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WOMEN AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

IN CAMEROON

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BY

JUDY C. BRYSON

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INTRODUCTION

This report provides a description of the economic roles of women in Cameroon, and material on aspects of social life which have an effect on their economic performance. It is based on a survey of written sources and perspectives of knowledgeable individuals, and not on the original field research of the author. As such it may suffer from a multiplicity of biases which may be difficult to identify and eliminate. An attempt has been made to overcome this problem by reviewing the accounts of several observers wherever possible, and especially the accounts of Cameroonians. A significant difficulty, however, is that very few reports were found which were written by Cameroonian women so their lives and situations are generally described by second parties. The purpose of the report is to provide background information to assist in efforts to enhance the contribution of women in national development and to maximise their share in the benefits of the development to which they have contributed. The report has been prepared for the United States Agency for International Development Mission to Cameroon with their financial support; however, the opinions expressed are those of the author alone.

The first section of the report provides a description of the importance of traditional social systems and their evolution over time. For the purposes of this discussion, Cameroon has been roughly divided into three geographical regions, based on similarities between the political and social systems within each region. In addition, the situation in urban areas in all parts of Cameroon is described. In order to prepare this information, material on a selection of ethnic groups was reviewed. These groups were chosen wherever possible on the basis of their numbers and how representative they are of other tribes in their area. However, in certain cases, it was necessary to choose tribes which did not meet all the selection criteria but on whom sufficient information was available. In order to provide a perspective on evolution over time, an attempt was made to locate studies which were carried out in the period 1940-1950 (or earlier if necessary) and then those which were conducted more recently on the same groups. The first section also provides an overview of other social and economic aspects (such as the division of labor in agriculture). These subjects will be described in greater detail in the four functional chapters: agriculture and nutrition; motherhood and childcare; education and the modern sector.

As some of the readers of this report may be unfamiliar with African

life it is perhaps useful to highlight certain points in the description which could be misunderstood. The most important of these are bridewealth, polygamy, wife inheritance, women's agricultural role, and the invisibilit of women in the traditional decision-making process.

Bridewealth

In most of SubSaharan Africa, a girl's family received valuable gifts, and in more recent times, money from her husband-to-be's family before their marriage could be considered legal. The terms used in local language for this payment have been translated as bridewealth, brideprice or "la dot" in French. It has often been misunderstood by outsiders who viewed it as an enslavement of women, i.e. that women were being bought and sold. In fact, the exchange was non-economic in nature as the girl's family had to be prepared to refund the goods if the girl left the marriage, or in the past if she died without having any children. The proceeds were generally used to secure a wife for some member of the girl's family so in effect a person was replaced by a person. As will be more fully explained in the following report, marriages were often contracted to create alliances between families; one family supplied a girl and the other family supplied valuable goods to make it a reciprocal transaction. From one point of view, this can be seen as a demonstration of the value which Africans placed on their women.

It should be noted, however, that the translation of the bridewealth into monetary terms has created a number of social problems. In many parts of Cameroon this money amount is extremely high and can represent several years wages even for the more highly paid workers. As might be expected, this has worked to the advantage of the rich (generally older) men to the detriment of the poor and as a result there is a high proportion of men in their 20's and early 30's who are single. It is a very serious problem for a man as in most ethnic groups he cannot attain his full rights and majority until he is married. The Cameroonian government has attempted to reduce this problem by various laws, the most important being Loi No 66-2 of July 7, 1966 which included among its provisions a ruling that the payment or non-payment of the "dot" would henceforth have no effect upon the validity of the marriage (68, p. 121)[1]. However, bridewealth is one of the concepts on which African marriage is based, and girls and their families remain convinced of its importance. Solutions to the problems will probably have to be developed slowly through the force of public opinion rather than by laws which are difficult to enforce.

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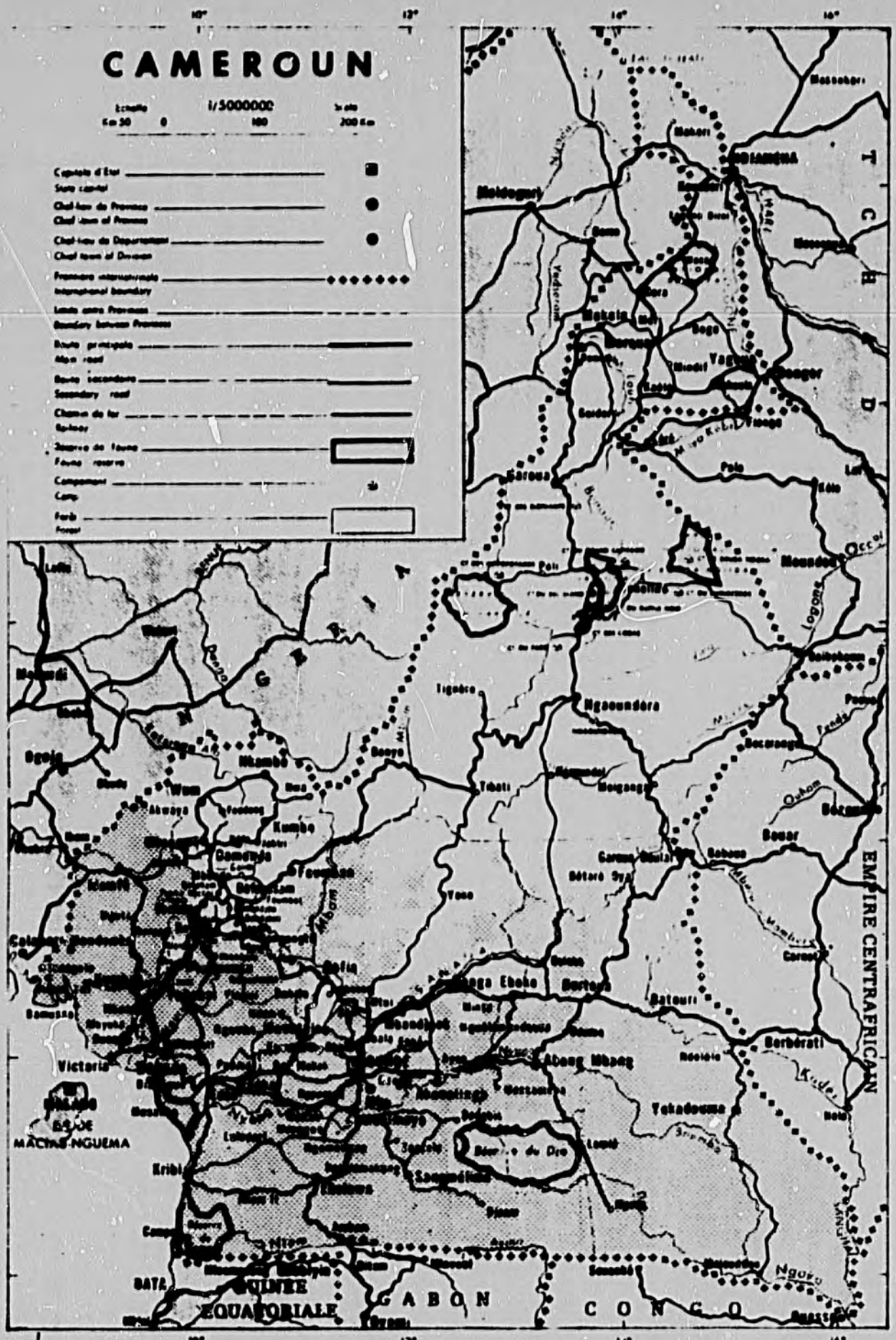
1. The first number shown in parenthesis refers to the number of the source in the bibliography provided at the end of the paper. This method of indicating sources will be used throughout the paper.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GABON
CONGO

Polygamy

The practice of polygamy (man marrying more than one wife) is another facet of male/female relationships where there was a deep difference of opinion between Cameroonian men and Europeans (especially Christian missionaries). The subject is also one of great current interest to Cameroonians. Opinions differ considerably from person to person, and no one appears to be neutral on the subject. For example, Malone believes that the continued legal existence of polygamy is a denial of the proclamations of female equality and further believes that the abolishment of polygamy (and bridewealth) would assist the development effort. His opinion is based on the belief that nuclear families with husbands and wives on an equal footing and participating as partners in family life are the most efficient units for development. The practice of polygamy (which also helps to drive up the bridewealth by increasing the demand for women) works against the achievement of this goal. It is difficult if not impossible to enforce laws such as community property of husband and wife in a polygamous marriage. Therefore there tends to be one law for monogamous families and another for polygamous ones. As wives have no guarantee when they marry monogamously that their marriage will remain so (i.e. a monogamous union may be just the first step to a polygamous marriage) they are never in a secure position (129, p. 83-120 passim). It should also be noted that polygamy makes it difficult for young men to set up their households as the sex ratio of the population is only slightly in favor of women, i.e. if some men are to have several wives others are forced to have none at all or to wait until they are older to marry.

It is clear from many of the reports reviewed that polygamous marriage results in a very formal relationship between husband and wife in order to avoid quarrels between co-wives. This situation would mitigate against the establishment of a cooperative/participatory approach to maximising the family's resources. There is also a hierarchy among wives with the first wife and the favorite wife being on a more equal footing with the husband than are more junior wives — in some cases junior wives may be almost in a servant status to senior wives. Dugast showed how the requirement that they do work for senior wives coupled with the meagre resources allocated to them made it difficult for junior wives to produce sufficient food to feed themselves and their children (70, Vol. 1, p. 545). A recent study made by Weekes-Vagliani and Manga Bekomo found that 72 percent of the rural women and 68 percent of urban women in their sample were opposed to polygamy (as compared with 50 percent of rural men and 65 percent of urban men respectively) and many of the rural and urban women who said they would accept polygamy did so with the proviso that they be the first wife. The researchers concluded on the basis of their study and other reports that the practice of polygamy was gradually dying out (186, p. 43-46).

On the other side, several reports reviewed indicated that the decline in polygamy had resulted in an increase in divorce as the wife in a monogamous marriage found the close supervision of her activities by her husband too confining (e.g. see 142). The 1976 census found that among married men, 25.4 percent of those in rural areas and 18.6 percent of men in urban areas had polygamous marriages, so the rate is still quite high (45, p. 15). What is certain is that many men in Cameroon consider polygamy to be the ideal wedded state and many women at least tacitly support it by agreeing to participate in polygamous marriages.

Wife Inheritance

It was a usual practice among ethnic groups in Cameroon (and many others around the world) for wives to be included in the inheritance which was passed on to male heirs when a man died. Although this practice sounds somewhat cruel, it should be recognized that the wives represented a considerable investment on the part of the man and his family due to the bridewealth which had been paid to secure them. The availability of the women permitted the inheritor or other men in the lineage to marry, either by taking them as wives or by exchanging them for wives from other lineages. This practice war seldom an unmixed blessing for the inheritor as the wives were often aged. In these cases, the system insured that they would be cared for and would continue to have access to farming land though they were "wives" in name only. This practice was abolished by law some years ago. The Arrêté No 445 of April 3, 1962, which was part of a clarification of the laws following independence states categorically that marriage is dissolved upon the death of the spouse and the widow gains her full liberty without any responsibility to return any of the bridewealth to the husband's family (68, p. 114-115).

Women's Role in Agriculture

The role of women in food crop production in many parts of Africa has been an area of conflict between Western and African cultural and social concepts. Western observers coming from an economic system where men were the principal farm workers have often been appalled to find women working in the fields, while men seemingly had lighter work to do and considerably more leisure time. Many of these Westerners set out with missionary zeal to encourage the men to take up food crop farming. To date they have had very little success in this effort despite the backup which is now provided by the school systems where boys work in the school gardens and girls sometimes only attend domestic science courses.

The continuing dominant role of women in food production can be understood in light of the fact that the society and especially the women themselves view this activity as integral to their childbearing role. For the woman, childbearing is basic to her reason for living and raising food to feed the children is part of her nurturing role. To fail in this realm would be to fail as a mother and as a person. For men, involvement in food crop production was women's work, and as Ndongko points out, a "man performing a duty which is looked upon as that of a female is ridiculed as is a woman who performs labor assigned to males"(137, p. 147). This didn't mean that the men didn't help the women with the heavier tasks or that the men had nothing to do. In a family which was responsible for providing all its own needs, there were many other heavy jobs to be done besides producing food if the family was to have a roof over its head, meat to eat, or very importantly protection from other groups and wild animals. Since the beginning of the colonial era, men have also generally been primarily responsible for the cultivation of cash crops. The women's agricultural role was highly visible as they were in the fields 70 percent of their waking hours, while the men's activities were more fragmented and harder to recognise. Mention should be made of the fact that these comments are most applicable to the production systems in the southern portions of Cameroon, as men are more heavily involved in the food production systems of the north.

For the women, food crop production is an activity which gives them stature in the family, and is the one area in which they have almost total freedom of action. They decide the days on which they will work, and the tasks they will do. The harvest is theirs and they direct the uses to which it is put. When changing economic circumstances created a market for agricultural produce, women began selling their surplus and they are often able to keep the income for their own use. Farming the land also gives the women rights to the property. A man may be the titular owner but the rights of the woman who uses the land are recognised and she can not easily be dispossessed. Understandably women have resisted those who tried to take these rights and responsibilities away from them.

Women's Role in Decision-making

Finally, on the point of the invisibility of women in the decision-making process, it is true that few women are found as head's of household, or on the councils of elders, or as chiefs (the important position of the Fon's mother in the Grassfield's is somewhat exceptional but by no means unique). However, the portrait which is sometimes drawn of the mute beast of burden who was a total pawn in the hands of men is simply not true. Such an analysis also gives the woman very little

credit for character and initiative. In all social systems, methods have evolved to insure that women's interests are protected. The women themselves are perfectly capable of organizing to protect themselves as the secret associations of Bati women will exemplify. They can also give a powerful demonstration of their determination to protect their own interests by methods such as the anlu of Kom women. At all times, behind closed doors if not in public, women make their input into important family decisions. The importance of this input, and of their other activities will become apparent in the sections of the report which follow.

Acknowledgements

The reviewer wishes to thank the many Cameroonians in the government, university and private organisations who were willing to take time from their busy schedules to provide guidance on various subjects and suggestions of books and articles to review. The reviewer also received a sympathetic response from Cameroonian, American, British and French researchers who supplied information and perspectives from their work in a truly unselfish manner. Libraries in Cameroon (especially the ONAREST and University libraries), Britain (the British Museum and the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London) and France (CARDAN in particular) provided facilities to the reviewer in identifying and locating studies.

Several members of the USAID staff were especially helpful in undertaking the study. Among the Americans, Frits Gilbert, Abbe Fessenden, and Rudy Thomas deserve special thanks. The most appreciation must go to Marcel Ngue, a Cameroonian on the USAID staff who assisted the reviewer with several aspects of the study. He arranged the initial interviews, accompanied the writer to the interviews and assisted in any language difficulties, as well as identified the location of various documents in Cameroon, supplied additional information and studies, and undertook statistical research. Appendix A to the report which lists the location of works which are available in Cameroon was prepared by Mr Ngué. His interest in the subject and thorough review of the report were invaluable in correcting errors in viewpoint and content. Last but not least, the contribution of Judith Brown who typed the final copy of the report and prepared the index deserves mention. The contributions of all these people were invaluable in preparing the report which follows. However, the final form of the report and any errors therein are the responsibility of the reviewer alone.

TRADITIONAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS AND MODERN REALITIES - CONTINUING VALUES IN A CHANGING WORLD

The economic activities of women are conditioned by their place in society, and by the expectations of society concerning the tasks they should perform. The resources women can command for productive activities, their independence in decision making, their access to the means of improving their performance or their lack of any of these factors, will effect what they can do. Traditional social systems provided a framework for women's activities which were all-important until comparatively recently, and are still a major force in the present day. The importance of tradition varies with the age of the women, her education and whether she is living in a rural or urban area. Also, traditional systems are not static but are evolving to meet the challenges of a changing world.

Although the present situation is fluid, a description of women in traditional life will provide a baseline for analysis and guidance on possible lines of evolution. Considering the geographic and ethnic diversity of Cameroon, it is not possible to draw a general portrait of the traditional system although there are certain common features. Instead, as noted in the Introduction, Cameroon has been roughly divided into three geographic regions, and the cities are described separately. In most cases, the description for each region will deal with the tribes in the area in general, with illustrations drawn from specific groups. To provide a basis for comparison between regions, certain topics will be discussed in each instance. Recognizing the importance of lines of kinship, the type of kinship system - whether patrilineal, matrilineal or dual - will be described. The life cycle will be considered, including pregnancy and birth, early socialization, marriage and old age. Major activities such as agriculture, cooking and marketing will be noted in this section, but they will be discussed in greater length in the subsequent sections which deal specifically with those topics. Wherever information exists, an indication will be given of how customs and activities have changed over the last thirty years. In the final portion of this section, the characteristics of urban populations will be discussed. The focus will be on the general situation of women in the cities, rather than on the experience of specific ethnic groups in the urban milieu.

I Coastal Areas and the Forest Region — Southwest, Littoral, Central South and Eastern Provinces

The land area considered in this section covers 260,514 square kilometers, and a total of 3,413,861 persons (according to the 1976 census) divided among many different ethnic groups which live in the four provinces. A basic difference between the groups is with respect to their principal economic activity; those who live in the coastal areas are mainly fishermen while the tribes inland are more oriented to agriculture. In order to prepare this section, material has been reviewed on the Kpé (more commonly known as the Bakwéri), the Duala, the Batanga, the Pahouin tribes (which include such eth. : groups as the Béti, Boulou, Fang and Ewondo), the Bassa and the Ndiki[2]. It had been hoped to include material on the Baloundou-Mbo, an ethnic group which lives in the coastal area on the border with Nigeria, as a demographic survey carried out in 1962-1964 in former West Cameroon showed the group to contain 110,000 persons (which is a relatively high figure among Cameroonian ethnic groups). However, almost no material was found on this group.

The Kpe have been chosen as they are fairly representative of the tribes in their group (the Kpé-Mboko group which includes the Kpé, Mboko, Isuwu, and the Wovea) and a study now in progress will provide considerable information on the current situation of Kpé women[3]. They live on the slopes of Mount Cameroon, and their traditional area includes Buea, the administrative center of the Southwest Province. The Duala are the principal tribal group in the Duala-Limba group, and they have given their name to the largest urban area in Cameroon, Douala, whivh now covers most of the area they inhabited. The Batanga live in the Kribi area, and although they are a relatively small group, they have been included as Batanga women have been the subject of a major study by Ms Madeleine Richard, Histoire, Tradition et Promotion de la Femme chez les Batanga.

The Bassa are a numerically strong group, and their homeland lies mainly in the Littoral Province but some sections of the tribe extend into the Central-South. They are spread over a large land area which

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2. Throughout this section reference is made to specific studies to support various points. In addition, general background was provided by a number of works including 5, 15, 22, 28, 29, 30, 56, 89, 93, 105, 110, 154, 157, 176 and 183.
3. Ms Nancy Wallick is currently in Cameroon, and is undertaking research for her PhD thesis with support from a Fulbright grant. The working title of her study is "Changing Forms of Marriage and Conjugal Conflict: An Interactional Approach to the Problem of Marital Instability." She is explicitly studying the changing economic roles of Kpé women and the attendant effects upon marriage.

includes the basins of three rivers, the Wouri, the Dibamba and the Sanaga. In pre-colonial times, their tribal boundaries extended to very near the coast, but no section of the tribe actually lived on the sea (69, p. 35-36). The Pahouin tribes taken as a whole are one of the two largest groups in Cameroon (the other is the Bamiléké which will be considered in the section on the Grassfields). They extend over much of the Central-South and Eastern Province and a section of the tribe lives in Gabon. The Ndiki are a small tribal group, and form part of the Banen who live on the borders of the Grassfields. Considerable detail is available on the Ndiki as well as perspectives on how they had been affected by changes in Cameroon as they were the subject of a study by Mme Idelette Dugast, Monographie de la tribu des Ndiki, based upon contacts with them over a twenty year period, 1934-1954.

Social and Political Structure of the Tribes

While there is a considerable variety of languages and customs among the ethnic groups to be discussed in this section, they share the same basic social structures. There were no large centralized kingdoms in this area such as those which developed further north (this can be explained partially by the dense tropical forest which covers most of the region and made communication difficult). Instead, the patrilineal clans within an ethnic group had control of their own areas of land, and while all married males were allocated land for farming, ultimate control over the land (and also the women in the lineage) rested in the hands of the head of the family. This person was generally the eldest male whose powers and responsibilities were inherited by a younger brother or one of his sons upon his death. In addition, the elder usually performed important ritual functions. The political unit was the "family village" (this term was suggested by Alexandre and Binet, 5, p. 48), made up of the elder, his close male kin plus their male and female children, and they did not pay allegiance to any higher authority. For example Pouka noted that the Bassa were very fragmented and some groups did not even admit to being Bassa (154, p. 159). The various lineages of an ethnic group also did not necessarily stay together or move from place to place as a body, but instead each "family village" and possibly their close associates moved when their land was exhausted or they required more space. As a result, there was considerable mixing of the ethnic groups in the area, and it is difficult to specify exactly where the Bassa or the Béti live for example.

Kinship Systems and Inheritance

The women of the lineage were considered a valuable asset, as they

provided the means for increasing the size of the clan (thereby making it stronger and richer) and also creating alliances with other groups as an assurance of support and solidarity in times of trouble. This was accomplished by exchanging the women of the lineage for women from other lineages who became the wives of men in the clan. Marriages usually took place within the tribe but occasionally groups who were chronically at war such as the Beti and the Bassa would exchange wives in an attempt to bring peace between their groups. All these ethnic groups had more or less extensive rules of exogamy, i.e. marriages had to take place between persons of different lineages, and not within the lineage. The wives were generally not considered to be part of the lineage of the husband and their connections to it were not firmly established until they had borne children who would be lineage members. Accordingly, women were raised to expect that they would move from their natal home to one some distance away where they would have to establish a new life among strangers.

The situation of women is summarized in the graphic description by Manga (118, p.822) of two events which took place at the birth of a Beti woman. The first was the cry of rejoicing which the midwife gave to signal the successful outcome of labor. She gave two cries for the birth of a boy and one for a girl which signified the inferiority of women. Secondly, the midwife said of the girl, "She has come, she will go." As a result of their position between two lineages women did not own or inherit land. Inheritance rules varied somewhat between groups but in most cases wives were included in the inheritance. Today the eldest son is generally the preferred heir but there are instances where wives may be named as trustees of the property and where daughters are heirs. A woman's personal property is inherited by her female relatives, normally her daughter.

Despite the dominance of patrilineal kinship among tribes in the area, there were important matrilineal ties in most of the ethnic groups. They were most prominant among the Kpe, where each person explicitly belonged to both a patrilineage and a matrilineage. Although man tended to be more associated with their patrilineage and women with their matrilineage, the matrilineage played an important part in the emotional life of all individuals and also had an important role to play in fertility rites (7, p. 52-54). In other groups, one finds a close relationship between a man and his sister's children - they would turn to him if their own fathers were unable to help them in times of need, and the children would also make presents to their uncles. Among the Beti, the nephews of a dead man would turn up at the funeral demanding vengeance for the death of their uncle (138, p. 147). The rules of exogamy applied to matrilineal as well as patrilineal kin and were often more extensive on the maternal side than on the paternal side; among the Batanga for example, the prospective spouses could have no common relatives for six generations on the

paternal side and eight generations on the maternal side (157, p. 38-40).

Separate Lives of Men and Women

The men and women in these societies tended to lead relatively separate existences as they carried out the tasks which were necessary for the survival of the group. This separation was perhaps most rigid among the Pahouin peoples. Mangi (118, p. 823) explains the extent of separation by the fact that in the past women were essentially nude (except for a skirt of banana leaves), but despite this fact there were also strong concepts of decency and a woman would be humiliated if a man was to see her sexual organs. As a result, girls were trained from an early age to sit with their legs together stretched out straight in front of them, and not to leap, skip, jump, climb or bend over if men were about. Obviously, men and women would find it difficult to live and work together under these circumstances and as a result, most social functions such as work and eating tended to break down into women and their children as one social grouping, and men as the other. From this perspective, it can be seen that the speed with which Western dress was adopted may have been partially due to the greater freedom it gave to the individual and not simply as a response to the prudishness of missionaries.

Engagement, Bridewealth and Marriage

Among most of the tribes in this region (with the notable exception of the Batanga), in former times girls were usually betrothed soon after birth, and might move to the husband's home at a very early age to be brought up by his mother or by a co-wife. However, she would not take up her conjugal duties until after puberty. This practice has been officially outlawed for some time, and girls are now usually betrothed only after physical maturity. Often the girl's mother had a voice in the choice of a spouse for her daughter; among the Kpé for example, it was believed that the mother could cause the marriage to fail if she disapproved of it (7, p. 61).

In all the ethnic groups, marriage was not final until the bridewealth had been paid. If a girl became pregnant before the bridewealth was paid, the child was absorbed into her family, and not into the lineage of the father. This is exemplified by a Béti proverb reported by Alexandre and Binet which states that the child is not the child of the father but the child of the bridewealth (5, p. 55). The amount of the bridewealth varied from group to group, and was relatively modest among the Batanga and Xpé and higher among the Pahouins. In former times the bridewealth was paid in sheep and goats or other prestige goods, for example, among the Pahouin a portion of the bridewealth was paid in bikié, a special type of iron bar which was not used for

any other purpose. The bridewealth stood as a guarantee of marriages, and it was also a means by which the elders insured discipline within the family village as they alone controlled the means of amassing the bridewealth through their control over the women in the lineage.

The translation of the bridewealth into money terms and the changes brought about by the economic development which followed colonization had important effects upon families. Among the Bakwíri, Ardener reported that in the 1950's women were finding it possible to earn the money necessary to refund the bridewealth if they wished to leave the marriage and this had increased their independence (7, p. 61). As a result certain Bakwíri were advocating that the bridewealth be increased (7, p. 61). The fear of husbands that women might use any substantial personal earnings to pay back the bridewealth and leave the marriage has been found to be a problem in other tribes in contemporary times - for example, a team evaluating a project in the Eastern Province which was designed to increase the production and commercialization of foodstuffs produced by women found that the men in the area were against it as they were afraid the women would use any income earned to pay back the bridewealth (16, p. 29 Annex 11c). Among the Fuhouin, once cocoa and other means of earning money were introduced, the elders found it impossible to control the young men who were able to amass their own bridewealth. The amount of the bridewealth also reached incredible heights among some groups, and especially among the Fahouin where amounts of 250,000 CFA and above were not uncommon in the 1960's.

Certain ceremonies took place at the time of marriage such as the arrival of the girl at the husband's home accompanied by members of her family, after which various rituals were carried out and feasting took place. Among the coastal tribes, there was a bridal period which formerly lasted for several months but had been reduced to two weeks among the Kpé by the 1960's (7, p. 64). During this period the girl did not go out of the house or work, but was expected to eat well and to indulge herself. It was still common practice among the Batanga in the 1960's (157, p. 115).

Pregnancy and Attitudes to Fertility

It was a common feature among the tribes in the region for the wife to return to the home of her parents to give birth to the first child, and often for subsequent children as well. The wife's stay at her parents' home was usually quite prolonged - she might stay until the child was weaned (usually at the age of 2) as it was generally taboo for the husband and wife to have sexual intercourse during the period. Understandably, this period of separation provided a considerable incentive for a man to become a polygamist. The husband would usually have to make presents to his wife to induce her to return (for example

see 157, p. 59), and in addition, presents were made to the wife's family. This was the source of the Beti saying that the "baskets of the mother-in-law are never filled" meaning that a man is never done with paying the bridewealth (5, p. 91).

Babies were universally welcomed among these peoples, and the primary function of women was to have children. As Alexandre and Binet observed, even a difficult Pahouin woman would be forgiven her sins by her husband if she had many children. Pouka notes that barren women had a very hard life among the Bassa; they were taunted and allocated all the hardest tasks (154, p. 157). Among several of the groups, the Batanga (157, p. 56) and the Bassa (154, p. 157) for examples, barrenness was considered to be strictly the fault of the woman. In other tribal groups it might be considered the fault of the couple, and a woman's family would encourage her to leave her husband and marry someone else if she did not have any children after a reasonable time. In their first year, children spent their time close to their mothers, and later on were watched over by older children while their mothers were in the fields. Before long they began to help their mothers with their daily tasks and to learn what would be expected of them in later life.

Rights and Duties of Wives

Among all the tribal groups, men were expected to provide houses for their wives. In some instances, the man and his first wife would live together in the same hut until she became pregnant, but sooner or later the husband would build her a hut of her own. In some cases this hut included the kitchen or the kitchen might be in an adjoining hut. It was in the kitchen that the woman kept the harvest from her fields and no one could enter it without her express permission. Her hut and kitchen were the center of a woman's life; with the establishment of her kitchen a woman came into possession of her own kingdom. Bekomo (22, p. 325) describes the situation among the Duala where the first wife would establish her kitchen, and if her husband took a second wife, the new wife would initially become part of the first wife's household. As children were born to the second wife she would attempt to establish her own "kitchen". Any other wives the husband married would be allocated to the households of the first two wives, although they might try eventually to establish their own kitchens. Bekomo considers this struggle for autonomy between the women and the striving of young men to establish their own households as the two primary sources of conflicts of authority within the Duala family system. The practice of establishing a separate kitchen for the wife can still be seen in the layouts of modern houses. For example, the houses Champaud observed when he carried out a study in Mom, a Bassa village in 1963-64 had a kitchen attached to the house, but the kitchens had separate outside entrances, they did not open into the main body of the house, and they usually contained a bed (56, p. 24).

Women were responsible for preparing food for the family, and in most cases they sent their husband's meals to him in his hut while they ate in their kitchens with their daughters and their young sons. If a man had several wives usually only the wife who was sleeping with him that night would cook for him. The Bassa were the primary exception to this pattern of the husband and wife eating separately, as Pouka reports that the family normally ate together. There was also a communal hut for family gathering where the entire family would eat during the rainy season (154, p. 156). Among Bassa men with several wives, Pouka's statement probably would only refer to segments of the family.

