

**Human Activities in and around  
the Takamanda forest Reserve**

**Socio-economic Baseline Survey**

**final Report 2001**



**By**

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**Consultancy Report for the CAMEROONIAN (MINEF)- GERMAN  
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AKWAYA (PROFA)**

“No historical category without natural substance;  
no natural substance without its historical filter.”

**Walter Benjamin<sup>1</sup>**

## **1. Introduction**

The degradation of biodiversity seems to be a very recent phenomenon in the Central African rainforest. Even without detailed archaeological research in the project region, it can be presumed, that the rainforest between Mamfe and the Nigerian and Cameroonian grassland is inhabited since thousands of years. Following the most recent theories, “nearly 5.000 years ago hunters and gatherers in the forests then covering part of what are now the Cameroonian grasslands began an experiment which went on for almost a millennium: They became more sedentary, acquired ceramics, and began to supplement their hunting and gathering practices with new ventures in agriculture and trapping” (Vansina 1990: 35). The Western Bantu expansion experienced dense lowland rainforest for the first time in an area between the Cross-River and the highlands to the east and north of the Cross-River (Vansina 1990: 49). In a nutshell, the Western Bantu expansion evolved from a region, which will be in the centre of this report: the forests of the Akwaya sub-division in the South-West Province of the Republic of Cameroon.

For long the ecological impact of hunter-gatherer societies - like the Bantu - has been assessed, with the result that their way of living is considered as ecologically sustainable, which means that their outtake of renewable resources through hunting, gathering of non-timber forest products (NTFP's), fishing, logging for house construction and farming is lower than the natural rate of regeneration (Darly & Cobb 1989, Gowdy 1994, Hart & Hart 1986, Jacobs 1991). In their classic “Man the Hunter” Lee and DeVore came to the conclusion, that “to date, the hunting way of life has been the most successful and persistent adaptation man has ever achieved” (Lee & DeVore 1968: 3). Nevertheless, “by 1850 the problem of tropical deforestation was already being conceived of as a problem existing on a global scale and as a phenomenon demanding urgent and concerted state intervention” (Grove 1995: 1).

Which position is correct? This study will not be able to answer the important question whether the rural populace in and around the Takamanda forest reserve is using this rich environment in a sustainable manner. While an inventory of the different forest resources (wildlife, botany and fishery) is still ongoing, this study is solemnly focusing on the outtake:

### **How, by whom, and in which quantity are the different resources in and around the Takamanda forest reserve used?**

To achieve this goal 2827 households in 87 settlements compiled in 43 villages were visited. 1874 individuals from 840 households granted an insight view of their socio-economic reality.

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<sup>1</sup> Benjamin 1989: 59.

## 1.1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The Takamanda Forest Reserve is situated north of the Cross River valley ( $5^{\circ} 55' - 6^{\circ} 22' \text{N}$  and  $9^{\circ} 10' - 9^{\circ} 30' \text{E}$ ; map 1). In the north and northwest, the reserve borders Nigeria and for a good part the Okwango Division of the Cross River National Park. The Oyi River, a tributary of the Cross River, forms the greater part of the western border of the Takamanda Forest Reserve, while the eastern and southern borders follow small rivulets of streams and footpaths. The Reserve is about  $676 \text{ km}^2$  in extent. The reserve contained  $65 \text{ km}^2$  of village enclaves consisting of: Obonyi I and III, Kekpani, and Okpaniya<sup>2</sup> (Ayeni et al. 2001: 4). The more recent creation of the Okwango Division of Cross River National Park on the Nigerian side of the border enclosed Matene and Balegete (Oshonikpa, Akwekia, Nzosor, Elumsor, Ekemini, Ojoniya and Umbuli), which are now sandwiched between the two protected areas.

The Takamanda Forest Reserve was gazetted as the Takamanda Native Administration Forest Reserve in 1934 (Order 1937), “but no management plan has ever been prepared and implemented for the region” (Groves & Maisels 1999: 6). Presently, the reserve is managed by the Ministry of Environment and Forest (MINEF) through their Divisional Delegation of the Manyu Division in Mamfe. But till recent “logistical constraints and a significant lack of resources make actual management of the reserve a desirable objective rather than a current achievable reality” (Groves & Maisels 1999: 6/7).

On June 29<sup>th</sup>, 2000 the Cameroon-German Project for the Protection of Forests around Akwaya (PROFA) was launched to assist the Cameroonian governmental structures in establishing a sustainable management of the natural resources in Akwaya Subdivision. It was decided that the Takamanda Forest Reserve would be the target region of PROFA’s orientation phase (1/1/2000-31/3/2003). “The overall goal of PROFA is to maintain the bio-diversity of the Takamanda Forest Reserve as well as improve the living condition of people within the reserve and its border zone” (Ayeni et al. 2001: 3).

While a good number of reports and research papers on the biodiversity of the area exist, the socio-economic situation is mostly unknown. Some settlements at the eastern boundary were rapidly assessed in 1999 by an environmental assessment team, which tried to compile possible impacts of the projected road from Mamfe to Akwaya (EIA Mamfe-Akwaya 1999), but at the beginning of this research, hardly more than the names of the villages was known. The results of the only ethnological and anthropological survey of the region, carried out by Caroline Ifeka in 1998/99 (see: Ifeka in: Groves & Maisels 1999: App. XIV), have not been published and even the collected data are not yet analysed (PC Ifeka & DIN 15/2/2001). The literature review offers beside of side-information embodied in botanical or wildlife reports, no information on social structures or economic activities for the last 60 years. The only detailed socio-economic data for the region were found in the “Assessment Reports” and “Intelligence Reports” by the British colonial administration.

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<sup>2</sup> “Old man Okpaniya died in December (1952) and his son Eginu Okpan now occupies the enclave” (Ayewoh 1953: 11). In 2001 Okpaniya (one building), which is located between Matene and Kalumo-Ingene, was said to be only temporary inhabited.

## 1.2. OBJECTIVES

“The overall goal of PROFA is to maintain the bio-diversity of the Takamanda Forest Reserve as well as improve the living condition of people within the reserve and its border zone” (Ayeni et al. 2001: 3). “For the overall success of the project, the four results that must be achieved during the orientation period of three years are:

1. Information on the ecological, socio-economic and institutional situation and the use of the natural resources of the area are documented and made readily available to users.
2. Proposals for strengthening the participatory capacity of the local population and the Forestry Department are prepared, submitted and found acceptable to MINEF.
3. A management plan for the TFR is prepared in a participatory way and partly implemented.
4. Traditional income generation activities and self-help initiatives of the local population are identified and supported in accordance with gender-specific resource management principle.” (Ayeni et al. 2001: 21; Projektangebot 1997: 1)

This socio-economic baseline survey was commissioned by GTZ to contribute to these results, especially to the results 1,3 and 4. During the PROFA Planning Workshop (8-12/5/2001), on which preliminary results of this research were presented, the outputs were reviewed and are now:

1. “A draft Forest Management Plan for the Takamanda Forest Reserve is prepared and partly tested.
2. Participatory Forest Management capacity of local population and MINEF Divisional Delegation is strengthened in cooperation with all parties involved.
3. Traditional income generating activities and self-help initiatives are identified and a gender sensitive strategy contributing to resource management is developed and tested.” (PROFA Planning Workshop 2001: 6)

According to the research strategy (Appendix 1) elaborated jointly by PROFA and the consultant and discussed with researchers, governmental officials and experts working in the region during a workshop (Mamfe 20/10/2000) the survey “should collect information on the following fields of research:

- **Village infrastructure:** Production of a house-to-house census and a draft village map.
- **Economic activities:** The main emphasis should lie on the economic utilisation of forest and wildlife in and around the Takamanda Forest Reserve. The individual and communal level, financial aspects, marketing and dissemination of hunting-, gathering-, logging-, farming-, and fishing-products should be documented in detail.
- **Social system:** The social structure, its stratification and organisation should be analysed. The role of traditional and administrative rulers, elite, secret societies should be assessed and the relation to other villages documented.” (Research Strategy: 1; Appendix 1)

### **1.3. APPROACHES AND METHODOLOGY**

This study is assessing the human activities in and around the Takamanda forest reserve in 87 (75 in Cameroon and 12 in Nigeria) settlements assembled in 43 (31 in Cameroon and 12 in Nigeria) villages. It has been carried out in accordance with the household-model. While the research was carried out in all villages (total sample), a number of households were selected in each village for further interviews, utilising the simple random selection method.

#### **1.3.1. Village-selection**

43 villages, 31 in Cameroon and 12 in Nigeria, were jointly identified by PROFA, village representatives, governmental officers and experts as having an impact on the biodiversity of the Takamanda forest reserve during the PROFA inauguration workshop (Mamfe 30/6/2000). From map 1, one can see that beside of the villages situated directly at the boundary of the reserve, especially the area southwest of the reserve was included in the research. The reason can be seen in the assumption, that the Dadi-Bodam road to the Cameroon/Nigerian border and the Cross-River are major ways of evacuating resources of the Takamanda forest reserve. In the area to the east and southeast of the reserve only villages close to the boundary of the reserve were surveyed, because the region is prospected to be subject to a similar survey covering all villages in and around the Mone forest reserve at a later stage of PROFA. The villages to the north of the Takamanda forest reserve such as Akwaya in Cameroon and Obudu Cattle Ranch in Nigeria, were not assessed, based on the common assumption, that the inhabitants of the grassland have no direct impact as hunter, gatherer of fisherfolk on the forest reserve (PC Agba; 22/11/00). As the further use and consumption of resources was not subject to this research, these villages were excluded.

Since no socio-economic description of the villages in the region existed, a total sample (research in all villages) had to be carried out to avoid a biased sample. This decision arose from the requirements of social statistics, which say, that “a random sampling is only possible, if the units of the universe can be so arranged, that the selection process gives equiprobability of selection to every unit in the universe” (Bryman 1989: 132). In the case of the villages in and around the Takamanda forest reserve, the “universe” – the villages, their population and their economic activities – was not known to an extent, which allowed a selection of some villages, to represent a certain group or set of villages. This strategy was corroborated, when the research team “discovered” some villages during the fieldwork, which were unknown to the governmental services and not mentioned in the original schedule.

To reduce contradictions and inconsistencies, which arise from different research teams and their individual interpretation of the question asked and answers given, only two research teams were used. One team surveyed the 31 villages in Cameroon and one, assessed the 12 villages in Nigeria. This separation was seen as necessary to reduce fears and possible hostility in two countries, which try to solve landownership conflicts with their armed forces not far away from the research region (Bakassi peninsular). Contradictions and inconsistencies, which could arise when different villages are

surveyed at different times of the year, can be considered as irrelevant for this research, since all villages were visited within 5 months during the same dry-season 2000/2001. Due to the fact, that the economic activities were assessed for the last full year, even minor changes between November 2000 and March 2001 did not effect the collected data - as cross checks in two villages beard out.

The teams were composed of 4 research assistants and one supervisor. The villages in Cameroon and Nigeria were visited in two fieldwork phases each (Appendix 2), following no specific order. For 5 days the supervisor of the Nigerian team joined the Cameroonian team (19/11/00-24/11/00) to harmonise the comprehension and perception of the questions and answers. In each village, 4 village enumerators were selected by the village traditional council to join the research assistants and to form 4 research groups (1 assistant & 1 enumerator each). This guaranteed a certain level of participation and made the research a joint effort of rural populace and researchers. The enumerators also acted as translators in cases where the respondents did not speak or did not like to use Pidgin English – the lingua franca of the region and thus the fieldwork language.

#### **1.3.1.1. Mapping and geographical information**

“The early establishment of village-maps within protected areas is of high importance for the implementation of community based conservation, because it gives the custodians of the land something equal to a land title and the research an instrument for further monitoring” (Godoy et al. 1998: 169, cf. Huijsman 1995, Muchagata et al. 1994). While the theory prescribes also a mapping of farmland, traditional hunting zones and forest “owned” by the village, time constraints limited this research to a simple mapping of the village and its close surrounding. The maps, which were conducted on scale (1:1000 & 1:3000), are available at the PROFA office in Mamfe. They indicate the number and state of houses, communal, religious and other buildings, indicate the sources for drinking water, the bathing points, the roads and paths connecting the villages and the geographical directions. After compiling the census, the households of each village were located (indicated, named and numbered) on these maps. Beside of that, the geographical position (GPS-readings) of each village was collected (Appendix 3) and already utilised in producing the maps of this report. PROFA is preparing a detailed mapping of the entire region in 2001/2002 based on satellite images, area photographs and ground truing.

#### **1.3.1.2. General information on the villages**

General information on infrastructure, social organisation, administrative setting, traditional and secret societies, water sources, health- and education-situation were compiled during a general village meeting, in which the teams also introduced themselves, their mission and discussed with the villagers questions and/or remarks. Detailed questions related to the village history, traditions and their customs were discussed with focus groups (elders, traditional council, native doctors, etc.). Additional information were conducted through personal observations of the researchers and spontaneous discussions with groups or individuals esp. the village enumerators.

Following the sociological terminology, all these people are “informants”, while the people answering the questionnaires are called “respondents” throughout this report.

### **1.3.2. Household**

“Generally, household refers to a set of individuals who share not only a living space but also some set of activities. These activities, moreover, are usually related to food production and consumption or to sexual reproduction and childrearing, all of which are glossed under the somewhat impenetrable label of ‘domestic’ activities.” (Yanagisako 1979:165) To employ “household” as basic dimension of this survey has advantages, but also a number of shortcomings:

The main advantage of a household-survey can be seen in the high level of comparability with reports, academic papers and other forms of research results, since “household” is the main economic model in central and western African economic anthropology. Starting from Evans-Prichard (1940) and Fortes (1945, 1949) the category “household” is used to separate analytically the public and private domain. The household is treated as a discrete entity “opposed to wider, exogenous, economic processes” (Heald 1991:131) and is due to that the most common model to analyse the economic livelihood in Africa (Carr-Hill 1990, Heald 1991, Hladik 1990, Ellis 1993, Guyer 1981, Netting 1993, Walker et al. 2000, Wilk 1989).

The problems related to the “household” model arise from the fact that all societies are to an extent different and unable to be treated by a single instrument. It is frequently assumed that households have well-defined functions and easy definable boundaries, yet the functions, activities, and organisations of household vary widely. Even in the nowadays most common definition, Yanagisako points out, that, because “all the activities implicitly or explicitly associated with the term ‘household’ are sometimes engaged in by people who do not live together” (Yanagisako 1979:165), several anthropologists have introduced alternative terms – such as “domestic group” (Bulmer 1960), “co-residential groups” (Bender 1967) and “budget unit” (Seddon 1976) to distinguish economic functions from co-residence.

Rural sociologists and empirical anthropologists in particular have complained for long that the household is not an adequate dimension to stratify the rural populace. There are huge statistic variations between the different households of a single village - the team assessed households with one person but also with 28 -, and the definition to see household as separate economic entities does often not stand reality. Especially in compound based societies (in the research region: Boki) the boundaries between the different households are flexible and subject to interpretation. The level of economic interaction in a compound is high. To differentiate between the household of a bachelor, who is living in the compound of his parents, and their household is subject to the individual perception of the researcher and/or the respondents. In general, the parents in these compounds or houses see their children as part of a single household under the control of the father, since the children are “obliged” by tradition to contribute to general expenses such as education or healthcare for other family members, but the adult children claim, that it is their decision to assist these family members. Even

different households in different villages have a high level of economic interaction, which makes it difficult to talk of different units. On the other hand, cash-income is always considered as private property and even children of 6 years are allowed to keep the money, which they generate for example from Eru gathering.

Due to all these shortcomings of the household model, anthropologists specialised on equatorial Africa have introduced the “house” as new basic unit of socio-economic research (Vansina 1990; Comaroff & Comaroff 1991; Schildkrout & Keim 1990; Grinker 1994). The “house” as economic unit does not have anything in common with the actual building, but offers a solution for the fact that lineages and clans, the main element of social anthropology, does hardly exist in the central African rainforest. A “house” embodies all persons, who have a common production, consumption or distribution and is, due to that, more of a social relation with ethnical relevance, common history and cosmology/mythology than a closed economic unit (cf. a detailed definition: Grinker 1994: 110-122). Such a “house” includes by definition all people, who are linked by any of these different relations to a set of people and is often similar to the extended family. The result is that in economic studies based on the house-model, the units are fairly large (20-100 individuals).

Since - up to date - “household” is the main tool to describe economic processes in rural Africa the household-model was employed on request of the client. The reporting consultant agreed to this request in acknowledging the above-mentioned shortcomings, which were minimized as much as possible. The reason not to employ the more accurate “house” model in this study is related to the fact, that this report was not commissioned as an academic paper, but as an instrument for the implementation of a natural resource management project. Due to that, comparability with other surveys is seen as more important than ethnological accuracy. After a long discussion with other researchers, government officers and other experts, who are working in the region, a definition was established that a household is a “unit controlled by one head”, which should reflect separate economic units. In the case of unclear situations in the field - which was the common situation - a new household was introduced as soon as the main decision making power in concern of the revenues of the various economic activities was in the hand of a new individual. That does not mean that one separate household in one compound does not have to contribute to the livelihood of the others, but the possibility to refuse a request for financial assistance was utilised as main criteria. This is a vague construction, but equalitarian societies like the ones of the research region are hard to structure. One result is that some data are on first glance ‘incorrect’: due to the definition it is possible that an adult bachelor without kids spends most of his cash income on school fees because of his obligations towards other family members. Without the intention to create more confusion, one could say that the household is somehow near to the nuclear family while the “house” is close to the extended family.

To memorise: In this research a household is defined as a “unit controlled by one head”, in which all members have the choice to reject financial requests by other persons than those of his/her household.

### 1.3.3. Sampling

As said before “a random sampling is only possible, if the units of the universe can be so arranged, that the selection process gives equiprobability of selection to every unit in the universe” (Bryman 1989: 132). Which means that the selection is done in such a way that every household has an equal chance of being included. To guarantee that, it was necessary to carry out an identification of all households in each settlement. To reduce inaccuracy, the teams first produced a village map covering all houses, compounds and other structures. As next step the researchers went in four groups (one research assistant and one village-enumerator) from house to house to carry out a complete census based on the household-definition - utilising the census-sheet (Appendix 1). After that, the teams, assisted by the enumerators and the interested public, related the households to the houses and compounds to avoid incompleteness and duplications. As a second instrument of verification, the supervisor selected some households at random for crosschecking (Cf. Cordell et al. 1987).

As method of selection the systematic random sampling technique was employed, which is considered “as the most simple, most direct, and least expensive sampling method and due to that most suitable for rural research in Africa” (Balandier 1970: 150). To select certain households out of the working universe of all households of a settlement, the supervisor numbered all households following the houses and compounds in which the households were living on the village-map in a circle. Systematic random sampling consists of taking every  $n^{\text{th}}$  unit after a randomly chosen starting unit equal or less than  $n$  (Bryman 1989: 151). Based on the assumption that most villages would embody between 30 and 120 households it was decided during the research workshop (Mamfe 20/10/2000) to choose “3” as  $n$  and “3” as starting unit, because this would select in most villages between 10 and 30 households for further research. To reduce time it was also decided to treat huge settlements with more than 120 households differently and employed “ $n=6$ ” with “6” as starting unit. Only Kajifu, Dadi & Bodam fell under this category.

Separate settlements were treated separately, which means that each quarter was treated as an entity (sampling started from 0). In villages with more than 120 households, but also several quarters (Kalumo, Matene, Tinta) “ $n=3$ ” with 3 as starting unit was employed for each quarter. In small quarters, where less households than the starting unit were assessed, one household (No.1 or No.2) was selected.

In the selected households all adults (above 16), who were present following the household census sheet, were assessed with the individual questionnaires (Appendix 1). People below 16 were not interviewed, since their economic activity was expected – based on the pre-test and similar researches – to be limited to the work as helper for their parents. The only exception, in which the youth is acting as independent economic actor, is the gathering of NTFP’s and Eru in particular (see also p.13).

Due to the high mobility and the semi-resident lifestyle of the inhabitants of the project region, the researchers had to deal with a high number of absent projected respondents and even complete households. In chapter 1.4. the constraints and limitations, which

arose from absent people and also the chosen method to deal with them is discussed. In the data analysis “manufactured complete households” were utilised, which is seen as an appropriate instrument in rural empirical research (Wienold 1994:22). Manufactured means that in the selected households all people above 16, who were not present, were replaced by randomly selected respondent of the same sex, same age and same main occupation (Wienold 1994:22/23).

#### 1.3.4. Data Analysis

As a first step all data were entered into an "Access"-database prepared by Mr. Mbeng Elias and Mr. Timothy A. du Feu. These data were analysed in general (demography, etc.) utilising "Excel". "Excel" was also used to establish "manufactured complete households" and as last step "manufactured average households" (Bryman 1989, Silverman 1993). For further analyses “Excel” and “SPSS” were employed.

#### 1.3.5. Level of Representation

Table 1 relates the total population assessed during the census of this research and the sampled population (individuals and households) to indicate the relation between these two figures in %. As to be expected in a household survey, this category has the highest level of representation (the lowest St.Dev.), but also in each other category is the St.Dev. lower than the average figure. Due to that, the results of this report are representing the total population in the research area. To increase the level of representation, the data from the villages, which were assessed with n=6 (Bodam, Dadi & Kajifu), are multiplied by 2. In the result, the St.Dev. is less than 10 % of the average figure. Table 2 documents the relation between the sampled questionnaires and the manufactured reality, which is the base for the analysis.

Age	HH		16 – 30		31 - 45		46 - 60		> 60		Total		
			F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F+M
<b>Census</b>													
<b>Cameroon</b>	2278	1686	1551	742	689	435	355	248	256	3111	2851	5962	
<b>Nigeria</b>	549	625	551	193	220	95	110	29	50	942	931	1873	
<b>Total</b>	<b>2827</b>	<b>2311</b>	<b>2102</b>	<b>935</b>	<b>909</b>	<b>530</b>	<b>465</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>4026</b>	<b>3782</b>	<b>7808</b>	
<b>Sampled questionnaires</b>													
<b>Cameroon</b>	655	381	244	198	182	130	103	77	87	786	616	1402	
<b>Nigeria</b>	185	112	52	94	81	46	46	16	25	268	204	472	
<b>Total</b>	<b>840</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>296</b>	<b>292</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>1054</b>	<b>820</b>	<b>1874</b>	
<b>Utilised in the analysis (manufactured reality)</b>													
<b>Cameroon</b>	740	450	273	223	214	148	123	88	98	909	708	1617	
<b>Nigeria</b>	185	112	52	94	81	46	46	16	25	268	204	472	
<b>Total</b>	<b>925</b>	<b>562</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>317</b>	<b>295</b>	<b>194</b>	<b>169</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>1177</b>	<b>912</b>	<b>2089</b>	

**Table 2:** Real figures (respondents sampled) and manufactured figures used for the analysis.

Results, indicated in percentages are always related to one of the tables (CS = Census-sheet & IQ = Individual Questionnaire = Manufactured reality) or a fraction of them (the fraction will be indicated as n= ). Since households are statistically not as accurate as individuals, figures in numbers which result from the IQ were constructed as such:  $Z \times n(\text{CS})/n(\text{IQ})$ .



