

Annex VIII

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A b r i e f r e p o r t o n L i n g a n g a - M a k a o u
v i l l a g e a n d i t s i n h a b i t a n t s

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1 Location

Makaou village is formally called Linganga-Makaou village consisting of two settlements, Linganga and Makaou, located at a distance of 500 m. There are two ethnic groups in Linganga-Makaou village, the *Kaka* cultivators living in the settled village, and the *Aka* who live in the forest at least for several months a year. The *Aka* are one of the hunter-gatherer groups generally called Pygmies.

Makaou village is located at 2°55'N Lat. and 17°10'E Long., and is the upper most village of Motaba river (figure 1). Approximately 160 *Kakas* live in Linganga and 60 in Makaou, 260 and 90 *Akas* in Linganga and Makaou respectively. Of the 15 villages in the Motaba river, *Kaka* live in the upper most part of the river, while the *Bondongo* cultivators, living in the middle part of the river, differ from *Kaka* in language, agricultural system, fishing and hunting practice. Estimated population of *Kaka* in Motaba river is about 700. While the *Aka* live throughout the Motaba river, their total population is roughly estimated at 2000. (1)

There are paths connecting Makaou with other villages in the lower Motaba, but it does not reach to the mainstream of the Oubangui river. There is a small boat (*Vedette*) service from Dongou on Oubangui river to Makaou village twice a month, taking about four days to reach to Makaou. But this service stops from January to June because the water recedes in Motaba, which makes navigation difficult. Therefore in this period people mainly move by paddling. Most of the villagers have canoes, whereas no *Aka*

has a canoe. By paddling, it takes about ten days from Makaou to Dongou. Some people of Dongou and Impfondo visit Makaou village by out-board engined canoe, but no villager has such equipment.

There is a school at Makaou. Villagers' children go to school, while Akas' children would not go. There is a building once used as a hospital, but now there is no doctor nor medicine, and there is no shop in the village. Villagers buy manufactured goods such as clothes, salt and tobacco from peddlers coming by the vedette or canoe. Otherwise, they obtain them when they go to Dongou or Impfondo on the Oubangui river.

Makaou village is located in the northwestern Congo Basin, in the tropical rain forest zone. Mean annual rainfall at Dongou, about 230km south-east of Makaou village, is 1682mm. There are two seasons in a year, the dry season from December to February, and the rain season from March to November. The land around Makaou is mostly flat at 300m above sea level.

The vegetation of this area is classified by the Aka into three types. Along the Motaba river, there is a sick growth of Raphia vinifera (*mosende*), beyond which there is a swamp forest called "bojamba". The primary forest, called "ndima", lies further inland, and mainly consist of the mosaic of a semi-deciduous mixed forest and the single-species-dominant evergreen forest of Gilbertiodendron dewevrei (*bemba*) In the primary forest scattered are grassland patches (*ejaba*) of various sizes. Secondary forest is found mainly within the radius of 3-4km from the village.

2 Brief historical background

The Linganga village is said to be built at the present cite

some 40 to 50 years ago. Before coming to the present cite, the villagers of Linganga had once lived in the upper Motaba river beyond the junction of Mokala and Mabale (Nouabale). Most of the villagers older than 40's were born in this old village, which is shown in the rough map drawn in April, 1940 in the Colonial period. We have not been to this old village cite. According to the villagers, however, the old village cite is easily recognizable by a grove of oil palms. Prior to the old Linganga village, some said their parents had been at the old Seke village (also different from the present Seke). However, it is most likely that their villages had been much smaller and scattered in the forest before they were forced to concentrate along the river to form a larger village, which was easier to administer for the Colonial government.

There is no village at present in the area upper than the present Linganga-Makaou village in the Motaba river. But people had clearly lived there until several tens years ago, and their traces can be found in various parts of the upper Motaba river. Other than old Linganga village in upper Motaba river, there is another large village cite of old Mbei (also different from the present Mbei further down from Linganga-Makaou) at about a half day walk up along the river from present Linganga-Makaou, and other smaller cites. These old village cites have usually good "ports" to harbour the dug-out canoe, and used from time to time as hunting (and sometimes fishing as well) camps. The area is, therefore, thought to be a part of their traditional territory, and used for hunting which comprises one of the major sources of cash income of the present-day villagers.

4

3 Economy

A) Economy of the villagers

Agriculture

The *Kaka* villagers practice swidden cultivation. Main crops are cassava and maize with plantain banana as subsidiary crop.

The villagers plant enough cassava for providing the *Aka* to eat, as well as for their own consumption. As transportation of cassava to Dongou or Impfondo is a laborious work and the price of cassava is not higher even at these towns, they seldom go to towns just for selling cassava. Among the villagers, cassava is sometimes borrowed in case of need, but not sold for cash.