Economic Activities

In the traditional systems, the economic activities of women were centered around food crop production and fishing. In both coastal and inland tribes, women usually took the predominant role in food crop production, doing most tasks involved with the exception of land clearing. Men were somewhat more involved in food crops among the Kpé where plantains and yams were cultivated by men, while women cultivated cocoa, yams and other crops. Although women took the major part in food crop production they were dependent upon men for access to land; the unmarried woman was allocated land by her father and the wife by her husband. Among many of the tribes in the area (e.g. the Bassa and the Ndiki) in former times and at present, men tend the palms which are used for the production of oil and palm wine. Men cut and transport the clusters of oil bearing kernels but women handle most of the laborious process of extracting the oil from the kernels. With respect to fishing, in the coastal tribes, men were involved in catching the large quantities of fish which were dried and stored while women's catches either from poles, nets or traps were smaller and were usually for immediate consumption. Among the Pahouins, women and children caught fish in the small streams of the area, primarily by damming them and then poisoning the fish.

Prior to the arrival of the Europeans, the tribes in this area were essentially self sufficient, and there was little trade. This was especially true among the Pahouins, where markets had to be established by the colonial administration and the people urged to use them in order to permit the provisioning of administrative and military personnel of the government. Gradually, women have been stimulated by demand for foodstuffs, and by the availability in the markets of foods and household goods which they could not produce themselves, to sell more and more of their agricultural produce to earn a cash income. This activity has increased in importance, particularly in this part of Cameroon where the two major cities are located. For example, Guyer found in the portion of the Lékié which she studied that the value of the food crops sold by the women in a town on the main road amounted to half the value of sales of cocoa by their husbands (29, p. 73). Other women have become

traders in foodstuffs, better known in Cameroon as the "Buy 'em Sell 'um" and still others are selling snacks and processed foods in the streets and markets. These means of earning a cash income are a natural extension of food crop production which is still the principal activity of rural women and a considerable portion of urban women. Women in the area are also becoming plantation workers, seamstresses, or are employed in the whole range of new occupations which have been created by modernization and economic development. These activities will be discussed in more detail in the description of the modern sector below.

Women's Organisations

Women created for themselves a variety of organisations to support them in their economic and social roles. As the women in each village came from a different lineage, they needed to form a basis for interaction on some grounds other than those of kinship ties. However, the organisations formed by the women quite often brought together women from the same clan (e.g. a savings association described by Champaud was formed by fifty-one women of the Ngogsend clan -56, p. 48). Women's organizations took a variety of forms including mutual aid groups for farming work, savings associations, and highly developed secret societies with their own chiefs, weapons (charms and poison) and rituals (30, p. 49). Farming groups were and are the most important among the Bassa and the Ndiki while savings associations have been reported among most of the ethnic groups considered in this region. Their main purpose is to provide support in times of trouble (such as sickness or death) but they are also used to amass the capital necessary to purchase more expensive household goods or to begin trading in foodstuffs.

The secret associations for women were most important among the Pahouin tribes. Manga asserts that in the face of a dominant and aggressive male society, the social minority of women organised for their defence and as such they constituted a solid group within the society which had considerable power (118, p. 831-832). Traditional moral and religious beliefs formed the basis for the organisations, and they disappeared following the conversion to Christianity of most of the population in southern Cameroon. Manga felt that this had reduced the prestige of women (118, p. 832). However, Binet described the extensive development of women's organisations of a religious nature and believed they might be serving some of the same purposes as the older secret associations (27). Other modern associations to which women belong include the women's wing (O.F.U.N.C.) of the National Union Party. All these organisations have the potential to serve as a focal point for development activities (some of them are already being used for the purpose to a certain extent), and this point will be considered further in later sections of the paper.

The Position of Women

The preceding discussion has illustrated the somewhat mixed position of women; there were areas of social and economic activity where they had considerable independence and autonomy, but their overall position was a minority one as it was only through men that they had access to land and men had control over their persons and those of their children. Considerable emphasis has been placed on the minority situation of women by some observers, however, as Binet pointed out, most men were also in a minority position as few were able to achieve the status of elders either by inheritance or by founding their own lineages. Even the elders were not really free agents, as they were bound to act in a manner which would achieve the best situation for the entire group (30, p. 45). Many of the worst features of women's situation have been recognized by the government, and legal and educational measures have been taken to improve it 1).

All tribal groups have been affected by the changes of the twentieth century but there have been differences in the experience of the various groups. The Duala and the Bataŋga have felt the impact of the creation of urban centers in their homelands, while the situation of the Kpe' was revolutionized by the establishment of large scale plantations in their area. In general, the changes brought greater independence to women. No recent information was found on the Ndiki. Among the Bassa and the Beti living in rural areas, there was also considerable upheaval, but studies of the Beti such as those of Tchala (174) and Guyer(89) which were both made in the 1970's indicate that the traditional social system described above is still essentially intact. However, the conversion to Christianity, and the end of child bethrothal practices among others have created considerable change in women's lives.

II The Grassfields - Northwest and Western Provinces

In contrast to the heavy tropical forests which cover most of the area described in the previous section, this portion of Cameroon is an area of rolling hills with little forest cover. A second major difference is that the Grassfields were dominated by relatively large centralized chiefdoms in contrast to the mainly autonomous family units further south. It is an area of dense population concentration (according to the 1976 census, 2,016,128 persons lived in the two provinces) and is mainly rural - approximately 75 percent of the population lives in the rural areas as compared with 50 percent in the Central South and Littoral Provinces. The tribal groups of the region which will be considered here are the Tikar, the Widekum, the Bamiléké (including the Bangwa), and the Bamoun. While most of these groups have been extensively studied, very little information was found on the Widekum.

The Tikar tribes are divided into a number of chiefdoms, which together included 260,000 persons in the censuses carried out in the 1960's[4]. The largest of the chiefdoms, Nsaw, was the primary focus of Phyllis Kaberry's admirable pioneering study, Women of the Grassfields, based on field research carried out between January 1945 and April 1948 (reference 102). Other Tikar tribes which have been considered in this report are the Bafut and the Kom. The Kom are the only tribe with a primarily matrilineal system among the Tikar (and among all the groups considered in this review). The Tikar are spread out over most of the Northwest Province and some are also found in the West Province as they moved from that area to their present location. They have been chosen for review based upon their numbers and the similarity of their social/political institutions to those of other groups in the area. The Widekum are a tribe which numbered 110,000 persons in the 1960's census. What little information has been found on the tribe derives mainly from Kaberry's report and a report by the Institute for the Reform of Primary Education (IPAR) - Buea (reference 100). The Widekum are located in the border area between the Northwest and Southwest Provinces.

The Bamiléké are the largest ethnic group in Cameroon (and included

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4 It will be noted that all figures referring to the size of ethnic groups are taken from the censuses of the 1960's. This is due to the fact that population figures are no longer collected on an ethnic group basis. As the total population of Cameroon at the time was approximately 5,500,000 a rough approximation of the current size of the groups can be derived as a proportion of the 1976 population total of 7,663,276. This would be very rough however, as the various ethnic groups are increasing at different rates.

701,000 persons in the 1960's census). Their unusual kinship/inheritance system and the heavy population in their native area has resulted in large scale migration of Bamiléké to other parts of Cameroon and particularly to the cities. They play a very important role in trade and are found in the markets in all the provinces of Cameroon. The Bangwa who were studied by Robert Brain (Bangwa Kinship and Marriage, reference 38) are Bamiléké who were in the area administered by the English colonial government - the rest of the Bamiléké lived in former French territory. As British rule tended to be more indirect, Brain believed that the Bangwa system had undergone less change and was closer to the Bamileke traditional system than the balance of the chiefdoms. As is apparent from this description, the homeland of the Bangwas is on the border of the Northwest and West Provinces while that of the Bamiléké propar is in the West Province.

The Bamoun are concentrated in the districts of Fumban and Fumbot in the West Province, and Fumban is their capital. In the 1960's, there were 82,000 Bamoun. The Bamoun and the Tikars are closely related; Dugast reports that they claimed to be one people (69, p. 124). The Bamoun imposed themselves on peoples living on the fringe of Bamileke territory who shared a similar culture with the Bamiléké. As a result, the Bamoun speak the same Bamiléké dialect as the people they conquered (69, p. 126-127). The famous chief of the Bamoun, Njoya (who had the distinction of creating one of the two methods of writing invented in SubSaharan Africa) was a convert to Islam and as a result, Islam was spread among the Bamoun. Lamare estimates that two/thirds of the Bamoun are converts to Islam and the remaining one/third are Christians. This has a considerable effect on the social life of the Bamoun as often members of the same family belong to different religions (111).[5]

Political Organization

In most cases, the political institutions of the tribes considered in this section centered around a number of essentially independent chiefdoms. (Littlewood indicates there were 90 Bamiléké chiefdoms, reference 127). The Bamoun are an exception as they had only one chiefdom for the entire tribe. The Head of State was a chief, usually called a Fon,(the Bamoun chief took the title of sultan when he converted to Islam) and the chief was considered to be a divine personage. He ruled with the assistance of councilors and enforced his orders through one or more male secret associations. There was a very structured class system and a clear distinction between nobles

5 General background information for the description which follows was provided by references 38, 65, 67, 82, 97, 98, 102, 111, 127 and 159.

and commoners. Among the Bamiléké for example, certain structures in a compound such as a small marketplace, a central pathway, and a large hut used for prestige activities were reserved to nobles and were an outward manifestation of their position (98, p. 9). Within the villages there were separate organisations for adult men and women which met regularly and allocated necessary work (such as the clearing of footpaths) among their members. These organisations would be contacted by representatives of the Fon or the Queen Mother (see below) in the case of women, who advised the organisations of any special tasks they were to perform.

Among the Tikar, the Bamiléké/Bangwa, and the Bamoun the mother of the chief (or if she was deceased, a sister or daughter) is given the title of Queen Mother (Mafo among the Bamiléké). The Queen Mother has many rights and privileges. She is respected by all, and is the only female member of a number of important state councils and organizations. She has her own household, lands and raffia plantations and as the Fon had no jurisdiction over her property, it was a place of refuge in the precolonial era. A daughter of the Queen Mother inherits her property and title, although a new Queen Mother is designated by each Fon. As the titles and property of each of the Queen Mothers are inherited by successive generations of women, a group of noble propertied women has been created which increases with each generation.

The position of the Fon's daughters was near to that of the Queen Mother. They had a number of special rights and were considered the equals of their husbands. In this respect, they had more status than their mothers, the wives of the Fons. As the Fons were grand polygamists, their wives generally numbered in the hundreds. The wives had considerable influence and a number of responsibilities for organizing aspects of state government. The first two wives who were under the control of the Mafo, were responsible for organising the activities of the other wives. The situation of these women, Mafos, wives and daughters of the Fon are essentially the same today, although the Fons now have fewer wives. (References used in preparing the previous two paragraphs were 65, 102 and 127).

Kinship Systems and Inheritance

Among all these tribes, each person belonged to both a patrilineage and a matrilineage. With the exception of the Kom, the patrilineages were economically and politically dominant, and were the main property holding and transmitting groups. Among the Tikar and the Bamoun, residence was patrilocal, and the head man of the lineage had certain rights (for example the Tikar headman received the largest share of

the bridewealth paid for female lineage members) and responsibilities towards lineage members. The property owned by the lineage was transmitted from fathers to sons, and daughters inherited property from fathers only in exceptional circumstances. The situation with respect to the Bamiléké was somewhat different as each patrilineage had a relatively limited number of members, and most patrilineages had very little depth in generational terms (i.e. descent could be traced back through three generations only). This was due to the fact that all the sons of a man except the sole inheritor of his title and the bulk of his property established (or attempted to establish) their own patrilineage which ceased to sacrifice to the skulls of the old patrilineage after two generations. (Skulls of the deceased are exhumed after several years of burial and serve as a focus for the ancestor worship cult - reference 67). All the sons of a man were to be given their share either during his lifetime or in his will, and a man's will would normally specifically absolve the successor of any further responsibility towards his siblings. As a result, relationships between patrikin were very fragile and were often destroyed by competition for the father's property (it should be mentioned that competition was between the half siblings, i.e. children of the various wives of a man and not between children of the same wife as it was understood that property belonging to any one of them would be shared). Residence for all but the inheritor was accordingly neo-local, i.e. either on property which the son had been given by his father or on new land which the chief allocated to him. If no land was available, the sons who did not inherit had no choice but to migrate.

Conversely, matrilineal relationships were close and affectionate. Among the Tikar's, Kaberry reports that a woman could call on her matrikin to provide land for farming if none was available within the husband's patrilineal group and her husband could also make the same demands on his matrilineage. Also, a woman's brother was often concerned with her children and would help them in various ways (102, p. 39-41). For the Bamileke/Bangwa, matrilineal relationships were even more important. While the patrilineage included only a few people, matrilineal relations were much more extensive, and could be traced back as far as oral history permitted. In addition, all the direct lines of women descended from a common female ancestor were considered as sisters. Women owned personal property as well as rights to land usage, and female inheritors had rights to a portion of the bridewealth payments for certain females in the matrilineage. Their property was ideally willed to daughters so matrilineal inheritance truly operated through women rather than through the woman's male relations (i.e. inheritance of nephews from their maternal uncles) as is common in many matrilineal systems. Attention paid to matrilineal ancestresses was also considered important for the health and well being of an individual, and the women who inherited skulls (and with them the right to sacrifice to the skulls) received respect from both their female and male kin, and regular presents from them for sacrifices on their behalf. The matrilineage

provided considerable support to the women, and as she had rights to the use of farm land through it, she did not have to depend exclusively on her husband for sufficient land to provide food for her household. This was a help to the husband also as he could establish his household even if he controlled only a little land provided his wives had sufficient usage rights in lands controlled by other men (97, p. 21). The kinship organization and inheritance systems are essentially unchanged from this description to the present time.

Betrothal, Marriage and Bridewealth

For the Tikar, Bamoun and Widekum, the traditional marriage systems were similar to those reported for the southern forest area. The father or the head of the family agreed to betroth the girl at a very young age (at birth or sooner in many cases) usually in consultation with the girl's mother. Marriage took place shortly after puberty. For the Bamoun, current practice has been complicated by the introduction of Islam, and one now finds girls being given in marriage (in the name of the Prophet) without bridewealth payments, and marriage under the laws of Islam in addition to traditional marriage (111, p. 22). Bridewealth payments in all these tribes are considerable - for example, Ritzenthaler reported that for the Bafut, the bridewealth was between £30 - £50 (in 1959) and in addition the fiancé had to build his father-in-law a house costing approximately £10 and make him a number of presents (159, p. 54).

The Bamiléké/Bangwa also practiced this type of marriage and in addition they had a system of marriage called ta nkap. Under this system, a man could secure a wife without making a bridewealth payment although a smaller gift was given to the woman's father or marriage lord. However, the husband could not arrange the marriages of any females which resulted from the union. Instead, their marriages were arranged by the man who had originally provided the wife or by his inheritor. As long as the daughters were married only under the ta nkap system, these rights continued from generation to generation. For example, the marriage lord (as the man who provided the ta nkap wife was called) might give a man a wife and the couple would subsequently have three daughters. The marriage lord might secure bridewealth for one girl, and her daughters would then belong to their proper father. If the other two girls were married by him under the ta nkap system, their female descendents would be the responsibility of the marriage lord or his inheritor. As can be imagined, within a few generations, the inheritor of the original marriage lord would control a large number of women and wealth. As the chiefs could claim any single woman in the kingdom as wife and had many wives, they were in a position to become the most important marriage lords. Hurault estimates that the chief was the "father of the nkap" to between 1/10 to 1/7 of all the women in the chiefdom (98, p. 40). While this system would appear to make girls pawns in the power games of men who were increasingly distant from them in kinship terms, there was an

important safeguard of their position. The consent of the girl's mother had to be given to her marriage, and without it the marriage was definitely off (38, p. 125) (90, p. 44).

In this region also, the monetization of the bridewealth and the changes from infant betrothal have had profound effects. Many observers consider the results to be more bad than good. Brain notes that in the past, a young man worked off a good part of the bridewealth over the years his fiancée was growing up by doing unpaid labor for the girl's mother - primarily land clearing for food crops. This labor for the girl's mother had now been replaced by the lump sum cash payment which went to the girl's father or marriage-lords rather than the mother (34, p. 117). Huralt and Brain both described how instability of marriage had increased as the father could take the wife away if another man came along who could afford to make a higher bridewealth payment. As we will see below, however, young educated men with good incomes are able to secure a wife by this means much earlier than they could have hoped to formerly.

Polygamy was a goal for men, as the labor and fertility of women was essential to the development of a large and prosperous family. Among the Bamiléké, there was an additional incentive as the Fon would enoble commoners who had large families, and a prosperous man could also buy titles from the Fon (67). The desire for polygamous marriage has been maintained among men in contemporary times, and various studies indicate a high proportion of Grassfields men were still achieving it in fairly recent years. Brain found that nearly half of all married men in two rural areas he surveyed were polygamous (38, p. 147) and an analysis of the 1962 census data for Yaounde indicated that 37 percent of the married Bamiléké males living in the cities were polygamous (60, p. 226). In recent times, women appear to consider polygamy less ideal than men, partially because polygamous fathers find it more difficult to meet certain modern obligations such as providing clothing for the wife, and school fees and suitable clothes for children. Brain noted that there was a marked preference among Bangwa women for men whom they expected to remain monogamous, and older polygamous men were finding it difficult to keep their wives when young, educated men returned from city employment with sufficient income to refund the brideprice. Even women with young children who would remain with their fathers were leaving them for these inducements. Such actions had been unheard of in the past (38, p. 148 and 163). Ritzenthaler also described the preference of Bafut women for monogamous marriages (159, p. 54).

Polygamous marriages required a formal and relatively distant relationship between husband and wives if quarrels and jealousies were to be avoided between co-wives. Lamare states that for the Bamoun the existence of numerous spouses made for a lack of true union between husband and wife; however this did not mean that there was a lack of sentiment, the husbands were very jealous, and would severely punish an adulterous wife (111, p. 27). Brain also indicates that among the Bangwa there

was no concept of a family as a husband, wife and children. Instead a woman and her children constituted a clearly separate unit within the polygamous compound where they were known as one "house" (38, p. 34).

Following the conclusion of bridewealth payments or the ta nkap formalities, the bride would be brought to the compound of her husband some months after she reached puberty. She was accompanied by relatives bearing gifts, and the husband was expected to give them much larger presents. Return visits from the girl's family for a similar purpose continued through the first year of marriage, and to a lesser extent throughout life (98, p. 46). Here also, the husband was never finished with paying the bridewealth!

Rights of Wives

The husband had certain formal duties towards his wife; he was to provide her with her own house, with meat, salt and oil as well as the more modern requirements mentioned above. When a wife first arrived in a compound, she might be assigned to the hut of a chaperon (the husband's mother or a co-wife) but following the birth of her first child she was ordinarily given her own hut and kitchen (38, p. 136).

Pregnancy and Attitudes Towards Fertility

No special care or attention appears to have been given to women during pregnancy, and they went about their daily tasks as normal. Delivery took place in their own compound usually with the assistance of older women experienced in childbirth. The woman's mother would often come to take care of her for some months after delivery, and special foods were eaten by the new mother to build up her milk supply. Breastfeeding continued for from 2 to 3 years, and sexual intercourse was forbidden until the child was weaned. Barrenness and sterility was a great calamity, for example, a Bamileké woman who died without children would be considered to have come to earth for no reason, and her skull would not be retrieved by her inheritor (67). Interestingly, a barren woman with sufficient resources could become a father by paying the bridewealth for another woman and arranging for her to have children. In this way the "father" could establish her own patrilineage. (This was possible among the Bamileké/Bangwa - see reference 38, p. 106 - but the literature is not clear on this point for other ethnic groups in the region).

Care and Training of Children

Young children of both sexes slept in the same hut with their mother, and began helping her with her daily tasks at an early age, collecting water and firewood, working in the fields, etc. Babies were carried to the fields on their mothers' backs until the age of six months when they became too much of a burden. After that age, they were left in the compound usually in the care of an older child. Ritzenthaler reports that for the Bafut, the child's nurse was usually a boy of around eight

as girls of that age were already working in the fields with their mothers (159, p. 41). It is likely that children are now being carried to the fields until an older age as older children are attending primary schools in greater numbers. This adds to the burden of the mothers. From around the age of 10, boys began sleeping in other huts in the compound, and their fathers and other male relatives began to train them in male tasks. Sometimes, they would go to live in the compounds of their maternal uncles. Girls stayed with their mothers until marriage.

Economic Activities

The most important economic activity of women was and is food crop production. Among the Tikar, Kaberry's study indicates that the men did the landclearing which was a heavy task but only required about 10 days labor per year. Women did all the other tasks associated with food crops, and as a result spent about 60 percent of their time in the fields. Men were involved in the kola trade, and a variety of other activities - coffee was just being introduced at the time of Kaberry's study, but its cultivation was being taken up by men. Women are also the principal food farmers among the Widekum. Bamileke/Bangwa men are involved in the production of plantain and coffee. Women do all the work associated with the production of food crops other than plantain, including land clearing (98, p. 17). This is probably made possible by the lack of tree cover in their area. Women do receive help in the heavier work from men such as their daughters' fiancés or their sons, but not from their husbands. Men build houses, repair the fences which keep the goats and other small animals from the fields, and work on activities which produce a cash income. The situation is somewhat different with the Bamoun where men and women share the tasks of food crop production. Men raise bananas and plantain as well as coffee and they also clear the land and do the weeding. Yams, however, are strictly grown by women although the harvest is given entirely to her husband (111, p. 41-42). This is also true among the Bamiléké where women cultivate yams but only men eat them unless there is a surplus (98, p. 17).

Men generally are involved in raising cattle, sheep and goats. This is true for the Bamiléké and the Bamoun. In Bangwa, men own the animals, but women and children tend them. No mention is made of domestic animals by either Kaberry or Ritzenthaler for the Tikar, though they note that men formerly hunted for wild meat. Poultry were owned and raised by women and their products were sold by them. Lamaré reports a high consumption of poultry among the Bamoun (111, p. 183). Fishing was not important among tribes in the area as the small streams yielded very little.

Contrary to the situation in the southern forest in pre-colonial times,

trade and markets were always important in this area, and markets attended by thousands of people were common. For the Tikar and most of the Bamiléké, this was due to the fact that palm oil could not be produced in their areas and they had to develop products for barter or, in more recent times, a cash income to secure it. Dongmo considers this factor to be of considerable importance in developing the unusual commercial sense of the Bamiléké (67). Men had the responsibility for providing palm oil, and Kaberry describes the many strenuous efforts which went into such activities as the kola trade or the collection of large firewood which were sold or exchanged for oil. Bamiléké men were involved in trade in animals and certain of them were artisans producing a variety of items. More recently, they have been involved in the trade in manufactured items and pursue their vocation in the markets in all parts of Cameroon.

Bamiléké women for their part are involved in the trade in food crops, and in general they are able to control the income themselves as it was understood they would use it to purchase household items. Women also weave baskets and make pots. A similar pattern is found among the Bamoun. As palm oil is produced in their area, there is a very active trade with the Bamiléké, and Lamaré also reports that both men and women are involved in purchasing goods in the market of one town for resale in another market where prices are higher (111, p. 43).

Women's Organisations

Women's organisations played a considerable role in support of their economic and social activities. Among the Bamiléké, the female administrative societies mentioned above were also used to organize co-operative work in the fields. In addition, the best female farmers were admitted into a special organization called the Mansu. These women wore a long curved knife used in clearing the fields as a symbol of their membership in Mansu, and they took priority over other women in the fields and on the paths (65, p. 152). Widekum women formed teams to work in the fields of each of their members in turn. However, women of the Tikar tribes only cooperated with close family members in agricultural work though women seldom worked alone in the fields (102, p. 55). Kaberry's description of the traditional women's organizations of the Tikar (which were mostly extinct by the time she made the study) indicates that they were primarily ritual and social in nature though they did serve as a means by which the women could put forward their grievances collectively to the chief and council for redress (102, p. 97-101).

Tikar women were among the beneficiaries of development activities in former British West Cameroon in the 1950's which involved the establishment of corn mill societies. Each society involved 75-100 women in the purchase and operation of a hand powered corn mill. These societies eventually involved many thousands of women and served as a nucleus for the establishment of cooperatives and other community development

activities (144). They will be discussed in more detail in later sections of this report.

The savings associations which are such a common feature among women further south, and are especially important for Bamileke men (Soen and Cameron report that their research indicated that every Bamileke male belongs to at least one savings association, reference 172) did not appear to have involved Grassfields women living in rural areas to any extent. Only mafos and the visitors of mafos belonged to savings associations in rural Bamileke country, though Bamileke women living in the cities did form savings associations (97). It appears that the traditional male associations evolved into savings associations but it is unclear why no such evolution occurred in the female counterpart organization. No study was found which indicated this situation had changed. However given the increased economic activity in the area and the involvement of women in selling food crops, it is likely that they now form savings associations.

Anlu

Kom women and women in some other tribal groups in the area have another form of collective action which they use as necessary to protect their interests. This is invoked against a man who has sexually insulted a woman, beaten a pregnant woman or an elderly person or committed any of a variety of similar acts. When the action is discovered, women in the area assemble as anlu (which comes from the word lu meaning "to drive out"). Women participating in anlu cover themselves with dirt and leaves, shout obscenities at the culprit, and throw dirt and garbage at him. Unless he makes amends to the injured party and to the women, his life will become so miserable that he will have to leave the area. There is no appeal against anlu which is a powerful form of social control, and is apparently greatly feared (82, p. 141). In 1958 it was used to protest against actions on the part of the British government which the women considered to be detrimental to their interests, among them a requirement that the rows used for food crops had to be made around the hills, i.e. contoured rather than down the slopes as the women had always done. They pointed out that the requirement meant they had to work with one foot higher than the other when tending to the crops, and this was very uncomfortable. This law was being enforced with prison terms and was greatly disliked by the women. A teacher who was speaking out in support of this and other government actions was the initial target of the women, but eventually more than 6,000 women were involved and 2,000 of them walked to Bamenda to put their case to the District Commissioner (10).

The problems were eventually resolved but the incident provided a demonstration of the determination of women in the face of what they considered to be unreasonable actions. The solidarity of women in such cases shows a potential for organization in the service of other ends provided means were found to channel their energy in the right direction.

III. North Cameroon and the Savannah - The North Province

The North Province is a land area of 163,513 square kilometers with a 1976 population of 2,233,257. Another indicator of its size is the north/south distance of approximately 800 kilometers (the width however is variable, ranging from 50 to 375 kilometers). The bulk of the land area (79 percent) is included in the two more southerly departments of the Adamaoua and Benoué which are the savannah regions and encompass only 37 percent of the population. Approximately 1,400,000 persons live in the four northernmost departments (Margui-Wandala, Logone-et-Chari, Diamaré and Mayo Danai) which have a total area of only 33,000 square kilometers, yielding an average density of 42 persons per square kilometer. This area contains distinct geographic features including a portion of Lake Chad, its flood plain, the Mandara Mountains and the plains areas which have conditioned the social and economic life of the people who live in the departments. The Fulani, the Mafa[6] and the Massa/Toupouri who will be considered in this section are the three largest population groups living in the North. The Fulani accounted for 400,000 persons in the 1960's population census, and the Mafa for 116,000 persons. The 1970/71 administrative census of the department of Mayo-Danay counted 126,000 Massa/Toupouri. In addition, approximately the same number of Massa and Toupouri live in adjoining areas of Chad (86, p. 43).

Political Organization

The Fulani are found mainly in the plains area of the four northerly departments and in the savannah region of the Adamaoua and the Benoue. They are one segment of the huge tribal group known collectively as the Peul who are found scattered over West and Central Africa from Senegal to Cameroon. A portion of the Fulani are transhumanant cattle people, but the vast majority are settled agriculturalists. They are an Islamic people and live under organized political structures, called lamidats. There are 21 lamidats in North Cameroon which vary greatly in size. Each is headed by a lamido who is a spiritual as well as a temporal ruler. All allocations of land in the lamidat are originally made by the lamido but once an allocation has been made it is not normally taken back except in cases of extreme misconduct, and it can be inherited by the descendants of the original holder (181, p. 80-81). As long as a Fulani owns the land he is free to sell it to anyone he wishes, including strangers who want to settle in the area (36, p. 22-26). The Fulani are economically and politically dominant in North Cameroon and have had a profound effect upon all other ethnic groups living in the area.

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6 The Mafa are often referred to as the Matakam, however Mafa is the name which they use to describe themselves.

The Mafa live primarily in the Mandara Mountains and their highly developed system of terraced agriculture is indicative of many centuries of residence in the mountains. The French colonial government created a village organization system for the Mafa, however, these administrative units are essentially devoid of meaning; and the real social units are the individual hills covered with the scattered dwellings of families. The "master of the mountain", who presides over this unit, is usually a man who is descended from the first man to settle in the area. The "master of the mountain" does not have great temporal power, but instead he arbitrates in disputes, presides over sacrifices and most importantly, determines when planting should begin. He is assisted by a group of "magical religious" notables, the most important of whom is the "master of the rains" (132, Part I, p. 98-99). Martin reported that there were only five "master of the rains" in all of Mafa country, and each of them received presents from a number of social units. Their position was a highly favorable one, but it did not confer political power upon them (121, p. 129-130). In most matters, the individual household regulated its own affairs[6a]. Land owners were free to sell their land if they wished but only to members of the Mafa ethnic group.

The Mafa areas are very densely settled, and concentrations of up to 245 persons per square kilometer have been reported. This demographic pressure and the more settled political situation of recent decades has resulted in migration of Mafa to the plains areas next to the mountains. The most likely destination is to the plain of Mora, to the north of the mountains, which is in the country of an Islamized tribe called the Mandara. The movement to the plains results in changes in the agricultural practices of the Mafa, and minor changes in other elements of their socio-economic system (121, p. 60).

The geography of the area inhabited by the Massa and the Toupouri is the opposite of that of the Mafa, as they live on the nearly flat flood plain of Lake Chad. As large portions of the area are inundated from August to October each year, habitations are established wherever there is a rise sufficient to keep them above the flood. As each family lives in the center of its fields, habitations tend to be scattered over the land area. The two tribes are believed to be indigenous in the area and originally had a very loose political structure with a "master of the earth", similar to the "master of the mountain" of the Mafa. They have been influenced by the Fulani to establish a more centralized structure (85, p. 26). The Massa now have a chief who has taken on many of the trappings of a lamido. The headquarters of the Massa is in Yagoua, while the most important chief of the Toupouri is the religious chief of the village of Dore (86, p. 45).