## **1.4. CONSTRAINTS AND LIMITATIONS**

In general the research conditions were excellent. The funding agent agreed to the projected time schedule and the research strategy, which was jointly elaborated in a workshop, so that sufficient time as well as assistants and material were never a problem.

The population in all villages were in general very hospitable and prepared to answer the questions as good as possible. Chiefs, village councils and the entire populace received the teams with open hands and minds and are the main actors, who guaranteed satisfactory results. The enumerators - four in each village - assisted the teams with passion and became quite often friends of the entire team. The porters transferred the material safely through rivers, dense rainforest and mountain-areas. Another keystone for the successful fieldwork was the excellent food, perfectly prepared by the rural women.

The reason for listing some constrains the team was facing during the fieldwork is not to complain or criticise, but to give reasons for certain shortcomings of the data-collection and to describe the general research conditions. It does not only allow the readers and users of this report to establish their own judgement on the objectivity and relevance of the data presented, but might also assist other researches in the elaboration of research strategies and time-schedules.

### **1.4.1. Absents**

In all villages the researchers had to face the problem, that a high number of people were absent to carry out hunting, gathering, fishing, trading and even farming activities or who just travelled to visit relatives, health-centres, death-celebrations, etc. While it was expected, based on experiences in other villages in the south-west province, that hunters are staying most of the week in the forest - sleeping in their bush-houses - and only returning once a week to sell the game, the team did not expect that most younger women were also absent to gather NTFP's most of the week. It was also surprising, that in a number of villages the farms are a place to stay overnight, so that the teams did not have the chance to talk to those people. Fishing as an activity, which requests several overnight stays or even weeks in bush-houses along the rivers, was mostly discovered as a constraint in Okpambe, Awuri, Assam and Takpe in Mid-November - the season of fish-migration.

In general one has to say, that the high level of absent villagers (up to 12 %) did affect the level of representation of the data collected. It was not uncommon that in a household selected for individual interviews nobody above 16 was present. The researchers had two options to fulfil all requirements of the sampling procedure, but both were considered as not practicable: The option to stay in the villages until all members of the selected households would have returned from the forest, could have requested a stay of one or two weeks in one village – an option which was in a survey, which covered 43 villages, impossible. The option to leave questionnaires behind to be filled later by the returning respondents and the village enumerators was seen - following negative experiences during the pre-testing - as not suitable. The quality of data, collected solemnly by the

enumerators, did not fulfil requirements, since the one or two days in-service training of the village enumerators did not qualify them as full assistants.

Following an approved method to harmonise statistical obligations and rural reality (Wienold 1994), incomplete households were “reconstructed” to become a complete household by replacing an absent person with a randomly selected “similar person” out of the data pool for the same village (same age-group, sex & main occupation according to the census sheet). Selected households, in which no adult was available for further research, were skipped and the next available household was chosen (for example No. 4 instead of No 3). This method is recommended for empirical rural sociology and provides for sufficient representation for a systematic random sampling with  $n=3$  as long as not more than 25 % of the selected respondents in a village have to be “reconstructed” (Wienold 1994:24); a situation that did not occur during this research.

In the grassland areas, the Cameroonian team was facing the problem, that several settlements of Fulani cattle-drover were assessed without success, because their "employer" and owner of most cattle had “travelled”. Due to that, most Fulani refused to give detailed information. Since it was not possible to return to this area at a later stage of this research, the Fulani population in the grasslands of Kalumo, Kajinga and Tinta is not represented in this research and should be subject of a separate survey in the near future. This has to be seen as very important, since a good number of those settlements are located inside the Takamanda Forest Reserve or so close to it that it can be presumed, as also confirmed by the informants, that the cattle are grassing inside the reserve.

#### **1.4.2. Limitation from sampling**

As said before, it was decided not to interview people below 16 on their socio-economic activities to their minor importance in the village and to reduce time. Based on the pre-testing and cross-checks in all villages, this will not effect the accuracy of the data on farming, hunting, logging or trading activities, because the rural youth seems to act in all these activities only as helpers of their parents or elder relatives in the same household. The data related to the gathering of NTFP's and fishing are effected by the decision not to interview the youth, but among 100 villagers below 16, questioned on their gathering and fishing activities, only 4% stated, that they gather anything for sale beside of Eru for individual commercial purposes. 95% of those who carried out fishing on their own account stated, that they only fish for subsistence. Nevertheless, one has to consider that the accuracy on Eru gathering and subsistence fishing is limited and has to become subject to an additional research.

#### **1.4.3. Interference with governmental services and other projects**

In general a problem occurred in the data collection from the fact, that the Cameroonian forestry law prohibits all hunting activities without a governmental permission and beside of “subsistence hunting with traditional methods” (MINEF: 26). It is also “illegal” to own fire-weapons, as long as no licence was issued by the governmental services (MINEF; 29/30). According to the Divisional Delegation of MINEF, nobody in the whole Manyu Division has applied for a hunting licence during the last years or

legally owns a rifle (PC Ebot; 30/1/01). Due to that, all hunting with modern methods (wire traps, gun, poison) has to be considered - according to the forestry law - as poaching. Furthermore, all land, which was not demarcated and registered as private property before 1974, is - according to the law - state property (Fisiy 1992).

Based on a strict interpretation of the Cameroonian laws, settlements and human activities in the project region - but also in the majority of the Cameroonian state territory - could be considered as illegal, since nobody is a "legal" owner of his or her farmland or territory of housing or has an exploitation licence to carry out hunting, fishing, logging or gathering of NTFP's.

The high level of absurdity of these laws resulted in the fact, that the laws are generally not executed. In the case of the project region, the governmental services hardly ever visited the region in the past. This results in an out-law situation, in which most of the time no laws - beside of customary laws - are executed at all. Nevertheless, the informants - besides of government representatives - did not consider this as a problem. During the village meetings or open discussion nobody expressed a desire of law enforcement. One informant expressed this mutual consent, when he stated, that "we do not see a need to follow any order from the government. The government only takes and does nothing for us. We do not need a government."

Since 1998 the Takamanda Forest Research Project (TFRP), sponsored by WWF-Cameroon till 1999, is working in the region. In 2000, PROFA started its activities. The strict execution of wildlife protection laws in nearby Nigeria and this increase of conservation activities resulted - according to the informants - in a very negative perception of "wildlife-protection". It was a common fear, that both projects enforce the Cameroonian laws upon the area. This general fear became most visible in regard to hunting activities and logging. In this social and mental environment it is an absolute necessity for a faithful data collection to establish a relation of mutual confidence. But certain activities of governmental officers and project-staff increased fears and prejudices, undermined the efforts and put the data collection under constraints.

In several villages the activities of the TFRP had a negative impact on the quality of the data collection. In these villages the informants stated, that TFRP informed the villagers that hunting is illegal and that legal actions would follow, if hunting was not stopped. While some informants stated, that especially the hunting of gorillas, chimpanzees, elephants, drills "was banned" by TFRP, which is perceived in general as a governmental agent, others stated, that they were told by TFRP that all forms of hunting are "bad and will result for the hunters in legal actions and imprisonment". Most informants reported that TFRP has promised "serious compensation" for a reduction and stop of hunting, but that these compensations (livestock, training in farming, seedlings, material for school buildings, medical care etc.) have never been given. Especially in combination with increased MINEF activities - the implementing body of PROFA - hunters and trappers developed the fear, that their form livelihood patterns would be extinguished in the near future.

It was a common impression among the researchers, that the information on hunting does not give a factual picture of the reality, especially in concern of the hunting of gorillas, chimpanzees, elephants and drills. In Matene the chief claimed, that the entire village stopped hunting monkeys and primates "after lectures of WWF". Questioned about the reasons, he stated, that they wanted to do a favour to TFRP and its project coordinator Mrs. Groves. After a long discussion the hunters present in the meeting expressed their view, that this "is a fat lie". It was consensus that they shoot whatever, whenever and however they have a chance to do so. Some hunters stated, that they have even increased their hunting activities due to their impression that it does not make sense for them to "keep any animals for the future, since we will not enjoy them due to the total prohibition of hunting in the future." This goes along with the long established knowledge that one only cares for what one has a feeling of ownership and a material advantage through its use. On the bases of several examples in Eastern and Southern Africa Mahmood Mamdani came to the following conclusion:

*"Denied access to natural resources on which historically (the rural population) had depended for their livelihood - an access they had come to regard as a historical right - communities responded with short-run 'survival-strategies' that amounted to no more than a plunder of these resources to meet immediate needs: cutting down forests, abandoning practices that allowed seasonal pastures to rest, and instead grazing them across seasons. Once the relationship between communities and surrounding resources was reversed - from custodianship to alienation - the stage was set for a real 'tragedy of the commons'." (Mamdani 1996: 167)*

It has to be mentioned that the TFRP - according to its project coordinator Mrs. Groves - did never lecture in any village to stop or reduce hunting (Email Groves 3/1/01). Nevertheless, it was a common impression that in villages, which were not visited in the past by the TFRP, the people were more open and interested in discussions on hunting.

The PROFA socio-economic baseline survey team tried to make clear, that it would never use any personal information against or to the disadvantage of the informants. Also, the project's view was expressed, that hunting is not considered as an activity, which has to be prohibited in the future, but which need to be integrated in sustainable management patterns. The team also joined the rural populace - in contrast to the TFRP - in eating bush-meat. Again and again, the PROFA-project mission (sustainable management of the natural resources in contrast to a wildlife-sanctuary) was explained in village meetings and personal discussions. A good number of people seemed to have trusted the explanations and granted the team the information, which are said by the informants to reflect the actual level of outtakes, but it was obvious, that some people did not trust anybody from outside the village. Some refused to cooperate at all, but the number of people, who did not even like to introduce the members of their household was in total below 0,5 %. Others refused to give information on their economic life or parts of it, but also this number has to be considered with less than 1% of the projected respondents as very low. Others did not "tell the truth" or "escaped" from the questions, but this has to be considered as normal.

It also has to be mentioned, that it took some time till all team-members (especially those holding a senior position in MINEF) understood, that it is not suitable for a serious data collection to link research and law enforcement.

## 2. Literature Review

German colonial troops only encountered the region, after it was made a concession of the “Gesellschaft Nordwest Kamerun” in 1899. In 1903, the company, which was mainly trading in rubber, installed river-stations at the Cross-River at Ikom (Nssakpe), and Abokem (Ossidinge). “Shortly afterwards a German trader crossed the river to build a store at Abonando (...). From here trading posts were established up country” (Gregg 1925: 6-7). There were trading posts in Takpe, Mfakwe, Basho and Obonyi. At Ketoya (Basho 2) the ruins of a trading post and a German gravestone remind of that time. Very senior villagers had still some memories about this time, mostly related to forced labour, raping soldiers and the fact, that the Germans burnt down nearly all villages in the area and killed all chiefs, who joined the Anyang uprising in 1904. The uprising started when Hauptmann Graf von Pueckler-Limpurg, who was the head of the “Regierungsbezirk Ossidinge”, went to Badshama to quell the resistance of the rural population in the region. The Graf and most of his soldiers were killed near Takpe and all trading posts in the region were destroyed and the traders killed (Gregg 1925: 6-7; Wolff 1904; Nuhn 2000: 226-235). The then following oppression forced several villagers into Nigerian “exile”, from where they only returned after 1918 (Courade 1975: 136-140). All villagers, who joined the uprising, had to pay as fine forced the labour of 20 to 30 men for one year, all rifles and 2 elephant-tusks. Of interest are the tour reports on the region and the book of Dr. Mansfeld, who was the head of the station in Ossidinge from 1904 till 1908 (Mansfeld 1908). From an environmentalist point of view, the German colonial period was disastrous. Even though the high hunting-pressure on elephants, which arose from the high demand for ivory, resulted already in 1900 in first conservation laws, which banned the hunting of certain species (Stoecker 1968:197), local hunters told later, that the wildlife population of key-species (elephants, gorillas, drills, etc.) was reduced tremendously during that period (Sharwood Smith & Cantle 1924). It was reported that a single German officer, who was stationed in Basho shot 12 gorillas and more than 18 elephants (Migeod 1923: 254) and Mansfeld claimed to have collected 95 gorilla skulls between 1904 and 1907 (Mansfeld 1908: 95).

In 1915, British troops took control of the region and from 1922, the western part of Cameroon was ruled as mandated territory of the league of Nation by the British colonial administration in Nigeria. To implement their system of indirect rule the British colonial administration organised expeditions to all areas of their new territory to gather information. These reports are today the oldest (and only) available documents on the socio-economic situation in the research region. In 1924 Sharwood Smith and Cantle assessed the Anyang and Manta Tribes (Sharwood Smith & Cantle 1924), in 1925 the different clans of the Boki Tribe in Cameroon were assessed by Gregg (Gregg 1925) and finally were the northern parts - the Assumbo Area - by O’Sullivan in 1923 (O’Sullivan 1923) and by Captain Cowan (Cowan 1936) in 1935/1936. The quality of the reports varies a lot and while Sharwood Smith & Cantle and Cowan can be considered as reliable source with a certain level of knowledge in social sciences – they are of course limited to their time - Gregg is more of a racial pamphlet full of prejudices like: “the forest is the home of the Boki, Eba-Mbu and Ekokisam Clans, and they have

not escaped its lowering influence. To have the rank growth up to the very doors of their houses, to be shut in by an endless barricade of forest must mean deterioration, and they are indeed a most uncultivated people” (Gregg 1925: 1). Nevertheless, and in face of the fact that no other report on the socio-cultural or socio-economic situation of the research region is available the reports will be utilised throughout this survey.

In 1947/48 Gerard Durrell spent 6 months in Eshobi (map 1) to collect animals for British zoos. He saw “Mamfe overside” - how the Akwaya Subdivision was called during the British colonial time - as “one of those few remaining parts of Africa that has escaped the fate (of civilisation) and remained more or less as it was when Africa was first discovered” (Durrell 1953:15). Eshobi “is situated north of the Cross River on the edge of a section of forest that stretches unbroken and almost uninhabited hundreds of miles northwards until it reaches the desolated mountains where the gorilla has its stronghold” (Durrell 1953: 23). In concern of this report one has to consider that his three entertaining books about this “collecting” trip, “the overloaded ark” (Durrell 1953), “the Bafut beagles” (Durrell 1954) and “A zoo in my luggage” (Durrell 1960) do not offer much information about the inhabitants of the region: “neither the Africans nor my collection of monkeys appreciated the chameleons” (Durrell 1953: 130). Nevertheless, Durrell’s books are classics of the protectionist view and inspired John Oates to “a pilgrimage to Eshobi”, which stands at the beginning of his book “myth and reality in the rain forest”, which refers to Eshobi and the Takamanda Forest Reserve as “a good example of the real rain forest world of today. Many changes have come to the village in the fifty years since Durrell first went there, changes similar to those that have occurred over much of western and central Africa, and that have brought us to the conservation crisis” (Oates 1999: 6) Oates was involved in the “rediscovery” of a limited gorilla population on the Nigerian side of the reserve in the late eighties, which resulted in the creation of the Okwango Division of Cross River National Park (Oates et al. 1990, Caldecott et al. 1990). Groves & Maisels, who reviewed in detail the history of primate research in the region, mentioned only two “expeditions” to the TFRP before 1998 (Groves & Maisels 1999: 17/18). In 1987, Duncan Thomas (Thomas 1988) rapidly assessed the conservation potentials and needs of the region for WWF and in 1997 a GTZ mission examined a request for technical assistance by MINEF and elaborated a project proposal (Graf et al. 1997, Tarh et al. 1997), which resulted in the creation of PROFA in 2000).

While the National Archive in Yaoundé did not contain any detailed material on the region, the National Archive in Buea and the Divisional Delegation of MINEF offer a good amount of technical reports before independence in 1960. After independence the number of reports become less and less and are - as regards the quality of information - simple time-schedules of scaling exercises, tax drives or confiscation tours.

### 3. Presentation of findings

#### 3.1. OVERALL ASSESSMENT

##### 3.1.1. Settlement descriptions and Demography

###### 3.1.1.1. Modes of settlement

It seems advisable to give first a short definition of technical terms used in this paragraph, because these terms differ according to the socio-cultural environment in which they are used. The main differentiation of settlements is between quarters and villages. **Villages** are a group of houses and associated buildings, which are independent from other villages, are entitled by customary law and governmental administration to be ruled by a council and a chief and have a traditional land title on a portion of land. **Quarters** are considered as part of a village having a specific character, use or location. Quarters are ruled by a quarter-head under the chief and the council of the overall village. In the research area 4 modes of village-quarter relation appeared:

- 1) In the southern part of the region all villages are composed of one quarter each, with two exceptions (Basho 2 and Akwa), which can serve as an example for a problem, which arises from the classification of settlements: Akwa was in the past the traditional owner of all land between Basho 1 and Nyang. The elders in all three villages stated, that River Ebe to the north and Makwe Mboh (a hill) are the “traditional boundaries” of Akwa (VM Basho; VM Akwa; VM Nyang). At the end of WWI, Mbu<sup>3</sup> and in the late thirties Tassomo or Meloyeta were founded within the Akwa territory by settlers from other areas. According to the elders in Mbu and Tassomo, they paid compensation to the traditional council in Akwa and lived for several years as quarter under Akwa, before they were “promoted” to become independent villages with independent chiefs (HM Mbu; HM Tassomo). In the sixties people from the Mbolo area founded another settlement within the land of Akwa: Bantakor or Melontabu or - as the Akwa people prefer - Akwa-Stranger. The people of Bantakor also paid compensation and lived for several years as quarter under Akwa, but in contrast to Tassomo and Mbu, Bantakor is still considered as quarter. It is important to realise, that neither the settlers nor the host-villagers are decision makers in this process. Only the Sub-Divisional Officer is able to change the status of a quarter and due to that divide the traditional land of a village.<sup>4</sup>
- 2) Besides of this first mode of settlement (settling on the land of a different village) a second mode is appearing in the region: In 1924 the today’s Obonyi 3 was assessed as hamlet or quarter of Obonyi 1 (Sharewood Smith & Cantle 1924: 17), which means

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<sup>3</sup> Their origin is unclear: while the British assessment report (Sharewood Smith & Cantle 1924,2) identified them as part of the Ba-Mfuacha Clan of the Anyang Tribe and due to that as close relatives of the inhabitants of Akwa, the Mbu villages nowadays claim, that they are descendants of Elogobi, who is said to have come from the region of the today’s north west province (HM Mbu).

<sup>4</sup> The result is that Mbu (Taboko; Akwaya village 81) and Tassomo (Taboko; Akwaya village 91) are equal partners of Akwa (Taboko; Akwaya village 58) or Awuri (Taboko; Akwaya village 16) - a village with 40 inhabitants (table 3) -, while Bantakor remains with 215 inhabitants a quarter of Akwa.

that some people from Obonyi 1 had started to create a new settlement within the land of their home village. After several years as quarter, Obonyi 3 was promoted to be an independent village (HM Obonyi 1; HM Obonyi). This mode of differentiation is more common than the previous in the surveyed region and is said to be more harmonic. In the grassland and northern research region most quarters were founded as new homes for young families, who did not want to remain in the old settlement after marriage. Kalumo can serve as an example: Till 1931 Kalumo was a single village at the present side of Kalumo (old town). By then “one Ejangi separated from Kalumo” and founded the first quarter of Kalumo (Ingin) (Cowan 1936: 6). Today Kalumo compiles 26 “indigenous” quarters, founded by Kalumo people within Kalumo land, but also several Fulani migrants, which are expected to pay compensation (one cattle per year) and follow the advises of the chief since Kalumo has no council (VM Kalumo). Some quarters have applied to be considered as independent village (Ingin and Ogbara), but the administration did not favour their applications.

- 3) A third mode of settlements can be seen as the contrary of the two other models: The unification of different villages or the unification of several quarters to one settlement. In the past two villages (Awuri and Mbiamisu), which are till recent mentioned as independent villages (Taboko; Akwaya village 15 and 16), united after “death swept through Mbiamisu around 1973, which forced the inhabitants to leave their homes and resettle at the nearby Awuri” (VM Awuri). They are today one village under one chief. The other form, the unification of different quarters is more common. In Takpe (VM Takpe) and Mbilishe (VM Mbilishe) the former quarters united to single settlements.
- 4) A fourth mode of settlement was assessed in Kajifu. Kajifu 1 and 2, which are two independent villages with two chiefs, councils etc. are actually one settlement, since Kajifu 1 has moved closely to Kajifu 2 in the past. As documented in the village map, the houses of the different villages are next to each other, making it impossible for a non-indigene observer to see the difference. In contrast to the example of Awuri and Mbiamisu the inhabitants of Kajifu 1 and 2 do not want to unite (VM Kajifu).

### 3.1.1.2. Demographic Information

Table 3 gives the detailed demography of the assessed 43 villages. One has to memorize the chosen definition of present and absent respectively. **Present** summarizes all individuals, who live “permanently” in one of the assessed households, this includes people, who were not present in person due to their absence for a short period (visits, hunting, fishing, NTFP-gathering or trading activities etc.). **Absent** covers people, who are dependents of an assessed household, but did for a longer period not live with the household (schooling, further education, other forms of training, unskilled labour). **Not covered** in this census are all villagers, who have started a separate household outside the village, and those, who work as skilled labourers or civil servants outside the village.



Table 4 assesses on the basis of available census data the population developments during the last 80 years. There were no data for the Nigerian villages available in the visited archives in Buea and Yaoundé.

Village Name	Population					Aver. Increase in % p. a.		
	1924/25	1936	1960	1999	2000/2001	24/36 – 60	60 – 00/01	24/36-00
Akwa	126		185		576	1,6	5,3	5.1
Assam	166		205	164	175	0,8	-0,4	0.1
Atolo		232	160		182	-1,0	0,3	-0.3
Awuri	49		23		40	-1,8	1,8	-0.3
Basho 1	66		216		166	7,6	-0,6	2.2
Basho 2	167		198		214	0,6	0,2	0.4
Bodam	302		200		779	-1,1	7,2	2.3
Boka	182		59		243	-2,3	7,8	0.5
Dadi	518		672		834	1,0	0,6	0.9
Ebinsi	162		153		168	-0,2	0,2	0.1
Kajifu 1	534		258		757	-1,7	4,8	0.6
Kajifu 2	749		259		613	-2,2	3,4	-0.3
Kajinga		199	197		619	0,0	5,4	3.0
Kalumo		234	395		1370	2,3	6,2	6.9
Kekpani	51		52	291	168	0,1	5,6	3.3
Kekukesim 1	132				423	4,4	0,9	3.1
Kekukesim 2	85				243	3,3	1,1	2.7
Makwe	92		84		174	-0,3	2,7	1.3
Matene		251	311		725	0,8	3,3	2.7
Mbilishe	183		167		276	-0,3	1,6	0.7
Mbu	87		185		396	3,8	2,9	5.1
Mfakwe	52		120	133	161	4,4	0,9	3.0
Nchumba	83		122		117	1,6	-0,1	0.6
Obonyi 1	346		428		344	0,8	1,7	1.5
Obonyi 3					372			
Obonyi 2	324				414	0,5	0,3	0.4
Okpambe	73		59		181	-0,6	5,2	2.1
Takamanda	167		157	650	411	-0,2	4,0	2.1
Takpe	136			202	182	0,6	0,4	0.5
Tassumo	38		80		128	3,7	1,5	3.4
Tinta		365	315		545	-0,5	1,8	0.7
Subtotal Cameroon	<b>6151</b>		<b>6266</b>		<b>11996</b>	<b>0,1</b>	<b>2,3</b>	<b>0.9</b>

**Tab. 4: Demographic Developments - Census data from different periods.** Sources: **1924/1925:** Sharwood Smith & Cattle 1924, Gregg 1925. **1936:** Cowan 1936: Appendix 1; **1960:** Census 1960. **1999:** Groves & Maisels 1999: 14 (estimates were not considered); **2000/2001:** This study.