Maize is mainly used for brewing. The spirit distilled from brewed maize beer is important source of cash of the women. Alcoholic drinks are, however, sold only within the village. It does not contribute to bringing cash from outside of the village. Only two families plant cacao, and one groundnut, as cash crop.

Fishery

Fish is one of the major sources of protein for the villagers. Fishes are caught with fishing hooks, longlines and nets by men, and fish poisoning by women.

Fishing of *Bondongo* in the middle stream of Motaba is different from that of *Kaka*. They make a dam or fence across a small river in the forest and set baskets at the openings made on the fence. They also bail the water out from a small pool, capture fishes in the dried pool. The fishes are smoked and taken to the towns on Oubangui river or even farther for sale.

The villagers of Makaou neither make a fishing dam nor bail the water. Only a small number of Makaou villagers go to the forest camp to capture fish in quantities with longline and nets. The fish thus caught are smoked and taken sometimes to the town for sale them.

Most of the fishery product at Makaou are, however, eaten by the villagers themselves.

Hunting

Formerly the villager caught animals by trapping, whereas now they are shooting animals with a gun.

Villagers have two kinds guns. One is a shotgun with which they kill duikers, monkeys, bushpigs and other medium-sized animals, and the other is a rifle specially for large mammals.

Most villagers have shotguns, many have even two or three guns. The *Aka* have no gun, either shotgun or rifle. Villagers buy shots when they go to the towns or buy from peddlers who come to the village. Price of 1 packet of shots (25 shots) is 4000 CFA at Impfondo and 5000 CFA at Dongou. At Makaou, price of 1 shot is 250 CFA.

The villagers rarely use the guns themselves. They ask the *Aka* go to hunt animals. In this case, the owner of a gun and shots gives the *Aka* animals' heads, necks, internal organs and about two pieces of cigarette, whereas the owner take the rest of the animal in principle. Villagers never pay to the *Aka* cash.

Hunting with guns is carried out in two ways. First, the villager gives the *Aka* two shots and a gun and the *Aka* goes a day hunting. Second, the villager themselves go to a hunting camp with the *Aka* in the forest at the distance of more than two days'

walk and stay there for several weeks for hunting. In the former, villagers eat meat or sell it to other villagers. In the expedition hunting of the latter case, they form a hunting camp consisting of 1-3 male villagers and 3-7 male Akas. When they stay in the forest for more than a month, women of both villagers and Akas also accompany the men. People coming from outside Linganga-Makaou sometimes go to the forest for hunting with the villagers and Akas. They carry cassava and palm oil obtained from the village, and eat them with hunted meat and plant food such as wild yam, fruits and nuts collected in the forest.

They smoke the meat in the forest and bring it back to the village. Owner of this meat is the owner of a gun, who gives the Aka a small portion (3-5 kg) of smoked meat when returning to the village. Sometimes, the owner gives the Aka used clothes as a reward. The villager uses a part of meat for their own consumption, but a greater part of meat are taken to Dongou for sale. If an elephant is killed, the ivories are sold, meat are consumed or sold by the villagers. But even in such case, according to the villagers they are interested more in elephant meat than in ivories. In short, villagers of Makaou today supply the greater part of their food by themselves, and their cash income depends on hunting with guns.

B) Aka economy

Aka's life is roughly divided into three styles. The Life at a camp near the village, the life at their forest camp and the life in hunting expedition at a remote camp with the villagers.

When Aka live at a camp near the village, they eat cassavas and palm oil to obtain necessary energy, meat from gun hunting, and

cassava leaves as a source of protein. Honey and caterpillars are seasonally important foods. They also cultivate their own fields, but they are much smaller than those of the villagers. As they do not tend their fields well, they can not get enough food from their own fields. Therefore in order to get agricultural food, Aka women help villagers' agricultural work. Or, they obtain it in exchange for palm oil or wild Gnetum leaves collected in the forest.

When Aka men help villagers with their work (making a canoe, carrying baggage etc.), they are given 1-3 cigarettes and alcoholic drink. Villagers also give the Aka food and alcoholic drink after they cut large trees in the forest to clear the villagers' fields or make the mud wall of a villager's house. Occasionally, villagers give the Aka clothes and iron implements as a return. In this way, the return for Aka's work is usually paid in kind and not in cash.

The Aka move into the forest to live there for 2 weeks to 5 months. The size of a camp in the forest is 20-80 people. When they live in the forest, they do not depend much on agricultural foods. They eat wild yam and honey (though only seasonally available) as a source of calorie, meat from net hunting, trapping and crossbow-hunting as a source of protein.

They also collect Irvingia nuts or honey and barter it for food or tobacco with the villagers. However, they seldom barter directly with outsiders like peddlers. Villagers give the Aka pots, dishes, clothes etc. but not cash, at present.

4 Estimated impacts of the conservation project

A) Impact of hunting ban at Nouabale area

Prohibition of hunting will probably influence directly the villagers' life. The Aka seem to be influenced only indirectly because they seldom visit Nouabale area on their own. The Aka do not actually obtain much benefit from expedition hunting to such a remote area.