The Mafa, the Massa and the Toupouri have been chosen for review based upon their numbers. While ethnic groups considered in the preceding two sections were chosen both for their size and the representativeness of their social/political systems, it was not possible to apply the same criteria in the North. The vast land area, contrasts in the geography and

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6a More recently the power of administrative officials (e.g. Chef de Canton) appears to be increasing and there is a corresponding decline in the prestige of traditional leaders.

climate of various areas and the differing histories of ethnic groups are responsible for this situation. The Mafa, Massa and Toupouri are pagan tribes who have not been converted in large numbers to either the Moslem religion or to Christianity. They and other pagan tribes in North Cameroon are sometimes referred to collectively as the Kirdi. However, they cannot be considered as a group in the same sense as the collection of tribes known as the Pahouin in Southern Cameroon.

Kinship Systems and Inheritance

All four tribes have a patrilineal descent system; although attention is paid to the relations of the wife, matrilineal relationships are much less important in terms of inheritance and support than they were among the tribes in the Grasslands and the Southern Forest areas of Cameroon. Among all the tribes in North Cameroon, with the exception of the Fulani, girls and women do not inherit property. As will be described below, women marry outside their clan and move to the home of the husband's family. However, like the women in South Cameroon they do not become part of their husband's lineage, and, as a result, they do not inherit property from either side.

As was found with the Bamiléké, the Mafa exhibit the somewhat unusual situation of naming a single male heir who is given the title to all the father's property upon his death. In this case, however, the single heir is always the youngest son who continues to live in the father's compound and works with him until his death. The father attempts to find land close to the compound for the use of his older sons as the ideal is to have patrilocal residence of all his male descendents' families. However, if no land is available, the older sons have no choice but to migrate to other areas or to the plains in search of a place to live (36, p. 31). This is undoubtedly a mechanism to insure that properties are not subdivided to the point where they can no longer support a family.

Among the Massa and the Toupouri where the pressures of numbers of people are also high, one finds a somewhat similar situation. In their case, however, it is the oldest son who inherits all the property but it is expected that he will redistribute the usage rights among his younger brothers. In addition, among the Toupouri, a woman receives upon marriage two pieces of land, one for the growing of wet season crops, and the other in an area where dry season crops are grown. These pieces of land belong to her, and at her death become the property of her youngest son. If she has no sons, the land reverts to her husband's family (35, p. 15). Massa women also receive a separate piece of land to farm after the birth of their first child, but it does not appear to enter into inheritance and is simply reallocated to another family member when she can no longer use it, i.e., death, disability or divorce (85, p. 164). Real ownership of property has not existed among the Massa and Toupouri but rather usage rights in property as it could not be rented to other persons but only loaned with no expectation of payment for the use of the land. It also could not be sold. In more recent times there has been a trend towards

ownership and rental but it was not very prominent even in 1975 (36, p. 14-18). Any rental of fields is from among those which are on the periphery of areas of habitation. Anyone may clear these fields - including women and they may rent them to others to farm if they wish but they cannot be sold (86, p. 45).

As the Fulani are an Islamized tribe they follow the tenets of that religion, which provides inheritance rights for widows and daughters. Only one-eighth is reserved for widows (84,(a), p. 59) as it is expected that their own sons will take care of them. Two-thirds of the remainder of the property goes to the sons of a man and is divided equally between them. The remaining one-third is divided equally among the daughters. If the man has no sons, in theory, his brothers will inherit the two-thirds share of the sons but it is a usual practice today for the daughter to inherit everything. These goods are the property of the women, and some women have become quite large landowners as a result of this practice. They are completely free to dispose of the property or to use it as they choose, and even if they are married their husbands do not have any say in the use of the property or right to the income derived from it. Boulet noted that these women tended to develop a very independent streak and "because of this fact, they may prove to be particularly difficult to manage, 'impossible', we have been assured by some disgruntled males" (36, p. 23-24). The agricultural census for 1972/73 listed 16,059 women as the owners of farms in North Cameroon (179, p. 164); given the system outlined above, it is tempting to assume that most of the women owners are Fulani. However, as 72 percent of these women owners are widows it would indicate that wives are inheriting property to manage when there are young children; only a very few owners were married women, and most of the remaining 28 percent were either single or divorced.

Betrothal, Marriage and Bridewealth

For the Mafa and the Massa/Toupouri one finds a similar marriage system to that outlined for other parts of Cameroon, i.e., exogamous marriage outside the clan is the rule[7], and as residence is patrilocal, women leave their native villages upon their marriage. This was clearly shown in demographic studies among the Mafa; 82 percent of the men were living in their place of origin while the vast majority of women over 15 years of age were not (35, p. 34). However, marriages are not usually arranged and instead, young people are provided with opportunities to meet each other in the markets and at dances. As everyone's clan membership is well known, each person is careful to avoid attachments with persons

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7 Blacksmiths among the Mafa are an exception to this rule as they practice strict endogamic marriage with the children of other blacksmiths. As they occupy a special place in Mafa society their situation will be described in more detail below.

whom they may not marry. When a young man finds a girl who agrees to marry him, he informs his father, who contacts the girl's father and makes arrangements concerning the payment of the bridewealth (121, p. 148).

Among the Mafa, the amount of the bridewealth is very low, and has not increased over the last 50 years. Money is still not an important element in the bridewealth in the mountains; a study made in the late 1960's indicated that money accounted for only 7 percent of bridewealth payments, and 83 percent was paid in goats. The balance was made up in a whole variety of other goods — clothes, seeds, salt, tobacco, etc. Money is more important in the plains communities of Mafa, where it accounted for 36 percent of bridewealth payments. As the payment is so low, and as young men have opportunities to earn money by working for the Fulani and others in the plains areas, they can accumulate funds to assist their fathers in making the bridewealth payments (121, p. 156-158). Young men therefore are generally able to marry between the ages of 17 and 20, while girls are usually a few years younger.

The Massa and the Toupouri, by contrast, have a very high bridewealth payment, which was valued at CFA 90,000 in the 1960's. Money very rarely enters into this payment, but instead, it is comprised of between 10 and 12 cows. If young men are able to earn money to assist in making the payment, they use the money to purchase cows. It generally takes longer for a man to accumulate this payment, so most men marry between the ages of 20 and 30, though girls are married at around the age of 15. There is evidence that the problems of young men are increasing as the proportion of bachelors among the two groups increased between 1965 and 1971 from 24 percent to 29 percent (86, p. 46). Polygamy is a preferred form of marriage for men in these tribes, but two-thirds of all marriages are monogamous. Most men are in their 50's and 60's before they manage to marry a second wife.

The Fulani exhibit a system in marked contrast to this pattern, as traditional Peul culture was organized in line with the needs of a tribe of herdsmen. Among the nomadic Peul both men and women are very close to their families, and it is expected that a woman will follow her own family if the camps of her husband's people and her own make a decision to go in separate directions (72). As a result, marriage within the same family is the ideal and the preferred partner for a boy was the daughter of any of his father's brothers or sisters, or of his mother's brothers. As a result, Dupire found in her major comparative study of Peul groups that the rate of endogamous first marriages in various Peul groups varied between one-half and three-quarters of the marriages and that the rate of endogamous marriages in the case of second or subsequent marriages was lower but still quite high — between 22 percent and 63 percent (61, p. 479).

First marriages for Peul children were arranged by their parents; girls were normally betrothed when they were seven, and boys when they were somewhat older (173, p. 38-39). There were four distinct types of exchange which accompanied the marriage/betrothal process. The first was the provision of one to three cattle by the family of

the boy. These were slaughtered and eaten in common by the two families. The second were gifts to the girl, and the third type of exchange was gifts to her family. Fourthly, there were the gifts from the girl's family (comparable to a dowry) which she took with her when she returned to her husband's household after the birth and weaning of their first child. The first and second forms of exchange were most important for the nomadic Peul. Among the more settled Peul, the first form declines in importance, or dies out completely; as does the fourth type of exchange. The third type of exchange, which amounts to a bridewealth payment, increases in importance (71, p. 26).

Marriage between the two fiancés takes place about seven years later, or when the girl is 14 and the boy is around the age of 18. Podlewski's study of the population of North Cameroon indicated that the practice of very early marriage for Peul girls had been continued among the settled Fulani population, as three-quarters of girls were married before the age of 15 years. He also discovered that the amount of bridewealth payment was modest considering the relatively favorable economic circumstances of the Fulani, and the average value was approximately 20,000 CFA (152, Part I, p. 18-19). Cattle were no longer included in the bride wealth payment, which was made up primarily in clothing and about 35 percent was in cash (152, Part I, p. 184). Eguchi noted however that among Fulani women in Maroua, the husband gave most of the presents directly to the girl and the cash payment made to her family amounted to only CFA 3,000 (78).

Although first marriages among the Peul are arranged, a woman normally organizes any subsequent marriages for herself. The new husband-to-be refunds the amount of the bridewealth to the previous husband. Podlewski found that the average Fulani woman had three marriages in her lifetime, and the most usual age for first remarriage was 16. The majority of first remarriages took place between the ages of 16 and 20 (152, Part I, p. 20). The instability of marriages may have been one factor in the low rate of polygamy among Fulani; Podlewski found that three-fourths of all marriages were monogamous which was the lowest rate of polygamy found among any group in North Cameroon (152, Part I, p. 19)

In all these groups marriage tends to be more of a process than a single ceremony. Martin described how the father of a Mafa boy helped him to mark out his fields to build his new home, while the girl's mother provides her with the seeds, tools and utensils she will need in her new life. The actual marriage involves an eight day period where the new couple are enclosed together in a hut in the father's compound that is ordinarily reserved for young unmarried girls, and the couple are only allowed to go out at night. During the period sacrifices of a chicken and a goat are made and the marriage is only final after these sacrifices have been correctly carried out (121, p. 148-149). No such detailed description was found for marriages of other groups in the North. However, in the case of all these groups, the young wife moves into her husband's family and must work hard to create a place for herself. She must develop a relationship with the other women who are already established in the family, and is especially subservient to any senior co-wives. Among the

nomadic Peul and the Massa, the young wife does not have her own sleeping area or her own kitchen, and she is fed by other members of the husband's family until she has her first child. Then the new couple are seen as a solid unit and they receive their own means of earning a livelihood which is cattle in the case of the Peul, and land in the case of the Massa.

Pregnancy

While nomadic Peul women normally returned to their parent's home for the birth of their first child, and often for the birth of subsequent children as well, it appears that birth takes place in the woman's own room among the Mafa and the Massa/Toupouri. Mafa women are normally assisted by an older experienced woman who is usually the wife of a blacksmith. She does not provide much pre-natal care but she does visit the pregnant woman at the eighth month to check if the baby is in the right position, and if not, she turns it. Some blacksmiths also participate in the delivery of children but they appear to be specialists and are only brought in in difficult cases. Among the Toupouri, birth takes place in the woman's room, assisted by an elderly woman and by the husband (88, p. 130).

Childcare and Training

Breastfeeding continues for at least two years in all cases, and infants are carried on their mother's backs until they are a year old. There are numerous descriptions in the reports reviewed of the appreciation of children in all these tribes, and the very special relationship which develops between mothers and their sons and daughters. Dupire describes how an adult Peul, man or woman, would instantly leave any task, no matter how important, to tend to a crying child (72, p. 53-54). Dupire further mentions that a girl's mother remains her counsellor throughout life and a woman depends more on her sons in old age than on her husband. "There is no more serious accusation than that of ingratitude towards one's mother." (72, p. 73). Among the Mafa young children are left in the compound to mind the house and to herd the goats to pasture areas. A girl begins to work in the fields with her mother and to assist her in carrying water when she has three younger siblings (121, p. 118). Dupire mentions that little girls play games which imitate the tasks of their mothers, and very soon begin to assist their mothers in the actual daily work.

Rights and Duties of Women

Women in all these tribes are responsible for cooking meals for the family, and one finds the usual division between co-wives of the task of cooking for the husband. The only mention found of male involvement in cooking was with the Mafa where men kill all animals whether wild or tame, and cook the meat themselves. The Mafa normally eat two meals a day, and husband and wife share the same bowl as long as there are

no children. Once a child is born, the husband eats alone and the wife and children share their meal (121, p. 67). Women in all these groups have the laborious job of grinding the sorghum or millet used in preparing the paste which serves as the staple in the diet. Fikry and Tchalla noted that this task required as much energy as collecting water; when asked what they would do with any extra income, women described how they would take their millet to a nearby mill and pay for it to be ground (81, p. 54-55). Eguchi also mentioned that an innovation which was almost universally used by the Fulani women in Maroua was a mill grinding grain into flour; and she also described the prevalence in the market and the popularity of various partly processed foods, such as pounded pepper, dried leaves, and shelled, roasted and skinned peanuts. Preparation and sale of these items provided women with an important source of extra income (78).

As was the case in Southern Cameroon, a husband in all these ethnic groups is expected to provide each wife with her own hut and kitchen. The habitations, or gai, of the Mafa in the mountains, are built in a manner which conserves space and helps to ensure the security of the inhabitants. Unlike compounds found in most other places, there is no central yard to provide an individual outside entrance to the various huts. Instead, there is only one entrance which is through the hut of the husband, and all the individual huts of the wives and those of the older sons who have separate huts are interconnected. While this system provides for the protection of the group, it also maximises the control of the household head, as no one can come or go without his being aware of it. The husband has control of the communal granary, to which only he or the youngest son (if the father is away) has access; and in addition all wives, except the most junior, have their own individual granaries inside their huts. Cooking is done in separate huts in nearly total darkness, and not outside (121, p. 66-67). The plan shown for the gai of a Mafa family living on the plains was more expansive, and included a central space. The greater autonomy and prosperity of the first wife was indicated by the positioning of her hut away from the main grouping and by her two groundnut granaries. Some of the other wives did not have personal granaries though all of them had their own huts (121, p. 99).

The Massa/Toupouri build their compounds in the main family field. This field is used to cultivate the principal sorghum crop which is the staple food, and it also contains the graves of the ancestors of the family. The compound is built in a circle with only one entrance and each man has his own hut within the compound. Each married woman has her own hut and in addition, a granary, kitchen and a drying platform. The granary of the men of the household stands in the center of the compound (85, p. 59).

As the Fulani in North Cameroon exhibit a variety of different lifestyles it is difficult to describe precisely the form of their habitations. The notables such as the lamido of Ngaoundéré (the principal city in the Adamaoua department) had a sare or compound which covered four hectares and was surrounded by walls five meters high. It included numerous

reception rooms and a private apartment for the lamido. There was a separate section for the wives inside which each legitimate wife had her own room and kitchen and rooms for her children surrounding a small courtyard. In keeping with the tenets of Islam, the wives were secluded and as a result, the only inhabitants of the saré were the lamido, his wives and concubines, his daughters and his pre-adolescent sons. Any servants lived outside the saré (64(a), p. 41)[8]. In her recent study of Fulani women in Maroua (the administrative center of Diamare department) Eguchi indicated that, traditionally, compounds had been walled and there was a separate interior wall separating the women's section where they could be locked in at night. This arrangement was still found but it was not as common as previously (78). No detailed information was found of the housing arrangements of settled rural Fulani, however, it is possible that they would be similar to the settled agricultural Fulani community which Dupire studied in Guinea. In their case, the husband had his own hut and each wife had a separate hut standing in the center of her kitchen garden area (71, p. 108-109).

Economic Activities

The preceding description has provided an indication of the economic activities in the North and the likely areas of involvement of women. Among the Massa and the Toupouri fishing, livestock raising and agriculture represent three major areas of activity, and women have a role to play in all three areas. In the agricultural sector there is a division of tasks between men and women; however, it is not so much on the basis of particular activities such as clearing or weeding, or on the basis of crops, but rather on the basis of fields. As was mentioned, the family compound sits in the middle of the main sorghum field. This field is cultivated by the men of the household, who place the harvest in the main sorghum granary. Women cultivate their own fields on which they grow sorghum and also secondary crops such as sesame, beans and various vegetables. The women's harvests are kept in their personal granaries and are used to prepare the daily meals. The men's granary represents the reserve stock, the seed material and any marketable surplus; except in the case of parties and receptions it is not consumed until all the sorghum in the women's granaries has been exhausted.

The importance of fishing depends upon the proximity to water and the extent of the inundation. Men take the major role in fishing activities and utilize a number of tools in this process as well as nets. Women's involvement in fishing is primarily through the use of fish traps, and the fish they catch are consumed immediately. De Garine noted that men are often involved in fishing parties at the time when the fields for

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8 These comments are made in the past tense as Froelich's description was written in 1954. However, the same building and practices may still exist today.

sorghum must be prepared and planted. At times as much as one-half of the male labor may be drawn off in this way. These fishing parties are made up in periods when the fish are harder to catch — primarily for the purpose of sale, which can result in considerable profits for the fishermen (85, p. 108). It is likely that women would be called upon to do a greater share of agricultural production in such cases.

Livestock raising among the Massa and the Toupouri involves the full range of animals from cattle down to small poultry. Cattle are primarily owned and cared for by men. They are used mostly in the bridewealth payments, and are not put to much productive use. Milk is, however, used in the diet of the Massa and the Toupouri, and is an important addition during the times of the year when there are limited supplies of high quality food. Women are primarily responsible for caring for smaller animals and poultry. De Garine's inventory of the numbers of different kinds of animals found in compounds in urban and rural areas also indicates that women own significant numbers of these animals, and that they might sell them in times of need, in order to buy food supplies.

The Mafa are involved in agriculture and livestock raising, and one again finds women playing an important productive role. Mafa women in the mountains work with men in the cultivation of the sorghum and groundnut fields, and in addition, cultivate their own fields of secondary crops. The sorghum harvest is placed in the man's granary, and he dispenses it to the wives on a regular basis. The harvest of the women's fields is placed in the granaries in their rooms, and they use these supplies to prepare daily meals for the family. They also may sell any portion of the crops which they consider to be in surplus. Only minor amounts are earned in this manner, and they are normally used immediately for the purchase of household requirements. An analysis of a household budget among the Mafa indicated that the average family living in the mountains earned a cash income of approximately 6,000 CFA per annum. Only 13.5 percent of this amount was provided from sales made by the wife. Mafa compounds on the plains had an average income of 20,000 CFA per annum, and the wife's share has increased to approximately 22 percent. This was due to the fact that Mafa men on the plains normally took up the growing of cotton and left the production of groundnuts to the women; accordingly, plains women were selling groundnuts as well as poultry, and thereby earning a much higher money income. Only a limited amount of cattle are raised for manure and ritual purposes, and these are the responsibility of the men. Women have a minor role to play with respect to smaller forms of livestock, such as goats, but they are the primary owners and raisers of poultry.

The economic activities of the Fulani depend upon whether they are transhumant or settled Fulani. Among the nomadic Peul, women are responsible for milking the cows, making milk products, such as soured milk and butter, and selling them in the markets. The money they earn is used to purchase staple foods and clothing for the most part; however, the women do not have to account to their husbands for the amounts that

they earn. No details were found in the articles reviewed of who milks the cows among transhumant Fulani; however, reports which discussed markets in the North mentioned that Fulani women were present in them selling milk among other products. Settled Fulani women cultivate kitchen gardens close to the house and also engage in the production of numerous products for sale in the markets. If they are secluded, they use their children or employees to market their products. Eguchi also noted that wives occasionally worked in their husband's fields which were located outside Maroua, so the wives of Fulani agriculturalists probably assist their husbands at times of peak labor requirements, planting, harvesting, etc. Husbands are responsible for meeting most household costs, and either buy the requirements of the household themselves or provide the women with an allowance. Women normally use any income they earn themselves for their own purposes, and do not use the income for household requirements unless the husband is unable to meet them.

Women's Organizations

No mention is made in the various studies reviewed of women's organizations although these were very important among women in Southern Cameroon. In fact, Martin commented on the very limited social network of Mafa women. This factor would tend to limit the spread effect of health education and extension activities. The only reference to cooperation found was in providing assistance in the farming activities of family members and close friends. Help was provided on the basis of need and there was no requirement that it be reciprocated.

The Mafa Blacksmiths

At various points in the preceding text illusions have been made to the role of blacksmiths among the Mafa and their special social position. The Mafa blacksmiths are a group apart, and are somewhat equivalent to a caste. They only marry within their group; if a man from outside the group marries the daughter of a blacksmith, he normally has to move away from his natal area and his children can then only marry the offspring of other blacksmiths. Martin records a number of Mafa stories which attempt to explain the reasons behind this treatment, but he concludes that the special skills possessed by the blacksmiths (i.e., forging of iron tools by the men and the making of pottery by the women) as well as their roles as doctors, midwives, diviners, and morticians made them so valuable to the society that they could easily have dominated it. Instead they had been given a special position outside the mainstream of society thus permitting its essentially egalitarial character to be maintained (121, p. 78-80, 110).

Genest spent 18 months in the early 1970's studying the activities of blacksmiths and the methods they use to transmit their skills to their children. He established that there were approximately 3,000 blacksmith

families among the Mafa or a total group of about 15,000 people. He administered a special questionnaire to a random sample of blacksmiths (approximately 200 of them, and to the 260 wives of those 200 men). He found that pottery making among the women was the most universal skill possessed among the group; all but three women who had special handicaps practised the trade. He noted that they made pottery jars of all sizes for a number of uses (the most difficult to make being the very large jars used in the collection of water), and that there was a regular demand for their wares despite the availability of enamelled containers mainly imported from Nigeria. If a woman ordered a special pot from one of the blacksmith's wives she normally paid by making a gift in kind (such as sorghum) however, if she purchased a pot "off the shelf", payment was normally in cash. Young girls began working with clay when they were four or five and gradually began producing finer and finer products. By their late teens they were generally sufficiently expert that their mothers permitted them to set up in business for themselves.

Genest found that only about a third of the women were midwives but this seemed to be the result of a requirement that they be experienced (i.e., had borne children themselves who had lived for a number of years) and that they were "socially mature". This last requirement generally meant that they would be grandmothers before they began practising. Girls in late adolescence and young women began assisting their mothers in their activities and gradually became more experienced as the years passed. The midwives normally received gifts, such as chickens, for their services (Information used in preparing the preceding two paragraphs was taken from reference 87).

The skills practised by the men such as the making of tools, divination, and interment were even more lucrative. For example, a blacksmith received two goats each time he officiated at a burial. Working from his assessment of the number of blacksmiths among the Mafa and the crude death rate of 40 per 1000, Podlewski estimated that from their interment duties alone each blacksmith's family had a supply of 8 goats to eat each year. As they also participated in all the normal farming activities of the Mafa, the blacksmiths are in a relatively comfortable position. This was clearly shown in Podlewski's comparative study of the overall life expectancy of the Mafa against that of the blacksmith group. He summarized this in the table which is reproduced below, showing the number per 1,000 born who survived to various ages;

Ages	Mafa in general	Blacksmiths
0	1,000	1,000
1	833	890
5	523	662
10	484	612
20	405	529
30	362	418

Accordingly, per 1,000 infants born among the blacksmiths, half survived to the age of 20, while the number of Mafa babies among the general population had been reduced by half by the age of 10. (This information which appeared in Podlewski, Les forgerons Mafa. Description d'un groupe endogam. ORSTOM. 1965 was reproduced in reference 121, p. 80-81).

This relatively favorable position of the blacksmiths might result in their being more open to innovation than groups who have fewer resources. In addition, an enhancement of the skills they possess could make a material improvement in the standard of living of all the Mafa. For example, consideration could be given to teaching the blacksmiths to produce various articles of appropriate technology (such as some means of grinding sorghum and millet to reduce the labor of women) or to improving the techniques used by their wives in the management of labor and delivery, as well as using them in health education programs.

IV Women in the Cities

The preceding sections have provided an overview of the social structures which create a framework for women's economic roles in the major tribal groupings of Cameroon. Political structures, kinship systems, bridewealth and marriage customs, pregnancy and fertility, women's rights and duties as well as their economic activities and organizations have been outlined primarily from a rural perspective. It is not possible to present a similar description for the urban areas due to the mixture of ethnic groups in the cities and the lack of detailed information. In any case, many individuals living in the cities are such recent arrivals from rural areas (the 1964 census of Douala found that 60 percent of the women and 50 percent of the men had been in the city for less than 10 years — 58, p. 305) that their values would be very similar to those of persons living in rural areas. As Weekes-Vagliani and Bekomo pointed out with respect to Douala, "The city is less an urban area than a number of residential, commercial and industrial islands scattered in a still largely rural space..." and most of the residents are consumers of the facilities of the cities rather than producers of the services (186, p. 14).

The inhabitants of the cities are in the process of creating a distinct urban lifestyle which will be conditioned by the presence of new forms of administration and power/authority structures, the intermingling of ethnic groups, and the concentration of modern forms of economic activity in the cities. The actual involvement of individuals with this structure and society will depend on many factors, among them how long they have lived in the city, whether they live in a neighbourhood occupied primarily by their own ethnic group or in an area where many different groups are living, their educational attainment and their occupation. In the personal sphere, it is sometimes assumed that the changes will be in the direction of a "modern" family structure on the lines of the western model, i.e. nuclear family residence and monogamous companionate marriages. Clignet and others have been at pains to show that this may not be the case. Instead, the cities may simply provide the individual with a greater choice of means to achieve essentially traditional goals such as a close relationship with his or her extended family. Similar circumstances may be found in other spheres of life as well.

The following discussion considers the political, social and economic elements which were identified as being of importance in the rural setting, but the focus is on the relationship of women to the elements rather than on the system as a whole. As was mentioned above, the materials available to the reviewer were limited and, in addition, a portion of the information was collected sometime ago (e.g. the articles by Clignet are based on the censuses of Yaounde and Douala which were carried out in 1962 and 1964 respectively). A further difficulty is that much of the available information relates to Yaounde and Douala and may not be true for women living in other urban areas.

A. Political Structures

The description of political structures in the traditional rural setting

indicated that women had a limited public role to play in them, and rarely held important offices (with the exception of the Mafo). While women are still in a secondary role in the cities, there are many more opportunities for them to assume positions of authority in government or business based upon their qualifications for such jobs. Obviously women working for governmental organisations might be assigned to work in rural areas and would hold a position of authority there as a result; what is different is the concentration of women in roles of authority in the cities. Women are found in the legislature, among top government officials and they also hold important jobs in the trade unions, business and industry. Whether the numbers of women in such positions will increase or whether the demonstration of the potential of women to discharge the functions of these positions will ultimately transform their situation in the rural areas is a question which can only be resolved in the future.

B. Kinship, Bridewealth and Marriage

The kinship system of an individual living in the cities will depend upon that of his/her ethnic group of origin, as will customs relating to bridewealth and marriage. What will be considered here are changes in the actions of individuals or lack thereof, vis-a-vis these social structures. A detailed examination of the situation in the cities will be made on the assumption that it also may provide clues to changes which modernization will bring in rural areas.

The various works reviewed indicated that traditional attitudes towards kinship and marriage were in evidence among persons living in the cities but the better educated, in particular, tend to move towards other approaches. May and Spirik noted that this movement was assisted by the presence of four different forms of marriage in the cities which existed side by side: customary, civil, religious and trial marriage. The absence of social controls and norms left decisions more up to individual responsibility and initiative. May and Spirik identified four different attitudes towards marriage among the 158 persons (94 men and 64 women) included in their interview survey (carried out in Yaounde in 1974) which had resulted from individual circumstances. They described these attitudes as traditional, traditional but moderated, reserved about tradition but willing to comply with it, and individualistic.

The traditionalists who represented 39 percent of their sample still saw marriage as an alliance between two families and as a result they had reserves about intertribal marriage. The choice of a marriage partner was left to the elders and bridewealth was seen as an essential to legitimate marriages. They valued relations with the extended family and were hostile to the idea of controlling births. Another 37 percent took a moderately traditional attitude. These valued tradition but felt that individuals should make their own choice of marriage partners but seek the approval of the elders before marrying. The concept of bridewealth was accepted, but many wished to remove its current monetary features and restore its

original symbolic value. They wished to have good relations with the extended family but to keep them within bounds. The limitation of births was acceptable as it would help parents to raise their children properly and give them a good education.

Only 7.6 percent were hostile to tradition but said they would comply with it under pressure. A final 16.5 percent took an individualistic attitude which involved a belief that marriage was between two individuals, and that the bridewealth was evil. They were also prepared to break contact with the extended family in cases of conflict, and accept birth control without question. Half the respondents in the latter category fell in the 20-24 age group and the sharp fall in numbers with this attitude in the 25-29 age group indicated that the attitude of the younger group might be just a temporary rebellion. The women in the sample tended to take extreme positions as compared with the men — 42 percent of women as compared with 37 percent of men held traditional attitudes and 41 percent of men were moderate traditionalists as compared with 30 percent of the women. At the other end of the scale, 21.8 percent of females took an individualistic attitude as compared with 12.7 percent of the men. 74 percent of the persons in the sample believed that the bridewealth would always be a part of marriage and a further 13 percent thought it would survive in a revised form. The persistence of traditional attitudes among this group was notable as their educational level was much higher than that of the general population of Yaoundé. However, there was a progression within the group from traditionalist to moderately traditional attitudes based upon the educational level of the respondents (115, p. 67 and 74-79).

Further evidence that marriages in the cities are tending towards somewhat less traditional forms is provided by the information collected by Rice for Batanga women living in Kribi. The higher level of companionship in marriage was indicated by the fact that most urban families were eating together (87 percent) and a majority of women accompanied their husband on visits outside the home. Seventy-five percent of the young women said that they knew what their husbands earned as compared with 53 percent of older women (157, p. 126).