The increase in population figures in the Cameroonian research region is on average below the national average of Cameroon (since 1960: ~ 2.9 % p.a.; Statistisches Bundesamt 1992:32), but the results from the villages differ. While some villages do not have any increase in population figures during the last 70 years, others are today three times as big as they were in 1924 or 1936. Villages with a road connection or which are close to the road terminals are facing more often a higher increase, than those who are far away from the road network.<sup>5</sup> The fact, that villages in the grassland have in comparison a higher increase in population figures, than villages in the forest area goes along with the observation of Courade (1975:120-128 cf. MINPAT 2000 & RAMPAR 1998). It has to be mentioned, that between the beginning of the colonial encounter and

<sup>5</sup> T-test for independent samples, p=0,009.

1910 around 50 % of the population are said to have died of smallpox (Mansfeld 1908: 11/12), which would lead to the assumption that today nearly the same amount of people are living in the region as before the colonial encounter.

**Fig. 1:** The Population of the 43 assessed villages (Census sheet (CS),  $n = 15707$ ).

On average a village in the forest zone of the research region (excluding Kalumo, Kajinga & Tinta) has 329 inhabitants, which is less than the figures Courade provided on the basis of an assessment of all villages in the hinterland forest zone of western Cameroon (Average 353 inhabitants; Courade 1975:128).

**Fig. 2:** The stratification of the overall population (sex, age) (CS,  $n=15707$ ).

Overall, the assessed population in Cameroon slightly differs from the statistical mean. There are less women (50.3 % instead of 50.5 %; This report & Census 1986 in: Statistisches Bundesamt 1992: 37) and more youth (Female < 16: 24.5 % instead of 23.2 %; Male < 16: 25.6% instead of 23.4%; This report & Census 1986 in: Statistisches Bundesamt: 37; Cf. Courade 1975: 162 cf. MINPAT 2000: 21-24 & RAMPAR 1998). It has to be mentioned, that the data for the research area are of better quality than the data of the national census (PC Schroeter 23/4/2001). The national census is based on less than 2000 randomly selected households, while the data of this study are based on a total sample in 2827 HH.

### 3.1.1.3. Communal Infrastructure

Beside of general information related to the village set-up, which can be answered in detail from the village maps (Number of thatch houses, number of zinc houses, number of churches. etc) general information on the villages were collected with the Village Information Sheets (VIS).

Name	Main Market	Dist. to Market in h	Nearest Road-point				Navigable River	Dist. to Primary Forest/min	Visits of govern. Assist. Since 1996	No of Community Halls	No. of Stores	No. of Bars
			Dry Season	Dist/h	Rainy Season	Dist/h						
Akwa	Nyang	4	Mbu	1,5	Nyang	4	No	40	Agric. Post	2	1	0
Assam	Mamfe	10	Okpambe	2	Nyang	4	No	15	Never	1	0	0
Atolo	Amana	8	Akwaya	5	Amana	8	No	10	Never	0	0	0
Awuri	Nyang	3,5	Okpambe	0,5	Nyang	3,5	No	15	3 times/year	0	0	3
Basho 1	Amana	36	Mbu	5	Nyang	8	No	15	Nov 00	0	1	0
Basho 2	Amana	36	Mbu	5	Nyang	8	No	10	Never	1	0	0
Bodam	Ikom	4		0		0	No	60	Never	1	4	1
Boka	Ikom	5	Dadi	1,5	Dadi	1,5	Yes	30	Never	0	2	0
Dadi	Ikom	4		0		0	No	60	Never	1	10	3
Ebinsi	Ikom	7	Bakem	1	Mamfe	8	Yes	10	Never	0	2	0
Kajifu 1	Ikom	6	Bakem	2	Dadi	2,5	Yes	30	Never	1	2	10
Kajifu 2	Ikom	6	Bakem	2	Dadi	2,5	Yes	30	Never	1	2	10
Kajinga	Amana	6	Akwaya	3	Amana	6	No	180	Never	0	0	0
Kalumo	Amana	5	OCR	3	OCR	3	No	60	Never	0	0	0
Kekpani	Nyang	6	Nyang	6	Nyang	6	No	20	Never	1	0	5
Kekukesim 1	Ikom	7	Bodam	3	Bodam	3	Yes	30	Never	0	2	3
Kekukesim 2	Ikom	6	Bodam	2	Bodam	2	Yes	5	2times/year	0	3	0
Makwe	Amana	36	Mbu	6	Nyang	9	No	120	Nov 00	1	0	0
Matene	Amana	9	OCR	6	OCR	6	No	60	Never	1	2	0
Mbilishe	Amana	36	Mbu	8	Nyang	12	No	20	Never	1	0	0
Mbu	Nyang	2,5		0	Nyang	2,5	No	30	4 times/year	1	1	5
Mfakwe	Nyang	4	Mbu	2	Nyang	4	Yes	15	Never	1	0	10
Nchumba	Amana	24	Mbu	6	Nyang	9	No	120	Never	1	0	0
Obonyi 1	Ikom	48	Bashu	5	Mamfe	24	No	60	Never	1	0	10
Obonyi 2	Ikom	6	Bashu	2	Abo	5	No	60	Never	1	2	10
Obonyi 3	Ikom	48	Bashu	6	Mamfe	24	No	40	Never	1	3	10
Okpambe	Nyang	3		0	Nyang	3	No	60	Never	1	3	0
Takamanda	Ikom	36	Bakem	3	Mamfe	6	No	60	Never	1	3	10
Takpe	Mamfe	11	Okpambe	3	Nyang	5	No	30	Never	1	0	0
Tassomo	Nyang	6	Mbu	3	Nyang	6	Yes	25	Jan 01	1	0	0
Tinta	Amana	6	Akwaya	3	Amana	6	No	40	Never	0	2	1
<i>Subtotal Cam.</i>		<i>Av 14</i>		<i>Av 3</i>		<i>Av 6</i>		<i>Av 44</i>		<i>Av 0,7</i>	<i>Av 1,5</i>	<i>Av 3</i>
Akwekia	Amana	9	OCR	6	OCR	6	No	40	1time/year	0	0	0
Bashu Bokom	Ikom	4		0	Abo	3	No	20	Never	0	0	0
Bashu Kaku	Ikom	4		0	Abo	3	No	20	Never	0	2	0
Bashu Okpambe	Ikom	4		0	Abo	3	No	20	Never	1	3	0
Ekemini	Amana	9	OCR	6	OCR	6	No	40	1 time/year	0	0	0
Elumsor	Amana	9	OCR	6	OCR	6	No	40	1 time/year	0	0	0
Nzorsor	Amana	9	OCR	6	OCR	6	No	40	Never	0	0	0
Okwa 1	Ikom	12	Bamba	6	Butatong	8	No	10	Never	1	0	0
Okwa 2	Ikom	24	Bamba	7	Butatong	9	No	50	Never	1	1	0
Okwango	Ikom	12	Bamba	5	Bamba	5	No	30	Never	1	3	0
Omoni	Amana	10	OCR	7	OCR	7	No	40	Never	0	0	0
Oshunekpa	Amana	8	OCR	5	OCR	5	No	20	Never	0	0	0
<i>Subtotal Nig.</i>		<i>Av 9,5</i>		<i>Av 4,5</i>		<i>Av 5,6</i>		<i>Av 31</i>		<i>Av 0,3</i>	<i>Av 0,8</i>	<i>Av 0</i>
<b>Total</b>		<b>Av 13</b>		<b>Av 3</b>		<b>Av 6</b>		<b>Av 40</b>		<b>Av 0,6</b>	<b>Av 1,3</b>	<b>Av 1,9</b>

**Tab. 5:** Accessibility and communal Infrastructure (VIS,  $n=43$ ).

**Explanation:** **OCR** = Obudu Cattle Ranch/Nigeria; **Govern. Assist.** = Agriculture Extension Officers, Communal Development Officers, etc.; **Navigable River** = Rivers or streams, which are navigable at least during the rainy season by canoe; **Dist/h** = Distance in walking hours.

An average distance of 13±10 hours tracking to the nearest major market cannot be seen as an environment for extended cash crop production. Due to high transport costs and a high number of competitors with better locational factors, the profit range for cash crop in the region is limited. The informants saw this massive constraint for further development as ample justification for their mutual claim for further roads (VM in all villages). If one also takes the distance to the nearest road point into consideration - 3±2 h during the dry-season and 6±3 h during the rainy season - the picture changes a bit and documents, that it is not primary the lack of roads, which makes marketing of farm products difficult, but insufficient public transport facilities. Okpambe and Akwaya, two important road points are only served by governmental and project vehicles, and the slow process of bridge construction at Nyang (nearly 4 years for the pillars) blocks the road to Mbu during most of the year. Anyway, in view of the common request from the rural populace, it seems necessary to remind, that PROFA does not have the mandate for road construction, road maintenance or the implementation of public transport.

Other communal and private infrastructure such as community halls (in more than 50 %), shops and bars (in the bigger villages) document a certain level of communal organisation, which becomes even more visible as concerns schooling (table 6). The Cameroonian government only employs 35% of the teachers in the respective research region, while 65% receive their salary from the Parents-Teachers-Associations (PTA). That 68% of the Cameroonian teachers are untrained has to be seen in the light of limited communal financial resources (a PTA-teacher receives around FCFA 15.000 in cash or kind per month), but is still very unsatisfying. In one village a PTA teacher was not able to write his profession “teacher” correctly and in others the blackboards were full of errors and mistakes. Nevertheless, the fact that 73% of the visited villages have a school is promising and offers the younger generation at least some level of education.

Name	School	Up to class	Classrooms			Teachers					Enrolment	Pupil per teacher
			Government	Community	Total	Trained Govern.	Untrained Govern.	Trained PTA	Untrained PTA	Total		
Akwa	1	7	1	4	5	2	0	0	3	5	250	50
Assam	1	7	6	0	6	2	0	0	1	3	73	24
Atolo	1	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	43	43
Awuri	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Basho 1	1	7	0	4	4	0	1	0	1	2	215	107
Basho 2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bodam	1	7	0	2	2	3	0	0	3	6	275	46
Boka	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	45	22
Dadi	1	7	5	0	5	4	0	0	3	7	240	34
Ebinsi	1	4	0	2	2	0	0	0	2	2	32	16
Kajifu 1	1	7	7	0	7	4	0	0	3	7	450	64
Kajifu 2												
Kajinga	1	5	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	3	56	19
Kalumo	1	7	4	0	4	0	1	1	2	4	146	36
Kekpani	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kekukesim 1	1	7	4	0	4	1	0	2	2	5	155	31
Kekukesim 2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	100	100
Makwe	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	52	52
Matene	1	6	4	0	4	1	0	0	2	3	130	43
Mbilishe	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	44	44
Mbu	1	6	0	4	4	0	0	0	2	2	96	48
Mfakwe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nchumba	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Obonyi 1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	46	23
Obonyi 2	1	7	4	0	4	2	0	0	2	4	139	35
Obonyi 3	1	7	7	0	7	1	1	0	2	4	365	91
Okpambe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Takamanda	1	7	7	0	7	0	1	0	2	3	145	48
Takpe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tassomo	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	25	25
Tinta	1	7	0	4	4	0	2	0	4	6	167	28
<i>Subtotal Cam.</i>	23		49	23	72	20	6	4	45	75	3289	44
<i>Average Cam.</i>	77%		68%	32%	100%	27%	8%	5%	60%	100%		
Akwekia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bashu Bokom												
Bashu Kaku	1	6	6	0	6	4	5	0	0	9	300	33
Bashu Okpambe												
Ekemini	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elumsor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nzorsor	1	6	6	0	6	4	8	0	0	12	780	65
Okwa 1	1	6	6	0	6	7	1	0	0	8	350	44
Okwa 2	1	6	0	9	9	15	7	0	0	22	700	32
Okwango	1	6	7	0	7	8	0	0	0	8	270	34
Omoni	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oshunekpa	1	5	3	0	3	4	2	0	0	6	60	10
<i>Subtotal Nig.</i>	6		28	9	37	42	23	0	0	65	2460	38
<i>Average Nig.</i>	60%		76%	24%	100%	65%	35%	0%	0%	100%		
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>		<b>77</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>5749</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>Average</b>	<b>73%</b>		<b>71%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>100%</b>		

**Tab. 6:** Education – Infrastructure and organisational set-up (VIS,  $n=43$ ).

As regards gender stratification it has to be mentioned, that females are not represented according to their number in society among those, who receive or received education. Several male informants described the low educational level of their wives and daughters as advantage. “A clever men does not marry a girl, which completed primary school. Those girls only give you headache. They know much, but not their place in society. Take one, who has completed class 1. She will never challenge her husband. She will cook and clean - that is what God made her for” (Informant Bodam; 13/2/01).

**Fig. 3:** The stratification of education in % (IQ,  $n=1874$ ).

Level of education	Sex	Female					Male					Total
	Age	16-30	31-45	46-60	>60	Total	16-30	31-45	46-60	>60	Total	
<b>No formal education</b>		22.4	52.2	84.5	100	47.6	6.5	11.9	36.7	63.7	21.6	29.7
<b>Primary School</b>		69.6	42.1	14.4	0	46.9	71.1	64.6	51.5	32.3	60.1	53.9
<b>Secondary School</b>		6.2	5.4	1.0	0	4.6	16.9	17.7	3.6	1.6	12.6	11.3
<b>College/High school</b>		1.8	0.3	0	0	0.9	4.3	4.8	7.1	2.4	4.7	4.2
<b>University</b>		0	0	0	0	0	1.2	1.0	1.2	0	1.0	0.9
<b>Total</b>		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**Tab. 7:** The stratification of education (age, sex) in % (IQ,  $n=1874$ ).

Beside of this general stratification, several villages have a special characteristic. The very high number of girls, from the two grassland villages Kajinga and Kalumo, who are not attending school (more than twice as much as the average) seems to reflect the role of women in the Becheve society. According to the informants, marriages are organised between an adult husband and a friend or relative (the father of the bride) before the bride is born or less than two years old. Even though the girl grows up in her parent's household, the husband is seen as responsible for all financial aspects of live, since the bride price is paid. It was said by the informants, that most husbands consider the education of their young wives as of no priority. The parents of the girl do not see a need to sponsor the education, since the girl is no longer "their property" (Informants Kalumo, Kajinga).

**Fig. 4:** Villages with a very high % of children (<16), who do not attend school (CS,  $n= 7872$ ).

It is surprising that most villages mentioned in figure 4 have a school. This leads to the assumption, that low education is not so much related to insufficient infrastructure, but

to the particular social and cultural environment in the research region. The over proportional number of Nigerian villages in figure 4 could also be seen as an indication, that financial aspects are secondary for the unsatisfying educational situation in the research region, since all teachers in Nigeria are paid by the government and due to that education is free of charge. The figures of Elumsor are contrary to the general trend. While 10 % of the boys below 16 do not attend school, “only” 3.7 % of the girls are not schooling. The informants saw this finding as a result of the private intervention of a female educational officer of Cross-River National Park, who originates from Elumsor (Informants Elumsor).

Place of secondary education	Female	Male	Total (n)	Total (%)
Central Province	1	2	3	<b>0.14</b>
East Province		1	1	<b>0.05</b>
Littoral province	2	4	6	<b>0.29</b>
North province		1	1	<b>0.05</b>
North-West Province	8	13	21	<b>1.01</b>
South province	2	4	6	<b>0.29</b>
South-West province	377	653	1030	<b>49.73</b>
West province	4	2	6	<b>0.29</b>
<b>Subtotal Cameroon</b>	<i>394</i>	<i>680</i>	<i>1074</i>	<b>51.86</b>
<b>Nigeria</b>	403	594	997	<b>48.14</b>
<b>Total (n)</b>	<i>797</i>	<i>1274</i>	<i>2071</i>	
<b>Total (%)</b>	<b>38.48</b>	<b>61.52</b>		<b>100</b>

**Tab. 8:** Place and gender composition of secondary education (CS,  $n=2071$ ).

Table 8 documents the over proportional high number of students, who attend secondary education in Nigeria. Nearly 1/3 of all secondary students from Cameroonian villages continue their education in Nigeria (Cross-table village & place of secondary education CS,  $n=2071$ ).

University	Cameroonians		Nigerians		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
<b>Nigeria</b>	3.75	23.75	11.25	36.25	75
<b>Yaoundé</b>	2.5	2.5	0	0	5
<b>Bamenda</b>	1.25	0	0	0	1.25
<b>Douala</b>	1.25	0	0	0	1.25
<b>Buea</b>	0	15	1.25	0	16.25
<b>Dschang</b>	0	1.25	0	0	1.25
<b>Total</b>	8.75	42.5	12.5	36.25	100

**Tab. 9:** Places and gender composition of university education in % (CS,  $n=80$ ).

Table 9 supports the interpretation of table 8. 75 % of all students (more than 50 % of all students from Cameroon) are studying in Nigeria. In comparison, students in Nigeria are more gender balanced and their number is in relation to the absolute population surveyed, significantly higher.<sup>6</sup> 1.05 % of the surveyed population in Nigeria were attending university education, while in Cameroon 0.34 % was studying at university level.

<sup>6</sup> T-test for independent samples:  $p=0,000$ .

Village Name	Health posts				Last Vaccination Campaign	No. Of Traditional Doctors	No. Of Traditional Midwives	Distance to drinking source/min	No of Pit toilets
	Building	Operational	Nearest	Distance in h					
Akwa	Yes		Mamfe	24	2001	2	4	10	10
Assam			Kajifu	5	1997	0	2	20	2
Atolo			Tinta	2	2001	0	0	7	0
Awuri			Kajifu	6	2000	0	0	5	0
Basho 1			Bachama	3	2001	3	1	10	0
Basho 2			Akwaya	24	2001	1	2	5	0
Bodam	Yes		Ikom	4	2001	1	2	10	75%
Boka			Kajifu	2,5	2001	3	1	5	0
Dadi	Yes		Kajifu	4	2001	0	1	5	100%
Ebinsi			Kajifu	1	2000	3	0	10	0
Kajifu 1	Yes	Yes		0	2001	10	1	5	6
Kajifu 2					2001	8	1	5	5
Kajinga	Yes	Yes		0	2001	5	5	15	5
Kalumo			Cattle Ranch	3	2000	7	0	10	0
Kekpani			Tinta	24	1999	8	5	2	0
Kekukesim 1	Yes		Kajifu	1	2000	3	3	5	4
Kekukesim 2			Kajifu	2	2000	4	3	5	6
Makwe			Akwaya	7	2001	5	0	5	0
Matene			Nzorsor	2	2001	10	8	5	0
Mbilishe			Bachama	3	2001	2	0	5	1
Mbu			Mamfe	6	2001	2	0	10	6
Mfakwe			Mamfe	8	2000	6	2	10	0
Nchumba			Akwaya	7	2001	4	1	2	1
Obonyi 1	Yes		Kajifu	7,5	2000	20	10	5	4
Obonyi 2			Kajifu	5	2000	8	2	2	2
Obonyi 3			Kajifu	7	2000	5	3	5	2
Okpambe			Kajifu	6,5	2000	1	1	2	4
Takamanda	Yes		Kajifu	2,5	2000	5	3	10	4
Takpe			Kajifu	6	2000	4	4	10	0
Tassomo			Akwaya	36	2001	6	4	2	0
Tinta	Yes	Yes		0	2001	5	1	15	7
Subtotal Cameroon	30%	10%		Av 7		Av 5	Av 2	Av 7	
Akwekia			Nzorsor	1	2000	2	0	10	0
Bashu Bokom				1	2000	0	0	20	0
Bashu Kaku				1	2000	0	0	20	0
Bashu Okpambe	Yes	Yes		0	2000	1	0	20	1
Ekemini			Nzorsor	1	2001	4	0	15	0
Elumsor			Nzorsor	1	2001	3	0	15	0
Nzorsor	Yes	Yes		0	2001	2	3	5	1
Okwa 1			Okwa 2	1	2001	9	0	3	1
Okwa 2	Yes	Yes		0	2001	21	0	3	20
Okwango	Yes	Yes		0	2001	0	0	10	0
Omoni			Nzorsor	1	2001	4	0	5	0
Oshunekpa			Nzorsor	1	2001	1	0	10	0
Subtotal Nigeria	33 %	33 %		Av 0,7		Av 4	Av 0,3	Av 11	
Total	31 %	17 %		Av 5		Av 4	Av 2	Av 8	

Tab. 10: Health facilities and health related infrastructure (VIS,  $n=43$ )

**Explanation:** **Last Vaccination Campaign** = assesses the last visit of a person with some form of medical training to the village in most cases a polio vaccination; **Traditional Doctors/midwives** = includes all inhabitants, which had according to the villagers some knowledge in traditional medicine. Most people mentioned here were not certificated "traditional doctors" or "traditional birth-attendants". **Distance to drinking source** = distance from the middle of the village to dry-season drinking point (river, stream, etc.)

While the health infrastructure in Nigeria fulfils the WHO requirements for good governance in the health sector, which requires a chance to see a doctor within 150 min, Cameroon is far below that. Since nobody from the research team hold any medical title

the assessment of the existing health infrastructure and health situation cannot be more than a preliminary description. Nevertheless, it has to be mentioned that the team eye-witnessed a “doctor” vaccinating a whole primary school without changing or disinfecting the syringe (PO Obonyi 3). In several village meetings the rural populace complained, that they have to pay around FCFA 2.000 per child for the two polio vaccinations. According to the WHO delegation in Cameroon, the polio vaccination campaigns 1999/2000 and 2000/2001 were completely covered by international aid and due to that free of charge for the rural populace (PC WHO Yaounde 15/5/01). A high number of children, who are probably infected by polio, are living in the north and east of the research region. If this judgment was correct could not been justified by the team. Some team members also had the impression that a high number of children were affected by malnutrition, but scientific proof could not be given.

### **3.1.2. Ethnicity and social system**

Ethnicity is considered to be of more importance where people are closely linked to their village of origin and where migration is low. In the research area more than 75 % of the people were born in the same village they are actually living in. Migration is not very common within the Nigerian villages (~ 5 % origin from other villages: ~ 2 % from Cameroon and ~ 3 % from other parts of Nigeria – Cross table: Nigerian villages & Place of origin, IQ, n = 471). The immigrants in the Cameroonian villages are mostly women (~ 83 % - Cross table: Places of origin & Cameroonian villages & sex, IQ). As reason, the informants stated that custom prohibits intermarriage between partners from the same village for some ethnical groups. 6.3 % of the inhabitants of the surveyed villages in Cameroon are originally from Nigeria. This is not surprising since most ethnical groups, which intermarry within the tribe (Boki, Ovande, Anyang) are living on both sides of the border. This interpretation is supported by the fact that nearly all immigrants from Nigeria are living in villages of these three tribes.

