421 litres	213,150 CFA	63	268,569 CFA
soap	515 bars	110,725 CFA	46	82,950 CFA
salt	967 kg	107,444 CFA	36	77,283 CFA
Total		2.317,629 CFA		3.490,571 CFA

Bushmeat Town Trade

Of those who left the reserve with bushmeat and whose return was registered in the study (386 people in total, the majority of whom lived in the Reserve), 64 % came back with goods that they had bought in town, a significant proportion of which was to sell. The two main reasons given for why they were leaving the reserve were to sell bushmeat (66 %) and to buy goods (16 %). 61 % of the group were male, 31 % female and 8 % couples travelling together.

The most popular commercial products purchased by this group were also cigarettes and *odontol*. This was followed by sugar, rice petrol, soap and salt (Table 5). The total purchase value of these products was 625,715 CFA and the total sales value, 967,930 CFA.

Table 5. Major commercial products brought into the Reserve by people carrying bushmeat out of the Reserve.

Product	Quantity purchased	Value of purchase	% sold	Value of sale
cigarettes	86 cartons	202,100 CFA	100	344,000 CFA
<i>odontol</i>	156 litres	124,800 CFA	100	280,800 CFA
sugar	157 kg	97,340 CFA	80	106,760 CFA
rice	323 kg	90,440 CFA	79	106,680 CFA
petrol	344 litres	41,280 CFA	69	71,100 CFA
soap	157 bars	33,755 CFA	52	28,350 CFA
salt	324 kg	36,000 CFA	39	28,000 CFA
Total		625,715 CFA		965,690 CFA

Comparing Tables 4 and 5, it can be seen that those who left the Reserve with bushmeat were returning with goods worth nearly 28 % of the total sales value of goods brought into the Reserve during this period. With goods such as rice and sugar this increased to nearly 40 % of the total sales value (Table 6). In addition, the percentage of goods to be sold for commercial purposes was consistently, if not dramatically higher for those who had carried bushmeat out of the Reserve (Table 7).

Table 6. The sales value of all major commercial products purchased in town and brought into the Dja Reserve compared with those brought into the Reserve following an outward journey carrying bushmeat.

Product	Value of sales by all traders	Value of sales by bushmeat traders	% of sale value brought in by bushmeat traders
<i>odontol</i>	1.519,200	280,8	18.5
cigarettes	1.004,000	344	34.3
rice	269,892	106,68	39.5
sugar	268,677	106,76	39.8
petrol	268,569	71,1	26.5
soap	82,95	28,35	34.2
Salt	77,283	28	36.2
Total	3.490,571	965,69	27.7

Table 7. The percentage of products intended for sale brought into the Dja Reserve. A comparison between those who had left with bushmeat and all traders.

Product	% to sell by bushmeat traders	% to sell by all traders
<i>Odontol</i>	100	100
Cigarettes	100	100
Sugar	80	73
Rice	79	51
Petrol	69	63
Soap	52	46
Salt	39	36

These figures reveal the importance for both men and women of the commercial role that income from bushmeat sales outside the Reserve plays in the local economy. It is clear that both men and women who live in the Reserve purchase meat from hunters in the village in order to sell it at a profit in town, returning with goods both for personal consumption and to sell on in the village.

Conclusion

ECOFAC have tended to concentrate their conservation and development activities on young male hunters. They have done this through a combination of suppressing hunting activities and providing alternative forms of income, particularly during the hunting season. This article argues that by doing so they are omitting a whole section of the community that relies on the bushmeat trade as part of an integrated economic strategy. Moreover, these individuals transform the perceived

value of bushmeat from 'quick, easy' money, spent 'irresponsibly', to a valued income requiring reinvestment. ECOFAC should take into consideration the role that these non-hunter traders play in the local economy, both in terms of the contribution they make to local economic development and household livelihood improvement. ECOFAC should also consider taking a more detailed approach to understanding the local Bulu economy. That is, the role played by both men *and* women, the differing attitude towards income depending on how it is earned and how this income is used. Finally, if ECOFAC are contemplating increasing their conservation activities of hunting suppression they must consider the detrimental impact that this will have not only on the economic activity of hunters, but also on these secondary non-hunter traders and thus the community as a whole.

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Appendix

Goods bought in town to be sold in the Dja Reserve and the profit made.

Name of product	Price sold in Sangmelima	Price sold in Mekas	% Profit
<i>Odontol</i>	800	1800	125
Cigarettes (carton)	2350	4000	70
Rice (50kg)	14000 (280 cfa/kg)	21000 (420 cfa/kg)	50
sugar (kg)	620	850	37
Petrol	150	300	100
Soap	215	350	36
	100	225	125
Salt	1800 -2200 (111 cfa/kg)	4000 (222 cfa/kg)	81-122%

Résumé

Chasseurs du village, vendeurs de la ville: l'économie de viande de brousse dans la Réserve du Dja (Cameroun)

Cet article étudie le rôle que la viande de brousse joue dans l'économie locale de l'ethnie Bulu qui vit dans le secteur ouest de la Réserve du Dja. Cette Réserve est actuellement gérée par un ICDP (Integrated Conservation and Development project), nommé ECOFAC (Conservation et Utilisation Rationnelle des Ecosystemes Forestiers en Afrique Centrale), qui a été créé par la DG (Direction générale) du Développement de la Commission Européenne et qui agit en collaboration avec le ministère camerounais de l'environnement et des forêts (MINEF). La principale préoccupation du projet dans ce secteur de la Réserve est le développement de la chasse commerciale du gibier, une activité que le projet estime n'être pas durable (Delvingt, 1997). L'un des moyens pour tenter de réduire la pression de la chasse dans la Réserve est la recherche de sources alternatives de revenus pour la population locale. Le projet a concentré ses activités sur les jeunes chasseurs, qui sont les principaux acteurs, et par conséquent le groupe ciblé pour la mise en place de revenus alternatifs.

Ce faisant, ECOFAC omet un secteur crucial de la population dont le rôle est important dans le commerce du gibier. Ce sont les femmes et hommes qui n'étant pas chasseurs achètent cette viande qui fait alors partie d'une stratégie économique intégrée et apporte une contribution importante dans l'économie locale. Analyser plus finement l'économie Bulu dans la Réserve du Dja met en évidence diverses attitudes envers l'argent selon la façon dont il a été gagné par les jeunes chasseurs pour améliorer leur qualité de vie.