The problem that women in the towns have in finding a suitable husband is clearly brought out in all the studies. While men indicate a marked preference for a wife from the village who they believe would be submissive and loyal, women in the cities wish to marry men from the same environment as they believe city men would have more modern attitudes and would be more likely to respect them and talk to them than men from the villages (115, p. 84-85). The higher rates of education among women in the cities adds to this problem. May and Spirik found that higher education for women was seen as a threat to the husband by both women (48 percent) and men (50 percent). However, the form in which this question was asked may have elicited a negative response as it was in terms of the wife being better educated than the husband (115, p. 149-152). Clignet shows that well-educated women have an elevated rate of singleness —

for example 36 percent of female teachers in public schools in Yaounde and Douala were still not married after reaching their 35th birthday as compared with 16 percent of their male colleagues (58, p. 307). One also finds a high percentage of unwed mothers among women in the cities, and a number of persons interviewed by the reviewer expressed concern about the high rate of prostitution. These problems are symptoms of the social dislocation brought about by urbanization.

The rate of polygamous marriages in the cities is lower than that in rural areas; 18.6 percent of married men in urban areas as compared with 25.4 percent of their rural counterparts were polygamous according to the 1976 population census (45, p. 15). It is possible that this is due to higher education and modern trends among city dwellers but it may only be due to the relative youth of urban populations (i.e. men generally become polygamous in later middle age if at all).

Clignet describes how among certain ethnic groups living in the cities the number of petites femmes (junior co-wives) who can read and write is not only essentially the same as the number who are in monogamous marriages but is higher than the number who are first wives (58, p. 309-310). In a second article written with Sweem, Clignet presents information which indicates that among women in Douala those in monogamous marriages are better educated than women in polygamous marriages (21.4 percent of women in monogamous marriages were literate as compared with 10.5 percent of senior co-wives and 15.5 percent of junior co-wives). Here again one finds a higher rate of education among junior co-wives than senior co-wives (60, p. 227). Clignet believes that the more educated women accept the situation as education helps them to overcome the disadvantages of being a second wife. In these cases they often work outside the home so the first wife in effect reigns supreme at home but the second wife has her own sphere of importance (58, p. 310).

Clignet also shows that among men the level of schooling does not appear to decrease the rate of polygamy. Among men in Yaounde, only 15.2 percent of the men who could not speak French were polygamous as compared with 30 percent among those who had schooling beyond the primary level. In addition, rates of polygamy were just as high among men who were working in the public sector and those in the traditional sector (60, p. 232). Clearly there is no correlation between high rates of education or occupational status and low rates of polygamy.

Finally, with respect to the appearance of nuclear families in the cities, May and Spirik provided further insights into the current situation. They collected information on the households of the 158 persons they interviewed and found that only a third approximated to nuclear families (this category included men and women living alone, couples without children, and couples living with part or all of their children). Two-thirds of the households included relatives of the husband or wife as well as the nuclear family. However, in most cases the relatives in residence were of the same generation as the husband and wife or of the

subsequent generation (i.e. nieces and nephews). In only 4.4 percent of households were three generations found under one roof (115, p. 12). May and Spirik also noted that there appeared to be a trend towards a growth in size of urban households — the average size of households in Yaounde had increased from 3.6 persons in 1964 to 5.4 persons in the 1969 census and among their sample taken in 1974 the average size of the household of the person interviewed was 7.3 persons (115, p. 4).

Weekes-Vagliani and Bekombo found a somewhat different situation in their sample survey among 632 persons living in Douala and rural areas of the Littoral Province which they undertook in late 1973. Forty-three percent of the households of the urban respondents were extended as compared with 33 percent of rural households and urban households were slightly larger than those in the rural areas (186, p. 26). So while the percentage of extended households was not as high as in the sample in Yaounde, the rate in urban areas was shown to be higher than that in rural areas. All these factors indicate that the evolving urban life style in Cameroon will be a distinct African culture and it cannot be assumed that modernization will result in Western family structures.

C. Pregnancy and Attitudes Towards Fertility

Due to the proximity and availability of medical facilities in towns, a much higher percentage of women receive care during pregnancy than do those in rural areas, and most babies are delivered in hospitals or maternity homes. The attitudes of both men and women remain favorable to having large numbers of children. May and Spirik found for example that the average number of children desired by their female respondents was 5.5 as compared with 5.2 for men. The women appeared to have a clear idea of the number of children they wished to have while men tended to be less definite. In practice, fertility was somewhat lower than desired. Among the 1,068 persons living in the households of the persons they interviewed, 263 were women over 15 years of age. These women had an average of 3.2 living children. The married women had 3.4 children, while unmarried mothers had 1.8. Among the unmarried women over 15, 23 percent were mothers (115, p. 105-107).

When asked about their attitude towards limiting births, women tended to be more in favor than men (51 percent of women clearly in favor and 19 percent said it would depend upon circumstances while 40 percent of men were in favor and 15 percent said it would depend upon circumstances). Women were also more aware than men of means of limiting births; 13 percent were able to indicate a method as against 8 percent of men. Younger respondents were more in favor of limiting births, and the number of children desired dropped from 5.7 among illiterates to 4.8 among those with the BAC (Baccalaureat exam taken at the end of secondary schooling) and above. The reasons given for limiting births were primarily the cost of living and the wish to insure that children were properly nourished and well educated (115, p. 108-116).

The men and women interviewed by Weekes-Vagliani and Bekombo showed a

similar pattern. About 70 percent of their sample indicated an opinion about ideal family size and of these only 20 percent wished to limit their families to four (186, p. 50). The reasons given for fertility choices could be classified as economic, fatalistic, health or other reasons or combinations of reasons. Health was mentioned by only 3 percent of men and women while economic reasons were cited by 48 percent of men and 40 percent of women (186, p. 50-55). Among women who mentioned economic reasons for fertility choice, 42 percent wished to have two to four children and the balance wanted to have five or more (186, p. 86). The number of children desired decreased with the education level of both men and women in roughly the same proportions (186, p. 56). Actual fertility tended to follow the same pattern. Among women with no schooling 54 percent had five or more children, as compared with 25 percent of those with primary schooling and 18 percent of women with a junior high school education or above (186, p. 84). However, there was no difference between the actual fertility level of women living in Douala as compared with those in the rural areas (186, p. 59).

D. Economic Activities

The most important difference between rural and urban women is the greater economic dependency of those living in the city. The rate of economic activity drops from 56.6 percent among rural women to 31.4 percent among urban women. This is due mainly to the fact that while women in urban areas have less opportunity to be involved in food crop production than rural women (though significant numbers of urban women still maintain this role), they are much less qualified than men to secure employment in the urban setting. As a cash income is needed to provide most of the basic needs of life in the city, women become dependent upon men to provide cash for them.

The differential rate of qualifications between men and women is indicated in the studies. For example, Clignet reports that while only 12 percent of men in Douala were unable to speak French, 60 percent of women could not speak French. In Yaoundé 66 percent of men were literate as compared with 22 percent of women (58, p. 306). Similarly 45 percent of women interviewed by May and Spirik were illiterate as compared with 19 percent of the men (115, p. 138).

Despite the fact that they are less economically active than their rural counterparts, the vast majority of women pursuing modern occupations live in urban areas. Table 1 below provides information on the sectors in which women are involved in significant numbers and their relative importance vis-a-vis men in the different occupational roles. As can readily be seen from the column which gives the number of urban women workers as a percentage of all women workers, they are in the majority in all sectors except agriculture. A more specific discussion of the various economic activities pursued by women will be included in the section on Modern Sector Activities below.

Table 1

Active Population in Sectors where Women are Present in Significant Numbers — Broken down by Sex and Area, 1976[a].

SECTOR	TOTAL M	TOTAL F	URBAN M	URBAN F	RURAL M	RURAL F	Urban Women Workers as a percentage of all women workers
Agriculture							
Number (000)	1073	962	102	91	971	871	
Percentage[b]	53	47	53	47	53	47	9.4
Manufacturing Industries							
Number (000)	97	26	55	17	42	9	
Percentage	79	21	76	24	82	18	65.3
Commerce							
Number (000)	81	27	59	20	21	7	
Percentage	75	25	75	25	74	26	72.4
Banks, Insurance, Financial Institutions							
Number (000)	5	.8	4.6	.77	.4	.03	
Percentage	87	13	86	14	95	5	96
Services							
Number (000)	179	27	120	19	59	8	
Percentage	87	13	87	13	88	12	70

a. Source of these figures is the preliminary information from the 1976 population census, reference 45 .

b. Percentages given are based on the actual figures and may not agree exactly with numbers of workers shown due to rounding.

C. Women's Organizations

Many different types of women's organizations are found in the urban setting, for example, religious, political, professional, service and savings organizations. While many of these organizations also exist in rural communities, urban women from certain ethnic groups begin to participate in organizations which they did not join when they were living in rural areas. An example of this is the active involvement of urban Bamiléké women in rotating credit associations which is also a feature among both urban and rural Bamiléké men but not among rural Bamiléké women[9]. Organizations made up of persons from the same ethnic groups are very popular in the urban setting, and help to preserve ethnic identity in the face of the competing cultures in the city as well as assistance in times of trouble.

Savings associations are especially important among market women and

9 This statement is based on studies which are ten years old

women traders (66, p. 19-20), but other women find them useful in meeting personal and in some cases investment expenses. Their importance is enhanced in the city as cash is needed to provide many necessities which could be made or grown in a rural community. Savings associations will be considered in greater detail in the discussion of women in the Modern Sector.

Many of the women's organisations and especially O.F.U.N.C. help to prepare women to play a greater role in Cameroon's development by running literacy classes, training programs or providing instruction at their meetings (55). Very few details of these organisations were found in the studies reviewed, and the collection of more information on women's organisations would be useful for program planners as the groups provide a network for reaching a large number of women.

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and may not be accurate for rural Bamiléké today. What is significant, however, is that the urban women readily joined such groups at a time when it was still not socially acceptable for rural women to participate in them.

WOMEN'S ROLE IN AGRICULTURE AND NUTRITION

Agricultural production is the principal activity of the Cameroonian population. Men in the southern part of Cameroon are mainly involved in cash crop production, while those in the north participate on an essentially equal basis with women in food and cash crop production. Although women provide support in cash crop production, food crop production is the dominant economic role of women in all parts of Cameroon and consumes a large share of their waking hours. The only exception to this pattern are the Fulani who were transhumant cattle people and as a result neither men nor women were involved in agriculture to any extent in the past though this has been changing over the last few decades.

Explorers, missionaries and administrators who arrived in Cameroon from European countries were surprised to find women taking such a central role in food crop production. Many were haunted by the image of women bent double over their hoes in the hot sun, and were determined to lift their burdens. While the imperatives of existence made it impossible for women to interest themselves only in the care of home and children, these reformers hoped they could be removed from the role of principal responsibility and become assistants to their husbands who would undertake all the heaviest work. There is much to admire in this concern, but it overlooked long established patterns of work and the attitudes of the women themselves.

More sensitive observers commented on the enthusiasm of the women for their work, on their love of the soil and their expertise (102, passim). Unfortunately, very little has been done to date to improve their knowledge (an outstanding exception to this pattern was a project in West Cameroon in the 1950's which utilized the information gathered by Kaberry in the 1940's to make a real improvement in the agricultural methods and standard of living of women in the area, reference 144). The frustration of women with the stagnation of skills and inputs into their agricultural sector is evident in many of the articles reviewed - for example, the O.F.U.N.C. document on agricultural methods prepared for the Fourth National Council Meeting held in January 1977 mentioned that the only programs which had been made available to women were of a home economics type designed to improve their activities as wife and mother. It went on to say that while they recognized the importance of these social roles of women, the advice of agricultural agents had been neglected as it had not been given to women who formed the majority of the agricultural labor force, and who continued to use an archaic system (54).

It is well to recognize that the heavy involvement of women in agriculture is likely to continue for the forseeable future. Given the current rate

of population growth and the low rate of involvement of women in wage employment (plus the fact that 40 percent of women in wage employment are working in agriculture), it will be at least 40 years and probably considerably longer before the numbers of women in agriculture are reduced by any appreciable amount. Even then the numbers of women in agriculture will drop only if they have moved into wage employment, and some means has been found to replace their significant labor input into agriculture. Accordingly, extension information which is taught to women at the present time has a full expectation of being utilized. Another point which is often overlooked is the number of women who head farm households. The 1972/73 agricultural census found that there were 80,128 women classified as the head of an agricultural household as compared with 845,767 men. As 186,581 persons (seven percent of the population living on farms) depended on the female headed households for their livelihood, the need to reach women directly with agricultural extension information is further underlined (figures were derived from 179, p. 163).

Despite the lack of improvement in their techniques and the difficulties of working with simple implements to cultivate soils which are seldom ideal, Cameroonian women (with some able assistance from men) have achieved a near miracle in modern times by essentially keeping pace with the food requirements of growing populations in rural and especially in urban areas which are dependent on them for food supplies. This achievement is at odds with the analysis of Baumann who believed that female food crop systems could only cope with the needs of small populations (18, p. 295). Before describing the agricultural systems used in the production of food crops, we will briefly examine the activities of women in cash crop production. In the final portion of this section, information on the nutritional status which results from the amounts and types of foods available and dietary practices will be discussed.

I. Cash Crop Production

The distinction between cash crops and food crops is not as clear as it was in the recent past as the amounts of food crops which are sold have been steadily increasing. In addition, certain food crops, particularly oil palms and peanuts were produced for barter or sale in pre-colonial times. In this section, we will examine women's involvement in the production for sale of cocoa, coffee, palm oil, peanuts, cotton and tobacco by individual producers. The involvement of women as wage laborers in large scale plantation agriculture will be discussed in conjunction with other modern sector activities.

Cocoa and Coffee

To date, women have played a minor part in the production of cocoa and coffee. This is partly due to the fact that women formerly did not own land in the areas where coffee and cocoa are produced (with the exception of mafos) and it is still the unusual woman who owns land. Planting of

tree crops on the land that has been allocated to women for food crop production would have entailed investing time and energy in crops which did not mature for several years as opposed to the use of the land for crops which are planted and harvested annually. In the event of divorce with the wife leaving the family home to live elsewhere, all her personal possessions and any food supplies or unharvested crops were forfeit to the husband (38, p.162), so women were probably less interested in tree crops than they might have been otherwise.

What work women do in cocoa production is generally at harvest time when they may help to cut and transport pods and to supervise the drying of the beans. They may also assist by preparing food for the working parties which the husband assembles for the harvest. In these cases the women are paid by their husbands for their services either by being permitted to harvest and sell cocoa which ripens out of season or in cash at the time he sells his crops (89, p. 55-56). All other work on the cocoa is done by men.

Several observers (e.g. 5, 56) provided evidence that this pattern might be changing. Champaud reported, for example, that five female heads of household among the Bassa of Mom were cocoa planters (56, p. 16). It appears that husbands are beginning to name wives as trustees of cocoa plantations in cases where the children are still young rather than choosing male relatives for this purpose. Wives are also being given the income from cocoa plantations they helped their husbands to establish for their lifetime though the ownership goes ultimately to the man's male heirs (5).

No mention was found in the studies reviewed on specific ethnic groups of any involvement of women in the production of coffee. However, in the papers prepared for the conference on Women in Cooperatives (189) there is one article concerning the establishment of a women's cooperative society for the production and marketing of arabica coffee, so women in one area at least are now involved in this cash crop.

Tobacco, Cotton and Rice

These three crops are treated together as there are certain similarities between them — all of them were produced traditionally by various ethnic groups in Cameroon and, in addition, they were introduced as cash crops in several areas in recent times. In general they are crops which are owned and primarily cultivated by men though there are important exceptions to this rule. All three are grown primarily in the more northern portions of Cameroon. Rice and tobacco are also grown, usually as minor crops, over the rest of the country; however in a few isolated places in the Northwest Province rice has replaced corn as the staple food crop (100, p. 89).

In most cases, the reports reviewed did not provide sufficient information on the division of labor in the cultivation of rice and cotton to determine whether men or women were the primary workers and whether

the situation varied from place to place. Most of the information found was in passing references such as Lamare's comment that cotton picking among the Bamoun was done exclusively by women (111, p. 43), and de Garine's report that some Massa women were working on the production of cotton and rice. Guillard provides quite detailed information with respect to the Toupouri where men did the largest share of work on cotton (the Toupouri did not grow rice). The input of women varied considerably from year to year over the three years of Guillard's study from a high of 46.9 percent of the total labor involved in the cotton crop to a low of 23.3 percent. With respect to rice, there could be a distinction between places where it was grown traditionally, such as the Eastern Province, and areas where it has been introduced by extension agents as a cash crop as it was in Haute-Sanaga Department of the Central South. In the latter case it was cultivated by men (178, p. 35-36). However, in the Noun Valley, husbands and wives are working together on the production of rice as a cash crop and are sharing the income.

In most cases, tobacco appears to be a man's crop and women are not involved in its cultivation. The exceptions are the Massa and the Toupouri; only women cultivate tobacco and approximately six to eight kilos per family were cultivated each year. Women were selling tobacco in the markets and were also the primary consumers (88. p. 298-299). With respect to the Massa, de Garine noted that men with several wives were orienting some of them to the production of tobacco as a cash crop. A portion of the Massa area was especially favorable to the growing of tobacco which could be harvested two or three times a year (86, p. 131 and 107).

Palm Oil and Peanuts

These two oil-bearing crops are consumed by their producers and are also traded so they represent a major grey area in the distinction between cash crops and food crops. Palm oil has been a trade item for a considerable period as it could not be produced in most of the area occupied by the Tikar and the Bamileke. As a result, tribal groups in the forest zones around their areas, e.g. the Bamoun, Banen, and Widekum, were encouraged to produce palm oil for barter and later for sale. It is also an important cash earner for tribes further south such as the Bassa. In general, oil palms are exploited in a semi-wild state, and they reseed themselves, so the production of palm-oil has more in common with gathering than with cultivation (56, p. 33). Champaud reported on the failure of attempts to establish plantation of selected trees in the Mom area (Makak, Central South), and believed that as there were already more wild trees growing than the inhabitants could exploit, they were unwilling to expend the time and energy required for the successful growth of the plantation trees (56, p. 55). An exception to this pattern was mentioned in the IPAR report which indicates that small holder plantations were springing up at several points in the Southwest Province (100, p. 85).

As palm oil is a tree crop, it is primarily worked by males - only young men can do the work of climbing trees and cutting down the bunches of

nuts. The other work involved in caring for the palms consists primarily in clearing the area around the trees one intends to exploit (this makes collection easier as the trees do not grow as tall if they are not competing for sunlight) and subsidiary clearing just prior to collection so it will be simpler to find the bunches after they have been cut and dropped from the trees.

Both men and women participate in the processing of palm oil. The bunches are first boiled and then pressed or pounded to extract the oil. In Mom, various salaried individuals or the better off returnees from the cities had purchased oil presses which were used by all producers in the area to extract the oil. In recompense, the owners took one tin (approximately 20 liters) of oil for every four or five tins expressed. Champaud considered this to be an almost usurous charge and felt that means should be found to introduce more presses - approximately one for every five families who were working oil palms (56, p. 34 and 55). The female-headed households, of which there were a large number in the area (about 20 percent of the total), derived the principal portion of their cash income (55 percent) from the sale of palm oil. This was achieved either through the help of young men in the family or by finding someone to collect the nuts from the trees the women controlled. The oil derived from the nuts would be shared with the collector on a fifty/fifty basis.

Peanut production is found in most parts of Cameroon. Growing of peanuts was reported in all the studies of specific agricultural systems reviewed, however, the IPAR report indicates that peanuts are not grown in the Southwest Province and in only a few places in the Northwest Province (100, p. 85). In many of the places where peanuts are grown women take the major role in their production and derive a considerable portion of their cash revenues from sales of their peanuts. However, the pattern is complicated and the division of labor between men and women, the ownership of the crop, the portion if any which is sold, and the beneficiary of the sale varies from place to place. The following examples will provide an illustration of the various patterns described in the studies reviewed.

On the part of the Lekie Guyer studied, peanuts were an essential element in the diet, and each woman farmer was planting a 10 ares field twice a year. This provided sufficient yields (160-240 kg per annum, i.e. 800-1200 kg/ha) to cover the food requirements of the four persons who depended on the average woman for sustenance with sufficient left over for seed requirements and a normal surplus. Very little was left over for sales and in fact Guyer found that most women were purchasing small amounts of groundnuts with revenues derived from the sales of surplus staples which were intercropped with groundnuts on the same 10 ares field and other crops grown on speciality fields. The determining factor was the farming calendar, labor availability and the peaks of labor requirements which made it difficult to increase groundnut production above the basic subsistence level (89, p. 47 and 49-53).

In Zengoaga in the Haute Sanaga, Tissandier found that peanuts were mainly planted in the second growing season of the year (August-December) and made up the bulk of the plantings on newly cleared fields (i.e. other crops were planted on fields which had been cleared in prior years).

Sesame was planted on the field in the following growing season (March - July). Men marked out the fields which were in the savannah, one for each wife, and the women cleared them. The men aided their wives with the planting, at least in the first few days; in addition they provided a minor amount of assistance in weeding and spent nearly as much time on the harvesting as the women, but not in the subsequent processing of the crop. Certain men also cultivate their own peanut fields. The estimated yield was 850 kg/ha.

Nearly 70 percent of the crop was sold despite the fact that nutritional requirements for calories and lipides (which are contained in peanuts and other oil bearing seeds) were not being met. So much was sold that there was often insufficient seed to cover the entire area allocated to peanut production the following season. Tissandier also collected figures on the monetary revenues of six families representing a cross section of the population. Only two of the six men had derived any revenue from the sales of peanuts, neither of whom sold any cocoa. For the eleven women in the sample, only two did not derive an income from peanuts (they were heavily involved in brewing corn beer) and for the rest it represented from 50 to 80 percent of their annual incomes (178, p. 37-65 passim).

With respect to the Mandara Mountain area (Margui-Wandala Department), Boutrais notes that in the past, only small amounts of peanuts had been produced, and at that time they had been entirely a woman's crop. However, beginning in the 1930's the French administration had begun to require that taxes be paid in cash and that peanuts be grown for sale. As a result peanuts became a man's crop and women occupied themselves with other crops such as souchet, peas, taro etc. (37, p. 207). Boulet's study of the Mafa indicates that women were working on the peanut fields (35, p. 56). While this would appear to be at odds with Boutrais' comment, he may have been referring to who owned the crop. Yields of peanuts among the Mafa are quite high, an average of 1,094 kg/ha and even attained 2,586 kg/ha on one exploitation. This reflected the more intensive agriculture (35, p. 65). A survey of 264 families carried out in December and January showed that 83 percent of their cash revenues had been derived from sales of peanuts. Although this was only a two month period it represented the time when most sales were made (35, p. 73).

As no breakdown is given for revenues of women and men, it cannot be determined who made the sales or profited from the peanuts. As very little remained in any case after the taxes were paid it is something of a moot point. The situation appears to vary from mountain to mountain as Boutrais later comments that on the Mokyo mountain, both women and men had their personal groundnut fields. The women's harvest was usually larger and as a result they had sufficient quantities to sell some in the markets (37, p. 243).

In the Massa/Toupouri area, in colonial times peanuts were an obligatory crop and each taxable person had to plant a third of a hectare. Due to abuses of the system, it was an unpopular crop and has now been entirely replaced by cotton as a cash crop. However, women still grow

peanuts and it is one means they have of earning a cash income. It also provides most of the fat consumed by the rural Massa/Toupouri (86, p. 48).

II. Food Crop Production

The traditional food crop production systems in all parts of Cameroon provided women with fields for which they had unique responsibility. In the Southern forest areas, and the Grassfields, these fields represented nearly all of the area cultivated in food crops. In the north, in both the mountains and on the flood plains of Lake Chad, women participated in the cultivation of communal millet and sorghum fields. In addition, they were allocated fields on which they grew their own crops, and the harvest of those fields was kept in their own granaries, over which they had personal control. In the mountains, the women's fields were planted in secondary crops, and although they were quite small (representing only 3 percent of the land area cultivated), they occupied 11 percent of the total time spent on agricultural activities (or approximately 20 percent of the working time of the women). They had an additional importance in that they provided the base of the sauce which accompanied the staple of sorghum or millet (35, p. 66).

Guillard, de Garine and Lembezat (88, 85, 86 and 110) all affirm that among the Massa/Toupouri there was a separation between the sexes not primarily on the basis of tasks or crops grown (although women grew most of the secondary crops) but on the basis of fields. The men of the house cultivated the main sorghum field in common, and the harvest was stored in a central granary. In addition, each of the wives was allocated her own fields for cultivating sorghum and other crops. The harvest of her fields was placed in the granary which was attached to her hut, and no one could enter it without her personal permission. The supplies in the women's granaries were used to prepare the daily meals while those in the men's large store represented the reserve supplies, seed material and the marketable surplus.

The importance to women of their independent sphere of action is underlined by the experience of Northern families who moved from the mountains to the plains. Boutrais notes that on the plains women rarely had their own fields but worked as the assistants to their husbands. At the same time he noted a marked tendency on the part of the women to spend less and less time in agriculture and more and more time on marketing activities (primarily the brewing of millet beer) which provided them with an independent source of income (37, p. 247). As women's labor is so essential to the current food crop production system in Cameroon, this occurrence should introduce a note of caution into any plans to encourage men to take over the primary role in food production with wives working as assistants only (for example see 53, p. 98).

It appears that the labor requirements of hoe culture (plus the time

required for a woman's other duties) limits the land area a woman can cultivate to between 30-50 ares (from slightly less than an acre to 1.5 acre). This is clear from the studies reviewed as the reported size of the land areas cultivated were within that range in all climatic zones and for all ethnic groups. The only exception was the Massa where de Garine reported that the area exploited per active person was 20 ares (85, p. 85). The small land area cultivated by the Massa is due to the fact that they are also involved in fishing and raising livestock.

Depending on the fertility of the area, climatic conditions, the number of persons dependent on each active woman, and/or the assistance the women receive from other family members, they are more or less able to meet the nutritional needs of their dependents and generate a marketable surplus from the land area they are able to cultivate. It should be noted that in all areas reviewed, the women were marketing a portion of their crops to meet other needs (kerosene, salt, etc.) whether or not there was sufficient food available to cover the families' nutritional needs.

The tools used in food crop production are similar in all parts of Cameroon and consist primarily of a hoe and a machete or large knife. The 1972/73 agricultural census indicated that while 97 percent of farm households had hoes (an average of 3.3 per household which had a hoe), 83 percent had machetes and 81 percent axes. Only 31 percent of households had shovels which was the next most frequently found tool (179, p. 249). If women are to bring more land under cultivation or more intensively farm their present fields in order to increase food production, consideration should be given to introducing more efficient tools. Improved seeds, the introduction of fertilizers, pesticides and improved management techniques would also have a beneficial effect.

While the field sizes and tools are fairly similar throughout Cameroon, the agricultural calendar as well as the staples and secondary crops cultivated show considerable variation. The food crop production systems of the Southern portion of Cameroon show basic similarities despite differences in altitude and variations in rainfall. The same basic foodstuffs are grown, maize, and various rootcrops - yam, cassava, taro (and Irish potatoes in the Western Highlands) - provide the staples in the diet, groundnuts and palm oil provide oil and protein, and a whole variety of subsidiary crops - peas, beans, pepper, melon, green leaves, tomatoes etc. provide the vitamins and interest in the diet. The agricultural calendars indicate that work is done at all times during the year, and plantings on various fields are staggered throughout the year to permit harvesting of one crop or another to take place in most months. The division of labor in agriculture assigns to men the clearing of the fields and usually the cultivation of bananas and plantain. All other tasks and crops are the responsibility of women. A minor exception is the planting by men of corn in pure stands on newly cleared fields without any other cultivation work. This was reported in both Mom and

in Zengoagu; in both cases the corn was cultivated mainly as a cash crop and was not for domestic consumption (56, p. 39) (178, p. 34). Bakweri men also take a more active role in agricultural work than men in other parts of Southern Cameroon (7, p. 45-47).

For women in the Lekie, the period from mid-December to early February represents the lightest workload as it is at this time that the fields are cleared and prepared and the women's work proceeds at a fairly leisurely pace. Beginning in February with the planting of the main fields, their workload increases dramatically, and continues throughout the balance of the year with the exception of October which is the period of the heaviest rains. May to June and mid-October to November when weeding is the principal activity are somewhat less busy than the months of planting and principal harvesting (89, passim). Variations in the rainfall shift this calendar of work around the months of the year for other places in Southern Cameroon. For example, December and January are fairly strenuous months for women in Zengoagu as it is the period of the harvest and February and March somewhat less strenuous. However as women in the area do more of the clearing since they are farming savannah country, they do not have as slack a period as the women of the Lékié.

The systems in the North whether on the mountains or on the plains also exhibit basic similarities. There, sorghum and millet form the staples in the diet, and groundnuts provide oil, while a somewhat similar range of secondary crops provide the balance of the diet. Rootcrops have been reported in the area in recent years and are growing in popularity as are rice and maize. In the first three months of the year there is very little agricultural activity as it is the height of the dry season and the land cannot be cultivated. The only areas where this is not true are those portions of the plains area where dry season sorghum is planted as it is a very labor-intensive crop. Although women in the mountain areas do no agricultural work in the dry season, it is the period when they spend long hours collecting water so they have no real rest period.

Agricultural work begins in April with the arrival of the rains and continues throughout the balance of the year. During all months the women in the mountains work much longer hours in the fields than do those on the plains. This is due to the fact that a high proportion of the agricultural labor on the plains is provided by other helpers. Each Toupouri or Massa woman appears to do about 20 percent of the work consistently and husbands do from about 70 percent of the work to a low of around 25 percent if they have a number of wives. If her husband marries additional wives he is able to gradually decrease his contribution.

III. Nutrition

Numerous nutritional studies have been carried out in Cameroon and the

various studies of the agricultural systems described above included an assessment of the resulting yields and nutritional status of the people concerned. Significant amounts of information concerning nutritional status in various parts of Cameroon are included in references 1, 20, 35, 70, 78, 85, 86, 88, 96, 102, 111, 157, 146, 176 and 188. In general, the varied diet permitted by the climatic conditions, and the fact that harvests can be staggered throughout the year has contributed to a relatively favorable nutritional status in Cameroon as compared to other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. It should be noted that the crops with the highest nutritional value are often the minor crops grown only by the women (beans, peas, groundnut for domestic consumption etc.) which further underlines the importance of their agricultural role.