**Fig. 5:** Place of birth (IQ, n= 1874).

### 3.1.2.1. Tribes and Clans

Anthropology utilises two main technical terms to differentiate between certain groups of people. A **tribe** is a “social division in a traditional society consisting of families or communities linked by social, economic, religious, of blood ties, with a common culture and dialect, typically having a recognised leader” (Berry 1986: 32). A tribe can consist of several **clans**, which are “groups of close-knit and interrelated families” (Berry 1986: 33). In theory this seems very simple and logic, but reality differs a lot. Archival sources and information from very senior villagers come to the conclusion that before the arrival of the Germans hardly any social organisation above settlement level was existing (Sharewood Smith & Cantle 1924: 4). Several examples underline this thesis:

1. The three Obonyi villages claim, that they are of Boki origin and that they have become Anyang, when they started to settle at their present locations (HM Obonyi 1, HM Obonyi, HM Obonyi). The British assessment report had to search for an justification, since clans and tribes were the basic instruments of their indirect rule: “The Ba-Ewaw Dachi Clan (Obonyi - KSS) is undoubtedly of Boki extraction, but through intermarriage and intercourse with the Anyang, talks now pure Anyang and has assimilated all the Anyang customs” (Sharewood Smith & Cantle 1924: 17). This does hardly go along with the definition of tribes.
2. Under German rule Kajifu and Ebinsi were seen as Eba-Mbu clan of the Boki tribe (Gregg 1925: 14), but the assessment of the British “proofed” that they are of the Banchu clan of the Anyang tribe (Gregg 1925: 14, Sharewood Smith & Cantle 1924: 17). In the village and history meetings in Ebinsi (HM Ebinsi) all villagers stated that they are Anyang, but in the village and history meeting in Kajifu the inhabitants declared themselves to be Boki (HM Kajifu). The British gave as explanation: “the villagers previously thought to belong to the Boki clan, proved on investigation to be Anyang” (Gregg 1925: 14). One could have the impression, that the boundaries between different tribes are constructed, since the members of the different tribes do not know to which group of people they belong to.
3. As last example could serve that the Basho villages (Mbilishe, Nchumba, Makwo, Basho 1 and Basho 2) expressed their common believe to be the Basho tribe, while the archival sources defined them as Mbeye Clan of the Anyang tribe (Sharewood Smith & Cantle 1924: 27-30). Questioned about their past, the villagers stated, that they became an own tribe, when the Mbulo customary court area was founded, since most other Anyang villages are in the Takamanda customary court area (HM Basho 1, HM Basho 2). That an administrative act is able to split tribes underline their vague consistence.

Name	2nd Name	Chief	2nd representative	Tribe	Clan
<b>Cameroon</b>					
Akwa		Tarh Peter Akwo	Essa James Agbor	Anyang	Ba-Mfuacha
Assam	Napenegbe	Enow Tambe Michael	Etchu Alfred Abow	Anyang	Banchu
Atolo	Amang	Andrew Ketumo Keya	John Etav Ketchi	Ovande	Ovando (Ekot Ngba)
Awuri		Enow James Agbor	James Enow Usaw	Anyang	Banchu
Basho 1	Meloyo	Abie Thomas Ola	Nkwa David Esa	Basho	Mbeye (Anyang)
Basho 2	Ketoya	Ava Seca Ayancha	Obi James	Basho	Mbeye (Anyang)
Bodam			Asu Kajang Asueko	Boki	Boki
Boka			John Oyong Besong	Boki	Boki
Dadi		Mbe Martin Mbechang	Obi Anthony Wanobi	Boki	Boki
Ebinsi		Mbia Napoleon	David Ebai	Anyang	Banchu
Kajifu 1			Besong Michael	Boki	Banchu (Anyang)
Kajifu 2		Asanga II	Ojong Stephen	Boki	Banchu (Anyang)
Kajinga		Try-yourself Esali Agba	Emanuel Ketcho	Becheve	Ocheve (Ekot Ngba)
Kalumo	Olume	Eyos Amuno	Daniel Esa	Becheve	Ocheve (Ekot Ngba)
Kekpani		James Mbe Atowoh	Samuel Ejeh Atwoh	Anyang	Balumbi
Kekukesim 1	Oyong	Daniel Takem Mgbe	Simon Mgbe Takem	Boki	Ekokisam
Kekukesim 2	Bwan Bisong		Obi John	Boki	Ekokisam
Makwe		Andrew Usaw Ekokebe	Ashu Nkwa Mathias	Basho	Mbeye (Anyang)
Matene	Welemenin	Omang Ekosi		Ovande	Ovando (Ekot Ngba)
Mbilishe			Tiku Dikson	Basho	Mbeye (Anyang)
Mbu		Tambe Eyong Emmanuel		Anyang	Ba-Mfuacha
Mfakwe	Ntia	Efumbe Sampson	Mathias Menge	Anyang	Balumbi
Nchumba		Tiku Edward Akwo	Akwo Michael	Basho	Mbeye (Anyang)
Obonyi 1	Obei	Robinson Eno Besong	Ashu Elias Lawan	Anyang	Ba-Enaw Danchi
Obonyi 2	Njueshu	Mbi Andrew Takon		Anyang	Ba-Enaw Danchi
Obonyi 3	Awancho	Stephen Akwo Essa	Issa Emmanuel	Anyang	Ba-Enaw Danchi
Okpambe		Samson Tabe Nyambi	Ncha Tiku John	Anyang	Banchu
Takamanda	Nkanje	Echu Andrew Mbua	Agbor Michael Ayang	Anyang	Banchu
Takpe		Joseph Ekwalle	Daniel Ashu Egbe	Anyang	Balumbi
Tassomo	Meloyeta	Angwa Jacob Taku	Taku Stephen	Ayo	
Tinta	Wohamb	Akunta Martin	Okumo Michael	Ipulo	Okus
<b>Nigeria</b>					
Akwekia		Godfrey Koppah		Ovande	Ovando (Ekot Ngba)
Bashu Bokom		Columbus Attah		Boki	
Bashu Kaku		Emmanuel Ochong	Patrick Abang	Boki	
Bashu Okpambe		Ebam Augustine Otu	Fidelis Mbija	Boki	
Ekemini		Aefa Apoh		Ovande	Ovando (Ekot Ngba)
Elumsor		Godwin Mawa		Ovande	Ovando (Ekot Ngba)
Nzorsor		Unum Pas Aku	William Egoner	Ovande	Ovando (Ekot Ngba)
Okwa 1	Ukwonde	Jacob Okwa Obibi	Oscar Ofakpa	Anyang	
Okwa 2	Mukwande	Clement Akwo	Thomas Akwo	Anyang	
Okwango		Mathew Bisong	Pius Tawo	Boki	
Omoni	Ojoniya	Emmanuel Eyoh		Ovande	Ovando (Ekot Ngba)
Oshunekpa		Kefchie Samuel	Kabucuo Kefna	Ovande	Ovando (Ekot Ngba)

**Tab. 11:** The traditional set-up of the villages (VIS, n=43).

**Source:** For all information beside of the clan the VIS were used. Clan: Sharwood Smith & Cantle 1924, Gregg 1925, Cowan 1936.

**Explanation:** 2<sup>nd</sup> representative = This name was given as answer to the question, who is the highest representative of the village in the absence of the chief.

**Note concerning table 11:** It has to be mentioned, that some of the information given in table 11 are not of mutual consent in the villages. Especially the question, which is the chief or the second representative of the village, received more than one answer in some villages. The names presented here are those, which were presented to the team by the majority of villagers present during the village meeting. It could be, that other names are registered at the D.O.'s Office in Akwaya, which holds the official list of chiefs recognised by the Cameroonian government. The same has to be said about spelling of names of those villages.

**Fig. 6:** Tribal composition of the research region (IQ,  $n=1874$ ).

### 3.1.2.2. Historical Background and traditional ties between villages

A common history leads to some form of cooperation, whether this amalgams to tribes, clans or just a form of good neighbourhood. Since the “construction” of clans through the British colonial administration did not have much impact, the different clusters - linked through a common history - are numbered and not named. In cases of conflict between archival sources and oral history, the oral history was valued higher, as it is considered as the current pattern of historical consciousness in the research region, and - due to that - popular opinions are more important for the overall research goal.

1) **Assam, Awuri, Ebinsi, Okpambe, Takamanda** (Mbiamisu – extinguished -, Bache outside the research area)<sup>7</sup>. It was a common belief, that all these villages have one eponymous ancestor – according to the archival sources “Ncho” so that the clan is called Bancho, which means the children of Ncho - who settled long ago “two km upriver from today’s Ebinsi” (HM Ebinsi). Oral history holds, that due to conflicts one part of the founding family left under the leadership of “Chief Etande” and settled further upriver. The five sons of this Etande founded five villages (Assam, Awuri, Okpambe, Mbiamisu and Bache) before the appearance of the Germans, which are all very close to each other. This harmonic relation did not last till present. Assam is in conflict with Awuri, because they regard themselves as traditional heir of the land of the extinguished Mbiamisu and Bache, because they are “angry”, that the only secondary school in the region was installed in Bache and not in Assam, the place of the first primary school in the Sub-Division (1932). The conflict between Bache and Assam also affects Takamanda, because all three villages claim to be the central village of the Takamanda customary court area. Beside of this feud, Awuri, Okpambe and Assam are at contention with each other due to forest use related problems. The other part of this cluster (Ebinsi and Takamanda) is more harmonious. It has to be mentioned that Takamanda received its name through an error, because

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<sup>7</sup> Villages indicated in brackets are said to have a common history with the villages in the respective part of the research region.

Taku Nda (or Taku Manda) is said to be the founder of a village, which is called Nkanje by its inhabitants. The colonial masters mixed the name of the founder with the name of the village and created Takamanda. Nevertheless, the population prefers and uses the name “Nkanje” (cf. the whole paragraph: Sharwood Smith & Cattle 1924: 14-15, VM Okpambe, VM Awuri, VM Assam, VM & HM Takamanda, VM & HM Ebinsi).

- 2. Kajifu 1 and Kajifu 2.** These two villages consider themselves as Boki, even though archival sources and neighbouring villages (VM Kekukesim I) do not support this view. Oral history holds that Kajifu, founded by Eben Aju, was first situated at the western banks of river Oyi. The informants stated, that one of his children erected a bush shed at the present site Kajifu 2 about one km east of river Oyi together with a man from Ebinsi. “Because of the fertility of the land, other family members wanted to join him, but he gave them directives to settle not on the hill, but at a place where a tree called Ojifon was common - north of the present location of Kajifu 1. But this area with Ojifon trees – which were interpreted by the colonial geographers as Kajifu - was Ebinsi land. After discussions with the Ebinsi people, the settlers were asked to compensate Ebinsi for this land.” The informants in Kajifu stated that over the years Kajifu people paid for the land (bush-meat, palm oil, etc.) and are due to that living in peace and good relationship (intermarriage) with Ebinsi. The people of Kajifu 1 left their former settlement at the boundary of the forest reserve after WW 2 and joined their relatives to form the settlement with the highest population in the research region. This high population together with limited land can be seen as the reason that Kajifu is in conflict with nearly all its neighbours. Land use and forest use related problems caused by Kajifu villagers entering their neighbours’ land were the most common explanations. The problems between Boka and Kajifu reached a level, at which Kajifu villagers were not allowed to trespass Boka land to travel to Nigeria. (cf. the whole paragraph: VM & HM Kajifu, VM & HM Boka, VM & VM Kekukesim 1)
- 3. Kekukesim 1 und Kekukesim 2** These two villages coexist in harmony and even have joint council meetings. They see themselves as descendents of “Ashibita”, the eponymous ancestor who founded the original village north of the present location of Kekukesim 2. Oral history holds that the children of Ashibita split into two settlements due to the insufficient water source at Kekukesim 2. Bissong Bake remained at Kekukesim 2, which is also called “Bwan Bissong” i.e. Bissong’s children. The informants stated, that Oyong Nsibiteh decided to resettle with his family near Oyi river (their present site) forming Kekukesim I, or “Bwan Oyong” i.e. Oyong’s children. This all was said to have happened before the colonial encounter, resulting in the historically wrong numbering of the two villages, due to the south – north direction of the encounter (cf. the whole paragraph: Gregg 1925: 5,17-18, VM & HM Kekukesim 1, VM & HM Kekukesim 2).
- 4. Bodam, Boka, Dadi** (Badjie, Biajua/Nigeria, Danare/Nigeria - outside the research region - and Oyi - extinguished) which are all commonly called “Bwan Bissong Boki” i.e. Bissong Boki’s children. Legend holds that Bissong Boki asked six of his seven sons to build their settlements around his own (Danare) to form a defensive wall and act as spies on enemy villages. The seven villages are very close to each

other, which today results in land-use problems. Even the international boundary, which separates these villages, caused conflicts about land titles. Dadi and Bodam villagers claimed, that they are the traditional owners of farmland in Nigeria, but that the inhabitants of Danare asked Nigerian forces to take control over these farms in Nigeria (cf. the whole paragraph: Gregg 1925: 5, VH & HM Bodam, VM & HM Boka, VM & HM Dadi).

5. **Obonyi 1, Obonyi 2, Obonyi 3, Bashu Bokum/Nigeria, Bashu Kaku/Nigeria, Bashu Okpambe/Nigeria** (Abo Bonabe/Nigeria outside the research region). Oral history claims, that their mystical ancestor was called Ekpa-Seshu or Eramenkwee and arrived in region from Abu, which is located in today's Nigeria, during a hunting trip. The informants in Obonyi claimed to be of Boki origin and have changed to the Anyang tribe, when they settled at their present location, which is considered as Anyang land. It is a common believe, that they lived all together near Obonyi 1 until the German colonial encounter forced them to take refuge at the present site of Okwango in Nigeria. Oral history holds, that after WW I, the majority of the villagers decided to return to their former settlement (Obey-Obonyi 1), but that three family-heads Mergancha (founder of Obonyi 2), Bashu (founder of Bashu Bokum, Bashu Kaku & Bashu Okpambe) and Bonabe (founder of Abo Bonabe) decided to break off and form their own villages. In the thirties "Agbobolo" left and founded a hamlet in the Obonyi 1 land. This hamlet later became Obonyi 3. The three Obonyi's have very strong ties and it was said, that they have acted united until recent. As reason for the conflict the villagers of Obonyi 1 & 2 stated, that the chairman of the traditional council is personalising all benefits from PROFA. It has to be mentioned that all villagers do not like their "white men village names". For them Obonyi 1 is Obey, Obonyi 2 is Njuashu and Obonyi 3 is called Awancho. The Nigerian part of this group claimed to have been assembled in two settlements (Bashu Kaku & Bashu Okpambe) until Bashu Bokum separated from Bashu Okpambe in the sixties (cf. the whole paragraph: Sharwood Smith & Cantle 1924: 17-18, VM & HM Obonyi 1, VM & HM Obonyi 2, VM & HM Obonyi 3).
6. **Okwango**. The present inhabitants of this village took over the land after WWI from the Obonyi's. Oral history states, that they are originally from Gamyia hill and descendents of the Ekoi tribe, but their main language is Boki. They call their village Okwuka-Kingwo i.e. "we have found life" (Cf. VIS Okwango).
7. **Okwa 1 and Okwa 2**. The villagers stated, that they are part of the Anyang tribe and descendents of Taku Manda, the founder of Takamanda. Oral history holds, that they left the main group in 1815 to start these two villages. This relation is denied by the inhabitants of Takamanda, who stated that Okwa 1 and Okwa 2 are settlements by slaves, who were liberated by the colonial masters, at the site of two former slave camps of Taku Manda (Cf. VIS Okwa 1, VIS Okwa 2, VM & HM Takamanda).
8. **Akwekia/Nigeria, Atolo, Ekemini/Nigeria, Elumsor/Nigeria, Matene, Nzorsor/Nigeria, Omoni/Nigeria, Oshunekpa/Nigeria** (Umbuli/Nigeria not surveyed). Oral history claims that all these villages are together with the Becheve villages of Kalumo and Kajinga descendents of Ekort Ngba, who is said to have

settled first in the grassland area. It is believed, that one of the sons of Ekot Ngba - called Adjali Ako - led one branch of the family to the rainforest and founded Matene just north of the present main quarter of Matene. Later, Nyam Etchue - also called Balegete (founder Umbuli/Nigeria, Oshunekpa/Nigeria, Ikwette/Nigeria) - and Ako Oka (founder of Atolo) left to found their own settlements to the west and east of Matene. As time passed by, all three main settlements (Matene, Balegete & Atolo) split in several quarters, but while in Nigeria Umbuli, Oshunekpa and the different settlements of Ikwette (Akwekia, Ekemini, Elumsor, Nzorsor and Omoni) are nowadays separate villages, the 11 settlements of Matene and the 5 settlements of Atolo compose only two villages. The Ovande people have a strong feeling of unity and are proud of their history as “greatest fighting clan” in the region. It was stated that one chief (Okpane Akwo of Matene) was leading 11 successful wars against all kind of enemies. (cf. the whole paragraph: Cowan 1936: 8-9, VIS Akwokia, VM & HM Atolo, VIS Ekemini, VIS Elumsor, VM & HM Matene, VIS Nzorsor, VIS Omoni, VIS Oshunekpa).

9. **Kalumo, Kajinga** (Katele – outside the research region). These two villages see themselves as descendents of Ocheve (Becheve i.e. sons of Ocheve), another son of Ekot Ngba. It was said that they left the original site of the Ekot Ngba tribe at the north of the present village of Katele to take refuge from the slave trading Vitua tribe. Oral history holds, that with the assistance of the Ovande warriors the Becheve were able to protect the area from further slave drives. The further history is unclear and effected by the land conflict between Kajinga and Kalumo & Katele. The chief of Kajinga even refused – in contrast to most of his subjects – to consider the Kalumo people as relatives. The conflict seems to be related to the very limited farmland of Kajinga, which tries to expand by all force. Following the most common viewpoint Kalumo and Kajinga villages lived in peace in the two old towns (which have a joint water source in the dry season) until the first families of Kalumo decided to settle on the highlands and at the forest zone to the south and east. While Kalumo settlers were able to find sufficient land to establish 26 quarters over the years, resettlers from Kajinga did not find enough land for farming. The quarter of Aguaso had to be “bought” from Atolo and does still not offer much farming space, which results in further conflicts with the Ogbara quarter of Kalumo and Tinta. Nevertheless, the relations between the old settlements (Kalumo Old Town, Kajinga Old Town and Katele) are quite relaxed and not effected by the land conflicts (cf. the whole paragraph: Cowan 1936: 4-7, VM & HM Kalumo, Informants Kalumo Old Town, VM & HM Kajinga, Informants Kajinga Old Town, Informants Kajinga Aguaso, VM Tinta).
10. **Tinta**. This village is said to be founded by another branch of the Ekot Ngba tribe. The informants in Tinta stated that the name of the tribe is Assumbo, with Tinta, which was said to be founded by Upulo – a son of Ekot Ngba -, as “capital”, since the customary court is situated here. This interesting link of colonial administration (the court area was founded by the British) and oral history does not receive support by archival sources or informants from other villages. Nevertheless, it was said, that these people settled at a place called Okuru - “15 kilometres north-east of the present

site” long before the German times. They later shifted their settlement to places called Ekwort and Veba. Around 1913 the Germans established a station at Tinta (Old Town), uphill and some km northeast of the present village and forced the villagers to settle around this station. It was said that after WWI (1922) the first villagers started to leave the old site and settled in the valley around the present location of Tinta. It was said that in the forties the old settlement was abandoned and a new settlement “Kakpengi” was started in the south, as a quarter of Tinta. Beside of the claim to be the “capital” of all descendents of Ekot Ngba and the land struggle with Kajinga, Tinta is living in peace with its neighbours, following the traditional law, that children of Ekot Ngba are not allowed to fight with each other or to intermarry (cf. the whole paragraph: Cowan 1936: 3-4, VM & HM Tinta).

- 11. Mbilishe, Nchumba, Makwe, Basho 1, Basho 2.** These villages have a deep feeling of belonging, which is related to strong historical roots. In contrast to other areas most people had a good memory of the past. Oral history holds that they are through their eponymous ancestor Aye related to the Okwa villages in Nigeria – what these people deny. It was stated that Aye was entering the region from the north and settled with his family near the present site of Kajinga – Aguaso. The informants stated, that the lastborn son Nbeye led the family into the rainforest area, where his five sons founded the five Basho villages. It was said, that all five villages were split into several quarters in the past, while today only Basho 2 (Ketoya) has a quarter, which documented a significant separatism during the visit. The five Basho villages are the only group, having some superior structures in case of conflicts and they try to solve problems with the outside world as unity (cf. the whole paragraph: VM & HM Mbilishe, VM & HM Nchumba, VM & HM Makwe, VM & HM Basho 1, VM & HM Basho 2, Sharwood Smith & Cantle 1924: 28-29).
- 12. Kekpani, Mfakwe, Takpe.** Oral history holds that the eponymous ancestor “Alumbi” entered the area as middlemen of the slave-traders from Calabar. It was stated that they all lived in one settlement “Elimbe”, before that had to take refuge in some caves, when the Germans returned after the uprising in 1904. The informants said, that since all chiefs and council members were killed as revenge for the killing of Graf Pückler the survivors started to quarrel over the chieftaincy, which led to the foundation of three separate villages. Takpe is till recent composed of two quarters (Ongwu & Mukwalakwa), but “following some death, they united some years ago”. It has been observed that between Takpe and Mfakwe a new village has just been created, which combines hunters and their families from the nearby villages. (cf. the whole paragraph: Sharwood Smith & Cantle 1924: 30-31, VM & HM Kekpani, VM & HM Mfakwe, VM & HM Takpe, for the last information: Email Groves 28/3/01).
- 13. Tassomo.** The inhabitants of Tassomo, which is also known as Meloyetta are settlers in the area. Oral history holds, that they are descendants of two men, Nkwa and Agbor, who founded coming from the Bamenda highlands Tassomo as a settlement near Mbulu. The informants stated that between the wars two men, Etta and Angwa, left their former village and started a new settlement at the present side, which they called in memory of their village of origin also Tassomo. Over the years

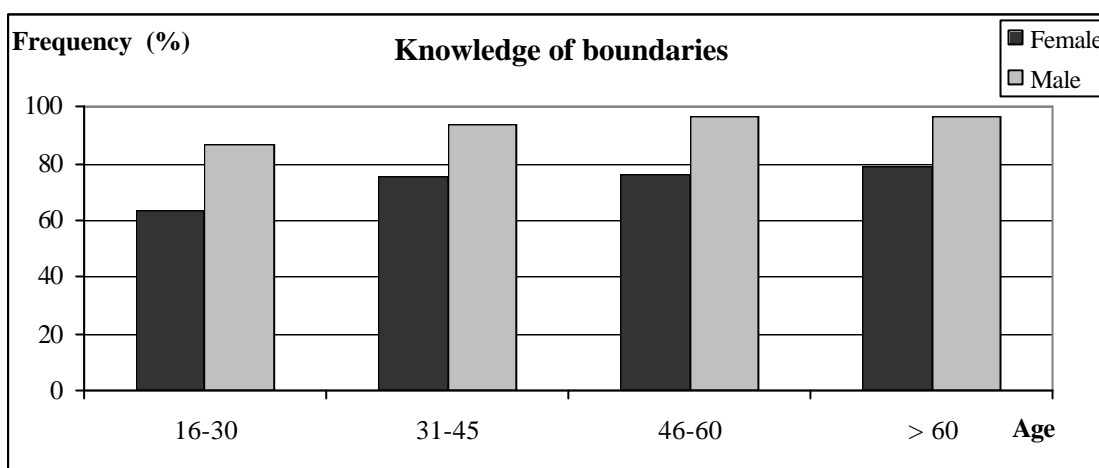
all people left the old Tassomo to join the new settlement. As mentioned above, Tassomo is utilising land, which formerly belonged to Akwa (VM & HM Tassomo).