Cash income of the villagers depends largely on gun hunting for large mammals in the remote areas. Thus, the prohibition of large game hunting in all area would impose a greater impact on the villagers than the prohibition of all types of hunting at Nouabale area. Large game hunting is very efficient even in terms of meat supply, because they can obtain a large quantity of meat at a time. Even if hunting at Nouabale and large game hunting at all areas would be prohibited, the villager can still obtain the meat for their own consumption from the nearby forest. Their cash income would, however, decrease considerably. If they could not find out another way of earning cash, they would not be able to maintain present standard of living.

B) Impact of employment

In the conservation project 10-20 people are planned to be employed. If their wage is 1000-1500 CFA/day, 10000-30000 CFA are paid everyday in the Makaou village. Such an amount of money could not be spent in buying daily necessities in the village. The money is likely to be spent in alcoholic drinks, and their prices may inflate perhaps more than a double. No one but the producers and employees may be able to buy alcoholic drinks. In fact, when the expedition team arrived last September at

Linganga-Makaou village with 15 Bangombe, they bought most of the alcoholic drinks at prices twice as much as the usual price. As the inflow of commodities is limited, a few merchants may earn a ~~large~~ ^{large} profit. While there is little difference in the wealth among the villagers at present, differentiation between the rich and the poor might be produced in the course of implementation of the conservation project. The difference may further result in the difference in the access to marriageable women and alcoholic drinks, which ~~it~~ may possibly produce discord between the rich and the poor.

Most Aka do not calculate money actually. Therefore when Aka obtain money, they may buy commodities at unreasonable prices. Once an Aka was observed to sell a basketful of raw cassava (25kg) for an unreasonably price, 100 CFA, to a merchant from Dongou. It may, therefore, be better, at least for the moment, to pay the Aka in kind. Otherwise, it is necessary to teach them to count and calculate money.

It is shown in the table the prices of commodities sold at Linganga-Makaou village. These prices are probably determined in the local and regional context. If the prices of Linganga-Makaou alone would be raised too much, this regional exchange network would be disturbed. Linganga-Makaou are not isolated villages, but are incorporated to a regional exchange network.

C) Impact of construction of an airport at the nearby
grassland

Constructing of an airstrip is planned at grassland near Sombo river. In this area, there are many wild yams and the fruits of

Landolphia spp, which comprise the major wild plant food of the Aka. Many animals also live there compared with other forest areas in the region. Therefore, the Aka frequently make a camp and stay there for more than two month a year. Even if construction of airstrip will have little impact on the forest vegetation, there is still a possibility of making a great impact on the animals. Moreover, construction of a road connecting the airstrip with the village might impose a considerable disturbance of the ecosystem along the ^{planned area} road, which is currently serving as an important hunting and gathering ground. It is necessary to examine these potential problems carefully.

Table 1

Prices of goods at Makaou village, Dongou, Impfondo

(Monetary unit is CFA. 50 CFA=1 French franc)

products of other place	Makaou	Dongou	Impfondo (market)
salt (200cc)	100-125	100	100
sugar (1kg)	500	400	350
kerosene (1 liter)	250-350	170	170
cigarette(Brazza jaune 1 pack)	250	200	150
match (1 pack)	25	25	25
soap (3 kinds)	100, 125, 150	75, 100, 125	75, 100, 125
razor blade	25	25	25
dry battery (Fuji)	250	200-225	200-225
cloth	5500-7000	5000	4500
T-shirt	1200-1500	1000	1000
thread binding hair	100	50	50
shot (1 pack=25 shots)	250 (1 shot)	5000(1 pack)	4000(1 pack)
products of Makaou village			
palm oil	150-200/1l(*1)	3000/10liter	?
fufu (flour of cassava)	50-100/1kg(*1)	?	25/200cc
peke (palme wine)	150/5liter	500/5liter	500/5liter
lotoko (spirits of maize)	100/500cc	?	100/200cc
meats of wild animals			
blue duiker (whole body)	500	1000-1500	1000-1500
middle size duiker (1 leg or arm)	300-500	1000-1500	1000-1500
bush pig (1 leg or arm)	750-1000	?	?
live-stock			
chicken	500	?	600-1000
goat	7000-8000	?	?
sheep	8000	?	?
pay /1 day			
porter (villager, male)	1000-1500		
porter (Aka , male)	500 (*2)		
housework (villager, male)	800-1000		
housework (villager, female)	500		

*1 Villagers sell fufu and palm oil to only me. When fufu or palm oil is short, they borrow them from other villager and they return the goods. So these prices are prices that villagers sell me.

*2 Akas receive goods (cigarette, alcoholic drink, clothes, iron things, etc.) as their pays in common because they can't calculate.

Figure 1