Women make a heavy additional contribution to nutritional status as a result of their role as food preparers. In all parts of Cameroon, the preparation of food is entirely the responsibility of women and generally takes a number of hours each day. Food has to be processed as well as prepared, and the grinding of cereals or the boiling and pounding of root crops to provide the staple in the diet is just the first step in creating the family meal. Processing palm oil for soup, grinding groundnuts into paste, preparing tomatoes and onions, drying leaves -- all of these are just examples of the many steps involved in preparing the soup or relish which accompanies the staple. Little wonder that one Fulbe housewife's description of her day consisted almost entirely of meal preparation with brief interludes for socializing and prayer (78)!

The nutritional problems which exist in Cameroon are the result of a variety of factors. Generally the greatest problem is a lack of calories at certain periods of the year, and the quality of proteins in the diet as so little meat is consumed. In addition, several reports indicate that the pursuit of a cash income has resulted in too high a proportion of the harvests being sold (see esp. 178, p. 59). Nutritional problems may also result from imbalances in the diet. An example is the findings of Richard for the Batanga where there was sufficient protein provided by fish and calories (provided by cassava) but insufficient lipides, glucides, and vitamins. Some urban women had recognized the deficiencies in the diet especially for young children, and were trying to avoid nutritional problems by buying baby foods and vitamin supplements. Richard noted that the nutritional status could also have been improved if the Batanga women had made use of green leaves in their cooking as is done by women in many of the tribes in the Southern forest (157, p. 101). The Pahouin for example, use thirty different types of green leaves in cooking (5).

Another problem results from the multi-purpose nature of women's role. As a rule, when women are heavily involved with other activities family members still depend entirely upon them for meal preparation and as a result their diet suffers. For example, Tissandier's figures on the lack of calories and nutrients in certain portions of the year, and the division of time women spend on cooking versus agricultural labor at different times of the year show a clear correlation. There is a

lack of calories consumed from March to July which is the period of the heaviest agricultural work despite the availability of peanuts and cassava from the previous growing season (178, p. 62). As a result, development activities which help to reduce the labor of women (such as the building of dams in the Mandara Mountains - 81) may have the additional benefit of improving the health status of the entire family.

An area where very little information is available is that of the problems resulting from modernization. An obvious potential (and probably current) problem is the situation of persons who have moved to the cities. These people are now dependent on others to produce the food they consume. In addition to some uncertainty about supply, there are also problems with securing sufficient income to insure an adequate diet. Women are particularly vulnerable in this situation as they have less access to land for food production purposes once they are in the cities, and they have less qualifications for wage employment than their male counterparts.

More subtle problems are those of the lack of correspondence between changing tastes and production. For example, de Garine notes (using information from other sources) that once children in the North have attended school they tend to refuse to eat anything but white or light coloured sorghum or millet flours. As there are differences both in the production times of light colored versus red sorghum and the types of soil required for the two varieties, increasing numbers of school leavers may have a potentially serious effect upon the food balance in the area (86, p. 50). Problems of this type are likely to bedevil agricultural development plans.

An important final point with respect to nutritional problems is the relative lack of information on the problems of specific groups. Most of the nutritional studies reviewed (with the notable exception of Dugast's work among the Ndiki -- reference 70) are quantitative studies, i.e. they simply measure amounts produced and divide them by the number of individuals who must be supported by the output (with the consumption requirements of children being taken as some appropriate fraction of adult requirements). As such, they do not give an indication of possible nutritional problems which may arise from differences in the portions given to various family members due to social practices. For example, rivalry between co-wives in a polygamous household may result in their sending a major portion of the available food to the husband, leaving insufficient amounts for themselves and the children. As the household head normally eats separately from the rest of the family he would not be aware of the meagre amounts available for the others.

Another example of social factors which may effect distribution of food is that provided by the Massa and the Toupouri. Various nutritional studies have indicated that their caloric needs are 115 percent satisfied except in July and total protein consumption is 132 percent of that required. However, the Massa and the Toupouri share a traditional institution

known as a "milk cure" which involves approximately a tenth of the male population (mainly those in the 15 to 30 year age group). These cures are held at several times of the year, especially in the dry season, when the young men withdraw into camps with their herds and gorge themselves on milk and sorghum gruel in order to acquire a heavy figure (86, p. 45). One wonders if these cures may not result in the consumption of a large proportion of the available high value food leaving insufficient amounts for vulnerable groups such as young children and pregnant and nursing mothers. Quantitative studies cannot provide an answer to this question.

Various reports indicate that mothers and young children suffer from food taboos which keep them from consuming high value foods, and O.F.U.N.C. for example has suggested that efforts by health education and community development technicians to remove these taboos should be continued. The National Nutrition Survey which was carried out in 1978 on a large nationwide sample of children under five and their mothers to determine their nutritional status should provide concrete information on whether a problem exists among this group and if so in which parts of the country. The data will be invaluable in planning future programs to improve the nutrition of mothers and children.

OTHERHOOD AND CHILD CARE

"Women are like God because they give birth to the people."

"A woman without a child is not a woman."

"It is said that they (women) exist uniquely to give sons to their husbands."[10]

hese three quotes, which are taken from Tikar, Béti and Bamoun sources espectively, exemplify the importance attached by Cameroonian cultures o the reproductive role of women. Among many ethnic groups, a wife did ot have a hut of her own until she had a child, and a barren woman would ead an unsettled existence because her family would encourage her to hange husbands if she did not have a child after a reasonable period of arriage. The overall status of barren women, while low, had some compensations. anga, for example, noted that barren women were often appreciated by ther women as friends and counsellors as they did not become involved n the usual battles and jealousies over children (118, p. 831). It appears lso that a barren woman often became the favourite wife of a polygamous usband as she was always available as a sexual partner while other wives ere not during the long period from the latter stages of pregnancy throughout he years of breastfeeding. This was a great advantage as the first wife nd the favourite wife were on terms of quasi-equality with their husband hile other wives were not (142, p. 2-3).

esired Fertility

espite these compensations, the achievement of motherhood is the most ompelling ambition of Cameroonian women, and most of them desire not nly to be a mother but to be the mother of many children. A number of ecent studies have provided support for this statement. A survey made n 1973 among OFUNC executive members in the North West and South West rovinces, found that more than 90 percent of the women considered five r more children to be the ideal number, and 40 percent wished to have ix children (112, p. 3). The survey did not provide information on the ducational attainments of the women or the jobs they held, so it is

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10 The first expression is that of the Fon of Nsaw and his Council quoted by Kaberry (102, p. 150). Kaberry hastened to add, however, that the Fon did not consider God to be an all-powerful being. The second is a Beti proverb quoted by Noah Zingui (141, p. 131). The final extract is from Lamare (111, p. 19).

not possible to determine whether education or employment had an effect on the number of children desired.

Another study, also made in 1973, compared the responses of women living in rural areas of the Littoral and Central-South Provinces with those of women who live in the city of Douala. Overall, only 20 percent of this group desired to limit their families to a maximum of four children (186, p. 51); however, there were indications that women with higher educational levels and professional qualifications desired somewhat fewer children than women with lesser amounts of schooling or occupations which were more compatible with large numbers of children. 40 percent of women who had a middle-level education or above, wished to limit the number of their children to four (186, p. 86) as did 50 percent of women in salaried occupations (186, p. 56).

A third study which was researched in 1975/76 provides some information on differences between women with various levels of employment. The information in this study is not compatible with that of the other two studies described above, as the main interest was in the characteristics of employed women, and information was only collected on the numbers of living children of women included in the survey. What is most interesting about the figures is that middle-level workers appeared to be progressing to a higher completed fertility than either women in the uneducated, unskilled worker category or those in the elite category. It is usually assumed that employees in the middle-level range will have fewer children, as they will have more economic constraints upon them than the elites, and will have less traditional attitudes than unskilled workers, while the work they do will be less compatible with having large numbers of children than that of lower level workers. However, the researcher postulated that the availability of low cost child care and the fact that school fees are not high in the primary school category, probably lessened the economic constraints. Also, as the figures were only collected on numbers of living children, it is possible that women in the unskilled category had more children but that their survival rates were lower than the children of persons with more resources (103, passim).

Actual Fertility

Although most of the women in the studies discussed above desired five or more children, the information collected in the studies on the number of children the women had indicated that actual fertility fell short of desired fertility. In the first survey described above, 42 percent of the women had between none and two children, and a further 26 percent had three to four children (112, p. 7). However, as many of the women interviewed were probably still in their child-bearing years, the figures cannot be considered as completed fertility. The same results appeared in the other two studies.

In the case of the second study, among respondents who had children, two-thirds had between one and four children (186, p. 29), and in the study

of employed women, if only those who had children are considered, the average number of children was between two and four (103, p. 10). Another indication is provided by the Cameroonian Census in 1976, which revealed that the national average family size was 5.2 persons (45, p. 19). This suggests most people have three or fewer children, as other relatives are often included in the household. Despite the fact that women are not achieving their desired fertility, the fertility rate in Cameroon is high as is indicated by the fact that 43.4 percent of the population is under the age of 15 (45, p. 13).

The official population policy of the Cameroon government reflects the attitudes of the people, and is strongly pronatalist. As a result, the provision of family planning services separately from other medical services has been opposed. In addition, the French law of 1920 (no longer in force in France) which controlled the sale and distribution of contraceptives is still in force in Cameroon (Law no. 68/1F/80 of the 11th June 1968). However, family planning services as part of comprehensive programs of maternal and child health are gaining acceptance with the government (134, p. 2).

Infertility

As a result of their child bearing role, women are exposed to health problems and risks which require assistance from both traditional and modern medical personnel. These problems include infertility, sub-fertility, miscarriages and venereal infections, as well as the normal risks of pregnancy and delivery which increase among women who have had a number of children. The discussion in the introduction to this section and material contained in the section on Traditional Values above provide ample evidence of the serious consequences of infertility to women. As a result women are likely to seek help, usually from traditional healers, to solve infertility problems. Such consultations are often very expensive; a typical charge for an initial consultation is two goats, two chickens, a sack of rice and 50,000 CFA. Additional payments are made at each consultation (personal communication, Susan Colgate). That families are willing to pay such amounts, which must impoverish many of them, is further evidence of the high value placed on fertility.

Certain areas of Cameroon appear to have more difficulty with low fertility than others. For example, a WHO survey carried out in the Eastern Province in 1975 found a 16 percent incidence of primary sterility (80). Fertility rates also appear to vary between ethnic groups (for example see 69 and 152). As infertility may result from a whole variety of social, medical and psychological factors, approaches to a solution require considerable sensitivity and expertise. Various projects to be carried out under the auspices of the Cameroonian Ministry of Health are under consideration.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

General comments on the care given to pregnant women in different ethnic

groups during pregnancy and delivery was included among the information set forth in the first section of this report. In general, the information (which referred mainly to the situation in the traditional setting) indicated that no particular attention was paid to pregnancy until the last few weeks before delivery. In some groups food taboos affected the nutrition of mothers. For example, among the Beti, pregnant women were not supposed to eat fish because it was thought this would cause the child to have a scaly skin. OFUNC documents note that these food taboos may have a bad effect upon the nutrition of mothers and the birthweight of babies, and suggest that health education programs attempt to change some of these customs. Fathers were also occasionally affected by taboos; for example, Bati men were not supposed to tie up anything or nail anything together during their wives pregnancies because of the belief that it could result in a more difficult birth. The husband was also supposed to refrain from the eating of certain foods. Intercourse normally continued to about the 7th month, and then stopped until after the woman had stopped breastfeeding the child (5). Women usually continued normal work activities until the last stage of pregnancy. Traditional birth attendants did not provide much care to mothers during pregnancy. However, as was noted in the description of practices among specific ethnic groups, certain of the traditional birth attendants, such as the Mafa blacksmith's wives, would examine women in the last weeks before delivery to determine whether the baby was in the right position.

The ethnographic studies also indicated that delivery normally took place in private residences, and that traditional birth attendants might or might not be in attendance. Data from the Cameroon Government Health Statistics and from other sources indicates that this is no longer the case for a significant portion of Cameroon women. Many women are now attending prenatal clinics and the reports suggest that approximately 50 percent of births take place in health facilities. Other women deliver at home with assistance from professional midwives or traditional birth attendants and some women are attended only by friends or relatives. Obviously there is a considerable difference in the coverage provided by health services between rural and urban areas. It appears from various statistics that nearly all births take place in hospitals in Yaoundé and Douala, while perhaps only 35 percent take place in hospitals in rural Cameroon.

The effects upon mothers of their health status during pregnancy, and morbidity and mortality resulting from the care they receive during delivery is not clear from available information. The statistics of the Ministry of Health for 1974 indicated that there were approximately two maternal deaths per 1,000 deliveries. It is likely that maternal deaths are higher in home deliveries. One report reviewed indicated that 90 percent of these deaths could be avoided if proper care is taken of mothers before, during and after delivery (135). Complications of delivery are probably also a factor in the high rate of infant mortality which are estimated at 100 per 1,000 live births for the urban population and 200 per 1,000 live births for the rural population (Lantum, reported in 87, p. 79).

Breastfeeding

Various reports indicate breastfeeding of the newborn is practised for all babies in Cameroon and that it continues for a long period, to at least a year for most children, and up to two years for possibly half of them. With a crude birth rate of 41 per thousand population, between 400,000 and 500,000 Cameroonian women are breastfeeding at any one time (taking the total number of babies born in any one year plus half of those born in the previous year and adjusting for infant mortality). As that figure represents 22 percent of the adult female population in Cameroon (females aged 15 and above -- if only women in the reproductive age group 15-44 are considered the figure approaches 30 percent), the impact breastfeeding has on the time and health of Cameroonian women is obvious.

Medical authorities are agreed on the importance of breastfeeding for the child, and the Cameroonian Government strongly supports breastfeeding through labor laws which provide women with a paid nursing break of one hour per day until the child is 15 months of age. What is often overlooked is that such provisions make sound economic sense. If Cameroonia women were to abandon breastfeeding, large quantities of milk substitutes would have to be purchased at a cost of upward to $40 million or more per annum[11]. Breastfeeding requires the consumption of an additional 1000 calories per day above normal requirements including extra quantities of high value foods. It is clear from reports reviewed (e.g. 111 p. 182) that measures are taken immediately after birth to stimulate milk production but it is unlikely that mothers continue to consume a substantial amount of extra food for the entire period of breastfeeding. As a result, it is likely that a fair proportion of women exhibit signs of undernourishment, especially if they are mothers of young children. Even if this is not the case, a toll is taken on the energy and efficiency of women which makes it harder for them to fulfil their other roles.

Child Spacing

The importance of breastfeeding to the health of babies was recognized by traditional societies, and there is extensive evidence that the relationship between a new pregnancy and a decline in breastmilk was also well known. The paramount concern was the nursing infant, and not the unborn child, as the societies' objective was to increase the number of living children and not the number of births. Spacing of pregnancies was achieved by abstinence on the part of women for the period of breastfeeding. The taboos against pregnancy during the breast-

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11 The calculation of this figure was based on Appendix C, "Methodology for Computing the Value of Human Milk," p. 229-232 in Berg, Alan. The Nutrition Factor, Its Role in National Development. Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1973.

feeding period were very strong, and a woman would be shamed if she was discovered to be pregnant before the child was weaned. One observer noted that even to date in Cameroon, women who discover they are pregnant while breastfeeding may seek an abortion to avoid the shame. However, women may actually breastfeed until they become pregnant again, and in these cases the taboo generally relates to some developmental criteria, for example, the baby is walking.

Breastfeeding itself assists women to avoid a new pregnancy as the period of post-partum amenorrhea (suppression of the menstrual period following the birth of a baby) usually is extended from an average of three months to between 8 and 20 months. That the period of post-partum amenorrhea is somewhat shorter in Cameroon is indicated by a study made in Yaounde which found that the duration was 42 days among non-breastfeeders , 127 days among partial breast feeders and 174 days for complete breast feeders (reference 17 which the reviewer has not seen, reported in 134, p. 16). While some women still conceive during this period, the rate is lower than that normally found among fertile women.

The combination of breastfeeding and abstinence assisted Cameroonian women to space their children at regular intervals. In a number of traditional societies they were provided with additional support in avoiding temptation by the practice of returning to their parental homes until the end of the nursing period. Understandably these customs provided men with an extra incentive for seeking polygamous marriages. Very little information was found on how well these taboos are operating today. However, it is likely that educated women, and especially those in the urban environment who are turning to bottle feeding in greater numbers, at least as a supplement to breastmilk, are finding it more difficult to maintain them. Among these women and their partners, the demand for contraceptive assistance to achieve child-spacing is likely to increase[12].

Health Problems of Young Children

Infants begin to receive supplemental food quite early in many Cameroonian groups, for example, Noah Zingui indicates that among the Béti, the baby receives mashed yam, bananas and cassava from the first days of life as milk is associated with a beverage, and they believe a child also needs food to eat (141, p. 133). Mothers in most other ethnic groups begin providing supplemental foods by the sixth month of life. Unfortunately, many of the foods available are of a low nutritional quality and are too bulky for the child to consume in sufficient quantities to meet basic needs for vitamins and nutrients.

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12 In addition to information and perspectives provided by a number of the social and ethnographic studies of Cameroonian groups cited in the first section of this report, references 134 and 160 were used in preparing the preceding three paragraphs.

The practice of weaning a child when he begins to walk, which was noted among a number of groups, is an additional problem, as that is the period when the child requires additional calories and nutrients to meet the demands of increased physical activity. The loss of his mother's milk at that point is particularly unfortunate. Children are also affected by many of the food taboos which restrict women's diets, and these may keep them from benefitting from the full nutritional potential of their tribe. These problems are compounded by malaria (which may produce anemia) and measles, which makes a severe demand upon the child's bodily resources. Children are also often affected by a variety of parasites , such as worms and bilharziasis. It is understandable that one African doctor described the child under five as living in a state of siege.

While mothers may fail to provide their children with all the nutritious foods they need, this failure is probably due to a lack of understanding of the interrelationship between food and good health, lack of high quality food, and lack of time. Mothers who spend long days in the field producing food crops and additional time collecting wood and water cannot return at lunchtime to prepare appetizing fresh meals for their young children. Generally the child-minders are either slightly older children or very elderly women and are not able to prepare fresh food for the babies. If the young children are fed at all while their mother is away, it is usually on leftovers which may not be appetising to the youngster. Long time periods between meals may result in a decrease in children's appetites, so that they often refuse food when they are offered it.

The prevalence of these problems and the inter-relationship between malnutrition and infection indicate an important role for immunization programs to reduce the incidence of communicable diseases among young children. In the first place, a child who contracts several diseases, ending up in hospital from time to time and developing increasing nutritional problems may well end up as a mortality despite the time and medical resouces which have been invested in him.

Secondly, a connection needs to be made between the economic activities of women which have been outlined in other sections of this report, and the costs of children's illnesses. A sick child is a heavy burden on a mother who is trying to farm to provide sufficient food for the entire family. If a child has to enter hospital usually the mother must accompany him to care for and feed him. This can create a production crisis in the family, particularly at certain months of the year such as the harvest. That women will place their children ahead of other considerations is indicated by DeLancey's finding that twelve percent of the wage employed women in her sample had formally quit work at some time in their careers to care for a child who was ill for a prolonged period (63, p. 13). Immunization programs are underway in Cameroon which should help to reduce the rates of disease among children; the point made here is that the calculations of the cost/benefit ratio for the programs should include the economic costs of disease to mothers as well as purely medical expenses

such as the savings on hospital costs for the treatment of disease.

The Mother-Child Relationship

As is obvious from the preceding discussion, the basic ingredients of the mother-child relationship are closeness and affection. Babies accompany their mothers everywhere until they are too heavy to be carried on their backs, thus prolonging the physical contact of pregnancy. Children normally share their mother's meals and sleeping quarters throughout childhood. The needs of her children are of paramount concern to the mother, and invariably she will drop what she is doing to attend to a child. This interest and attention is reciprocated by the children, who begin assisting their mother at an early age, and care for her when she can no longer provide for herself. Several of the elderly Béti women Vincent interviewed described how they had left their husbands when they had reached menopause, and went to live with their married sons or daughters (for example see 183, p. 50-51). This is an indication that marriage and sexual contact in traditional society was valued mainly in terms of reproduction.

Noah Zingui provided a lyrical summary of the forgoing discussion, which is reproduced below in the abbreviated and somewhat free translation of the reviewer:

> The mother and the infant form a true couple who live in a close world, made of tenderness, warmth and security. It goes without saying that this communication of affectionate and deep understanding between mother and child influence the child throughout life -- the Bantu child is so marked by his mother that in grave circumstances he often cries: "Oh, my mother" (141, p. 132).

This description echoes the expression of the Fon of Nsaw who described a mother as a god, and provides extra support to those who believe that Cameroonian women with infertility problems should be helped to solve them. No less important are programs which assist women to avoid pregnancies detrimental to their health and that of their children (too early, too soon, too many, too late); or programs which provide them with the resources and knowledge they need to insure that their children live to be healthy and productive members of Cameroonian society.

EDUCATION

I. INTRODUCTION

The number of persons attending educational institutions in Cameroon has increased more than three-fold since independence. This achievement is a considerable credit to the Government, which has had to cope with all the problems normally affecting African governments: an ever-increasing school age population, lack of sufficient numbers of qualified teachers, classrooms and supplies as well as courses of study inherited from the colonial governments which are not ideally suited to the needs of a developing nation. The problems are compounded, however, by the unusual diversity in the structure.

The school system operating in two provinces - Southwest and Northwest - was developed primarily by mission groups, under the limited direction of the former British administration. English is the usual language of instruction, although local languages are sometimes used in the first years of primary school. The methods and approach of this system are in contrast to that of the system developed by the French colonial government and mission groups which is in operation in the other four provinces in Southern Cameroon. In the North, a French developed school system and Koranic schools exist side by side; until recently more pupils were in Koranic schools than in French schools. The Cameroon Government is coping with these problems with considerable success and is encouraging bilingual training at all levels of schooling.

In addition to the training opportunities provided by the formal school systems, modern ideas and information are disseminated by a whole range of non-formal and extension activities undertaken by the Cameroonian Government and by other organizations, both national and international. Women tend to receive less assistance from these programs than men, although they are the principal beneficiaries in some cases. A selection of these programs will be discussed below.

II. HISTORY OF FEMALE EDUCATION

Formal education in Cameroon began in the mid-1800's with the establishment of the first mission schools, and mission schools provided the backbone of the structure inherited by the independent government. The Protestant and Catholic Missions took different approaches to education which was especially marked in the case of girls; while the Protestant

Missions stressed academic achievement and taught both sexes to read, write and count, the Catholic Missions concentrated on home science "école ménagère" training for girls while providing academic training for boys (Mbouï 1971, reported in 104, p. 80).

School attendance rates of girls were very low through most of the colonial period, and did not reach any significant level until the 1940's, when their attendance rate was 15 percent. By the time of independence, girls represented 30 percent of the school population. This situation owed much to the attitudes of missionaries and colonial administrators, who provided much more encouragement to the attendance of boys at schools than to girls. In many cases, facilities for girls were opened several decades after those for boys. In addition, the purpose for education was to train persons for jobs into which primarily only men were being hired. Families accordingly could see little reason for sending their daughters to school, and they were further discouraged by the fact that the limited educational facilities available were usually located some distance away.

By the 1940's more and more schools were being opened including special facilities for girls, and there was a corresponding increase in rates of female attendance. The trend towards increased female enrollment has continued since independence, and girls now represent almost half of the pupils attending primary schools. However, they are more poorly represented at the higher levels of education. Early marriages for girls and the high value placed on fertility are partly responsible for this situation.

Richard's study of the Batanga provides considerable support for this analysis, and indicates that among some ethnic groups at least, there was much less traditional resistance to education for girls than is generally supposed. When missionaries arrived in 1879 to establish a school, the first class of twelve pupils selected by the Batanga consisted entirely of girls and the next class was all boys. A school established in 1881 in another Batanga village had about equal numbers of boys and girls. Among women Richard interviewed who were of school age during the German colonial period, 55 percent of those in Kribi which had a Catholic Mission school had attended school and 82 percent of those in a rural area (Lobi) which had a school run by a Protestant mission had some formal education.

The disorganization of the school system following the changeover in colonial administrations and (in Richard's opinion) the lack of interest of the French colonial government in female education caused rates of female attendance to fall dramatically. Among women who were aged 30-50 in 1968, only 22 percent of those in Kribi and 30 percent of Lobi women had had any schooling. Richard noted that these women were bitter about their lack of education and determined to secure an education for their daughters.

Their mothers' determination, coupled with a change in the 1940's in

which female education increased in favor, resulted in very high education rates among women in the 16-30 year age group. Nearly all the women living in Kribi (99.5 percent) had attended primary school, 82 percent had completed the primary cycle although pass rates on the Certificat d'Etudes Primaires (C.E.P.E.) were lower, and 13 percent had some secondary schooling. About half the girls who completed the primary cycle went on to take a homemaking course in a mission school. In Lobi, 92 percent of the women had attended school and 40 percent had completed the primary cycle (157, p. 94-100 passim).

The history of female education outlined in the preceding discussion is reflected also in the information collected by the 1976 Population Census. The figures indicated that although 64 percent of females aged 10 and up have never attended school, as against 40 percent of males (45, p. 18), among children in the age group 6-14, 63.6 percent of girls and 71.1 percent of boys are in school. In urban areas 85.2 percent of all children 6-14 are in school; 87.1 percent of boys and 83.2 percent of girls. The comparable figures for rural areas are 60.8 percent; 65.2 percent of boys and 56.1 percent of girls (45, p. 16).

III. FORMAL EDUCATION

Facilities

In 1961, when East and West Cameroon became a Federation, there were approximately 3,260 primary schools (420,000 students); 56 secondary schools (10,000 students); and 24 technical secondary schools (3,000 students). There were no institutions of higher learning in either segment of the new nation (181, p. 116). More than a thousand primary schools have been constructed since independence and enrollment has tripled (1976-77 enrollment was 1,291,579). Expansion of facilities at the higher levels has shown an even more dramatic increase. By 1976 there were 270 secondary schools with a total enrollment of 120,207 students, and 115 technical secondary schools providing places for 30,965 students (statistical information supplied by the Ministry of Education).

The University of Yaounde was established in 1961 and a decree issued in 1962 placed under its jurisdiction all institutions of higher learning then operating or to be created in the future (49, p. 41). By 1978, a variety of institutions are included in the University and 10,000 students are enrolled in courses of study. The government's 1976/81 Development Plan included an ambitious program for expanding facilities and dispersing them throughout the country. For example, the National Advanced School of Agriculture (ENSA), which is situated in Yaounde and has a student enrollment of 187 in 1978, is to be relocated in Dschang in the West Province. Its expanded facilities will provide for a student body of 1,000. Other programs such as the establishment of a University Center for Business Administration in Douala, a Science Faculty at Ngaoundere and

expansion of existing facilities are to result in student places for an enrollment of 18-20,000 by 1981 (52, p. 232-235).

Despite the efforts to expand secondary and higher education, the lack of places still means that the education of most pupils is limited to primary education. It should be noted, however, that primary enrollment rates are not indicative of the numbers who complete the full cycle, as there are high drop-out rates and many pupils have to repeat classes. These factors contribute to the high cost of education per successful pupil (for example, see 49, p. 14).

Position of Female Students in the School System

An indication of the current position of women in the formal education system is given by the figures presented below for enrollment in schools in the 1976 academic year.

1976 Academic Year

Level of Education	Total Number of Pupils	Girls	Percent
Primary	1,291,579	573,650	44
Secondary	113,295	34,216	30
Technical	33,302	12,001	36
Higher	10,100	2,001	20

A comparison of the figures for 1975 with those for 1976 cited above indicates that enrollment of girls is increasing faster than that of boys at the secondary level where they increased their percentage share from 27.5 percent to 30 percent. Enrollment of girls grew at the same rate as that of boys at the primary and technical school level, but was slower than that for boys in higher education where enrollment of girls dropped from 22 percent to 20 percent of the total (the source of the data in the table and the following discussion was reference 191, p. 5). The population census data reproduced below provides a summary of the level of instruction attained by the population aged 15 years and up who have attended school (45, p. 18).

Level of Instruction	Total for both sexes - %	Men - %	Women - %
Koranic School	10.2	9.7	11.0
Primary Education (including Nursery school)	68.4	66.5	71.7
Secondary Education	10.6	21.5	16.4
Higher Education	1.8	2.3	0.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

It should be recognised of course that the number of women who have ever attended school is much less than the number of men.

Reform of Primary Education

As most children do not attend any school beyond primary school and many only attend primary school for 2 or 3 years, there has been considerable concern in Cameroon to develop a primary curriculum which is responsive to the needs of increased social, economic and cultural development. With this in mind two Institutes for the Reform of Primary Education (IPAR) have been created; one in Yaoundé to work with the francophone system and one in Buéa to deal with the anglophone system.

While it would be beyond the scope of this report to discuss in detail the changes required in the school curriculum, the need for expanded training opportunities for girls in food crop production (and cash crop production to a lesser extent) should be emphasized. The IPAR/Buéa report indicated that girls were less likely to participate in school farm work than were boys and often they did not participate at all if there was a Domestic Science Program nearby. The researchers also noted that one factor in limiting the spread effect of school farms is the fact that "school farms concentrated on food crops which are still disqualified in many cases as women's work" (100, p. 114-115).

Domestic science training for girls is very valuable; several of the women attending the seminar on the Animation and Education of the Cameroonian Woman, held in 1975 in Yaoundé and organized by the Christian churches, mentioned that home sciences courses were the most useful portion of their program in school (6). However, it should not be an either/or situation. As the sections of this report on Agriculture and Women in the Modern Sector clearly demonstrate, Cameroonian women are an essential element in food crop production and an improvement in their methods is essential if increases in production are to be achieved. Much more strenuous efforts need to be made to increase the efficiency of the school system in meeting this requirement.

Education for Girls in North Cameroon

The North has tended to lag behind the rest of Cameroon both in terms of the percentage of school age children attending school and in terms of the proportion of girls among those in school. The 1976 census figures indicated that only one/third of children in the North Province aged six-fourteen were in attendance at school as compared with two-thirds for Cameroon as a whole (45, p. 17). Similarly girls accounted for only slightly more than a quarter of all pupils in primary schools in the north in the 1973-1974 academic year (data supplied by the Ministry of Education).