- 14. Akwa.** Akwa claims to be the authentic headquarter of the entire subdivision. In the village meeting it was a common view, that Akwa was decided to be the capital of the “Akwa subdivision”, but that a civil servant from Akwaya added the ending –aya to the original decree of the Cameroonian president. Due to this forgery, Akwaya and not Akwa became the administrative center of the area. Oral history states that these people are descendants of Mukukigi, while archival material see “Mfo Acha” as eponymous ancestor, who came to the region from the “Biteku bush”. Controversial information also exists as regards the migration of the Akwa inhabitants. While the elders stated that the village “had been in existence for many generations when the Germans came” the archival sources state that Akwa was just founded in 1900 and that the first chief of this place was still alive around 1920. The same controversial has to be reported as concerns the relation with other villages. While Sharewood Smith and Cantle report that after “thorough investigations a relationship between Akwa, Mbu, Eshobi and Manta had been proved”, the inhabitants of Akwa claim today to have no relation to anybody (cf. the whole paragraph: Sharwood Smith & Cantle 1924: 12-13, VM & HM Akwa).
- 15. Mbu.** Their origin is unclear: while the British assessment report identified them as part of the Ba-Mfuacha Clan of the Anyang Tribe and due to that as close relatives of the inhabitants of Akwa, the Mbu villages claim nowadays, that they are descendants of Elogobi, who is said to have come from the region of today’s north west province. It was said, that Elogobi first settled around the source of the Mbu river during the later part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Elogobi got married and had three children, Mbu, Ngah and Tambe, which founded the three villages Mbu, Ngah and Ba-Tambe (which falls under the Menka court area in the NW province), while Mbu and Ngah are located within the Mbolo court area of the SW province. The elders explained that Mbu (Elogobi’s 1<sup>st</sup> son) first settled at a place called Makpe or Mbu old town before the villagers decided to use the present site between Akwa and Nyang. Nevertheless, Mbu villagers are considered to be part of the Anyang tribe even though they claim to have no relation with any other Anyang village. (cf. the whole paragraph: Sharwood Smith & Cantle 1924: 12-13, VM & HM Mbu).

### **3.1.2.3. Conflicts between villages in the region**

Beside of the traditional ties between villages as outlined above, the present relationship between them was assessed. 46 % of the respondents gave information about conflicts with one or more village (50.3 % of the men & 42.6 % of the women; IQ, n= 1874). In total, 175 conflicts were reported. Nearly all of them (99 %; IQ, n= 960) are related to problems, which arise from boundary disputes. The most common complain was, that people from the neighbouring villages harvest, hunt, fish and farm in an area, which is seen by the village as its own territory. Table 12 documents the most important conflicts:





**Fig. 8:** Knowledge of the village boundaries (IQ, n=1874).

Since boundary disputes are the most common reason for conflict between villages, it was important to survey the knowledge of these boundaries among the local populace. Most people claimed to know the position of the boundaries (79,6 %), but especially among the younger villagers a good number of people could not indicate the boundaries. It is important to mention, that among those, who did not know the boundaries, 12 % stated, that the gathering of NTFP is their main occupation and 1 % considered themselves as professional hunters (Cross table Knowledge of boundaries & profession; IQ, n = 415). This could be related to the fact that boundaries between villages in the research region are not easy to define. Not all villages have the advantage of using a clear geographical position like a river or a stream as boundary demarcation, and it seems understandable, that boundaries, which are marked by a tree, a rock, a hill, a valley or a junction of the track become subject to boundary disputes. A serious conflict is related to the relevance of the international boundary between Cameroon and Nigeria for the demarcation of traditional land titles. Especially in the Boki area, where the villages are closer to each other (less than one hour tracking), villages justified the occupation of a portion of land, which traditionally belongs to a neighbouring village, with the fact, that it is situated on “their side” of the international boundary. That this is more of a justification than a real argument can be seen if one reflects, that the establishment of the boundary was done by the German and British colonial powers in 1910. It also contrasts the observation, that beside of cases, which offer an advantage, no informant had put much emphasis on the boundary or the differences between Nigeria and Cameroon.

Boundary demarcation	%
A River	29.87
A special Tree (pine apple)	23.92
A Stream	21.00
The International boundary	9.04
A Hill	5.95
A Rock	4.31
A road (track) junction	4.03
A valley	1.88
Total	100.00

**Tab. 13:** Methods to demarcate boundaries (IQ, n = 1874).

### 3.1.2.4. Chieftaincy and rural administration

“The idea of the despotic chief, as found amongst the grassland tribes, is utterly and entirely foreign to these, whose own administrative machinery consisted in former days of a Council of Elders presided over by the Senior Member of the family or Clan. The Council’s functions were purely deliberative and judicial. Administration in the sense that we understand it simply did not exist, mainly because the necessity never arose” (Sharewood Smith & Cantle 1924: 4).

Village Position	Age	Female		Male		Total	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Chief	Between 31 & 45	0	0	13	34.21	13	34.21
Chief	Between 46 & 60	0	0	10	26.32	10	26.32
Chief	Above 60	0	0	15	39.47	15	39.47
<b>Subtotal</b>		0	0	38	100	38	100

Tab. 14: Stratification of chiefs (CS,  $n=15707$ ).

In 5 villages (Bodam, Boka, Kajifu 1, Kekukessim 2 & Mbilishe) no chief was appointed after the former one had died. It was said, that the villages used to mourn for at least one year before a new chief is appointed. Some villages were represented during that time by the “traditional chief”, who is the most senior member of the council, while in others the vice-chairman of the council was seen as legitimated spokesmen of the village (VM Bodam, Boka, Kajifu 1, Kekukessim 2 & Mbilishe). The procedure, which leads to the official appointment of a new chief through the Cameroonian government, was subject to long and controversial debates. While most informants of all ethnical groups stated that chieftaincy rotates among the different families represented in the council, a minority claimed that a royal family is in demand for future chiefs. Groups, which were seen by all the informants as not suitable for chieftaincy, were the families of former slaves, settlers and “impure” tribesmen, who have a mother or father from a different tribe. In theory the senior members of the different families represented in the village council (between 3 & 9) discuss the qualities of the proposed candidates and appoint the new chief. In reality - several informants stated - the local CPDM proposes a candidate, who is in harmony with the political system in Cameroon and boycotts all other candidates, since chiefs have to be appointed by the D.O. Akwaya to be recognized by the government. In Mbilishe the informants stated that the D.O. rejected the proposed chief, because he was not literate (VM Mbilishe). In Bodam some informants stated, that the chief proposed by the council - a former policeman in Nigeria - was rejected and replaced by force by a candidate, who is working as civil servant in Yaoundé (Informants Bodam). All this interference together with the unclear procedure lead in most villages, which received a new chief within the last 5 years to a serious argument about the legitimacy of the “official chief”, who is often called by his opponents “government chief” or “white men chief”. It was said, that in two villages (Kalumo & Takpe) retired government officers started a coup, by asking the illiterate chiefs to sign something, which turned out to be a letter of resignation. While the chief of Kalumo, who is a “certificated chief” since 1965 managed to stay in power, the “coup” was successful in Takpe. In the view of the informants the increasing pressure of

the government on the “traditional structures” resulted in 5 villages (Assam, Awuri, Kajifu 2, Kekpani & Takpe) in an “away chief”. In all these villages the chief was considered as living outside the village by more than 50 % of his subjects (Cross-table village & residence of chief; IQ, n=1874). All this information supports the statement of Sharewood Smith & Cante, which is stated above.

A very similar result was the answer to the question on possible conflict managers. Less than 1/3 of all villagers considered the chief of their village as potential conflict manager.

**Fig. 9:** Potential Conflict Managers (IQ, n=1874)

For the majority of the inhabitants of the research region, the councils are potential conflict managers and the informants considered the councils to be more important and powerful than the chief, who is more seen as a spokesman of the council than as the ruling leader (HM all villages). Significant differences could be observed in relation to sex and age-groups: Female respondents had a more positive approach towards their chiefs, while more men than women considered gendarmes as instruments of law and order.<sup>8</sup> As to be expected, elders did consider traditional societies as more important than the rural youth. Traditional instruments of control such as secret societies and/or traditional societies are surveyed in the chapter on religion.

Conflict Manager	Age	16-30		31-45		46-60		>60		Total		
	Sex	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	All
Council		60.21	63.44	65.64	64.63	56.00	62.23	55.96	70.31	60.59	64.51	62.32
Chief		34.65	28.70	30.06	25.40	38.50	29.26	38.53	22.66	34.40	26.93	31.11
Elder		0.51	0.00	0.61	0.32	1.50	1.60	0.00	0.00	0.66	0.42	0.55
Quarter head		2.74	6.04	1.23	4.18	1.00	1.60	1.83	1.56	1.97	3.97	2.85
Traditional society		0.34	0.00	0.00	0.64	0.00	0.53	0.92	0.78	0.25	0.42	0.32
Pastor		0.17	0.00	0.00	0.64	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.21	0.14
Gendarmes		0.69	1.21	1.53	1.93	0.00	3.72	1.83	2.34	0.90	2.09	1.42
Nobody		0.69	0.60	0.92	2.25	3.00	1.06	0.92	2.34	1.15	1.46	1.29
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**Tab. 15:** Conflict manager in relation to sex and age in % (IQ, n=1874).

It could be considered as surprising result, that among the elders (tab. 16) females are more represented than in the village councils (fig. 9). While only 24 % of the council members are women, nearly 40 % of the elders belong to this sex. Nevertheless, one has

<sup>8</sup> T-test for independent samples: p=0.0092

to consider that a very small minority only sees elders as powerful instruments of the village or as conflict manager.

Village Position	Age	Female		Male		Total	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Elder	Between 16 & 30	3	2,34	1	0,78	4	3,13
Elder	Between 31 & 45	4	3,13	7	5,47	11	8,59
Elder	Between 46 & 60	12	9,38	16	12,50	28	21,88
Elder	Above 60	32	25,00	53	41,41	85	66,41
<b>Total</b>		51	39,84	77	60,16	128	100

**Tab. 16:** The stratification of elders (CS,  $n=15707$ ).

**Fig. 10:** Stratification of village councils (sex & age) (CS,  $n=15707$ ).

The composition of village councils documents, that women are not represented in decision-making bodies according to their percentage among the total population. Less than  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the councillors are female. Another misrepresentation is obvious in perspective of the youth. While among the overall population the youth is dominating, the representational body is dominated by more senior members. While most informants stated that the tradition of respect towards the elders is an ample justification for the dominance of elderly men in the council, quite a good number of young informants stated that the councils are too “conservative” to be an active “government” of the entire village. In discussions especially with younger men ( $< 40$ ) it was obvious, that they do not respect decisions made by the council if they are in their disfavour. This goes along with the common complain of councillors and chiefs, that the youth does not respect the traditions and do even not pay fines imposed on them by the council. In Assam it was said, that the council invited gendarmes to collect money for the repair of the village generator from some youth, who have tried to run it with local gin. In Kekukesim 1 the council ordered for a stock to lock villagers, who are unwilling to pay their fines in front of the Ekpe house. In several villages the decision to select village enumerators and

porters to assist the team became a serious burden for the councils. In Kekpani two young men, who were unsatisfied with the decision of the council went for their rifles to “solve the problem”.

In view of all this information it seems uncertain, if the chiefs, the councils or any other existing social structure is able to execute any decision against the will of any of the inhabitants of their own village. This can be considered as an advantage and as element of a democratic tradition, but it is also obvious that none of these institutions can be employed to implement any laws and regulation related to sustainable forest management without the full participation of all stakeholders.

Beside of the villagers themselves, it is also important to know which institution - if any - is considered by visitors to the region, as the most powerful in the village. From Table 18 it becomes clear, that chieftaincy is not considered as the position to which foreign forest users pay their compensation. Among those who paid compensation, only 8.5 % paid it to the chief, but 88,2 % to the traditional council (IQ, n = 685).

<b>Did anybody from outside hunt, fish, log of harvest NTFPs in your forest?</b>			<b>%</b>
No			38.58
Yes			61.42
<b>Information related to those foreigners, who entered the forest</b>			
<b>Origin of foreign forest user</b>	<b>Compensation?</b>	<b>Receiver of compensation</b>	<b>%</b>
From the neighbouring villages	No		34.32
From the neighbouring villages	Yes	Traditional council	21.98
From the neighbouring villages	Yes	Chief	1.55
From the neighbouring villages	Yes	Others	0.47
From Nigeria	No		7.08
From Nigeria	Yes	Traditional council	24.01
From Nigeria	Yes	Chief	2.29
From Nigeria	Yes	Others	1.21
From the region	No		0.88
From the region	Yes	Traditional council	4.32
From the region	Yes	Chief	0.27
From the region	Yes	Others	0.07
From elsewhere in Cameroon	No		0.54
From elsewhere in Cameroon	Yes	Chief	0.47
From elsewhere in Cameroon	Yes	Traditional council	0.47
From elsewhere in Cameroon	Yes	Others	0.07
<b>Total</b>			<b>100</b>

**Tab. 17:** Payment and receiving body of compensation for forest use (IQ, n=1874).

In concern of Table 17 it is necessary to mention, that a significant higher number of those, who reported about people from neighbouring villages entering the forest without paying compensation, informed the team, that there are boundary related conflicts, with the neighbouring village (71.7 % instead of 46 % on average, IQ).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> T-test for independent samples: p=0.000.

### 3.1.2.5. Religion

In his classic “the historical roots of our ecologic crisis”, White stated, “in antiquity, every tree, every spring, every stream, every hill had its own genius loci, its guardian spirit. These spirits were accessible to men, but were very unlike men; centaurs, fauns, and mermaids show their ambivalence (...). By destroying pagan animism, Christianity made it possible to exploit nature in a mood of indifference to the feeling of natural objects” (White 1967: 1205). In the research region “pagan animism” was still present till date, but it was facing a process of adaptation to the “needs of an extended economy”, which means that tradition can not survive if they are contrary to economic growth. As an example, the believe of the Becheve clan (Kalumo & Kajinga) and the Ovande clan (Matene, Balegete & Atolo) could serve. The two groups hold the view, that at an early stage of their history, an animal (Becheve – a monkey; Ovande – a snake) has helped the eponymous ancestor to escape an unpleasant situation. The Becheve of Kajinga believe that a monkey (Precussi gueror or Gery cheeked mangabey) helped one of their ancestors, when he was lost in the forest, while the people of Kalumo hold the view that the monkey helped their founder Ocheve to escape from a elephant trap by offering his tale as climbing robe (HM Kalumo, HM Kajinga). The Ovande believe that a snake helped their ancestor to cross a river, when he had to flee from slave traders (HM Matene) or the Germans (HM Atolo). Nevertheless, the informants stated, that they neither killed this type of monkeys or nor any snakes in the past. Animals of this kind killed by a trap had to remain to rot away. Nowadays the economic value of moneys (FCFA 2.000 – 4.000) is seen as ample justification to sell monkeys, even though no Becheve would eat it, or even allow a hunter to use any instrument (pot, knife, water or fire), which is used to prepare food, for preparing the animal for sale (drying) (Informants Kalumo & Kajinga). That this change in attitude is related to monetary aspect was a common impression (Informants Kalumo & Kajinga) and is underlined by the fact, that the Ovande people did not change their tradition, because – as the informants (Matene & Atolo) stated – nobody would buy these snakes.

According to the data, the inhabitants of the research region have a similar attitude towards traditional instruments of control. These instruments are used as protection of communal or private property or as instrument to judge on the truth of a statement in case of conflict. In some villages it was observed, that the council asked the two parties to swear an oath on Makwo (or Takumbo, which is the same in a different language). While in some villages the party, who was not that sure about the truth of their statement refused to swear and the case was clear (PO Obonyi 3, Matene). In other villages, the believe that a person, who misuses Makwo to prove a lie would blow up and die within hours, was not very common and at any occasion, everybody used his left hand to drum on his belly to swear Makwo on banalities, like that he would be able to drink five litres of palmwine within an hour (PO Basho 1). Beside of Makwo/Takumbo none of the traditional instruments seems to be very popular or common in more than one village. From observation and discussions with informants, beside of Matene and the three Obonyi, traditional instruments are not considered as real final judgements. In most other villages it was said, that they know ways and instruments to fool these instruments or protect themselves against their punishment.

Instrument	%
None	24.64
Don't know	13.04
Makwo, Takumbo	32.03
Evasey	9.00
Kekwe	4.58
Efim	3.83
Moninjom	2.10
Others	10.78

**Tab. 18:** Traditional instruments of law and order (protection) (IQ,  $n=1874$ ).

From the perspective of the project it was quite important to find out, who still believes in these instruments, which could be used to ban the hunting of certain animals or the utilisation of certain areas of the forest. As a result, women believe less than men in these instruments. The informants related this finding to the high number of female followers of born-again churches, who prohibit any attachment to “jujus” and secret societies. It was surprising that contrary to other regions in Cameroon, the young males (between 16-30) are not the most “modernised” group (highest result in not believers in traditional instruments of law and order) but that among this group, more than the average believes in tradition.

Sex	Age group	n =	N (total)	%
Female	16-30	254	562	45.20
	31-45	127	316	40.19
	45-60	70	194	36.08
	>60	35	105	33.33
<b>Subtotal Female</b>		486	1177	41.29
Male	16-30	112	325	34.46
	31-45	106	294	36.05
	45-60	56	169	33.14
	>60	27	124	21.77
<b>Subtotal Male</b>		301	912	33.00
<b>Total</b>		787	2089	37.67

**Tab. 19:** Villagers who do not believe in or do not know any traditional instrument of control (IQ,  $n=1874$ ).

Churches are a very common element in the research area even though there are not many trained priests, catechists or pastors around, but one or two elders in each village organise church services on Sundays. As an exception Takpe could serve. During the research, which fell on a Sunday, the team realised that the Catholic Church was not crowded by churchgoers. Questioned about it, the informants stated, that the catechist does not serve masses any longer, since only two people go to mass and that he prefers to go to his farm even on Sundays (Informants Takpe). It was a common impression among the religious members of the research team, that traditional believes play a significant role during church service. In one village the church elders claimed, that three pineapples are the symbol of the holy trinity (Informants Kekukesim 1). In another village several church members claimed, that the bible can be used to kill an enemy with magic force (Informants Nchumba).

Sex	Age group	n =	N=	%
	16-30	538	562	95.73
	31-45	295	316	93.35
<b>Female</b>	45-60	163	194	84.02
	>60	72	105	68.57
<b>Subtotal Female</b>		1068	1177	90.74
	16-30	290	325	89.23
<b>Male</b>	31-45	251	294	85.37
	45-60	152	169	89.94
	>60	84	124	67.74
<b>Subtotal Male</b>		777	912	85.20
<b>Total</b>		1845	2089	88.32

Name of Church	%
<b>Catholic Church</b>	31.5
<b>Presbyterian Church</b>	24.9
<b>Apostolic Church</b>	6.8
<b>Baptist Church</b>	5.5
<b>Assemblies of God</b>	5.0
<b>Lutherian Church</b>	3.0
<b>Full Gospel Mission</b>	4.4
<b>Truth &amp; Life Ministry</b>	2.0
<b>Others</b>	5.3

**Tab.20:** Distribution of churchgoers (IQ,  $n=1874$ ). **Tab.21:** Membership in the different churches (IQ).

Even if the data did not prove, that young female are much more often members of born-again-churches (34 % instead of the average 31 %; cross table: churches, age & sex, IQ,  $n=1874$ )<sup>10</sup> the findings underline the higher interest of young female in Christian religion. While the born-again-churches prohibit on the one hand the membership in traditional organisations, on the other hand their believe embodies many adaptations of traditional ceremonies. As an example could serve, that the full gospel mission in Bodam holds the view, that if a group of people reads a certain chapter of the bible, the bible will indicate who among those present is a thief (Informants Bodam). This reminds of the Makwo ceremony described above.

If any of these believes can be utilised for natural resource management can be questioned. Up to date only 5.2 % of the people who hunt, have knowledge of taboos or totem animals (IQ,  $n = 476$ ). Mansfeld outlined in length about the totemism in the region and described that in Kekukessim a group of totem crocodiles were living like pats near the village (Mansfeld 1908: 73). His observation that totemism does not prohibit the hunting of totem animals, since these particular animals will inform the hunter about their stage (“the totem elephant used to lift his leg and hold it in front of his face to signal the hunter not to shoot”; Mansfeld 1908: 220) and since it is possible to avoid the killing of the particular totem animal of a fellow villager by offering a sacrifice to the fetish of the totem, goes along with the explanations of the informants of this research. The fact that totem animals of certain regions outlined by Mansfeld like the hippo at the cross-river and the gorilla in the Boki region (Mansfeld 1908: 220/221) are said to be less common than in the past underlines this observation.

### 3.1.2.6. Social Live

While the social stratification within the households will be assessed in chapter 3.2 a short outline on the interaction between the rural world and the “urban centres” of the region such as Mamfe, Akwaya, Ikom (Nigeria) and Amana (Nigeria) will be given here. Cameroonians are said to be very mobile and in the research area it was not strange to hear from the informants, that a group of people has travelled for 4 h one way for a death-celebration of a relative. For believes and social systems, the interaction

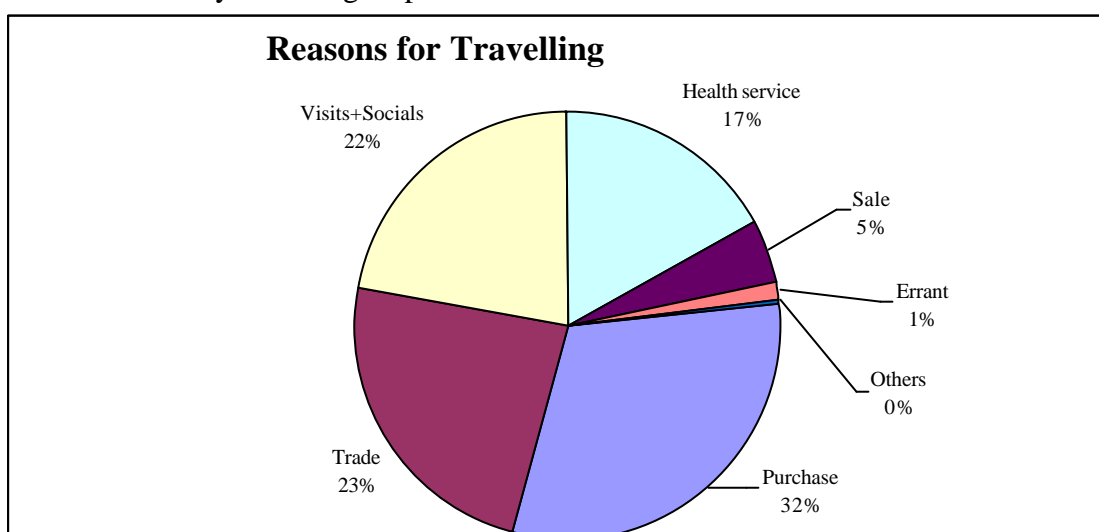
<sup>10</sup> T-test for independent samples:  $p=0.084$ .

with the centres are of special importance, since most “new inputs are coming from town” (Informant Kajifu). Table 22 documents the frequency of annual travels to town, while Table 23 assesses the direction and reasons of all these travels.

Number of Travels to Town per year	%	Number of Travels to Town per year	%
0	21.45	41 – 50	4.45
1 – 5	30.3	51 – 60	2.54
5 – 10	6.8	61 – 100	0.48
11 – 20	12.1	101 – 200	0.91
21 – 30	14.41	> 200	0.24
31 – 40	6.32		

**Tab.22:** Frequency of annual travels to town (IQ,  $n=1874$ ).

It has to be mentioned, that there is no significant difference in the travel frequency between those villages far away from roads and those with a road connection (beside of those who travel more than 200 times per year; Cross table: Village name & Frequency of travels; IQ).<sup>11</sup> Table 23 assesses the destinations of travelling in relation to the reasons. The links between village and destination follow the results for the mayor markets visited by the villagers presented in table 5.



**Fig. 11:** Reasons for the travels carried out (IQ,  $n=1874$ ).

From Figure 11 it can be seen that healthcare and travels related to family reasons (visits and socials) are very important reasons for travelling beside of economic activities such as trade and purchase. From personal observation and from the informants, one could conclude that attending death celebrations are the most important reason, which fall under the category “visits and socials” and especially among those people travelling to the region not living there permanently – and are consequently not included in this research. It was a common picture to see groups of 40 to 60 people travelling for days by foot to attend the funeral of a relative in another village. The relatively small percentage of people who travel for sales’ reason only, lead to the assumption that the export of products from the region is mostly done by professional traders, which will be assessed in a different chapter (3.2.1.6.).

<sup>11</sup> T-test for independent samples:  $p=0.10$

%	Directions	Reason	%
0.17	<b>Nigeria</b>	Errant	0.32
0.04		Health	0.08
6.47		Hospital	12.67
20.85		Purchase	40.86
4.06		Sale	7.96
2.57		Social	5.04
8.62		Trade	16.90
8.25		Visit	16.17
			100
0.87	<b>Mamfe</b>	Errant	2.76
5.93		Hospital	18.77
8.04		Purchase	25.46
0.62		Sale	1.97
0.12		Search for job	0.39
1.33		Social	4.20
9.91		Trade	31.36
0.04		Training	0.13
4.73		Visit	14.96
			100
0.25	<b>Akwaya</b>	Errant	1.79
4.10		Hospital	29.55
1.33		Purchase	9.55
1.29		Social	9.25
3.94		Trade	28.36
2.99		Visit	21.49
			100
0.04	<b>Cameroon SW</b>	Errant	1.79
0.37		Hospital	16.07
0.41		Purchase	17.86
0.83		Trade	35.71
0.04		Training	1.79
0.62		Visit	26.79
			100
0.33	<b>Cameroon</b>	Purchase	50.00
0.08		Trade	12.50
0.25		Visit	37.50
			100
0.08	<b>Cameroon NW</b>	Errant	16.67
0.04		Hospital	8.33
0.37		Social	75.00
100			100

**Tab.23:** Frequency, reasons and directions of travels (IQ,  $n=1874$ ).

The findings underline the close links of the research region to Nigeria. Even among the Cameroonian villages the majority of villagers are travelling to Nigeria for various reasons (50.2 %; Cross table Village name & Destination of Travels; IQ).

Another link to the outside world is the radio, which is also used by PROFA to extend messages and information. 37.48 % of the households in the research region have a radio (IQ,  $n = 2089$ ). Among those households, who own a radio, 84.93 % are able to

receive “Voice of Manyu”, which is broadcasting the PROFA sponsored programme “news from the forest” (IQ, n = 783). The people, who are able to receive the Voice of Manyu, like its programme (98.95 %; IQ, n = 665). The ability to receive Voice of Manyu is highly stratified as documented in Table 24.

Name	%	Name	%	Name	%
Akwekia	73.7	Bashu Okpambe	43.3	Kekukessem 1	14.3
Okwa 2	71.2	Okwa 1	40.3	Basho 1	13.6
Bashu Kaku	65.9	Obonyi 1	36.6	Obonyi 3	13.1
Assam	59.1	Matene	27.3	Takpe	12.9
Dadi	57.7	Omoni	27.3	Tinta	11.9
Awuri	57.1	Ekemini	25.0	Kalumo	9.3
Bodam	53.7	Kajifu 1	24.1	Mbu	6.8
Atolo	52.2	Kajifu 2	23.8	Bashu Bokum	6.3
Ebinsi	51.9	Boka	23.3	Nchumba	6.3
Nzorsor	50.0	Obonyi 2	23.2	Tassomo	5.0
Oshunekpa	50.0	Mfakwe	23.1	Makwe	3.7
Kekukessem 2	47.2	Basho 2	21.4	Kekpani	3.6
Okwangwo	45.5	Akwa	20.7	Kajinga	3.2
Takamanda	44.6	Elumsor	20.0		
Okpambe	43.8	Mbilishi	16.1	Average	31.8

**Tab. 24:** Percentage of households, who are able to receive Voice of Manyu (IQ, n=1874).

From Table 24, personal observations, and statements from the informants one can conclude, that radio messages by PROFA will be hardly received in some areas. Beside of that, table 25 documents the preferences of radio stations, which can be received in the region. While Voice of Manyu is the overall most popular station, it is only third among the answers presented on the question for the most popular station.

Name of Radio Station	1st Coice	2 <sup>nd</sup> Coice	3rd Coice	Total	% of Total
<b>Voice of Manyu</b>	144	202	281	627	32.01
<b>Calabar</b>	297	115	50	463	23.63
<b>CRTV</b>	260	134	40	435	22.21
<b>Enugu</b>	15	86	12	113	5.77
<b>BBC</b>	22	47	17	86	4.39
<b>Voice of America</b>	21	18	26	65	3.32
<b>Lagos</b>	5	36	10	51	2.60
<b>Voice of Nigeria</b>	8	11	8	27	1.38
<b>Africa No 1</b>	1	7	9	17	0.87
<b>Other Nigerian Stations</b>	23	28	24	75	3.83
<b>Total</b>				1959	100

**Tab. 25:** Preferences of Radio Stations, which can be received in the region (IQ, n = 783).

In the end, one has to realise that the worldview of the rural populace is based on a multidimensional basis. Information and rumours spread by local elites, international news agencies, religious groups and from now on project staff are elements, which are assembled together with traditional ways of life, direct needs of the rural life to construct a common base of thoughts.

### 3.2. Economic Activities

The relation between the different economic activities for the overall research region will be assessed first in this chapter. As next step, each activity will be surveyed from an overall perspective, which will lead to the total outtake for each animal and NTFP and the income generated from that. The agricultural production for the overall area will be described as well as fishing, trading and logging activities.

**Fig. 12:** Main Professions and their % among the overall population (CS,  $n = 15707$ ).

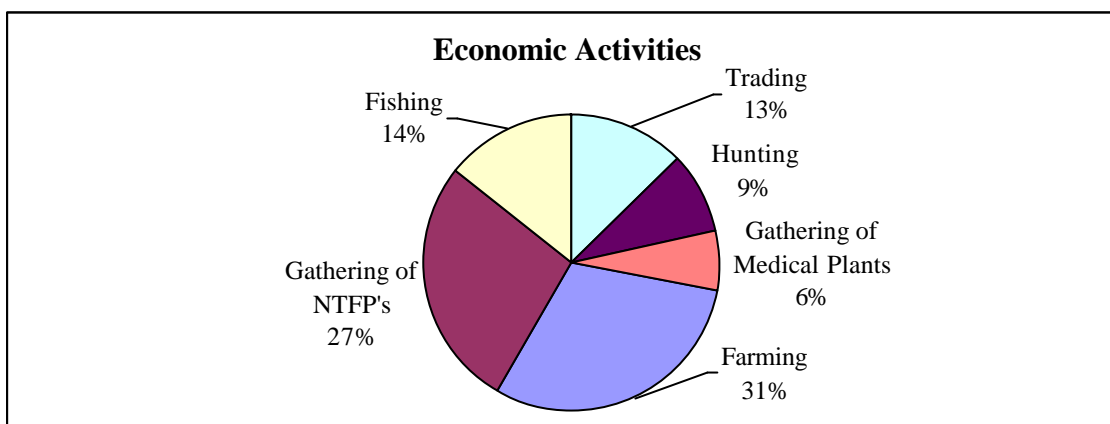
In a society, which is dominated by people below 16, it was to be expected, that infants, pupils and students are the most important occupations. The gender related inequality in the access to education, which is outlined in chapter 3.1.3.1, is also reflected in figure 12. Less young female are pupils or students and already work as farmers or NTFP-gatherers. That men nearly solemnly carry out hunting was to be expected and it has to be seen as surprise, that three female respondents explained to be involved in hunting. They were interviewed in addition and stated, that they only control traps set by a family member, who does not live permanently in the village (Informants Obonyi 3, Okwa 2 & Tinta).

	Farming	NTFP-Gathering	Hunting	Fishing	Logging	Trading	Gathering of Medicinal Plants
No	19.05 %	27.57 %	76.26 %	61.90 %	99.33 %	67.54 %	82.91 %
Yes	80.95 %	72.43 %	23.74 %	38.10 %	0.77 %	32.46 %	17.09 %
Estimated Number of people involved	Farming	NTFP-Gathering	Hunting	Fishing	Logging	Trading	Gathering of Medicinal Plants
	6320	5655	1854	2975	60	2643	1334

**Tab. 26:** Economic Activities in % and estimated total number (IQ,  $n = 1874$ ).

Table 26 assesses the percentages of people (> 15 years) involved in one activity or the other and indicates that most people carry out more than one activity. The method, how the estimated total number of people (above 15 years) was conducted, is described in

the methodology. Figure 13 documents the relation of the various economic activities and indicates the importance of each activity for the livelihood of the area in number of people, who are involved in these activities.



**Fig. 13:** The relation of the different economic sectors in number of economic actors - more than one option per person (IQ,  $n = 1874$ ).

Beside of a comparison between the different economic activities in relation to the number of people involved in these activities, it is also important to compare the cash income related to the different activities. Since only farming, gathering of NTFP's and hunting were assessed in detail only these figures can be given here.

	Overall (FCFA)	Household p.a. (FCFA)	Household p.m. (FCFA)	%
<b>Farming</b>	~ 468,725,000	~ 166,000	~ 13,800	39.4
<b>Gathering</b>	~ 470,420,000	~ 166,500	~ 13,800	39.6
<b>Hunting</b>	~ 249,465,000	~ 88,500	~ 7,400	21.0
<b>Total</b>	~ 1,188,610,000	~ 420,500	~ 35,000	100

**Tab. 27:** Cash Income from Farming, NTFP-gathering and hunting in 2000 (IQ,  $n = 1874$ ).

Income is not equally distributed between men and women. Men have a significantly higher cash income than females.<sup>1</sup> On average, men generate a cash income of FCFA  $200,514 \pm 53,939$ , while women generate on average FCFA  $105,872 \pm 32,824$  in cash.

	Total Cash Income in Mill. FCFA			Average Cash Income			Distribution of Income in %				
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Overall	Female	Male	F+M	Female	Male
Farming	~ 146.5	~ 322.2	~ 468.7	36,400	85,200	60,000	31.3	68.7	100	12.3	27.1
Gathering of NTFP's	~ 279.9	~ 190.5	~ 470.4	69,500	50,400	60,200	59.5	40.5	100	23.5	16.0
Fishing	n. A.	n. A.		n. A.	n. A.	n. A.	n. A.	n. A.	n. A.	n. A.	n. A.
Trading	n. A.	n. A.	n.A.	n. A.	n. A.	n. A.	n. A.	n. A.	n. A.	n. A.	n. A.
Hunting	~ 3.9	~ 245.6	~ 249.5	-	64,900	31,900	1.6	98.4	100	0.3	20.7
Gathering of Medical Plants	n. A.	n. A.	n.A.	n. A.	n. A.	n. A.	n. A.	n. A.	n. A.	n. A.	n. A.
<b>Total</b>	~ 430.3	~ 758.3	~ 1,188.6	105,900	200,500	152,100	36.2	63.8	100		<b>100</b>

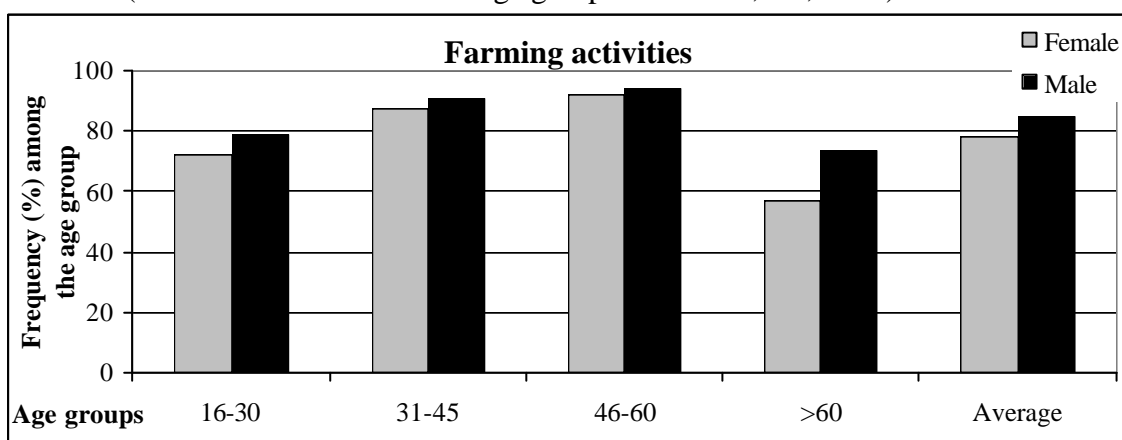
**Tab. 28:** The distribution of income in relation to gender (IQ); n. A. = not assessed.

<sup>1</sup> T-test for independent samples,  $p=0.000$ .

### 3.2.1. Farming

Farming can be considered as the most important economic activity in the research region, even in face of the fact that the gathering of NTFP is generating more cash income. In relation to the agricultural production it has to be considered, that a huge portion of the total production is nearly impossible to be assessed in baseline surveys: the production for consumption. The amount of food crop production is related to several skills and factors, which have to be studied in detail. The harvesting, processing, storing and preparation facilities used by the rural population as well as the nutrition level of the average population can be studied at a later stage, if the need arises. In the following, the overall data for agricultural activities will focus on those products, which were sold in 2000.

As said before, 80.95 % of the adult population are involved into some kind of farming. Figure 14 assesses the percentages of farmers according to gender criteria. In contrast to figure 12, which surveyed the frequency of economic activities among the overall population and concluded that in total, more women than men are farmers among the adult population, more male than female villagers are involved in agricultural production (84.65 % of the men & 78.08 % of the women). These two results are not contradictory, because the higher percentages of female among the total population involved in farming, is solemnly related to a very high percentage of young female (< 16), who do not attend any form of education and are assisting their parents on the farm or who have a farm on their own (66 % of the farmers of this age group are women; CS, n=98).



**Fig. 14:** Frequency of people involved in farming (in % of the age group) (IQ, n= 1691).

As said before the average income varies according to the sex of the respondent.<sup>2</sup> In the agricultural sector female generate an average income of FCFA 36,391 ± 27,396, while their male competitors are able to sell products for an average of FCFA 85,197 ± 70,504. From observation and from the informants the team elaborated the hypothesis, that this stratification is related to the habit, that female are mostly engaged in subsistence farming, while men spend most of their time on cash crop production.

On average, a single farmer utilises 2.44 ± 1.04 farms (IQ, n=1691). Among those who are involved in farming, 2.3 % stated, that they did not own a farm, but work on the

<sup>2</sup> T-test for independent samples, p=0.00.

farm of a relative. These relatives were mostly the parents of the respondents. 69.2 % of them were between 16 and 30 years old (IQ, n =39). 64.1 % of the farmers without farms are female and most of them (69.2 %) are either from Kekukesim or Kajifu. Nevertheless, the existence of landless farmers is not related to a general shortage of farmland. 88.4 % of the respondents confessed, that there is enough farmland for everybody around their villages. There is no significant correlation between villages where people farm without farms and villages in which people claimed to have not enough farmland.<sup>3</sup> Even those people, who do not own farmland, stated in their majority (64.1 %), that there is enough farmland in their village. Table 29 lists those villages in which a high percentage (> 10 %) of the respondents are of the view, that not enough farmland is available.

Village Name	%	Village Name	%
Elumsor	50.00	Tinta	17.91
Kajinga	48.39	Oshunekpa	16.67
Bashu Okpambe	48.33	Akwekia	15.79
Nzorsor	40.00	Tassomo	15.00
Bashu Bokum	37.50	Makwe	14.81
Bashu Kaku	31.71	Nchumba	12.50
Bodam	26.87	Matene	12.12
Kajifu I	18.52	Dadi	11.54

**Tab.29:** Villages with high percentages of people, who did not consider to have enough farmland around their village (IQ).

For some of these villages, the reason for the common complain about limited farmland seems to be related to the geographical shape of the farmland owned by the village. Kajinga and Tinta are both sandwiched into the valleys of the savannah, which restricts an easy extension of farms. Makwe and Nchumba are utilising the same farmland due to their location. It is significant, that more Nigerian villagers have a feeling of limited space than their Cameroonian neighbours.<sup>4</sup> Whether this is related to the conservation efforts of Cross-River National Park was not assessed, but could be an suitable hypothesis since the Nigerian informants stated in contrast to their Cameroon neighbours, that the level of encroachment is surveyed on a regular basis (Informants Balegete).

Location of farmland	%
In the secondary forest	48.54
In the virgin forest outside the forest reserve	34.34
In the forest reserve	8.95
Around the village	6.80
In the savanna	1.37
Total	100.00

**Tab.30:** Location of farms (IQ, n= 4089).

The location of farmland was not surveyed on ground, which will be done in detail during the projected land-use mapping, but was a question towards the respondents. In contrast to pure hunter-gatherer societies (Beauclerk 1991: 128ff.) the inhabitants of the research area do not farm solemnly around the village. Nearly half of the farms are situated in the secondary forest areas, which are surrounding the villages. These secondary forest areas

<sup>3</sup> Pearson Correlation, p=0.87.

<sup>4</sup> T-test for independent samples, p=0.000.

are often huge and in some villages, one has to track for more than an hour from the first farms within a secondary vegetation to the village itself (PO several villages). This observation is supported by table 31, which indicates the claimed distances between the village and the farms of the respondents. The average distance between farms and village is 34 min, but it has to be memorized, that a farmer has on average 2.4 farms. Most of the farmers have one farm for subsistence farming around the village, while the additional farms for cash crops are further away (Cross-table Major crop & distance of farm in particular; IQ, n = 4119). The documented long distance between some of the farms and the village justifies the common reason, why the team could not question certain people, who were staying overnight on their farms. It has to be said, that this information has to be analysed in consideration of the fact, that the local populace is not used to estimate time. Between the villages, the team experienced that “5 minutes” turned out to be one hour, but a distance of “2 hours” could also be covered in 20 minutes.

Distance in min	%	Distance in min	%
1 –10	22.45	71 –80	1.30
11 –20	23.77	81 –90	2.13
21 –30	19.81	91 –120	3.74
31 –40	4.99	121 –150	0.32
41 –50	7.63	151 –180	0.44
51 –60	12.81	> 180	0.15
61 –70	0.46	<b>Average 34 min ± 16.13</b>	

**Tab. 31:** Distance between village and farmland (IQ, n=4089).

Another information, which is useful to be analysed in detail is the location of people, who stated to farm inside the forest reserve. Table 32 indicates these people in relation to the population of the village concerned. The result is surprising, since some of the villages in which a high percentage of people confessed to farm inside the forest reserve are located far away from the boundaries of the reserve. To farm within the reserve, inhabitants of Okpambe, Dadi, Bodam and Ebinisi have to pass other villages and their farmlands. Questioned about this contradiction the informants stated, that they do not know the exact boundaries of the reserve and do quite often consider the entire primary forest as forest reserve.

Village Name	%	Village Name	%
Obonyi I	51.22	Obonyi III	32.79
Assam	50.00	Kekukessim I	31.75
Awuri	42.86	Mfakwe	30.77
Kekukessim II	41.67	Ebinsi	25.93
Okpambe	40.63	Matene	25.76
Takamanda	40.00	Obonyi II	21.43
Dadi	36.54	Kajifu II	19.05
Takpe	35.48	Okwa II	18.02
Kajifu I	35.19	Kekpani	17.86
Bodam	32.84	<b>Average</b>	<b>8.95</b>

**Tab.32:** Villages with a high level of people, who claim to farm inside the forest reserve (IQ, n=1874).

41.06 % of these farms were considered being of medium size, 39.37 % of being big and 19.57 % of being small (IQ, n=4089). In the discussion with the informants, the

research team received the impression that a football field (ca. 0.825 ha) somehow represents a farm of average size. To give a very rough estimate, it can be presumed from the finding - the total adult rural population utilises around 15.000 farms -, that the overall area under agricultural production would be something around 13.000 ha (if one presumes that the medium size of 0.8 ha can be considered as average farm size). As stated above the farmers utilise on average  $2.44 \pm 1.04$  farms each, which would result in an average farmland of 2 ha per person, which is far below the provincial average of 3 ha per adult (Courade 1975: 216). It has to be said that this information is simply a very preliminary approximation, since neither the space covered by an "average farm" nor by any other farm was surveyed on ground. More information will be available after the land use mapping projected for 2001/2002.