There are a number of reasons for this situation including the relative lack of facilities established in the area during the colonial period, and the more traditional attitudes of certain ethnic groups, especially

those who live in the Mandara Mountains and to a lesser extent the Fulani. In the case of the Fulani there is also the question of the conflict between the Koranic education and education in the modern school system. In both cases, pupils are taught in a foreign language, Arabic in the case of the former, and French in the latter.

It will be noted from the figures presented on page 71 above that 11 percent of all women in Cameroon who had attended school had gone to Koranic school. As the largest portion of Koranic Schools are in the North, this indicates that a substantial portion of women in the North spend some time attending that type of school. Santerre noted that there had been a progressive increase in the number of girls in Koranic Schools in urban areas in the North as boys increasingly abandoned that type of schooling to attend modern schools. In addition, as there was no age limit at which one could attend Koranic School, about 10 percent of the students at primary level in Maroua were adults, mainly women (163, p. 167). As a result women and girls accounted for 35 percent of the pupils in primary Koranic Schools in Maroua. Koranic primary education consists of teaching the pupils to read and write Arabic and to recite the Koran. As such it provides them with mental exercise but it is not a medium for transmitting development linked information.

A recent study of women and education among the Fulani in the Garoua region indicated that there still existed substantial resistance to modern education for both boys and girls, as it was feared that the exposure to foreign ideas and values would cause the children to lose respect for the traditional society. This was especially true for girls as they were the primary transmitters of traditional culture to young children (184). It is possible that some of this resistance is being overcome by the establishment of joint French/Arabic Schools. Santerre studied these joint schools in 1965-66 and Genest made a follow-up survey in 1973-74. Based upon the data gathered in the second visit, they concluded that the schools had been quite successful in overcoming the initial problems Santerre had described at the time of the first survey and, notably, the percentage of girls in attendance had increased from 5 percent of the student body at the earlier time to 25 percent (164).

The expansion of facilities in general will probably solve most of the problems for all ethnic groups as it will be possible for girls to attend school close to home. The main problem to be overcome, however, is that of educating the students without removing them entirely from their traditional cultures. At present parents often find that their educated children cannot find a job in the modern sector, but they do not wish to come back home and take up the occupations of their parents, so they join the ranks of the unemployed in the towns. The reform of the primary education system may go some way towards solving these difficulties once it is implemented.

Women as Teachers

The information available to the reviewer indicates that women play a

substantial part as teachers in the school system. However, they tend to be concentrated in primary education, and to have lower qualifications than their male counterparts. This is to be expected when one considers the much lower attendance rates of girls at higher levels of education.

Information on numbers in primary education available to the reviewer are for the primary system in West Cameroon in 1971-1972 and the primary schools in Yaounde in 1977-1978. The figures for West Cameroon indicate that women accounted for 20 percent of primary school teachers (there were 889 women and 3,567 men teachers in the school system). A high proportion of the teachers were certified (3,858), and the remainder were either uncertified (273) or trainees (325). The data do not indicate what percentage of female and male teachers respectively fall into each category (61, p. 21).

Women were in the majority among primary school teachers in Yaounde in 1977-1978 as there were 498 women teachers as compared to 256 men. However, the women teachers tended to be less qualified than their male counterparts -- 26 percent of women had only the C.E.P.E.as compared to only 7 percent of the men while at the other end of the scale, 35 percent of male teachers had seven years of secondary education plus some professional training as compared with 9 percent of the female teachers (Mr Ndame Essoh, personal communication). On the basis of the information available to the reviewer it is not possible to determine whether the situation in Yaounde reflects the current general position in the southern part of Cameroon.

In North Cameroon there are very few female teachers at any level in the schools. Santerre mentions that there are a few women assistants at the primary level in Koranic Schools and that there were 39 women teachers among 1,224 teachers in the North for the 1968-69 academic year (163). There was also only one female teacher among the instructors in the joint French-Arabic schools in 1973-74, and she was a Tunisian (164, p. 602).

In secondary schools in Cameroon in the 1975-76 academic year there were 628 women teachers as compared with 2,681 men teachers. In addition, 43 percent of the women teachers were expatriates as compared to only 14 percent of male teachers (Ministry of Education statistics). In technical schools the position of Cameroonian women is somewhat better (due to the Home Economics and Commercial schools included in this sector). In 1971-72, there were 252 women teachers -- 136 Cameroonians and 116 expatriates as compared with 698 men -- 539 Cameroonians and 159 expatriates (50, p. 129 and 154).

At the university level in 1971-72 there were only five Cameroonian women teachers as compared with 132 Cameroonian and 129 expatriate men (50, p. 165). The substantial numbers of expatriate women in the secondary and technical schools indicate that Cameroonian women can be expected to play a more important role in the system as they achieve higher levels of qualification.

IV NON-FORMAL EDUCATION

Many different types of programs are included under the heading of non-formal education. An example is a recent publication entitled Non-Formal Education in African Development (170) which surveyed activities in a number of countries to identify programs which were "successful, innovative, and transferable". Six programs operating in Cameroon were included among those described: Association pour la Formation des Cadres de l'Industrie de l'Administration (AFCA) in Yaounde and Douala; Zones d'Activité Communautaires et Culturelles (ZACC); Zones d'Actions Prioritaires Intégrées (ZAPI); Pan-African Institute for Development (PAID) in Douala and Buea; the Holy Family Center for Female Instruction in Douala, and the Youth Centers for Education in Douala. This list could be extended almost indefinately, and a number of additional public and private programs are described in the Fourth Five Year Development Plan (52, p. 235-240). With reference to women, the activities of O.F.U.N.C. and the Women's Service of the Department of Community Development in the Ministry of Agriculture are important as are various programs of the Christian churches.

To these may be added the activities of various international bodies, such as the Pan-African Women's Organization and the African Research and Training Center for Women (ARTCW). The ARTCW is included in the Women's Program of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, and a sub-regional center of the institution was established in Yaounde in March 1978. It forms part of the Multinational Operational Center (MULPOC) for Central Africa which is designed to promote more effective cooperation of development and research in the region.

These non-formal educational programs primarily provide women with four different types of instruction; (1) training in skills related to their roles as wife and mother, i.e. child care, nutrition, hygiene and home-making, (2) vocational training, (3) literacy training, and (4) agricultural extension. O.F.U.N.C., PAID and ATRCW are also running programs which train women to be development agents. The following discussion will consider a selection of the educational programs operating in these various areas although it is somewhat difficult to separate them by subject matter as several of the organizations involved have activities in all the areas.

Training in Home-making Skills

Training in home-making receives by far the most emphasis, and almost all organizations with non-formal educational programs for women include this subject in their curricula. For example, the AFCA Program included on the list of innovative non-formal education programs (see above) trains men for management positions in business, and trains their wives in nutrition, childcare, sewing and cooking so they will be able to keep up with their advancing husbands (170, p. 44). The Holy Family Center for Female Instruction in Douala is one example of the large

number of programs run by Catholic Missions throughout Cameroon which trains girls to be modern housewives. Training includes cooking, sewing, family hygiene and some academic courses. Basic literacy is taught to girls who have had no formal education (170, p. 156). O.F.U.N.C. also has programs in both urban and rural areas which train women in these skills and provide pre-marital counselling to young girls (191). The Women's Service of the Department of Community Development has extension personnel who include training in homemaking among the topics they cover with their women's groups, and numerous other programs could be described.

Obviously these types of training are useful to women and they also have an impact on the achievement of other development goals such as improving the health status and nutrition of children. However, numerous references were found in the studies reviewed of the desire of women to have more training which related to productive activities such as agriculture. Given the scarcity of funds available for training programs and the lack of trained personnel, consideration might be given to redirecting some of the homemaking programs to provide education in other areas.

Vocation Training

The reports reviewed indicate that vocational training for girls tends to be limited to sewing and secretarial training. This is not only a result of a lack of places for girls in programs, but is also due to self selection, i.e. girls do not take advantage of training opportunities available in other areas. An example is the ZACC programs which were supposed to provide training in rural crafts and market gardening to young men and women between the ages of 12 and 25 (53, p. 19). Although women are treditionally involved in certain of the crafts taught and especially in agriculture, in practice very few girls have been involved in the programs.

Counselling services for young girls could help to overcome this problem and could provide girls and their parents with an awareness of the instruction available and the potential for pursuing income earning activities with the skills they obtain. An expansion in the subject areas covered is also required as the saturation point may soon be reached for earning an income from sewing (see 150, p. 30 which include a description of the problem of seamstresses in Douala who find it hard to make a living in face of extensive competition). O.F.U.N.C. is planning to run vocational training workshops which will train girls for other jobs available in the labor market, e.g., qualified cooks, domestic workers, nursery assistants, and approved baby sitters, as well as flower growing and handicrafts (54). When these programs are underway they may go some way to meeting the needs of women and girls for income-linked training.

Literacy Training

Literacy training programs on a broad scale have been a feature of

government programs, first in former West Cameroon in the late 1940's to the 1960's and, following independence, a nationwide campaign was launched by the Cameroon Union Party (CNU). Women have always figured prominently among students in such classes. For example the literacy classes operating in West Cameroon in 1961 included 2,067 men and 2,592 women (146) and in the Nationwide CNU program there were 70,129 women out of 129,112 pupils in 1968 (55, p. 67). These programs may help women to overcome the disadvantages of their relative lack of formal education and are basic to their advancement in other fields. However, literacy training programs have not been very active in Cameroon in recent years.

Agricultural Extension

There are a few programs providing agricultural extension information which reach women, including the Women's Service, the Ombessa Project operated by PAID, the Yemessoa Project of E.N.S.A., the Z.A.P.I. and, in North Cameroon, the Young Farm Families Training Centers. Relatively few women are reached by these activities as compared with the numbers who would benefit from agricultural training, and the extension personnel often have a large area to cover as well as many educational topics to deal with which limits their effectiveness. In addition, despite the fact that improving female agricultural techniques in the case of the Women's Service and expanding the commercialization of food crops by women in the Z.A.P.I. are important goals of their programs, many of the female extension personnel who are in contact with the women have little or no training in improved agricultural techniques. A variety of actions to upgrade existing programs are contemplated and may help to solve these problems.

Training for Women as Development Agents

In an effort to solve some of the problems described above, O.F.U.N.C. is sponsoring six month training programs to upgrade the abilities of community development assistants working for a wide variety of governmental and private bodies. Approximately 50 women assistants attend the programs each year. It is hoped that in addition to improving the skills of extension personnel (especially in agriculture) the program will assist in improving coordination between the different agencies working in rural communities.

Two other agencies which train women involved in development programs are PAID and ATRCW. PAID is a private organization serving both French and English speaking African countries. The courses at its schools train women as well as men to be development agents and in addition, the school runs programs in its "laboratory areas" which involve women. A total of 550 students successfully completed the training programs of PAID in Douala in the first twelve graduating classes (1965-1977) of whom 26 were women. Eleven Cameroonian women were among the successful

students as compared with 106 Cameroonian men and most of them are currently holding development related jobs (149). No comparable figures were available for students at the Buea center.

Recent examples of ATRCW training activities are the Séminaire sur l'Amélioration des Conditions de Vie en Milieu Rural which was held in Yaoundé in January 1977, and a Séminaire de Formation aux Techniques de Préparation et de Mise en Oeuvre de Projects which was held in Yaounde in July 1978. The first seminar involved approximately 49 Cameroonians (19 of whom were women) with responsibilities for working in rural areas. The aim of the seminar was to help them identify measures to take in improving the conditions of life in rural areas, and especially the requirements which must be met if women are to be fully integrated in development. Seminar activities included the organization and implementation of a field survey in a rural village (46). Twenty women from the Central African countries attended the second seminar which provided them with instruction in the design and implementation of development projects for women (76).

WOMEN IN THE MODERN SECTOR

In order to provide a framework for the narrative descriptions of the various types of activity described below, an analysis of information collected on economically active women has been prepared[13]. The 1976 population census indicated that 31.4 percent of women in urban areas and 56.6 percent in rural areas were economically active (this compared with male participation rates of 79.7 percent and 86.9 percent respectively). Two factors increase the importance of women in the rural labor force; the first is that there are substantially more adult women in rural areas than men as men have migrated to the cities in greater numbers than women. Secondly, the economically active population rates are based on persons aged 15+ even though girls between the ages of 6 and 14 represented 8 percent of economically active rural females (the comparable figure for girls in urban areas was 3 percent). As a result, females represent between 40-45 percent of the economically active persons in rural areas.

Agriculture and the related areas of livestock raising, fishing and exploitation of forest resources were the occupations of 94 percent of the economically active rural women — 90 percent were in food crop production, 2 percent in industrial and export crops, and the remaining 2 percent were divided between the other three areas. Seventy-five percent of the 10,000 females engaged in livestock raising were girls between the ages of 6 and 14. Rural women represented 47 percent of the workers in this sector. Although this sector was much less important for urban women, it still involved 53 percent of the economically active women — 50 percent in food crop production, 2.2 percent in industrial and export crops, 1 percent in fishing and the remaining .8 percent in the other two areas. It is obvious from the description contained in preceding sections that most of these women are selling at least a portion of their production.

While less than one percent of economically active rural women (7,400) are involved in trading activities, 11.3 percent (19,200) are similarly engaged in urban areas. Other important areas for rural women were manufacturing — primarily dress making and tailoring which involved

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13 The overall economic activity participation rates were taken from reference 45, p. 20-21 which are based on the final analysis of census data. Most of the more specific information presented is based on reference 44 which are preliminary figures. Accordingly, they are illustrative of the relative importance of various areas but cannot be taken as an exact representation.

6,000 women. A further 1.3 percent worked at providing various social and personal services (presumably teachers and nurses as well as women involved in services such as hairdressing would fall in this category). The census data notes that some of the women workers in the service category were unremunerated. The remaining 2 percent of economically active rural women were divided among a whole variety of other activities.

Ten percent of urban women were in manufacturing activities (8.5 percent or 14,500 were seamstresses). Transport and communications, banks, insurance companies and other financial institutions provided employment for 2,020 urban women (1.1 percent). Women in the service categories totalled 18,711 or 11 percent.

I. Sales of Agricultural Production

The distinction between cash crops and food crops is becoming progressively more difficult to make as a larger and larger portion of food crops enters into market transactions. Crops such as peanuts, which are raised for both consumption and sale in almost all parts of Cameroon, present a particular problem. All the social and ethnographic material indicated that women were selling a portion of their agricultural production in the markets, and that they played the predominant role in the marketing of foodstuffs in Southern Cameroon. Many of the reports also indicated that the transactions really amounted to barter facilitated by the exchange of money as the women immediately used the small sums realized to purchase food products or items such as salt, kerosene, and matches which represented household needs the women could not produce themselves.

However, most of these studies were made at least 10 years ago and the current volume of food crop sales indicates that sales have progressed significantly beyond the stage of barter. For example, the incomplete statistics available on the 1974/75 crop year indicate that of 376,847 tons of corn produced, 88,032 tons were commercialized. The sales were valued at CFA 2,025 million and in the Central South Province alone, 23,738 tons of corn were sold valued at CFA 545 million[14] (production and commercialization figures are from 47, p. 15; price calculations are based on those given in 190b, p. 54). While indications were found in the literature that men occasionally plant maize as a cash crop, any major involvement on their part would be recent, and it is unlikely that their production and sales exceed a quarter of recorded sales (25 percent would probably be a generous estimate). It is likely that the situation varies from crop to crop with men taking a more prominent role in sales

14 Sales of corn in the Central South is a useful illustration of the point under discussion, as corn does not play a significant role in the diet in the area. The larger amounts produced in recent years are clearly intended for the market as corn forms the basis of the diet of other ethnic groups now living in Yaounde (personal communication David Eckerson).

of bananas and plantains which they have normally produced in some areas and less role or none at all in crops like beans and leaves. Men are most likely to be involved in the production and sale of European vegetables (lettuce, carrots, tomatoes, etc.) which yield a high return.

Only one recent study was found which provided information on these points for women in an area close to Yaounde: The Women's Farming System, The Lekie Southern Cameroon, by Jane Guyer (89). Guyer's work describes how the women can manipulate their agriculture system to produce a marketable surplus without jeopardizing the basic availability of food for their families — this is the sin qua non of their efforts and cannot be allowed to fail. Where there is a readily available market for the foodstuffs they will cultivate additional fields in slack periods (if their workload permits, and if they have sufficient help). This includes even the very labor intensive establishment of dry season leaf fields, which must be hand irrigated by the women but which yield a high cash income. In the final section of her paper, Guyer briefly reviews studies made of the agricultural system over the last 20 years. In the 1950's only 2 percent of the total family income came from sales of agricultural products other than cocoa. By early 1964, the value of the traditional agricultural products sold by the women had risen to one/fourth of the value of cocoa sold by the average household. In the seventies, it has reached approximately one/half the value of cocoa sales. This shows substantial response to market incentives by traditional farmers and indicates that considerable additional progress could be made if the right inputs were provided. Certain women were also paying to have fields cleared where they had no male help to provide this service, and all women were spending between CFA Frs. 1,500-2,000 per year on tools, baskets and utensils for farming, i.e. there has been some monetization of inputs as well as outputs. If extension programs with improved inputs were available, a potential exists for an even more positive response from the women.

II. Traders in Food Crops

Women food crop producers often sell their crops themselves, but those who have heavy family and farming responsibilities find it difficult to do so. In addition, as urban areas were established and began to grow in size and importance some means had to be found to move the products from the rural areas where most production takes place to the urban centers. This requirement was met through the growth of a new occupational category, "The Buyem Sellem" (i.e. traders) dealing in foodstuffs, who are primarily women. Men are also involved mainly as wholesalers in certain areas and especially in the sale of expensive vegetables.

The "Buyem Sellem" (B.S.) have received a considerable amount of attention, especially since the high and rising cost of foodstuffs in urban areas began to be considered more of a problem to the inhabitants and partic-

those who were low paid or unemployed. In addition, there have been occasional shortages of foodstuffs in the urban areas and traders have sometimes been blamed for this problem on the grounds that they are purchasing food supplies and selling them abroad. There is a considerable divergence of opinion concerning the B.S.; ranging from a consideration that their methods are perfectly adapted to the Cameroonian market conditions, both rural and urban, and that they are providing a valuable social service, to other observers who consider them to be parasites, feeding on gullible rural sellers and charging extortionate rates for foods when they are sold in the urban markets.

As a result of this controversy, the B.S. were studied by a number of researchers in recent years, but most of the surveys have been focused on the areas around Yaoundé and to a limited extent on Douala (12, 32, 41 and 66). One study also provides information on markets in the area to the North of the Mandara Mountains, the Logone-et-Chari department in the North Province (90). Despite indications in various sources (e.g., Brain, reference 38 noted that women organized the internal trade of the Bangwa) no current information was found on the activities of wholesalers operating from the major production areas of the Northwest and West Provinces though various persons interviewed have mentioned that some women in the areas are large wholesalers. As Bamiléke women are prominent among B.S. operating in Yaoundé and Douala, they probably play an important role in marketing in their home areas. A study currently underway in the Littoral Province (143) should provide more information on that area. However, other major population centers, Nkongsamba (population 71,298) in the Littoral Province; Maroua (67,187), Garoua (63,900) and Ngaoundéré (38,992) in the Northern Province; Bafoussam (62,239) and Foumbam (33,944) in the Western Province; Bamenda (48,111) in the Northwestern Province; and Kumba (44,175) and Victoria (27,016) in the Southwestern Province must be serving as focul points for producers and traders[15]. Additional information on their activities would be useful in promoting development in the rural areas surrounding the urban centers.

A study prepared in 1974 by Dieke Buys, a Dutch researcher (41), provides a full description of the methods of operation used by the B.S. in the Yaoundé area, and serves as the basis for the following description. Other researchers such as Diarra (61) and N'Sangou Arouna (12) who covered the same territory agreed with her on most essential points. The sales system Buys outlines appears to have developed based upon the needs of the women involved, and despite its somewhat chaotic appearance, it is well-organized and efficient. It is based on a network of contracts which assures that at each point the producers are guaranteed a market for their produce and the traders are guaranteed a supply. Buys establishes three types of B.S., the intermediaries in the villages, the itinerant B.S. who operate in the regional markets and those who operate in Yaoundé.

Buys was somewhat uncertain as to what impelled the women in the villages

15 Population figures are from the 1976 census, reference 45, p. 12.

to take up trade. Among the 50 village women traders she interviewed, she found that half were married women who received sufficient support from their husbands while the other half were poorly supported or single for one reason or another. When a village woman decided to go into the trade in food stuffs she had three options — to sell in the village market, to sell at regional markets to the itinerant B.S., or to take her produce and sell directly in Yaoundé. The first and last options would guarantee her more return per item, but both had drawbacks. The village markets were rather small and selling in Yaoundé, while lucrative, involved the women in much more work and time away from home. While women were found following all three forms of trade, most decided for the option of selling to the B.S. in the regional markets.

The village B.S. did not require much initial capital beyond what they could save in a relatively short time by selling their own produce. Buys found that most of the women belonged to saving associations, and when their turn came to collect, they could use the lump sum realised to start in trade. The new B.S. establishes contracts with women producers she is associated with; often they are other members of her family or close friends from working parties and the like. She does not pay these suppliers in advance for their produce, but takes them on credit and pays on the day following her return from market. She secures the favor of these producers by running errands for them in town and by making presents of goods or money above and beyond the agreed price. The credit system operates very well at this level — the producers only have to wait a few days for payment, and they are assured of receiving it by the close-knit social structure. The producers who have too much else to do to trade for themselves also secure a cash income without extra effort. The village B.S. are not specialists but sell any products which are currently available.

Buys found that there was very little cooperation between B.S. at this level though there were obvious benefits to be derived from cooperation. For example, in Yemessoa I the women were aware that there was a truck which it was possible to rent for CFA F 7,000 per voyage which would have saved them a considerable amount of money on their individual taxi charges for themselves and their supplies. However, the truck could only take two passengers, and the women were not willing to trust two of their number to take the produce of all to the market.

An important point which should be noted is that, at the original point of sale, the price desired by the producer is generally fixed in terms of a specific item which she desires — in other words, the price of foodstuffs is set by the price of manufactured goods, such as kerosene or soap which the village women require. As these increase in price, so does the price of foodstuffs. This is one factor in the recent price increases as is the tremendous increase in the cost of transport (Diarra presents data which indicates that the cost of transport between Obala and Yaounde more than doubled between 1973 and 1974). The type of transport available also results in inefficiencies. Most B.S. must depend upon taxis which will be carrying other passengers, so she must limit the amount

she is carrying with her if she is to have any hope of transport. In the rainy season, when foodstuffs are abundant, transport is even more difficult and the cost of it generally doubles. In this period, one finds foodstuffs rotting in the villages and a scarcity in the city markets.

Given the expense of transport and the time involved in going to the regional market, both the B.S. of the villages and the itinerant B.S. find it is to their advantage to establish contracts. These are generally not based on credit as the village B.S. needs to be paid immediately in order to pay her suppliers. Buys found that in this association, as well, the itinerant B.S. would do favors for the village B.S. to secure their cooperation in providing supplies. Generally, the village B.S. would make contracts with several different B.S. as the itinerant B.S. tended to specialize in one or two products. The village B.S. also made sales in the regional markets of items which she had in too small amounts to be of interest to the larger traders.

Among the women who were itinerant B.S., Buys found divorcées and widows, but most often they were the wives of unemployed or poorly paid men. Living in the city or towns, these women generally do not have access to land for subsistence agriculture, so must earn money to purchase food by other means. For women with minimal education the choices are few; to become a maid, a seamstress or a B.S.. There are more problems with both the other possibilities (need to speak French and loss of freedom in becoming a maid; capital to purchase a sewing machine and competition from men in sewing clothes) so becoming a B.S. is most attractive to the women. There was more cooperation between the itinerant B.S. in travelling together and hiring transport. Certain groups of women traders had managed to save sufficient money to purchase taxis and trucks to transport themselves and their produce. With their own transport, the women could range very far and Buys said they had been known to travel as far as the border with Gabon as foodstuffs in those areas where transport is limited are very cheap.

In Yaounde, there are two types of resident B.S., those who sell in the central markets in relatively large quantities, and those who sell in the smaller markets or on the streets. These last provide a valuable service both in selling amounts which can be afforded by poor people and also by selling processed foodstuffs. The resident B.S. purchase their supplies from the itinerant B.S. and also from village B.S. who come down to Yaounde with their produce but wish to sell it quickly so they can return to their village the same day; if their goods are sold quickly they may also be able to avoid the officials who collect the market tax. Most of the itinerant B.S. sell a portion of the produce they have collected in the urban markets themselves, but they generally sell a portion in bulk to the resident traders in order to minimize the risk of being left with spoiled goods. In recent years, men have begun to make an appearance in the food markets, but they are primarily involved with prestige vegetables. Buys estimated that 35 percent of the traders

in the markets of Yaounde were men, and this percentage may have increased since her report was written. Just as unskilled women find that trading can provide them with an income, men who come to the cities and are unable to find work come to realize that they can earn an income (and often a very good income) by starting in the food trade. It is for this reason that N'Sangou Areuma calls it the "secteur refuge".

Attempts to replace this system by some official organization would have a number of unfortunate consequences. Most obviously, it would deprive a large number of people who have a limited number of ways of supporting themselves of their means of livelihood. Secondly, the itinerant B.S. have an intimate knowledge of the needs of the urban markets and of the farming calendar of the surrounding areas (this last is very complicated due to variations in the topography and the rainy season) which it would be difficult for a less flexible organization to replicate. At the village level, the local B.S. are irreplaceable as no one else could secure the confidence of the producers to the same extent. The system described operates within the local social structures and would be unlikely to operate as efficiently on another basis.

The experience of two recent programs designed to provide the same services as the B.S. are a clear demonstration of the validity of these points. The first is that of an organization within the Ministry of Agriculture, MIDEVIV (an acronym for the French equivalent of "Mission for the Development of Food Products"), which had as one of its goals to improve the commercialization of food crops. Despite the funds and transport facilities which MIDEVIV had at its disposal, the organization found that it was impossible for them to match the prices of the B.S., let alone sell at lower prices without subsidizing the sales price from government funds (41, p. 3). A project of FEMEC (The Federation of Evangelical Missions and Churches in Cameroon) had a similar experience. They attempted to set up direct links between producer groups in the countryside and consumer groups in the cities for the mutual benefit of both. However, FEMEC also discovered that they were unable to provide the consumer groups with food products as cheaply as those they could buy in the markets. Apparently the B.S. do not put as high a value on their time and energy as do more economically rational institutions. As such the B.S. are providing a service to the community rather than being parasites on it as they are sometimes portrayed.

Diarra summed up the importance of the B.S. in the following passage which has been translated by the reviewer:

> Apparently confined to the commercialization of foodstuffs, the B.S. constitute the channel for the flow of money from the urban centers to the most remote areas of the countryside. In other respects, one notes that the B.S. assure by their activities a regulation of the stocks of foodstuffs as much in the regional area as in the national area. They have mastered in an astonishing manner the food production calendar, and their distribution over the whole of the nation makes it difficult to delimit their zone of activity. (66, p.2)

The food marketing system is the principal means by which women have been brought into the modern sector. Due to the opportunities and demands provided by the colonial administrations, men moved into a whole new spectrum of modern occupations from cash crop farming to industrial and clerical work. Women to a large extent were left behind in the traditional sector, not only through a lack of opportunities provided to them, but also because they had to continue to work the land if their husbands were to retain title to it.

III. Other Informal Modern Sector Activities

Several of the studies reviewed provided glimpses of activities on the part of women which involved the partial processing of food crops, preparation and sale of snack foods, or production of traditional craft items for sale. Descriptions were also found of women who earned money by providing services such as hairdressing or dressmaking. In all cases, the information was illustrative and very little data was provided on the importance of the activities in terms of volume or amounts earned.

Gari making, which involves the processing of cassava so it can be mixed with water and eaten without further cooking, is mentioned as a cash earning activity among Bakwéri women and may also be prepared by some other groups. Eguchi observed Fulani women in Maroua making quantities of semi-prepared foods such as dried leaves, peanut oil, shelled beans and pounded pepper (78). These activities are probably pursued by women in other urban areas as housewives without access to farming land seek a means of earning an independent income, while women in rural areas may be too busy with farming and other chores to undertake extra activities of this type. The sale of such products in the markets is very important to other women, as it represents one of the few time and labor saving devices available to them.

Most of the studies reviewed mentioned women who prepared snack foods for sale in the markets, on the sidewalks or anywhere that potential customers might be found. Fulani women in markets in the North sell bean fritters and groundnut oil cakes (90) while women can readily be observed in Yaoundé and Douala selling a whole variety of foods. The value of these services to workers who lack facilities for preparing meals for themselves, as a supplement to the diets of school children, and food handling practices are subjects which would repay further investigation.

Many references were found to the involvement of women in producing traditional craft items. In all ethnic groups reviewed, women were the potters, and a recent study of the Mafa women potters indicated that they were earning a cash income from their trade (87). Information on traditional craft activities in the Northwest and Southwest Provinces was collected by the Institute for the Reform of Primary Education in

Buea. The survey was conducted in support of their effort to develop a school arts program which would include relevant information on the craft techniques practiced in the community and utilized locally available materials. A lengthy list of local handicrafts is provided in their report, indicating places in the two provinces where various crafts are practiced and the articles produced. The researchers also collected information on the division of craft activities by sex which indicates that women in the area were pursuing a whole variety of crafts including basket weaving, mud block production, spinning, weaving, tie-dying and sewing (100, p. 168-171). Many of the products undoubtedly entered the markets.

Fulani women in Maroua spin cotton which they buy from local farmers, and then weave the thread into cloth. A recent analysis of the time required for these processes and the amounts earned from the finished products, indicates that women earn 15 CFA per hour for the spinning process and 13 CFA per hour for the weaving process. The author believed that some forms of appropriate technology could be developed to increase the earnings of the women (27, p. 15-16). Fulani women also were involved in embroidery and the decoration of calabashes (68). References 77 and 180 should contain additional material on handicrafts practiced by women in Cameroon, but the reviewer has not been able to locate copies of the studies.

Women hairdressers are found in all parts of Cameroon. As Fulani women normally had their hair dressed every two weeks and were charged 50 CFA per session, the hairdressers in Maroua had a regular source of income. It is likely, however, that there were a fairly large number of hairdressers, which would tend to limit their incomes. This problem was also mentioned by seamstresses in Douala who were interviewed by researchers from the Pan-African Institute for Development. There were too many seamstresses competing for too few customers (150, p. 30). The narrow range of vocational training opportunities open to women probably contributes to this problem, and consideration should be given to an expansion of educational programs into other marketable skills. The Programme of Action of the Fifth National Council of OFUNC held in Yaoundé in January 1977 proposed that vocational training workshops be set up which would teach industrial dressmaking, train qualified cooks, domestic workers, nursery assistants, approved baby-sitters, gardening and handicrafts. If implemented, these plans should go some way to relieving the problems of unemployment and under-employment among women.

IV. Women in Wage Employment

In the section on employment in the Cameroonian Fourth Five Year Development Plan, 1976-1981, the difficulties involved in differentiating the traditional from the modern sector in Cameroon are noted. Similarly,

there are problems in identifying the dividing line between the formal and informal sectors within the modern sector of the economy. As an example, a woman who is listed as being economically active in the production of garments may be working at home alone, working for another seamstress who has two or three apprentices, or working in a factory which employs many persons. In the first two instances she is working in the informal sector and in the third case in the formal sector but that could not be determined from the statistics.

As a result of this confusion, different estimates were found for the number of wage employed workers. In general, the differences resulted from the size of the firms which were used as a basis for preparing the estimates; businesses with five or more employees, those with 20 or more employees, etc. The question here is how large does a firm have to become before it is considered to be in the formal sector as opposed to the informal sector? The most detailed study of employees of private and semi-private businesses is the Enquête Emploi carried out in 1971 by the Direction de la Statistique. That study focused on establishments with 20 or more employees and found that the total number of workers amounted to 82,953 of whom 3,695 or 4.6 percent were Cameroonian women — an additional 540 expatriate women employees were identified by the survey (42, p. 8 and 10). The Fourth Five Year Development Plan estimated that there were 192,960 wage employees in 1971 (52, p. 256) presumably based upon including much smaller firms in the estimate. The plan further indicated that there were 221,370 persons in wage employment in 1975 based upon an estimated increase of four percent per annum in numbers of employed workers between 1971 and 1975 (52, p. 256).

No indication is given in the 1975 estimate of the relative numbers of male and female employees, and it is not possible to determine what portion of the economically active women counted by the 1976 census are wage employed. However, given the number of women who are listed as economically active in sectors such as manufacturing (26,000), banks and financial institutions (800), commerce (27,000) and services (27,000), it is likely that women have at least maintained their share of wage employed workers (a 4.6 percent share of the 1975 estimate would only account for 10,000 women workers). In addition, 5,770 women were employed by the government in 1975 out of a total workforce of 66,780 (57, p. 217).

A breakdown by job categories and sex was not located for the government sector. Among women in private sector employment, the Enquête Emploi found that 40 percent were working in agriculture (primarily on tea, coffee, rubber and oil palm plantations), and a further 20 percent were manufacturing organic products (a significant proportion of these women were involved in producing ready-made clothes where women represented 25 percent of all workers). Another 5.3 percent worked for Banks and Insurance companies (where they accounted for 16 percent of employees), 6.4 percent were in services where they worked either as teachers in private schools, administrative staff, medical personnel

or in cinemas and hotels, 15.2 percent were in commerce, and 12.2 percent were spread over other sectors (42, p. 40-43). A significant portion of the women in the latter two categories were apparently employed as secretarial and clerical personnel as 22 percent of all women workers fell into those categories (42, p. 50).

Although few women are in wage employment and they have further been involved in the labor force for a shorter period than men (82.7 percent of women employees have less than 6 years seniority as compared with 66.5 percent of male employees — reference 52, p. 260), the situation appears to result more from the lack of qualifications of women due to their having less education than from discrimination on the part of employers. Certain problems may also result from their childbearing role and employers expectations as to the lack of commitment of women to their jobs as a result of their family responsibilities.

Cameroonian labor law specifies that workers with the same type of work, qualifications and output will receive the same pay and further accords special benefits and privileges to women with respect to maternity leave and nursing breaks. A women is entitled to fourteen weeks maternity leave (four before confinement and ten after) which may be extended for six further weeks if a medical certificate is produced indicating that she is still ill from the effects of the pregnancy or confinement. During this period, the employer may not terminate the employment of the person concerned but does not have to pay her wages. Instead the woman worker receives a daily allowance equivalent to her wage from the National Social Insurance Fund. After the woman returns to work she is entitled to nursing breaks of one hour per day until the child is 15 months old. A pregnant woman may also terminate her employment without notice and without paying the normal compensation due in such cases. (Extracts from Law 74 - 14 of November 1974 — supplied by Ms Ruth Ndando).

Koenig[16] presents evidence that employers may consider women to be unreliable as a result of these rights and some women employees also felt that pressure was put on them not to take their full entitlement as their employers felt that to do so would be too disruptive of work routines (104, p. 155-156). Although women's childbearing role may cause some problems, Koenig's analysis of employment of men and women in the banks and insurance firms also indicated that "for the sector as a whole,

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16 In 1975-76, Ms Dolores Koenig surveyed the relationship between sex, education and employment in Cameroon at three different levels of employment (blue collar, clerical and elite) for her doctoral dissertation. Workers on an oil palm and rubber plantation were studied as representatives of blue collar workers, while employees in banks and insurance firms were chosen for study as examples of the situation and characteristics of workers in clerical jobs. Women in a variety of top jobs were the representatives of elite employment.

men and women of a certain educational level seem to be given the same employment opportunities and are also taking them to a similar degree" (104, p. 171). In other words, the numbers of men and women employed by the banks and insurance firms was in proportion to the respective numbers of educated men and women in the society.

Koenig also noted that most employees were qualified for the jobs they held, but that their success in securing the job in a very competitive market was due to their knowledge that a job existed, and having that information depended on their social network. In this regard, women appeared to have a certain advantage over men as they had received jobs with the help of natal kin, contacts that they had made at school, or through their husband and his family. The social network of assistance for men was smaller as they had received help from their own families or school contacts but not from their wife or her family (104, p. 178-184 passim). In sum, women with qualifications appeared to have an equal or better chance than their male equivalents of securing a job. In the area of wage employment as in so many others, women's situation can be expected to improve as the numbers of women with education and training increases.

V. Savings Associations and Cooperatives

In addition to their participation as individuals in modern economic activities, women also belong to organizations which play a role in amassing capital which can be used for development purposes and in enhancing the ability of individuals to participate in the modern economy, i.e. savings associations and cooperatives. The discussion of the situation of women in a selection of ethnic groups in Cameroon (pages 7 to 47 above) mentioned the importance of savings associations among women in Southern Cameroon. A more detailed description of how these associations work, and consideration of the relative importance of traditional and modern factors in determining the ultimate use the women make of their savings is included below. Women's cooperatives, which are most active in the Northwest and Southwest Provinces, assist women in marketing their food crops and help them purchase needed commodities at a cheaper price through the facilities provided by cooperative shops. Information on the activities of these organizations and the numbers of women involved will be presented also.

Savings Associations

There are a number of different types of savings associations, and the modes of operation of some of them are quite complex. A number of researchers have studied these associations, and both general surveys (of which Shirley Ardener's article on rotating credit associations, reference 11, is an example) and studies which supply Cameroon specific information were located by the reviewer. Virginia DeLancey provides a useful summary of the different types of savings associations in her study of capital accumulation by women at the Cameroon Development

Corporation (reference 64). The study compares the saving activities of women who are themselves wage earners with the types and amounts of savings of the wives of male employees who are not themselves wage earners though they might be economically active. The women in her sample came from thirty different ethnic groups in Cameroon and Nigeria. Information was also found on savings associations among Bassa (56 and 171), Batanga (157), Bamiléké (97, 98, 99 and 172) and Pahouin (41, 66, 89, and 174) women. References 41 and 66 are concerned with the "Buy em Sell em" so the savings associations they describe include women traders who come from several different ethnic groups though Pahouin are in the majority. The following account of savings associations draws upon all these references.

Women participate in savings associations primarily for three different reasons. The first is to belong to a mutual aid group which will assist them in times of sickness and death in their families. A second reason is purely a social one — to meet with other members of their family or with friends, and possibly to use the closer relationship developed through their association to achieve other social purposes. These two reasons were the principal features of traditional savings associations but they survive in present day groups. A third reason which is a more modern addition to the other two is to accumulate funds which may be put to a variety of uses: the payment of school fees, the purchase of an expensive household item, to start up in business, etc. Associations may cater for all or any of these objectives, and separate payments may be made for each of them.

Groups usually meet regularly, e.g. weekly, biweekly or monthly. If it is a mutual aid group, a small fixed sum is paid which is held by the organization until it is needed by some member to meet the costs of an illness or a funeral. There is no reciprocity in these hand outs and the criterion for receiving the fund is simply that of need. A second payment may be made which goes to the host to cover the expense involved in holding the meeting. Finally, a third payment may be made which is for savings purposes (in some groups this is the only payment made). Many different descriptions were found of how this function might be organised. Members might simply put whatever amount they wished in at each meeting and the amounts contributed by the members would be kept in a box or in a joint bank account. Periodically, usually once a year just before Christmas, the fund would be shared out and each member would receive back the amount she had put in plus interest if a bank had been used.

Some form of rotating share out is the more usual form found in rural areas (and in many urban groups as well) and in this case no use is made of banks or other formal financial institutions. Instead one member in turn receives the amounts contributed by all other members of the association. The order in which members receive the share out is determined in a variety of ways — it may be fixed in advance, lots may be drawn, it may be auctioned off, or it may be given to a member who has an emergency need (however, each member can only receive the

share out once in each round). Obviously the members who receive the share out early in a round are the debtors of other members of the group who have their turn later. Accordingly, elaborate arrangements are sometimes made to even out the benefits received, for example by paying more money to those who receive their shares late in the round.

In all cases there is strong social pressure on members to turn up at meetings (fines may be levied against those who miss a meeting). By all accounts this pressure is very effective so membership in an association is a form of forced savings. As the beneficiary receives the entire amount paid in, the association has the added advantage that no money is held by an individual such as a treasurer so there is less opportunity for it to be embezzled or stolen. Often the associations provide a credit facility for members on a scale which would not be interesting to banks, as small loans may be made by the beneficiary of a meeting.

There was a difference of opinion in the studies reviewed as to whether these associations were modern and rational or whether traditional features were dominant. This question was especially important if one wished to encourage their use as a basis for specific developmental activities (such as the creation of cooperatives). Most authors highlighted their elaborate structure, the written rules and the detailed accounts kept of members' contributions as evidence of modernity. Illy, however, did not believe that they could be used as a basis for cooperatives as their social welfare features were too dominant (99, p. 306-308).

Whatever one's attitude, however, the prevelence of saving among the women and the magnitude of the sums involved is impressive. For example, Richard noted that around 90 percent of the Batanga women belonged to one or another savings association (157, p. 137), and 98 percent of the wage earners and 81 percent of the wives in DeLancey's sample were savers. The wage earners had saved an average of 48,042 CFA or 2.8 times the total monthly income of the women (wages plus other sources of income). Wives had saved an average of 7,824 CFA which was equivalent to one month's income (64 , p. 8). Illy noted that Bamileke housewives normally contributed between 500-1,000 CFA per month to the associations which represented a very high proportion of their disposable income and was only maintained through personal sacrifice (99, p. 303). Given the magnitude of the sums accumulated by housewives and unskilled laborers, and recognizing that associations of men are also prevalent and are undoubtedly accumulating larger sums of money, one can only agree with DeLancey that "serious consideration must be made of innovative investment opportunities for these sums in order to avoid the under-utilization of available development capital" (64 , p. 32).

Cooperatives

Information on women's cooperatives in Cameroon is limited and the best available source is the working papers of a conference sponsored by the Pan-African Women's Organization and held in Yaounde in October 1977

(189). The conference had as its theme, "Women in Development: Women and Cooperatives". The conference papers present the philosophy, uses and problems of cooperatives in general, as well as information on the experience and numbers of women involved in cooperatives in Cameroon (and the other Central African countries which were represented at the conference). In most cases the examples of women's cooperative activities deal with cooperatives in the Northwest and Southwest Provinces. This may be due partially to the experience of the speakers, but it also appears to result from the more active involvement of women in cooperatives in those areas.

One of the reasons for this relatively more advanced situation in the Northwest and Southwest Provinces is the basis provided by the "corn mill" societies. The history of the societies is described in detail in the articles and book written by Elizabeth O'Kelly (144, 145 and 146) who was the principal organiser of the societies. The following account uses the information contained in her three works. The societies began in the early 1950's following several years experience with literacy classes in the area. Ms O'Kelly had noted that the women had little time to attend classes or undertake new activities to improve their homes and productive work as they were already fully occupied from morning to night. She conceived the idea of introducing hand operated corn mills which the women could own and operate as a group to free them from the many hours of work a week involved in grinding corn by hand between two stones. The corn mills were not donated to the women but were loaned to them. Each society had to collect sufficient money from its members to pay for the mill within one year of receiving it (£15-20). This had the advantage of giving the women experience with working in groups. Once they were organized in groups, it was also easier for the limited number of agricultural and social welfare extension personnel to reach them with new information.

Starting with 15 corn mills, the project gradually expanded until there were 232 societies with a total membership of approximately 15,000 women (membership in each society had to be limited to less than 100 women based upon the capacity of the mill to process the members' corn). Once contact was established between the women, they began to organise other activities around the corn mill societies including classes in soap making, poultry schemes using bran from the milling process, planting fuel plantations of eucalyptus trees, and the establishment of society farms. The members all worked on the farms and sold the produce as a fund raising venture; some of the funds raised in this manner were used to purchase fencing material for their own farms as they were being destroyed by livestock. It was easier for extension personnel to persuade the women to try new techniques and seeds on these fields when their families' sustenance was not being put in question. Successful innovations were often transferred to the women's own farms. A confederation of societies also set up a cooperative shop in the Kumbo area which was capitalized with two shilling shares sold to each of its 4,000 members. The shop stocked

items which were difficult for the women to obtain in the local market.

Present cooperative societies generally revolve around such shops and/or the marketing of members' produce although some societies still operate corn mills and do joint fund raising by working on society farms. It appears from the papers reviewed that approximately 5,000 women currently belong to cooperatives. The larger societies are generally involved with buying and selling of palm oil and marketing food crops. However certain societies are moving into non-traditional productive activities for women, for example the Mandankwe Women's Cooperative Produce Marketing Society produces and markets arabica coffee (189), and there is a report of a women's cooperative in the Northwest Province which is involved in livestock and dairy production (personal communication, Barbara Scarlett).

The papers provide considerable evidence of the problems involved in organising and operating cooperatives. Many societies purchase palm oil in bulk for sale to their members in an attempt to combat the high price of oil in their areas. They run into problems with supplies of oil (partially due to under-capitalization which makes it difficult for them to keep enough orders in the pipeline) and with traders who flood the market with cheaper oil while the cooperatives have stocks and then sell oil at high prices when the cooperatives have none available. One of the largest women's cooperative ventures, the Nso Area Women's Cooperative Shop with approximately 2,000 members, recently overcame the problem of lack of capital by appealing to the Nso Area Cooperative Union (which markets coffee and has a predominance of male members) for funds. The Nso Union supplied them with a revolving fund of one million CFA which permitted the women's cooperative shop to double the monthly purchase of oil for their members. This provides a demonstration of the potential help the women's organizations may receive from the much larger and financially better off cooperatives which were established for the marketing of cash crops.

Other problems include the lack of trained personnel and inadequate committment by members to their organizations. Attempts to resolve these problems include training programs for cooperative staff and seminars for members to help them understand the principles and benefits of membership. The Cameroon Government established a National Law of Cooperatives, and issued decrees showing the applications of the law. Also, a Directorate of Cooperation and Mutuality within the Ministry of Agriculture helps the women's cooperatives in their efforts to organise themselves in conformance with the law. Cooperatives deserve the attention they receive as they have demonstrated their potential to help women participate in development, or in the words of one woman leader who spoke at the conference ".. there is a lot we can achieve cooperatively which individually we could not do."[17]

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17 Mrs Veronica Sangbong, Mandankwe Women's Cooperative Marketing Society.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Women in Development in Cameroon

This bibliography includes all those works which were used to prepare the preceding narrative report in which case they will be annotated with a brief comment concerning their content and usefulness. In addition, certain works are listed which the reviewer has not read, either through inability to locate the work or due to the short amount of time available to prepare the bibliography. These studies are included as the references to them in other works, or the advice of knowledgeable individuals, indicated that they would contain relevant material. However, their listings are not annotated.

The word "select" has been used in the title of the bibliography as listings have been made only of those works which have considerable useful material, and not of all works which contain some information on women in the economy of Cameroon. In addition, works which are primarily of historical interest with little relevance to the present day have been excluded. The bibliography is limited to works in English and French. An * before the number of the listing indicates that a copy of the reference has been located in Cameroon. Please refer to Appendix A for information on the library or organisation where it may be found.

The bibliographies which have been used to develop this listing are:

DeLancey, Mark and DeLancey, Virginia. A Bibliography of Cameroon. New York and London: Africana Publishing Co., 1975.

Hafkin, Nancy J. Women and Development in Africa: An Annotated Bibliography. ECA/SDD/ATRCW/BIBLIOG/77, 1977.

Kratochvil, Laura and Shaw, Shauna. African Women: A Select Bibliography. African Studies Center, Cambridge University, United Kingdom, 1974.

Ministre of Coopération, Government of France. Eléments de Bibliographie Concernant Les Femmes en Afrique Noire et à Madagascar. Paris, 1977.

Murray, Jocelyn. "Women in Africa: A Select Bibliography" in Wipper, Audrey (ed.), Rural Women: Development or Underdevelopment? Rural Africana, No.29, African Studies Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Winter 1975-1976.

Many of the works reviewed also contained substantial bibliographies which were useful in identifying other relevant works. In this regard, special mention should be made of the bibliography which is included in the United States Department of Army, Area Handbook for the United Republic of Cameroon.

• 1. Adelman Carol. Cameroon - Nutritional Status and Some Recommendations. Yaounde. August 19, 1976. Memorandum 11p.

Brief memorandum prepared for USAID/Cameroon. Summarizes some of the known nutritional information. No sex linked data provided.

• 2. Afana, O. L'Economie de l'Ouest-Africain, Perspectives de Développement. Paris: Maspero, 1966.

3. African Women. "Status of Women in Togoland and the Cameroons." African Women 1, 4. June 1956 p. 95-98.

Short excerpts from 1954 reports to the U.N. indicating economic activities of women and trends in female employment and education.

• 4. Ahidjo, Ahmadou. "Speech to the Nation on the Occasion of International Women's Year." Cameroon-Tribune, No. 322, Saturday and Sunday, July 19 and 20, 1975, p.2.

The President emphasized the attention the government had paid to the improvement of the feminine condition in Cameroon and the achievements of this effort. However, he noted that there was a hiatus between the recognition of the equality of women and its full application in daily life. The primary need was for training to permit women to make full use of their rights and opportunities. In conclusion, he emphasized the need for women in particular to take a positive approach and to recognize their responsibilities as mothers, wives and citizens to work harmoniously with their male partners to achieve national construction.

• 5. Alexandre, Pierre, and Binet, Jacques. Le Groupe Dit Pahouin (Fang-Boulou-Béti). (Monographies Ethnologiques Africaines Séries). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958.

Useful, descriptive overview of the Pahouin peoples. Discusses history, economic life, social, political and kinship structures among other topics. Includes considerable information on the situation of women.

6. Animation et Formation de la Femme Camerounaise - Animation and Training of Cameroonian Women. Seminar held in Yaounde, March, 1975.

Report on a conference sponsored by the Christian churches in Cameroon which attempted to define the present needs and aspirations of Cameroonian women and to identify the types of educational programs which would be most useful to them. Includes the life histories of four women and their assessment of the value of their educational experiences, as well as a description and assessment of four different animation programs. Is particularly important as it is one document in which Cameroonian women are speaking for themselves in defining their problems and goals.

7. Ardener, Edwin. Coastal Bantu of the Cameroons. (Western Africa, Part XI, Ethnographic Survey of Africa). London: International African Institute, 1956.

Brief outline description of the three main tribal groups on the 200-250 mile long strip of coast in Cameroon which runs from the Rio de Rey to the Campo: the Kpe-Mboko group, the Duala-Limba group and the Tanga-Yasa group. Concentration is on the Kpe whom Ardener had studied personally. Little had been done on the other groups at the time. Contains information on division of labor in agriculture, kinship systems, fertility rites, bride-wealth, etc.

8. _____. Divorce and Fertility, An African Study. Nigerian Social and Economic Studies No. 3, Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research: Oxford University Press, 1962.

Research carried out in eight week field survey in four Bakweri villages in 1957-58. One thousand and sixty-two women 15 years old and upward were interviewed (girls 15+ who had had no marital or sexual experience were not interviewed). Is a case study of the marital experience of the women concentrating on divorce and fertility aspects. Divorce rates were high and fertility relatively low by African standards. A contributing factor to marital instability was the unbalanced sex ratio in favor of men brought about by the influx of male migrants to work on plantations established in the area. It was difficult to determine whether there was a causal relationship between divorce and low fertility as medical factors may have been more important. Appendixes to report present major results of survey in all its aspects.

9. _____. Ardener, Shirley and Warmington, Alan. Plantation and Village in the Cameroons. London: Oxford University Press, 1960.

Study of the effects of the establishment of plantations in former West Cameroon on the lives of the Kpe who lived in the area and the migrants who arrived to provide the necessary extra work force. Some information on the social effects on women and on the economic activities of Kpe women and migrant's wives.

10. Ardener, Shirley. "Sexual Insult and Female Militancy," pages 20-54 in Ardener, Shirley (ed.) Perceiving Women. London: Malaby Press Ltd., 1975.

Describes the group action taken by women in the Bakweri, Balong and Kom tribes against sexual insults directed at women. This activity is called anlu among the Kom. Ardener's lively description of the famous occasion in 1958 when over 6,000 women used the anlu mechanism to protest against the then British government's policies which they considered detrimental to women is based on Cameroonian source documents which are otherwise inaccessible.

11. _____. "The Comparative Study of Rotating Credit Associations," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol 94, Part 2, July-Dec. 1964: 201-231.

A scholarly investigation of rotating credit associations which seeks to define what they are and to describe how they operate. Uses Cameroonian examples. Is useful to this review as rotating credit associations are an important savings mechanism among women in many parts of Cameroon.

* 12. Arouna, N'Sangou. Secteur Refuge et Developpement Economique au Cameroun. ONAREST, ISH No. 6, Yaounde, 1977.

This reference to Arouna's work is included in this bibliography rather than his thesis, Production et commercialisation des produits vivriers au Cameroun: le cas de la Lékié, (Pontpellier 1974) or the two magazine articles which appeared in Le Cameroun, Agricole, Pastoral et Forestier, April, 1975 and March 1976, as it is the

most recent and accessible product of his interest in the economic and social concerns involved in the providing of Yaounde with foodstuffs. His work is highly relevant to the review as both the producers and traders involved are primarily women. Arouna is concerned with the circuits for the distribution of foodstuffs, the relationships between producers and traders (Buy 'em, Sell 'em), and the best means of reforming the circuits. He rejects the philosophy that the middlepersons are excessively exploiting both the producers and ultimate purchasers. He believes that the price differential from field to market is due primarily to the costs involved in collecting small amounts of food from widely dispersed producers, moving the products on an expensive and unreliable transport system and insuring that the foodstuffs arrive for sale in marketable condition. In his opinion, the persons involved in this process are providing a valuable social service under difficult conditions, and themselves have few (if any) alternative means of earning a living. He suggests that improving the transport system and establishing wholesale markets in Yaounde to counter any excessive prices would be the best means of dealing with the problems rather than replacing the traders by a centralized marketing organization.

• 13. Atlas Du Cameroun. ONAREST, 1960.

Maps and texts covering all aspects of Cameroon geography; physical, human, economic, medical, etc.

14. Azerfor, M.A.N. Infertility and Sub-Fertility in Cameroon. M.Sc. thesis, University of London, 1972.

15. Balandier, George. The Sociology of Black Africa: Social Dynamics in Central Africa. Translated by D. Garman. New York: Praeger 1970. (First published as Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire. Paris: Press Universitaries de France, 1963).

Compares the Fang of Gabon (Fang are one of the Pahouin tribes and are also found in Cameroon) and the Bakong of the Congo. Based on field research carried out in 1948-1951 and again in 1961. Provides full description of the situation of woman.

• 16. Bah, A., Milosevic, M., and Tiotsop, B. Stratégie de Développement Régional Intégré: Le Project Vivrier Des Z.A.P.I. de l'Est. Douala: PAID, 1973.

Description and evaluation of the foodcrop production projects of the Z.A.P.I. of the Eastern Region. Contains information on the role of women in food crop production (which is predominant except for land-clearing which is done by men) and the constraints on improving their situation in the rural milieu.

• 17. Batupe - Chukoye C. A Study of Post Partum Amenorrhea in Yaounde. M.D. thesis, Centre Universitaire Sciences Sanitaires, 1975.

18. Baumann, Hermann. "The Division of Work According to Sex in African Hoe Culture," Africa, Vol. 1, No. 3, July 1928: 289-319.

Baumann documented the division of labor in African hoe culture, using a wide range of information available from explorers, missionaries, traders, colonial officers, etc. (his bibliography lists 150 sources). He provides information on those tribes where men are involved in the work - the nature of this involvement - and on those where women do most of the work, cross referenced to his bibliography. Although Baumann emphasizes the importance of the agricultural work that women do in many parts of Africa, his analysis is somewhat clouded by his value system which assigns agricultural systems where men predominate to the "upper or superior" category and those where women predominate to the "lower or inferior" category. Includes examples from Cameroon.

19. Beb, A Don. "Le droit coutumier bafia du mariage et l'évolution sociale," Comptes Rendus Mensuels des Séances de l'Académie des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, Vol. 24, No. 3, 1964: 91-108

• 20. Bebey Eyidi, R., Pierre, M.L., Masseyeff, R. "Une Enquête sur l'alimentation à Douala (quartier New-Bell)," Recherches et Etudes Camerounaises, No. 5, 1961-1962: 3-46.

Description of a nutritional survey carried out in the New Bell quarter of Douala from March 1956 - February 1957. The population of the area was very mixed, and included most of the major ethnic

groups in Cameroon - 35% were Bamileke, 18% Ewondo, 15% Bassa, and the balance was divided between 17 other ethnic groups. Provides baseline data on nutritional status in a coastal urban area. As might be expected, fish was readily available, and as a result, the population was receiving sufficient protein. However, caloric consumption was estimated at 70% of requirements. The researchers noted that the shortfall appeared to be due to the number of relatives and friends that each salaried person was feeding. This was in contrast to studies done in village settings where the amount consumed depended upon the food production of the wife and the time she had available to prepare it.

21. Bederman, Sanford. The Cameroons Development Corporation, Partner in National Growth, Cameroons Development Corporation, Bota (West Cameroon), 1966.

Bederman provides a history of the Cameroons Development Corporation, (CDC), including a description of the employee conditions, and a crop by crop account of production, harvesting and processing methods. Information is provided on working conditions of women and on the areas where they are employed. These appear to be primarily tea plucking and processing, and banana packing. Almost all tea plucking is done by women, and as a result, Tole Tea Estate (which is part of the CDC) had 435 women on its labor force of 790 in 1966. Bederman noted that women employees were hard to hire and keep as their husbands objected to their leaving traditional food farming activities and working for wages. As more than 500 women would be required by 1978, as a result of the expansion of the estate, Bederman foresaw an acute labor shortage.

22. Bekomo, Manga. "Conflits d'autorité au sein de la société familiale chez les Douala du Sud-Cameroun," Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines. Vol. 4, 1963-1964: 317-329.

This article and others by Bekomo cited herein are the result of his interest in the social and cultural traditions of his tribe which he noted had previously been little studied. Provides information on the Duala family structure and the position of women within it. The two main conflicts of authority he identifies are those which result from the efforts of young men to establish their own families and the attempts of the wife or wives of a man to set up their own households within the family.

• 23. Sekcmo, Mange. "La femme, le mariage, et la compensation matrimoniale en pays Douala". Ethnographie, Vol. 62/63, 1968-1969: 179-188.

• 24. _____. La société familiale Douala. These de 3eme cycle, University of Paris/Nanterre, 1969.

• 25. _____. "Ma soeur, ma chèvre", Recherche, Pédagogie et Culture, Vol. 3, No. 19. 1975.

• 26. _____. "Structure familiale traditionelle et changements sociaux en Afrique Bantu (Sud-Cameroun)," L'Ecole des Parents, Vol.4, 1965: 42-51.

• 27. Bielenberg, Carl. A Preliminary Survey of the Applications of Appropriate Technology in the North Province of Cameroon. USAID/Yaounde, (mimeo), August, 1979.

Report based on a short survey of potential needs and applications of appropriate technology in North Cameroon. Information pertaining to women relates primarily to economics of traditional cotton spinning and weaving practised by women as well as potential for using solar power for cooking (to lessen burden of collecting firewood). Also discusses certain other items which would be useful to women.

• 28. Binet, Jacques. Budgets familiaux des Planteurs de Cacao au Cameroun. L'homme d'Outre-Mer. Paris: Conseil Supérieur des Recherches Sociologiques Outre-Mer, 1956.

Binet is reporting on a survey sponsored by FIDES which he directed. The study was carried out in three of the departments of the Central-South Province in 1953-1954, and was designed to provide information on the household budgets and standard of living of the people living in the area. Binet points out that the cocoa crop had been very good that year so the budgets studied were those of a favorable period. The survey collected 496 budgets which covered

2,798 individuals (or 4% of the population of 600,000 in the area). Budgets revealed many interesting facts: for examples only a very few households - C.5% - could be classified as very poor; receipts were distributed quite evenly, 63% of the population received 60% of the revenues; the households in the topmost category were polygamous but the revenue per head was close to that in the middle categories. The report provides numerous types of data and insights into the standard of living and social customs. It is especially useful in that it provides a baseline against which the evolution of the economy can be drawn. With reference to women's earnings, Binet indicates that only 2% of the family earnings were derived from sales of food crops produced by women. The economic activities of women recorded included earning of seamstresses of which there were 5 among the families studied.