Name of Product	Total number of farmers involved	Production for Home Consumption in %	Cash Crop Production in %	Average price/kg	Total production for sale in 2000 in kg	Total income for sale in 2000 in FCFA
Banana	4515	70.9	19.6	17 $\pm$ 12.6	586,623	9,900,708
Beans	2867	45.3	12.1	139 $\pm$ 126.7	23,989	3,326,664
Bush mango	161	2.4	0.2		89	86,340
Cashew	366	5.7	1.4	666 $\pm$ 89.2	683	454,576
Cassava	5266	82.9	43.7	113 $\pm$ 110.7	534,469	60,453,162
Coco nut	41	0.6	0.4	85 $\pm$ 70.49	708	60,363
Coco yam	4609	72.6	19.2	48 $\pm$ 40.3	236,543	11,335,968
Cocoa	1831	0.1	29.0	390 $\pm$ 269.2	452,070	176,253,796
Coffee	22	0.1	0.3	154 $\pm$ 96.4	4,261	654,093
Egusi	1577	24.8	13.8	183 $\pm$ 234.2	43,064	12,201,602
Ginger	15	0.2	0.2		9	14,951
Groundnut	2082	32.9	15.3	151 $\pm$ 140.5	76,836	11577,892
Kola nuts	1166	17.5	5.1	374 $\pm$ 280.6	13,640	5095,649
Maize	4272	67.6	21.2	141 $\pm$ 134.3	56,359	7,943,263
Mango	60	0.9	0.4		224	186,061
Afofo (gin)	837	13.3	9.9	425 $\pm$ 105	79,929	33,968,811
Palm oil	3842	57.5	29.8	286 $\pm$ 101.1	236,125	67,588,238
Palm wine	1596	26.0	13.8	91 $\pm$ 89.9	193,183	17,621,299
Okra	1267	20.0	5.2	138 $\pm$ 107.1	3,248	447,175
Orange	1787	26.7	5.1	50 $\pm$ 30	40,320	2,013,638
Pear	2598	38.6	6.9	39 $\pm$ 32.4	71,985	2,814,558
Pepper	4511	71.1	20.5	956 $\pm$ 905.4	14,841	14,178,797
Pine apple	325	5.0	1.7	62 $\pm$ 35.8	4,584	284,269
Plantain	4168	65.6	20.7	Bunch: 1716 $\pm$ 561	8570 bunches	14,707,394
Plum	2665	41.5	6.0	209 $\pm$ 200.4	12,667	2,652,395
Potatoes	4	0.1	0.1		1,028	7475
Rice	273	4.3	3.2	84 $\pm$ 67.4	59,844	5,022,693
Sugar cane	41	0.7	0.2	47 $\pm$ 14.9	1,274	59,803
Tomatoes	4	0.1	0.1		90	4,485
Vegetables	4253	67.3	19.9	85 $\pm$ 76.1	67,910	5,781,531
Yam	3555	56.2	6.6	132 $\pm$ 118.4	15,354	2,027,161
Total					<b>2,840,521 kg</b>	<b>468,724,810</b>

**Table. 33:** Agricultural Production: actors and quantities in kg and money (IQ).

While Table 33 assesses the level of involvements and economic implications of the various agricultural products, figure 15 documents the relation between actors and cash income generated by the various crops.



It has to be seen as surprise, that cocoa generates nearly 38 % of the total cash income from agricultural activities, because literature hold, that cocoa is not doing well in remote forest areas, due to the insufficient access to pesticides and fertilisers (Ndoye & Kaimowitz 2000: 235).

In the field of agriculture, there is a significant correlation between gender and certain crops and reasons for production in particular.<sup>5</sup> The common observation that women are more involved in subsistence farming, while men are focusing on cash crop production was successfully proved. The crops and their relation to gender are documented in table 34. It can be considered, that the lower level of females being involved in the production of cocoa and other cash crops like afofo (the local “gin”) is the reason for their significant lower level of cash income outlined above.

Name of product	Home-consumption	Cash crops	Name of product	Home-consumption	Cash crops
	Female Producers in %			Female Producers in %	
Beans	65.1	76.5	Bush mango	42.5	0.0
Cassava	59.6	69.0	Cashew	33.7	20.8
Coco yam	64.2	72.8	Coco nut	0.0	16.7
Egusi	70.2	70.4	Cocoa	0.0	26.5
Ginger	100.0	100.0	Coffee	0.0	20.0
Groundnut	63.1	60.9	Kola nuts	34.5	26.7
Maize	61.9	63.5	Mango	33.3	0.0
Okra	70.6	83.1	Afofo	29.6	19.0
Pepper	61.3	70.2	Palm wine	22.5	8.6
Potatoes	100	100	Orange	37.7	42.5
Vegetables	64.6	76.6	Pine apple	38.8	39.3
Yam	62.0	73.2	Rice	39.7	31.5

**Tab. 34:** Agricultural products and the gender of its producers (IQ).

The cash income does not say much about the importance of female farmers for the rural livelihood, since the quantity of subsistence farming cannot be assessed in a baseline survey. From the finding, that more women than men are involved in subsistence farming and observations, the hypothesis arose, that women are more often the “breadwinners” of their households than men. This paradox, that the person with the lower cash income could probably be the breadwinner, is related to their higher involvement into subsistence farming - which is still the major form of livelihood. This hypothesis was not tested during this research.

While more women than men are involved in food crop production, the production of the major cash crop - cocoa, which generates 37.6 % of the cash income - is mostly in the hand of men (73,5 % of the cocoa farmers). There is a huge fluctuation in the production. The tested average production was rejected, since the StDev. was more than two times higher than the figure. Table 35 outlines the most successful cocoa farmers in the region (> 500 kg sold) and relate them to their village and country of residence. Among those successful farmers not a single female farmer was found. But in contrast to eastern Cameroon, where hardly any women is involved in the production of cocoa

<sup>5</sup> Pearson Correlation, p=0.009.

(PC), the percentage of female cocoa farmer (26,5 %) in the research region can be considered as very high.

Village Name	Number	Sold in kg	Village Name	Number	Sold in kg
<b>Nigeria</b>			<b>Cameroon</b>		
Bashu Kaku	34	32,069	Bodam	90	139,602
Bashu Okpambe	26	19,436	Boka	7	4,373
Okwa I	7	3,887	Kekukessim I	7	9,568
Okwa II	90	72,642	Takamanda	4	3,644
Okwango	7	70,455			
<b>Total</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>198,489</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>157,188</b>

**Tab. 36:** Villages with very successful cocoa farmers (> 500 kg), indicating their number per village and production.

For the men, a significant correlation<sup>6</sup> does not exist, neither between the willingness to go hunting (hunting: yes or no) and the amount of cacao produced, nor any other agricultural activity (in cash income). Nevertheless, a significant correlation could be documented between the level of hunting (in cash income) and the level of farming (in cash income)<sup>7</sup>. Which means that the level of involvement does not reduce the hunting of a male farmer to an extent where he does not do hunting at all, but an intensive involvement into farming - generating a high cash income -, reduces the level of hunting – in relation to cash income from hunting – significantly. The high level of significance ( $p < 0.01$ ) supports the assumption, that an increase of agricultural production and related to that an increase of the cash income from agricultural activities could probably reduce the level of hunting on species, which are for sale. This limitation is important since the correlation between cash income farming and number of animals hunted is not as significant as the correlation between cash income from farming and cash income from hunting.<sup>8</sup>

Details on the level of involvement in the production of one crop or the other in the different villages surveyed are documented in chapter 3.2.2.1.

Name of Market	%	Name of Market	%
Village	80.84	Nyang	2.20
Nigeria	6.13	Butatong	1.03
Obudu Cattle Ranch	3.58	Amana	0.76
Akwaya	2.55	Obudu	0.35
Mamfe	2.38	Ikom	0.18

**Tab.37:** Marketing places for farm products (IQ, n=5641).

The transport of farm products to the markets is done mostly by head load (96.1 %), while cars (3.7 %) and riverboats (0.2 %) are exceptions and limited to certain areas outlined in table 5 (infrastructure) (IQ, n=1691). It is remarkable that most products are sold in the village, since most of the informants complained bitterly about the low prices offered by traders in agricultural products, who visit the villages on a regular schedule. The other group of people, who are trading in farm products, are fellow villagers, but also their prices are said to be very low. If this common complain from all

<sup>6</sup> Pearson Correlation, for cocoa:  $p = 0.657$ ; for farming in general  $p = 0.836$ .

<sup>7</sup> Pearson Correlation,  $p = 0.002$ ; Kendall's tau-b,  $p = 0.000$ ; Spearman's rho,  $p = 0.000$  ( $n = 912$ ).

<sup>8</sup> Pearson Correlation,  $p = 0.038$ .

villages stands reality can be questioned, because the average prices realised by the respondents (table 33) do not differ much from the market prices found in Mamfe (PO). This hypothesis is supported by the assumption, that more villagers would trade in agricultural products if this would be an easy form of income generation. Among the 32.5 % of the rural population, who are involved into some form of trading, only ~ 7 % are trading in farm products (table 37).

**3.2.2. NTFP's gathering**

To be elaborated by Marina Mdaihli.

**3.2.3. Hunting**

To be elaborated by Dr. J.S.O. Ayeni.

**3.2.4. Fishing**

To be elaborated by Marina Mdaihli.

### 3.2.5. Logging

The data available for the analysis of logging activities is quite limited. Only 0.77 % of the respondents stated to be involved in this kind of activity (IQ, n=1874), which would lead to a total number of 60 people involved in logging activities for the whole region. The informants explained and underlined the observation of the team members, that this small number does not reflect the real situation. The following description is due to the limited database of this very special activity and the outlined shortcomings not a factual picture, but an approximation to the subject. This is not surprising, since an overall baseline survey is not able to highlight minor subjects.

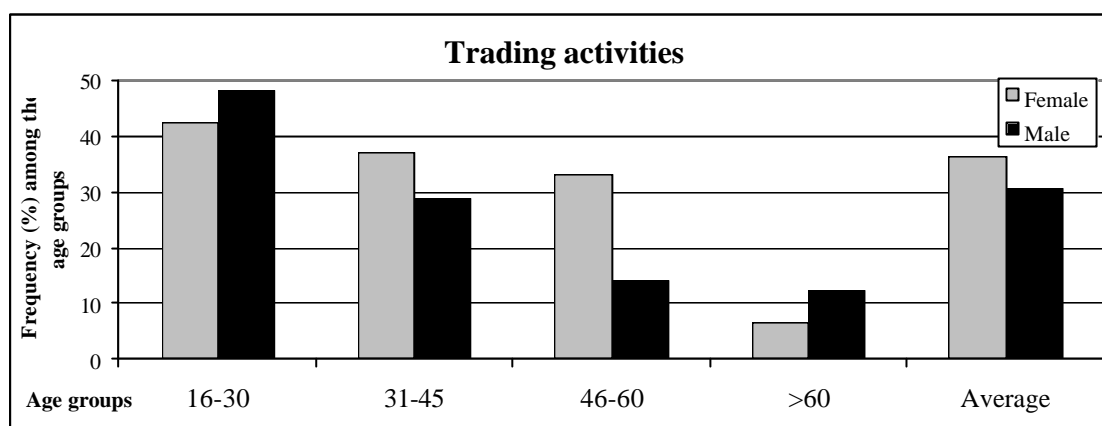
68.8 % of the people who confessed to be involved in logging activities are from the Boki area (IQ, n=16) – a result, which goes along with the observations and statements of the informants. They are in their majority men between 30 and 45 (68.8 %). The majority of them (87.5 %) only log occasionally, but some explained, that they are professional loggers on a daily schedule. 50 % explained, that they only log around their villages, but 31.25 % openly expressed, that they log inside the forest reserve.

The purpose of logging is for 50 % of the respondents involved in logging solemnly to sell all timber. The majority of the timber, which is for sale, is bought by somebody from the region (56.3 %) and 36 % by somebody from Nigeria. 18.8 % of the timber is transported on the rivers, while the rest is carried by head load. 37.5 % of the loggers explained that they were paying compensation for the timber. 50 % of them are compensating the councils, while 33.3 % give some money to the chief – on average around FCFA 18.000,- for a quantity of 250 planks.

Finally, it has to be said again, that this data has to be crosschecked, since the data collection was not elaborated for very specific activities like logging. In conclusion with observations by the team members it can be presumed, that in the south-west and west of the Takamanda forest reserve logging is carried out. Most of the loggers are said to be people from the region, who sell the timber at the bank of the river, or at the nearest road terminal to somebody from the region or from Nigeria. Some informants stated, that also Cameroonian government officials are involved in this exportation of timber to Nigeria. A more precise view of the timber exploitation should be available after the land use mapping, since this will verify the area involved and the intensity of logging (in cleared area per year).

### 3.2.6. Trading

Trading is a very common activity in the villages, but from observation and from the informants, one receives the impression, that the quantitative level of trading in number of products traded is quite low. In most shops surveyed, the stock was limited to very basic household needs. From table 5 one can see, that not even all villages have a store. In those villages, the products traded are mostly salt, magi, kerosene and cigarettes. 32.5 % of the respondents or around 2600 individuals in total are involved in any form of trading (Table 26).



**Fig. 16** : Frequency of people involved in trading (in % of the age group) (IQ, n= 707)

As indicated in figure 16, trading, or to be more precise petit trading, is more popular among female villagers than among the men. From table 37, table 23, observations and statements from the informants, it became obvious, that most trade is done as purchase, which means, that the petit trader is buying certain goods (bush-meat, NTFP's & farm products) in the village, sells them on the market and buys there goods to be sold or used in the village like household needs, cigarettes, food, clothes, etc. Informants involved in this kind of trade, expressed the view that most of them do not trade to generate money in the first place or see this activity as profession, but that they trade in goods, which they need anyway for personal use. This goes along with the observation, that shops are closed during the day, since the shopkeepers follow the normal schedule of village life. It has to be mentioned, that fish is a product which is brought to the village, but also transported from the village to the markets or neighbouring villages.

Goods for trade	%	Goods for trade	%
Basic household equipment	34.90	Fish	3.66
Cigarettes/snuff	12.18	Bush meat	2.00
Foodstuff	11.05	Hunting tools	1.39
Food	9.49	Cartridges	1.31
NTFP	6.35	Cocoa	0.87
Farm product	6.27	Drugs	0.52
Drinks	5.83	Farming tools	0.52
Clothes	3.66	Others	0.78

**Tab.37** : Frequency of goods traded among those who trade (IQ, n=707).

Figure 17 gives an approximation to the flow of goods, but it does not indicate at all the quantity of trade - since this was not assessed. The description is solemnly based on the numbers of transactions. The relation between import and export is elaborated on the same basis and only documents, that 4 times more interaction are carried out to import goods to the village, that to export products. This finding is most probably related to the lower number of different products available for export (NTFP, farm products, bush meat, etc.). It has to be said, that the data available are not able to give a factual picture of trading, beside of the number and social composition of people involved in it.

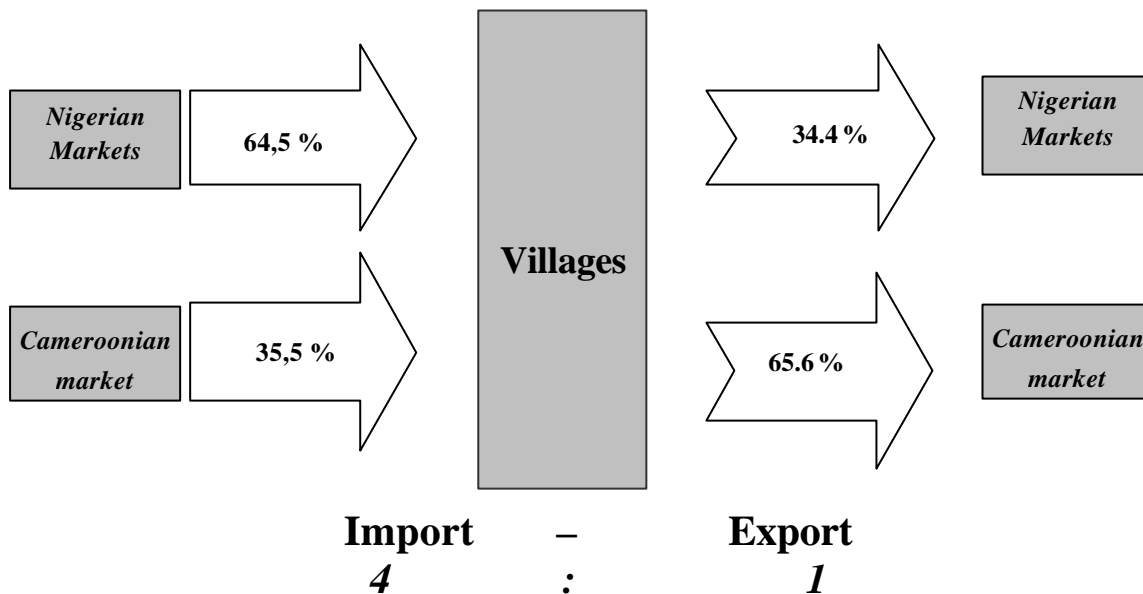


Fig. 17: Direction and relation of trade by number of transactions (IQ, n=717).

### 3.3. HOUSEHOLD LEVEL

#### 3.3.1. Descriptions and demography of average households

As outlined in the methodology the main element of this research was the household as economic unit. In the following chapter a detailed economic description of these households for the various areas of the research region will be developed.

Overall Household size	Average	StDev.	Min.	Max.	n =
	<b>5.59</b>	<b>3.71</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>2827</b>

**Tab.38 :** The statistical description of households (CS, n=2827).

It is statistically legitimised to use household as major unit for the detailed analysis, but as to be expected after the theoretical discussion outlined in the methodology it is not a very precise instrument. A household in Atolo is on average ( $3.64 \pm 2.5$ ) less than half the size of an average household in Elumsor ( $9.1 \pm 4.2$ ). In general households in villages with a majority of Boki and Ovande are bigger than those in which Anyang people compose the majority of the inhabitants.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, it has to be mentioned that Atolo, the village with the smallest average household is inhabited by the same ethnical group as Elumsor, the village with the biggest households.

Village Name	Average	Min.	Max.	Village Name	Average	Min.	Max.
Atolo	3.64	1	12	Matene	5.62	1	22
Nchumba	3.71	1	10	Boka	5.65	1	16
Kekpani	3.91	1	13	Kajifu I	5.65	1	27
Mbu	3.92	1	10	Okpambe	5.66	1	18
Tinta	4.01	1	15	Dadi	5.87	1	19
Tassomo	4.13	1	9	Oshunekpa	5.89	2	14
Obonyi III	4.43	1	16	Okwangwo	6.18	1	18
Kekukessem I	4.5	1	17	Bashu Bokum	6.24	1	11
Makwe	4.58	1	18	Bashu Okpambe	6.39	1	20
Mfakwe	4.6	1	12	Omoni	6.5	4	14
Ebinsi	4.67	1	13	Kajinga	6.8	1	18
Bashu Kaku	4.78	1	18	Kalumo	6.85	1	25
Takpe	4.79	1	20	Okwa I	6.89	1	15
Akwa	4.88	1	12	Kajifu II	7.13	1	21
Mbilishe	5.21	1	15	Akwekia	7.36	4	15
Basho I	5.28	1	13	Awuri	8	4	15
Kekukessem II	5.28	1	28	Ekemini	8	1	17
Obonyi II	5.31	1	25	Nzorsor	8	2	17
Basho II	5.35	1	12	Okwa II	8.1	1	21
Bodam	5.37	1	24	Elumsor	9.1	3	15
Obonyi I	5.38	1	18				
Takamanda	5.39	1	21				
Assam	5.47	1	10				
<b>Average</b>	<b>5.59</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>Average</b>	<b>5.59</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>28</b>

**Tab. 39:** The average households of the different villages (CS, n = 2827)

<sup>9</sup> The level of significance is critical for the Ovande with  $p = 0.0425$  (Pearson correlation), while Boki villages differ more significantly  $p = 0.0196$  from Anyang villages.

**Fig. 18:** Household heads (HHH) and their wives or husbands (CS,  $n=2827$ ).

27 % of the households in the research area are ruled by a female, but only 2 % of those, which are composed of a married couple. These households – in which a women rules a not single household - are solemnly household, where the husband is not a resident in the village or where his profession is indicated as dependent, which means that he is too old or too sick (handicapped) to generate any income (Cross table female household head & residence of husband/occupation of husband,  $n= 55$ ). This leads to the conclusion, that the societies of the project region are male dominated. As outlined in the part on the social system women do not have the same access to education, as documented in figure 18, polygamy is common and as the informants confessed female circumcision is a common practise.

Marital status:	Sex:	Female					Male					Total
	Age:	16-30	31-45	46-60	>60	> 15	16-30	31-45	46-60	>60	> 15	
<b>Married</b>		65.01	73.00	62.78	23.71	<b>63.08</b>	46.48	79.09	82.55	82.35	<b>68.83</b>	65.61
<b>Separated</b>		1.08	1.00	0.56	1.03	<b>0.96</b>	0.70	0.38	1.34	0.00	<b>0.61</b>	0.81
<b>Divorced</b>		1.51	3.33	1.11	1.03	<b>1.92</b>	1.41	3.04	5.37	3.36	<b>2.94</b>	2.37
<b>Widow(er)</b>		0.65	10.33	25.00	69.07	<b>14.04</b>	0.35	1.14	4.70	10.08	<b>2.82</b>	9.11
<b>Single</b>		31.75	12.33	10.56	5.15	<b>20.00</b>	51.06	16.35	6.04	4.20	<b>24.79</b>	22.10
		100	100	100	100	<b>100</b>	100	100	100	100	<b>100</b>	100

**Tab. 40:** Cross-table (%) marital status, sex and age (IQ,  $n = 1874$ ).

There is a higher number of widows than widowers, which could be explained either by a higher life expectancy of female - which was not assessed, but denied by the informants - or by the custom, that wives are younger than their husbands. Especially in Kalumo wives are significantly younger than their husbands (two age groups and

more).<sup>10</sup> As concerns marriages it has to be said, that different levels or modes of weddings exist. The most common mode is the traditional wedding, which is based on the payment of a bride price. This bride price, which varies related to several criterials between FCFA 10.000,- and 200.000,-, has to be refunded to the husband, if the wife is running away. Another option for the family of the wife is to replace the runaway wife with another one from the same family. This custom of “trading in women” excite among the Boki and Becheve to an extend, that the offspring of a runaway wife belongs to her former husband as long as the bride price has not been refunded yet. Children born into such a network of economic expectations are said to be treated “like slaves” (Informant several villages) and “sold” (given out for wedding) as soon as possible. In general the households in the research region are utilising a mixture of the custom in the southern part of the south-west Province, where wife and husband have a “separation of property” – as the public law would say – and the centralised compound-based household models practised in the north and north west of the research region.

**Fig. 19:** Households’ highest expenditure in 2000 (CS,  $n=2827$ ).

The distribution of expenditures documented in figure 19 has to be considered as an approximation, since the exact figures of the different expenditures were not assessed. Also the payment in kind is not included, but was said to be a common element in the rural life. The PTA teachers questioned complained bitterly that they do not even receive their very limited salary (~ 10.000 FCFA) in cash but in kind (NTFPs, farm products or bush meat). Also most of the trade inside the village is not done on a cash basis, which makes it difficult to be estimated even by the household themselves. The informants supported the interpretation, that the perception of healthcare as being the highest expenditure, that consumes more than 50 % of the total cash income, is related to the fact, that in case of a sick family member, relatively high cash sums have to be paid in a short period. Even worse if the treatment – due to the inexistent medical services and high percentage of faked drugs – does not help and a death celebration has to be financed in addition.

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<sup>10</sup> T-test for independent samples,  $p = 0.0012$ .

### 3.3.2. Economic Activities

There are two methods to differentiate between villages and their basis of livelihood. A comparison of average cash income per household from the various fields of economic activity and a comparison of the total number of people involved in one activity or the other. The more general method – related to the total number of actors will be applied first, since it includes also subsistence farming and subsistence hunting and gathering. Index 1 compares the number of respondents, who considered themselves to be professional hunters, gatherers or fisherfolk with those, who understand farming as their main profession. The result indicates the importance of direct exploitation of forest resources for the rural livelihood.

$$\text{Index 1} = \frac{\text{Number of “professional” hunter, NTFP-gatherer \& fisherfolk}}{\text{Number of “professional” farmer}}$$

**Fig. 20:** Villages, in which the index 1 is 0,5 and above (CS,  $n=15707$ ).

The result verifies the research assumption, that especially those villages in the enclaves inside the forest reserve are relying to a significantly higher extent on the consumption and exploitation of forest resources than on farming.<sup>11</sup> In Kekpani nearly twice as many people are hunting, gathering or fishing to make their living as being involved in “professional” agricultural production.

Table 40 documents the frequency of the various professions among the inhabitants of the different villages. Some results were seen as surprise. That tailor is considered by 0.4 % (61 individuals) as their main profession was not expected. Also that more Pastors (26 or 0.2 %) than professional fisherfolk (23 or 0.1 %) are living in and around the forest reserve. Of high interest is also the exact number of professional farmers, gatherers and fisherfolk for each village. These information will be discussed in detail in the different chapters focusing on the main elements of rural livelihood.

<sup>11</sup> T-test for independent samples. For Kekpani, Obonyi 1-3, Mfakwe  $p=0.000$ , for Takpe  $p=0.0091$ , for Takamanda  $p=0.023$ , for Kajifu 2  $p=0.034$ , for Kekukesim 1  $p=0.037$ .





A comparison of the total average cash income can only be elaborated after the completion of the remaining chapters on hunting and gathering activities, since the average income has to be not only conducted by dividing the total cash income of a village by the number of households but also tested in concern of the StDev. as it is done in the following chapter in relation to farming activities.

### 3.3.2.1. Farming

In this paragraph the regional variation in agricultural production will be assessed. For an overall comparison the average cash income from sold farm products per household in 2000 was considered as a suitable indicator, since the overall production (for sale and home consumption) was not assessed.

In several villages, several households, who work on their own farms did not generate any cash income. In total 12.6% of the assessed households claimed to have sold agricultural products for less than 5000 FCFA in 2000. In Cameroon the percentage of pure subsistence farming households is significantly higher (on average 15 %) than in Nigeria (on average 3.2).<sup>12</sup> Most of them embody only female farmers (69.3 %; IQ, n=290), which underlines the above documented finding, that women are more involved in pure subsistence farming than men. The contrary can be said about very successful farmer’s households, which generated an income above 1 Mill. FCFA in 2000. Agricultural millionaires are significantly more common in Nigeria (on average 7 %) than in Cameroon (on average 0.5 % - and only found in Bodam)<sup>13</sup> and most of them are composed only of male farmers (75 %; IQ, n=8).

The average household cash income from Agriculture is in Nigeria significantly higher ( $331,449 \pm 129,166$ ) than in Cameroon ( $113,274 \pm 73,232$ ) and is on average  $159,061 \pm 138,194$ .<sup>14</sup> It has to be said that the construction of suitable average household incomes (with a StDev smaller than the value) made it necessary to ignore households with very low (< 5000 FCFA p.a.) or very high incomes (> 1 Mill. FCFA p.a.) from sold agricultural products.

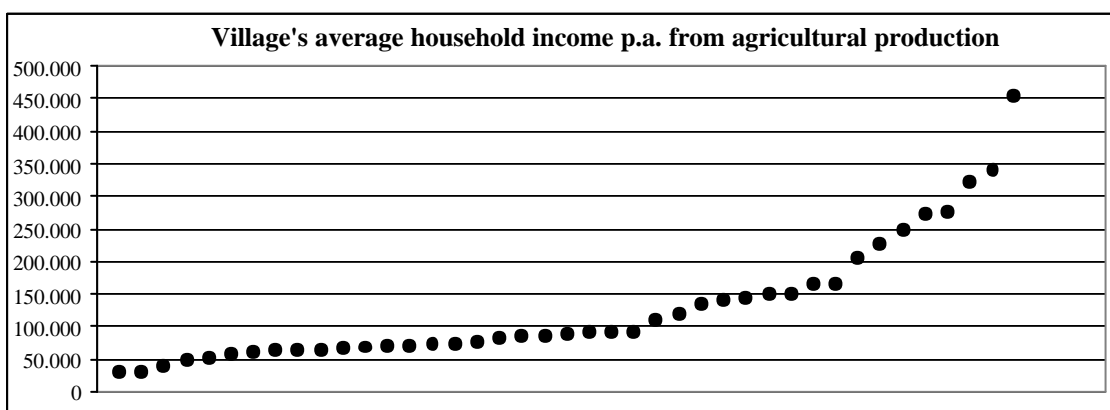


Fig. 21: Average household Income from farming per year for the surveyed villages (IQ, n=1864).

<sup>12</sup> T-test for independent samples, p=0.000.

<sup>13</sup> T-test for independent samples, p=0.000.

<sup>14</sup> T-test for independent samples, p=0.000.

Village Name	Ignored extreme HH		Total Cash Income FCFA	HH – Income p.a. (FCFA)		Important agricultural products/ % of total income					
	% < 5000	% > 1Mill		Average	StDev	1 <sup>st</sup> product	%	2 <sup>nd</sup> product	%	3 <sup>rd</sup> product	%
<b>Cameroon</b>											
Akwa	12,8	0	9.508.102	75.065	68.239	Palm oil	51,7	Cassava	13,5	Afofo	11,6
Assam	27,3	0	2.582.100	85.687	85.019	Afofo	28,1	Palm oil	18,6	Coffee	17,3
Atolo	13,3	0	2.505.039	51.647	37.977	Palm oil	22,9	Cassava	17,7	Plantain	12,3
Awuri	0	0	1.670.118	n.A.		Afofo	87,4	Palm wine	4,7	Egusi	3,3
Basho I	20	0	3.531.314	118.174	110.415	Palm oil	36,1	Afofo	23,9	Egusi	12,4
Basho II	16,7	0	3.390.213	90.932	82.804	Palm oil	66,0	Egusi	11,5	Cassava	6,7
Bodam	4	6	72.524.911	270.235	207.720	Cocoa	86,1	Egusi	2,8	Afofo	2,5
Boka	28,6	0	3.346.681	89.513	88.884	Cocoa	70,0	Maize	9,4	Egusi	5,3
Dadi	8,3	0	14.020.521	85.533	74.232	Cocoa	59,2	Cassava	11,3	Plantain	6,5
Ebinsi	0	0	4.106.032	84.781	79.449	Cassava	19,2	Afofo	13,9	Cocoa	12,9
Kajifu I	6,8	0	22.515.070	147.405	116.957	Cassava	28,5	Afofo	13,9	Egusi	10,6
Kajifu II	0	0	13.803.849	132.332	104.453	Afofo	33,9	Cassava	26,4	Egusi	9,2
Kalumo	25	0	11.140.828	n.A.		Rice	17,1	Plantain	15,4	Cassava	14,8
Kajinga	21,4	0	5.271.940	63.787	45.938	Rice	26,8	Maize	12,4	Groundnut	10,0
Kekpani	50	0	2.172.875	82.129	78.899	Afofo	33,3	Palm oil	27,1	Cocoa	20,7
Kekukessim I	32,3	0	7.086.114	90.472	90.453	Cocoa	53,1	Afofo	12,9	Palm wine	7,1
Kekukessim II	25	0	2.558.146	56.911	46.293	Cocoa	59,4	Plantain	8,4	Cassava	6,2
Makwe	33,3	0	882.421	29.608	12.808	Palm oil	61,5	Afofo	16,9	Egusi	6,6
Matene	10	0	9.030.474	67.333	64.384	Palm oil	31,7	Cassava	21,8	Palm wine	14,8
Mbilishe	22,2	0	2.022.154	38.593	29.252	Palm oil	71,1	Afofo	10,2	Palm wine	7,0
Mbu	8,8	0	7.966.650	68.853	55.370	Palm oil	42,1	Afofo	17,3	Palm wine	12,0
Mfakwe	18,2	0	2.298.676	68.558	65.217	Afofo	35,7	Cassava	21,1	Cocoa	19,9
Nchumba	30	0	749.895	28.756	17.325	Palm oil	70,3	Afofo	9,9	Egusi	5,5
Obonyi I	22,7	0	7.767.912	109.292	67.440	Palm oil	28,0	Afofo	26,3	Egusi	9,1
Obonyi II	19,2	0	5.074.138	64.439	48.515	Cassava	22,0	Afofo	14,9	Egusi	12,5
Obonyi III	14,3	0	12.847.217	143.563	135.057	Palm oil	48,6	Afofo	29,9	Cassava	4,8
Okpambe	0	0	2.634.711	64.293	55.601	Palm oil	29,0	Plantain	16,8	Cassava	12,6
Takamanda	16	4	14.013.535	139.517	133.929	Cassava	30,6	Cocoa	16,7	Palm oil	15,2
Takpe	7,7	0	3.144.308	70.334	63.455	Afofo	38,6	Cassava	10,0	Pepper	8,4
Tassomo	0	0	2.243.152	60.212	60.111	Palm oil	58,0	Afofo	12,8	Cocoa	6,7
Tinta	6,7	0	11.339.588	71.086	70.752	Groundnut	39,3	Rice	12,9	Afofo	10,4
<b>Subtotal</b>	15	0,5	263.748.683	113.274	73.232						
<b>Nigeria:</b>											
Akwekia	0	11,1	9.158.882	149.347	34.492	Palm oil	57,5	Palm wine	15,4	Cassava	13,5
Bashu Bokum	0	0	1.049.760	46.234	32.661	Cocoa	73,2	Cassava	20,4	Plantain	2,7
Bashu Kaku	0	5,3	21.062.645	248.562	227.880	Cocoa	70,2	Banana	15,9	Cassava	7,1
B. Okpambe	4,3	4,3	22.013.450	204.088	201.483	Cocoa	61,2	Afofo	15,5	Cassava	7,5
Ekemini	0	0	6.308.859	338.690	160.255	Palm oil	42,7	Palm wine	31,5	Cassava	16,6
Elumsor	0	0	4.088.671	274.375	102.904	Palm oil	54,2	Cassava	19,3	Coco yam	19,2
Nzorsor	0	11,1	10.899.493	163.621	102.120	Cassava	45,6	Palm oil	20,7	Palm wine	14,4
Okwa I	8	0	5.523.933	64.305	63.142	Cocoa	73,8	Palm oil	14,2	Cassava	9,3
Okwa II	0	23,1	92.798.506	320.853	264.064	Cocoa	46,6	Palm oil	13,7	Cassava	12,1
Okwangwo	8,6	0	19.443.230	163.095	151.349	Cocoa	53,5	Cassava	19,7	Plantain	7,6
Omoni	0	0	6.743.664	452.541	99.066	Palm oil	51,8	Palm wine	31,2	Cassava	10,4
Oshunekpa	0	0	5.885.034	225.669	110.580	Cassava	43,8	Cocoa	25,6	Palm oil	17,8
<b>Subtotal</b>	3,2	7,0	204.976.127	331.449	129.166						
<b>Total</b>	12,6	1,8	468.724.810	159.061	138.194						

**Tab 41:** Agricultural Producers with very low and very high income per village, total income, average household income of those households, who earn between 5000 and 1 Mill FCFA p.a., the three most important crops per village and their relevance for the total cash income from farming (IQ, n = 1864). **n.A.** = The average figure is even after the applied treatment (separation of extreme cases < 5000 or > 1 Mill. FCFA per year) smaller than the StDev. and following the applied research ethics not indicated.

The indicated major crops for sale and their relevance for the total cash income of the particular villages in table 41 concludes that in the forest area three crops are the breadwinner: Cocoa, Cassava and Oil Palms in their various forms as palm oil, palm wine and afofo (local gin). In the grassland area rice and groundnuts fulfil the same function. It is surprising that the preference of certain crops (like cocoa) does not have a direct effect on the average cash income per household. For those villages, which have cocoa as the most important crop (in relation to income from sold agricultural products), the same high variation of average household incomes from sold agricultural products has to be reported as for the overall situation. The reason for this finding could not be obtained from the available data and it remains surprising that Bodam farmers are able to generate three times the average cash income from sold agricultural products than the neighbouring Dadi, which has also access to the Nigerian road network. The tested assumption of a correlation between cash income from sold farm products and distance to markets among the group of villages which prefer a certain crops did not pass the statistical tests.<sup>15</sup> Since none of the research team was an agricultural expert, important elements like the soil structure and other environmental elements were not surveyed and their relevance for the variation in cash income could consequently not be analysed.

In the following, the average sold quantity and cash income per household for the 10 most important overall crops is surveyed and the most successful villages indicated. Due to this limitation, grassland crops such as rice are not surveyed.

**Note:** *The figures, average household production and average household income generated from the sale of one specific crop, are statistically for smaller villages and/or smaller frequency of farmers involved problematic, since  $n \leq 30$ . The method how this data were treated for analysis is outlined in the methodology. Following the recommended proceedings in the literature (Hoyle 1999) critical data ( $5 < n \leq 30$ ) are indicated as estimates (~) and data with  $n \leq 5$  are differently marked (#).*

The traditional cash crops cocoa and coffee will be assessed first. As in table 33 indicated, cocoa is the most important cash crop, which generates for the overall population 37.6 % of their cash income from agricultural production.

Village Name	Cocoa		Village Name	Coffee	
	Kg/HH	IN/HH		Kg/HH	IN/HH
<b>Bodam</b>	813	335.160	<b>Assam</b>	~ 68	~ 10.909
<b>Okwa II</b>	694	297.411	<b>Takamanda</b>	~ 12	~ 1.600
<b>Bashu Kaku</b>	607	208.948	<b>Oshunekpa</b>	# 11	# 1.429
<b>Bashu Okpambe</b>	474	157.218			
<b>Okwangwo</b>	~ 200	~ 79.759			
<b>Dadi</b>	142	46.453			
<b>Okwa I</b>	138	43.751			
<b>Boka</b>	~ 108	~ 44.929			

**Tab. 42:** Sales and Income from traditional cash crops p.a. (villages, in which the average HH sold > 100 kg cocoa; > 10 kg coffee).

<sup>15</sup> Pearson correlation for cocoa villages and market distance in h,  $p=0.398$ .

The main area for cocoa production are those villages with an easy access to the Nigerian markets. The informants related that to the better cocoa prices in Nigeria in 2000, but also to the easy accessible “market” for cheap laborers. All successful cocoa-farmers questioned explained, that they would not be able to produce cocoa without those cheap “helpers” from Nigeria. These laborers are contracted on a yearly basis and are paid after the harvest in cash or kind due to the realized production. During the farming season they live without their families in bush houses beside the farms. As reason for their willingness to work for somebody else, those questioned stated that there is not enough farmland available in their villages of origin. In the Cameroonian villages near the border and with access to the Nigerian road network, it was said to be also common to rent out unused farmland to Nigerian cocoa farmers. Farmers from the more remote areas in Cameroon stated, that they are not able to accelerate their cocoa production due to high prices for the transport of fertilizers, anti-pesticides and the final product. As said before this subjective interpretation of the reasons for the success of some cocoa farmers by the informants did not stand the statistical tests. It can be presumed, that these factors are important elements but not solemnly responsible for the success of some villages and the unsuccess of others.

Coffee, which used to be a major cash-crop in the region (Courade 1975: 149), is of no longer important in terms of quantity produced or income generated. As reason most farmers questioned stated that the market prices are in no relation to the efforts. In other regions, coffee farmers even burned down their farms to plant cocoa (PO Mt. Cameroon Region).

Village Name	Cassava		Village Name	Palm Oil	
	Kg/HH	IN/HH		L /HH	IN/HH
<b>Elumsor</b>	~ 740	52.968	<b>Omoni</b>	~ 1.020	~ 234.418
<b>Ekemini</b>	~ 632	56.185	<b>Ekemini</b>	~ 727	~ 144.568
<b>Omoni</b>	~ 518	47.186	<b>Elumsor</b>	~ 619	~ 148.750
<b>Bashu Kaku</b>	477	21.119	<b>Akwekia</b>	~ 352	~ 157.171
<b>Okwa II</b>	446	77.268	<b>Nzorsor</b>	~ 299	~ 67.302
<b>Oshunekpa</b>	431	98.922	<b>Okwa II</b>	276	87.516
<b>Nzorsor</b>	~ 429	148.156	<b>Obonyi III</b>	204	59.902
<b>Takamanda</b>	335	46.039	<b>Oshunekpa</b>	196	40.262
<b>Atolo</b>	~ 314	~ 7.919	<b>Tassomo</b>	~ 135	~ 34.938
<b>Bashu Okpambe</b>	287	19.309	<b>Akwa</b>	129	33.839
<b>Akwekia</b>	~ 280	~ 36.806	<b>Mbu</b>	121	26.471
<b>Kajifu I</b>	277	39.211	<b>Basho I</b>	103	34.175
<b>Dadi</b>	237	8.888			
<b>Bodam</b>	227	8.305			
<b>Okwangwo</b>	209	29.321			
<b>Kajifu II</b>	174	34.993			
<b>Mbu</b>	138	3.121			
<b>Ebinsi</b>	~ 103	~ 16.274			

**Tab. 43:** Sells and Income from major food crops p.a. (villages, in which the average HH sold > 100 kg cassava; > 100 l palm oil).

Palm Oil is the second and Cassava the third most important crop for sale (table 33). Both are also utilized for home consumption. In both the Nigerian villagers are more

successful than their Cameroonian neighbours. As reason, the better market prices in Nigeria (related also to shorter and cheaper transport facilities) was seen by the informants as ample justification. This is underlined by the huge variations in the prices realized. While the cassava farmers in Atolo claimed to have received only 25 FCFA per kg on average, the average price is  $113 \pm 110$  per kg. Nevertheless, it has to be taken into consideration, that cassava is mostly not sold raw, but transformed to garri or akpo which makes the comparison of market prices a bit vague.

Village Name	Coco yam		Village Name	Plantain	
	Kg/HH	IN/HH		Bunches/HH	IN/HH
Elumsor	~ 808	~ 52.813	Okpambe	18	10.818
Nzorsor	~ 707	~ 30.278	Okwangwo	9	11.366
Okwa II	~ 412	~ 26.861	Kajifu I	9	11.018
Bashu Kaku	231	8.537	Atolo	~ 9	~ 5.498
Bashu Okpambe	203	10.044	Okwa II	8	10.321
Oshunekpa	109	4.018	Ebinsi	~ 6	~ 4.446

Tab. 44: Sales and Income from food crops p.a. (villages, in which the average HH sold > 100 kg coco yam; > 5 bunches plantains).

Two other food crops among the ten most important income generating crops are coco yam and plantains (table 33). All major coco yam producing villages are in Nigeria. The reason for the special engagement of Elumsor and Nzorsor was not surveyed. In concern of plantain production for sale high variations in the average price are documented. These variations were said to be related to different sizes of plantain bunches. In most Cameroonian villages the informants stated not to use pesticides and fertilisers for their plantains and face due to that smaller bunches with lower average prices per bunch. Whether the utilisation of pesticides and fertilisers are economically successful was not surveyed since this would request a detailed cost-benefit analysis.

Village Name	Egusi		Village Name	Groundnut		Village Name	Pepper	
	Kg/HH	IN/HH		Kg/HH	IN/HH		Kg/HH	IN/HH
Kajifu I	46	14.543	Nzorsor	# 173	# 10.208	Okwa II	51	60.176
Awuri	# 40	# 7.500	Tinta	98	26.616	Okpambe	# 15	# 6.636
Kajifu II	38	12.214	Elumsor	~ 90	~ 4.688	Takamanda	# 13	# 12.556
Basho I	32	11.788	Okwa II	77	10.465			
Bodam	32	10.990	Akwekia	# 71	# 19.444			
Obonyi II	~ 28	~ 6.566	Kajinga	64	5.058			
Ebinsi	# 25	# 7.654	Kalumo	52	3.802			
Obonyi I	~ 25	~ 8.614						

Tab. 45: Sells and Income from ingredients (villages, in which the average HH sold > 25 kg Egusi; > 50 kg of groundnuts; > 10 kg pepper).

Egusi, groundnuts and pepper are common ingredients for the local dishes and are produced for home consumption as well as for sale. As for most other crops Nigerian households realise on average a higher production and higher cash income from the marketing of these products. One of the few agricultural products in which the Cameroonian average villagers are more successful than their Nigerian neighbours is egusi, but at the same time the financial benefits are with less than 15,000 FCFA p.a. limited.

Village Name	Afofo (gin)		Village Name	Palm Wine	
	L /HH	IN/HH		L /HH	IN/HH
Awuri	# 670	# 196.000	Omoni	# 778	# 141.250
Bashu Okpambe	107	39.946	Ekemini	~ 530	~ 106.750
Obonyi III	89	36.875	Okpambe	# 409	# 1.364
Kajifu II	84	44.857	Awuri	# 210	# 10.500
Takpe	~ 60	~ 25.038	Ebinsi	~ 208	~ 9.562
Takamanda	59	21.610	Akwekia	~ 186	~ 42.172
Obonyi I	55	24.909	Kajifu II	180	7.771
Basho I	50	22.650	Nzorsor	~ 150	~ 46.944
Mfakwe	50	20.000	Matene	106	8.950
			Kajifu I	104	7.081

**Tab. 46:** Production and Income from local drinks p.a. (villages, in which the average HH sold > 50 l Afofo; > 100 l Palm wine).

The local drinks, palm wine (matango) and afofo (gin) are not only consumed, but also sold. The informants stated, that the consumers of palm wine are mostly the fellow villagers and the respondents made clear that the major market is the village itself (92 %, Cross-table farm products & place of sale; IQ, n = 225). This phenomenon is related to the fact, that tapping of palm wine is done mostly by experts (26 % of the overall farmers are tapping, 50 % of them are also selling, Table 33) but consumed by everybody. The informants presented as reason, the low status of palm wine tapping, which was done in former times only by slaves. The team was informed, that the income generated from tapping is often spend at a later stage of the year on palm wine. This paradox finding is related to the mode of palm wine production in the research region. While in the area to the east (Widikum, Batibo) palms are tapped “up”, which means from the living tree, the rural population in the Akwaya subdivision is cutting the palm trees before tapping. From this technique a single palm produces for a shorter period more wine than a single household can consume. The wine is mostly consumed within a short period since only the Boki like heavily fermented palm wine. Since the same palm which is used for the production of palm oil is used to generate palm wine Omoni and Ekemini, which are major palm oil regions are also places, which produce huge quantities of palm wine. There is a significant difference in the palm wine price between Nigerian and Cameroonian villages.<sup>16</sup> Nigerian tappers are able to generate more than 3 times as much income from a litre. The reasons were not assessed.

The distillation of afofo from palm wine is a delicate exercise, since neither thermostats nor any other equipment is used to guarantee that the final liquid is not seriously dangerous. The small hamlet of Awuri is the leading place for afofo production. The liquid is sold mostly to passing villagers and traders from the neighbouring villages, since 2 l per household per day is even for heavy drinking villagers too much to consume on average. In the case of Okpambe, it could be that the findings are fooled by a single individual, which claimed to have sold in 2000 4500 l of palm wine for 3 FCFA per litre.

<sup>16</sup> T-test for independent samples, p = 0.000.

**3.3.2.2. Gathering of NTFP's**

To be elaborated by Marina Mdaihli.

**3.3.2.3. Hunting**

To be elaborated by Dr. J.S.O. Ayeni.

**3.3.2.4. Fishing**

To be elaborated by Marina Mdaihli.