29. _____. "Condition des Femmes dans la Région Cacaoyère du Cameroun." Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, Vol. 16, January-June 1956: 109-123.

Examines changing economic situation, legal status, and political/social role of women to date of writing. Provides data on the meagre receipts women were earning from the sale of foodstuffs, and explores other means women had of earning a cash income (e.g. sewing and cocoa incomes). Describes several new phenomena which indicated that women were becoming more involved in their husbands' families. This would have an impact on the structure of male/female relationships and would open up new possibilities for women (such as the establishment of their own cocoa plantations).

30. _____. "Le Statut des Femmes au Cameroun Forestier," p. 45-62 in La Femme, Vol. XI, Recueil de la Société Jean Bodin, 2eme édition de la Librairie Encyclopédique, Brussels, 1959.

Binet describes the position of women in both public and private life. In public life, men and women formerly lead very separate existences; women had their own secret organizations which gave them considerable power. In modern times, these are paralleled to some extent by women's religious groups, but there are new organizations which involve both men and women, and women are also being included in the new administrative structures. In private life women formerly had few rights. This situation had been improved by law but it was difficult to determine to what extent the laws were being obeyed. Binet also traced the growth of

women's rights to particular plots of land to farm, and which women could transmit to their heirs, and the rights of widows to an income from their husband's cocoa plantations.

31. Biyong, Boniface. "Cameroon", in The Demographic Transition in Tropical Africa. Proceedings of an Expert Group Meeting. Paris: OECD Development Centre, 1971.

* 32. Bonduelle, Jo. Enquête sur la Commercialisation des Produits Vivriers Dans la Ville de Douala. Douala: PanAfrican Institute for Development (PAID), 1977.

This monograph is based on information collected during a two week survey carried out by 10 PAID students in the spring of 1976. As such it cannot give an indication of seasonal variations in activities and prices. In addition all data was collected from traders so the students could not check the validity of the purchase prices reported. The students interviewed 44 wholesalers, 400 market traders and 237 petty traders who sold outside market. Among the wholesalers only 6 were women (37 of the wholesalers were Bamileke of whom 5 were women), while 79% (316) of the market traders and 90% (213) of the petty traders were women. Data is provided on the source of the various commodities (only a general idea is given with no information on amounts or relative importance of the various source areas), the different commercial circuits followed by products, types of transport used by traders, amounts transported per trip, costs of transport, purchase price and sales price for each type of trader and a calculation of trade margins. Margins are not excessive except for the petty traders who sell in very small units and even this is questionable as they have a low volume of sales in long hours of work and provide a time and place service. Also provides data on food exports from Cameroon in 1975/76. The most important food products exported were yams, cassava and corn valued at CFA F 8 million, 7.75 million and 7.25 million respectively.

* 33. Boserup, Ester. Women's Role in Economic Development. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970.

Boserup's work is the first major economic study to focus specifically on the role of women in economic development. It provides useful assistance in the task of preparing an analysis of women's

economic roles and problems in a particular country by indicating areas where women may have an important role and the difficulties they may be encountering. Her description of women's role in agriculture and the economics of polygamy are especially pertinent to Cameroon. However, the Cameroon specific data she presents on p. 21 for work input by men and women in agriculture is misleading as it was apparently drawn from Guillard's study among the Toupouri (reference 88) where men do more work in food crop production than they do in most other parts of Cameroon.

• 34. Bot, Henneke. Promotion Féminine au Cameroun. Yaoundé: E.N.S.A. 1974.

The author (a Dutch exchange student at E.N.S.A.) describes the programs for the advancement of women in the Z.A.P.I. (Zones d'Action Prioritaires Integrees) as she found them in June - December 1973. Bot outlines the overall program of the Z.A.P.I., their goals and their administrative structure. She then describes a seminar held for the women in the 4 Z.A.P.I. in the Central South Province, and the program of the animatrice in the Zoetele Z.A.P.I. In the course of these descriptions, she points out difficulties with the programs (insufficient practical work with the village women, lack of time spent on agricultural work and lack of training in agriculture by the animatrice who was the principal contact with the women, lack of personnel - only one animatrice for an area which included approximately 4,000 adult women as compared to one extension agent for every 250 male farmers - inputs for food crop farming such as fertilizer sold at usual retail rates with no provision for credit). Bot also makes some suggestions for improving the situation.

• 35. Boulet, Jean. Magoumaz, Pays Mafa (Nord Cameroun). Paris: ORSTOM (Mouton and Co.), 1975.

Report on field research carried out in the Mandara Mountains from December 1965 - January 1967. Four months, from December 1965 - March 1966, were spent making a general survey of the Mandara Mountains and especially the six mountains in the Magoumaz valley. The population of the Magoumaz area was estimated at more than 4,400 persons or a density of 245 persons per square kilometer. In addition to preparing a series of maps, a study was made of the number of hours spent in various occupations by both men and women and of agricultural yields. Figures on the number of hours worked were collected only for the months of April - December as January - March is the height of the dry season and no agricultural work is done. For most of the year,

the number of hours worked by women exceeded that of men and both sexes worked very long hours, especially in May, June and July when both worked around 50 hours per week. The hours worked by women are particularly notable when one considers that men's agricultural work took 84% of their working time while women spent many additional hours grinding grain, collecting wood and water and cooking. The yields were sufficient to cover the nutritional requirements of the populus. Cash income of the families was very limited and was derived primarily from sales of groundnuts.

* 36. _____. Sociology Report on North Cameroon. Preliminary report prepared for USAID/Yaounde. Unofficial English translation of mimeo report, Yaounde, 1975.

Preliminary report prepared to support a joint United States/France survey of livestock potential in North Cameroon. Report provides some background data on demography and ethnic structure of the area. Also provides an extensive analysis of livestock practices of the various ethnic groups as well as their practices with respect to land tenure and inheritance.

* 37. Boutrais, Jean. La Colonisation des Plaines par les Montagnards au Nord du Cameroun (Monts Mandara). Paris: ORSTOM, 1973.

Boutrais collected information on the experience of the mountain tribes who settled in the plains in North Cameroon and the interaction between the tribes and the ethnic groups already inhabiting the plains area. The study also analyzes information collected and presented in a number of other studies made prior to the time. Considerable information is provided on agricultural practices and social relationships.

38. Brain, Robert. Bangwa Kinship and Marriage. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Study based on two field trips to former West Cameroun in 1955 and 1960 comprising a total of 20 months. The Bangwa are Bamileke chiefdoms who were on the English side of the French/English division of former German Kamerun following World War I. While Bangwa and Bamilekes still share the same basic culture, the contrasting colonial policies had created considerable

differences between them. For example, the marriage wardship system which provided the basis for much of the wealth and power of chiefs had been retained by the Bangwa while it had been abolished among the Bamileke by the French Government. Brain indicates that women were totally responsible for agriculture, they even cleared the land or arranged for it to be cleared (sometimes by sons or by daughters' fiancés). Women also organized the internal trade in foodcrops and local produce and their children helped them with these activities. Notes that a woman and her children constitute a clearly separate unit within the family compound; if a woman dies, her children will be raised by her matrikin and not by the co-wives. While fathers are expected to provide such items as meat, salt, school fees and clothing, mothers often are called upon to earn money to pay for these items. Brain provides a full description of the patrilineal and matrilineal kinship systems (which closely parallels the description of Hurault for the Bamileke, reference 98) and clarifies the position of women and their rights.

39. Brouwers, M. Report to the Government of Cameroon on Land Use and Agricultural Development of West Cameroon. (Expanded Program of Technical Assistance Report No. 2062.) Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1965.

40. Burnley, Gwen E. "Women's Work in West Cameroon," Women Today, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1964: 34-35.

Brief account of actions taken to create a federation of women's organizations from the former East and West Cameroon. 125 women's organizations had joined the federation - local groups were visited by executives of the federation to assist them with their activities; projects included a modest scholarship fund, literacy, handicraft, embroidery and sewing classes.

41. Buys, Dieke. Les Buyem - Sellem - Une Etude sur la Commercialisation Des Vivres Par Des Buyem Sellem Dans La Lékié, E.N.S.A., Yaoundé 1975.

Dieke Buys' study is based on field work carried out between August 1974 and March 1975. It is an excellent study which explains how the trade in food products operates from the fields where they are produced through the local and regional markets to the urban markets in Yaounde and in the process provides a

framework for understanding how the cities are provisioned from an essentially traditional agricultural system. At each level, Buys interviewed the agents concerned who were mainly women. Her report includes details of how the traders operate, how prices are set, constraints on the volume traded, problems of traders, profits realized and the characteristics of the traders operating at the different levels.

• 42. Cameroon. Direction de la Statistique. Enquête Emploi (Résultats Définitifs). Etudes et Enquêtes Statistiques, No.5,n.d.

Report on a study of the structure of wage employment in Cameroon which was conducted in July 1971. Provides information on persons working for firms with 20 or more employees. Much of the data presented is broken down by sex so it provides information on the number of female employees and the jobs they hold.

• 43. Cameroon. Direction de la Statistique. Enquête sur le niveau de vie à Yaounde 1964-65. Paris: Secrétariat d'Etat aux Affaires Etrangères Chargé de la Coopération, 1967.

• 44. Cameroon. Direction de la Statistique. Preliminary figures from the 1976 Population Census.

Information provided included the breakdown of the population by Province and Department showing the relative numbers of men and women in urban and rural areas in each case; figures on economically active women by professional categories, with breakdown into 5 year age groups, shown both as a total and for rural and urban areas separately; total population broken down by year of age and sex.

• 45. Cameroon. Direction de la Statistique. Principaux Résultats Du Rencensement Général de la Population et De l'Habitat d'Avril 1976.

Provides general outline of the principal results of the 1976 census. More detailed information is expected to be available in the near future.

* 46. Cameroon Government/ECA/FAO/Government of Belgium. Rapport du Séminaire sur l'Amélioration des Conditions de Vie en Milieu Rurale. Yaounde: République Unie du Cameroon, 1977.

Report on a seminar held in Yaounde in January 1977 in which 45 Cameroonians participated. They were mainly personnel of agencies working to improve the conditions of life in rural areas. The seminar was one of a series sponsored by the African Research and Training Centre for Women whose intention was to assist the Governments concerned to identify problems with the conditions of life and work of women and families in rural areas and to establish a plan of action to deal with them. The report contains the proceedings of the seminar which included a field study in a rural village.

* 47. Cameroon Ministry of Agriculture. Annuaire De Statistiques Agricoles 1974/75. n.d.

Data collected by the agricultural services providing information on the evolution of land areas cultivated in various crops broken down between food crops and cash crops; amounts produced and sold; agricultural implements purchased, amounts of pesticides and fertilizers used; figures on 3 amounts of crops exported. Information provided for Cameroon as a whole and broken down by provinces. Report notes that there are doubts about some of the data and action is being taken to correct errors in order to improve future reports. In most cases data from the Northwest Province was not shown as the figures reported were considered to be incorrect.

* 48. Cameroon. Ministry of Agriculture, Department of Community Development, Women's Service. "Activities in Brief" and "Plan for 1977/82".

Describes the program of work and plans of the service concerned.

* 49. Cameroon. Ministry of Information and Culture. L'Education Au Cameroun. Yaounde: Agracam, 1975.

Provides an outline of the formal school system in Cameroon and data on numbers of facilities, students and teachers. Most information is current through 1972 though occasional references are made to the situation in the 1973/74 school year.

• 50. Cameroon. Ministry of National Education. Annuaire Statistique - 1971-1972.

Contains statistical information on all aspects of secondary and higher education both general and technical, broken down by sex of pupils and teachers.

• 51. Cameroon. Ministry of National Education. La Formation Technique et Professionnelle en République Unie Du Cameroun 1971/72. March 1973.

Provides a complete listing of professional and technical schools, the number of students they train and the number receiving a qualification. None of the data is sex-linked.

• 52. Cameroon. Ministry of Economic Affairs and Planning. Fourth Five-Year Economic Social and Cultural Development Plan. 1976-1981.

Information on government plans and projected expenditures in all sectors.

• 53. Cameroon. Ministry of Plan and Territorial Administration. Rapport National Sur Le Groupe Enfance-Jeunesse-Famille en République Fédérale Du Cameroun, December 1971.

Provides description of the situation of infants, youth and families in the various regions of Cameroon and describes the educational, nutritional, health and social problems they face. Also presents various activities which the government had planned or was considering to ameliorate the conditions. Noted that the protection accorded to women by the traditional system had been eroded and she now required more assistance from the legal system. Also suggested that the totality of tasks undertaken by women in caring for home, children and undertaking the major share in food production was too heavy. Suggested that a new division of labor be promoted whereby men took over more of the heavy work associated with agriculture and that any commercialization of foodstuffs be undertaken by the husband with the assistance of the wife.

• 54. Cameroon. Organisation des Femmes de l'Union National Camerounaise (OFUNC). "Papers of the second and fourth OFUNC Council Meetings" held in Yaounde in January 1971 and January 1977 respectively.

Provides information on OFUNC analysis of various aspects of women's situation in Cameroon (Family Planning, Family Budgets, Agricultural role, integration of women in development) and their programs and resolutions for improving the condition of women.

• 55. Cameroon. OFUNC Visages de la femme Camerounaise. Yaoundé: AGRACAM, n.d.

Prepared in the mid 1970's, this report provides up-to-date general information on all aspects of women's lives in Cameroon - participation in economic development, social life, politics, legal status, employment, etc.

• 56. Champaud, Jacques. Mom, Terroir Bassa. Paris: ORSTOM, 1973.

Study of Bassa agricultural system in the village of Mom (population 668) located near Makak in the Central-South, based on field research carried out between July 1963 and February 1964. In addition to mapping the size, ownership, value and type of agricultural landholdings and other features of the area (railroad, principal roads, trails, houses etc.) also considered the genealogies of the principal families and the social organization in so much as they related to the present agricultural structure. Interesting feature of his data is the detailing of the number of female headed households in the area - 27 out of 125 or approximately 20%. Nineteen of the female family heads were food farmers, 5 were cocoa planters, and 3 were traders. The cash income per capita of households headed by female food farmers was slightly higher than that of male food farmer headed households due to larger sales of food crops. Notes that production of food crops is almost entirely the affair of women - each active woman culti ates on average 42 ares. Provides data on agricultural methods, the agricultural calendar, and crops cultivated. Also provides information on a women's saving association he studied in Mom made up of 51 women from the same clan. As one woman stated that she had used her collection to set up a trade in smoked fish and others had used it for children's school fees, there was evidence that at least some of the women were using their savings for development purposes.

• 57. Clarke, John I., LeVine, Victor and Green, Reginald H. "Cameroon" pages 207-232 in Africa South of the Sahara, 1977-1978, Europa Publications.

Useful, up-to-date description of Cameroon's recent history, government and economy. Economic sector analysis prepared by Green notes that one of the steps needed to correct the over dependence on external investment and markets is to concentrate a much higher proportion of the rural development effort on the small-scale domestic food grower. Provides a breakdown by sector of wage earners - 11,080 of a total of 180,482 are women or less than 10%. Employment in the public service accounts for 4,346 of the wage employed women.

58. Clignet, Remi. "Quelques Remarques sur le Rôle des Femmes Africaines en Milieu Urbain: le Cas du Cameroun," Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1972: 303-315.

Clignet is considering the question of whether the processes of urbanization and industrialization will necessarily result in a family organization along European lines. For Cameroon and Africa in general this would mean declines in polygamy and fertility as well as the replacement of extended families by nuclear families especially in terms of residence. In addition, it would indicate the development of more companionate and equalitarian relationships between spouses. Clignet does not believe there is much evidence that this process is occurring and presents data from the 1962 census of Yaounde and the 1964 census of Douala to support his view. In the process, he provides considerable information on the educational, social, marital and professional characteristics of females in Cameroon's two major cities.

59. _____. "Social Change and Sexual Differentiation", Signs, No. 3, 1977: 244-260.

60. _____, and Sween, Joyce. "Urbanization, plural marriage, and family size in two African cities," American Ethnologist, No. 1, 1974: 221-242.

In this article, Clignet (with Sween) is considering the same question as that in reference 58. above and uses the same data base for his analysis. However, in this article his focus is primarily on monogamous and plural marriage and relative rates of fertility within the different forms of marriage. He is comparing the differences in rates of plural marriage and the

characteristics of men and women in various types of marriage and residential arrangements based upon their ethnic group of origin and residence in Douala as compared with Yaounde. The results indicate that males tend to use the economic advantages attained by modern education and occupations to achieve traditional goals of having several wives and many children. The situation is not so clear cut with respect to women where the data is more contradictory, but there is some evidence that women are taking an opposite path to that of the men.

• 61. Courade, C., and Courade, G. Education in Anglophone Cameroon (1915-1975). Yaounde: OHARCST, ISH No. 3, 1977.

This study provides a description of the school system in former West Cameroon (currently Northwest and Southwest Provinces) from its beginning to 1975. The survey also highlights differences between the school system created under the British colonial administration and that which resulted from French administration in the rest of Cameroon. With respect to women, data are provided on the numbers of women teachers in the system and map 8 illustrates the differences which exist within the two provinces in the percentage of girls in the school population. The report also briefly discusses the situation of women in secondary education noting that girls account for 40 percent of students in primary school, one third of those in the first cycle of secondary school and only one eighth of those in the second cycle and at university level.

62. Dark, Philip. "Notes on the Ton of the Southern French Cameroons," Man (London), Vol. 56, No. 132, September 1956: 124-125.

• 63. DeLancey, Virginia. The Relationship Between Female Labor Force Participation and Fertility: Compatibility of Roles on a Cameroon Plantation. Paper presented at Annual Meeting African Studies Assn., Baltimore, November 1978.

This paper is based on data collected in 1975/76 on 175 married women living with their husbands and employed at the Tole Tea Plantation as well as 53 married women who lived at the same location but were non-wage employed (though they might be involved in income earning activities). The information was collected for Ms. DeLancey's doctoral dissertation which should be presented in 1979 and is on the same topic as this paper. DeLancey is exploring whether women in wage employment experience conflicts between their work and their fertility. She analyzed several factors which could result in a conflict situation and found that in the relatively supportive environment of the

plantation (e.g. women were given time off at full pay to care for a child whose illness had been medically certified) women did not experience many difficulties. There was also no significant difference between the average number of children of the two groups of women (comparison was made between women in the same age groupings in each case).

64. _____. Women at the Cameroon Development Corporation: How Their Money Works, A Study of Small Scale Accumulation of Capital by Women in Cameroon. Paper presented at Annual Meeting African Studies Assn., Houston, November 1977.

DeLancey used the same data base as the paper discussed above to prepare this interesting study. The wage earners in her sample had average monthly incomes of the CFA equivalent of $69.41 from their wages and other sources of income while the non-wage earners had average monthly incomes of $31.75. Ninety-eight percent of the wage employed women had savings; an average of $197 was saved per woman saver. Eighty-one percent of the non-wage earners were savers and had saved an average of $31 each. DeLancey also surveyed the household assets of the women, their investments and their reasons for saving. The final section of the paper describes the methods and institutions the women used for savings.

* 65. Delaroziere, R. "Les Institutions politiques et sociales des populations Bamiléké," Etudes Camerounaises, No. 25-26, March-June 1949: 5-68; and No. 27-29 September-December 1949: 127-176.

Delaroziere's study was the first general study of Bamileke social and political institutions and remains the standard work on the traditional society although Huralt's work (reference 98) provides a description of social institutions as he found them in the late 1950's. With respect to women, Delaroziere provides information on the rights enjoyed by the class of women associated with the Fon: the mafo who was the Fon's mother (sister or eldest daughter if his mother was dead) and helped him to rule as well as enjoyed many personal rights, the Fon's daughters, and the Fon's wives. Delaroziere also briefly describes two women's organizations, the Mandjon which was a group of important women who administered village work done by all women (clearing footpaths etc.) and organized co-operation in agricultural work, and the Mansu which was an agricultural society composed of the best cultivators.

• 66. Diarra, Fatoumata A. Perspectives de développement des départements autour de Yaoundé: Commercialisation des produits vivriers de la Lékié par les Buyam-Sellam. Dec. 1974.

Diarra's study is based on a series of data collection activities carried out from June-October 1974. Amounts of food being sold in two major markets in Yaounde and the source of the foodstuffs was recorded. The Buy 'em Sell 'em (B.S.) in these markets were also interviewed. Subsequently, regional markets were visited and both B.S. and producers in those places were interviewed. As a result, Diarra is able to provide a description of how food moves from the areas around Yaounde to the urban markets, the organization of the markets, those of the B.S. and other important topics such as the factors which go into determining the price of food. In addition, she describes the problems of the actors (who are mainly women) at each level in the food production and sales system.

67. Dongmo, André. Les Origines Du Sens Commercial Des Bamiléké. Yaoundé: Imprimerie St. Paul, 1974.

Dongmo explores the geographic and social factors which may account for the unusual commercial ability of the Bamileke. Geographical factors include the cooler temperatures in the area (which permit and encourage more activity), the lack of palm oil which made trade a necessity and the long dry season which created a need to store foods against future necessity. Discusses skull worship and the expenses of sacrifices to skulls which along with the need to pay for other expensive ceremonies required by Bamileke customs (funerals, birth of twins, etc.), helped to push them to commercial success. Bamileke commoners could also achieve noble status either by having many children (which helped to account for the great popularity of polygamy) or by purchasing a title from the Fon. Either route required the acquisition of considerable wealth. Finally the habit of naming a sole inheritor who wasn't necessarily the first son and was not known until the father was dying or already dead, encouraged all the children of a man to work hard and appear capable of using the wealth received to increase the power and size of the lineage.

68. Doumbe-Moulongo, Maurice. Les Coutumes et le Droit au Cameroun. Yaoundé: Editions CLE, 1972.

Study of the evolution and changes wrought in customary institutions in Cameroon by the promulgation of laws under the colonial regimes and the independent government. Wrote first

study in 1959; this is a revised edition which includes an analysis of changes in the laws through the 1960's. Includes considerable information on legal charges affecting women especially concerning the bridewealth, betrothal and marriage, divorce, the liberty of divorced women and widows, and inheritance.

• 69. Dugast, Idelette. Inventaire ethnique du Sud Cameroun. Dakar: IFAN, 1949.

Provides an extremely useful inventory of the ethnic groups of the area of southern Cameroon formerly administered by the French. Project was started in the 1930's but was not completed until 1949. Concentrates on describing the location of the various ethnic groups, their size, origin, language and recent history. Social and economic aspects are only briefly discussed. Maps are provided showing land area occupied by each group, as well as towns, roads, rivers, railroads (if any) and principal markets - these were prepared in 1947.

• 70. _____. Monographie de la Tribu des Ndiki (Banen du Cameroun), Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1955 and 1960, 2 volumes.

Exceptionally detailed work of 2 volumes based on field observations made August 1934 - July 1936, 1938-1939, April 1940 - December 1941, and 1953-1954 so her perspective spanned 20 years. She describes all aspects of Ndiki life and provides extensive information on food crop production, preparation and consumption patterns. Period from 1940-1941 was the segment in which she collected her most important data. At that time she followed six families with differing compositions and collected information on their production and consumption over an entire year. Found all groups had less to eat than they needed but junior wives and children were most disadvantaged. When she returned in 1954 she noted that harvests had increased as fields had been enlarged, however only children's diets appeared to have improved. Dugast suggested bulk of increase was being marketed to generate cash. Extensive information is provided on working methods for agriculture, and other activities such as collecting and processing of palm oil, crafts, housebuilding etc. Women took the major role in food crop production, they made pots, and did the plastering of houses - Dugast notes that any activity which involved earth appeared to fall in the women's sphere of responsibility. Her work provides useful baseline information on production techniques and diets in the rural southern forest zone and a perspective on lines of evolution.

• 71. Dupire, Marguerite. Organisation Sociale des Peuls. Paris: Plon, 1970.

Dupire's work is a comparison of those Fulbe societies which have been the subject of first hand studies covering the essential aspects of their social life rather than an exhaustive survey of all works on the Fulbe. In order to point out the effects of differing economic and environmental conditions, she has attempted to compare the social organization of nomadic herders, settled agriculturalists and farmer/cattle raisers in her study. Although Dupire herself has done some research work in Cameroon among the Fulani, there is little Cameroon-specific information in the book. However, the prevalence of certain forms of social organization among the diverse groups she discusses is helpful in providing an indication of what the situation among Fulani groups in Cameroon may be like and is a useful starting point for further research.

• 72. _____. "The Position of Women in a Pastoral Society" (The Fulani WoDaaBe, Nomads of the Niger), p. 47-92 in Paulme, Denise, (ed.), Women of Tropical Africa, London 1963.

The portrait drawn of Fulani women in this article probably does not correspond in its details to the life of Fulani women in Cameroon. However, in the absence of a similar article with Cameroon-specific information, it provides useful insights into child rearing practices, marriage and women's rights and duties in a Fulani group.

• 73. Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). Origin and Growth of the African Research and Training Center for Women of the Economic Commission for Africa. Document No. E/CN.14/AYRCW/77/80.7, 5 September 1977.

As the title indicates, this pamphlet describes the establishment and expansion of the program of ARTCW. Inter alia the report mentions programs which have involved Cameroon and provides a select bibliography of its publications, some of which relate to Cameroon. It also describes the planned program of work of ATRCW through 1979.

• 74. ECA/MULPOC. "Establishment of Sub-Regional Machinery to Enhance the Role of Women in the Progress of Economic and Social Development in the Central African Sub-Region and to Promote and Guide the Activities of the ECA's Training and Research Centre for Women", ECA/MULPOC/Yaounde, 27 Feb - 3 March 1978.

Provides a brief history of ECA programs for integrating women in development including establishment of ATRCW. Describes

activities of ATRCW in the sub-regions and sets forth the recommended sub-regional organization and its planned activities. Resolutions adopted at the Regional Conference on the Implementation of National, Regional and World Plans of Action for the Integration of Women in Development held in Nouakchott, Mauratania 27 September - 2 October 1977 are provided in the annexes to the document. (The Inaugural Meeting of the MULPOC Council of Ministers held in Yaounde March 2-3 1978 voted to accept the recommendations of the report and establish the Sub-Regional Machinery).

* 75. ECA/MULPOC. "Cooperation between the Pan-African Women's Organization and the ATRCW" and "Closing Speech of Adama Diallo, Director of the MULPOC for Central Africa." July 10-12, 1978.

Documents presented at the Sub-Regional Committee Meeting on Women's Integration in Development, Yaounde, July 10-12, 1978.

* 76. ECA/MULPOC. "Séminaire de Formation Aux Techniques de Préparation et de Mise en Oeuvre de Projets ," Yaoundé, 13-21 July 1978.

Outline of an 8-day seminar attended by twenty women of the Central African countries which was designed to provide them with short-term training in the methods of planning, designing, and evaluating project activities so they could contribute more effectively to national development.

77. ECA Women's Program. Selected Projects in Handicrafts and other Small Industries in English-Speaking African Countries. Document No. HR/AF/RE/1974 D.7, Mindolo, Zambia, 1974.

78. Eguchi, Miriam Joy. "Aspects of the Life Style and Culture of Women in the Fulbe districts of Maroua," Kyoto University African Studies, Vol. 8, March 1973: 17-92.

Eguchi lived in the Dougoi section of Maroua, a Fulbe neighborhood, from November 1971 to March 1972 during which period she collected the material for this paper. It is based on participant/observation of the life of the women and as such provides a detailed description of their daily life, social customs, cooking practices and income earning activities.

79. Etoga-Eily. Sur les chemins du développement: l'histoire des faits économiques du Cameroun. Yaounde: ed. CEPMAE, 1971.

* 80. Falaha, F.L. Dr. Enquête Sur La Fécondité Dans La Province de l'Est du Cameroun. WHO, 1975.

Report of a study carried out between December 22, 1973 and March 28, 1975 into the extent of the problems of infertility and subfertility in the East Province. Also provides an assessment of underlying causes and makes recommendation on measures which can be taken to combat the problems.

* 81. Fikry, Mona and Tchala-Abina, Francois. People and Water, Social Soundness Analysis for the Mandara Mountains Water Resources Project for USAID/Yaounde. March 3, 1978 (mimeo).

Study made in November 1977 - February 1978 to determine the social feasibility of constructing 47 dams in the Mandara Mountains. Study concerned with social aspects of water use, sanitation, community involvement in construction and maintenance of dams, control of dam site etc. The fetching of water is entirely the responsibility of women and the burdens of collection increase dramatically as the dry season progresses (sources of water become increasingly distant and may involve a roundtrip of 12-18 km and the number of daily trips a woman has to make increases if the family keeps animals). The women become very tired during this period and the whole family suffers from

irregular meals. When asked of their expectations of the dam, many women planned to improve their financial position by using the extra time which would be available for income earning activities. They also thought of further reducing their burdens by using the extra income to have their sorghum ground at a mill.

82. Forde, C. Daryll, and Kaberry, Phyllis Mary (eds.). West African Kingdoms in the 19th Century. London: International African Institute, 1967. Esp. Chilver, E.M. and Kaberry P., "The Kingdom of Kom in West Cameroon": 123-151.

Description of the Kingdom of Kom as it existed in the 19th century. Outlines the social organization of Kom whose most distinctive feature was that it was the only one of the Tikar dynasties to practice matrilineal succession. Notes that women were responsible for agriculture. Describes the range of crimes (primarily against women) which would stimulate women to assemble as anlu.

* 83. Francueville, A. "Les relations ville-campagne sur la route au nord de Yaoundé," Caniers CRSTOM - Série Sciences Humaines, Vol. 9, no. 3, 1972: 337-387.

* 84. Froelich, J.C. (a) "Le commandement et l'organization sociale chez les Foulbé de l'Adamaoua," and (b) "Ngaoundéré: la vie économique d'une cité peul," Etudes camerounaises No. 45-46, September-December 1954: 3-91, and No. 43-44, March-June 1954: 3-66.

These two articles concern the Foulbe of the Adamaoua, resident in and around Ngaoundere, as well as the other tribes living in the area. They were apparently prepared by a French official who does not indicate how or when he collected his material. Information is provided on the political organization of the area, legal system and court cases, markets, household budgets, and the techniques used and incomes earned by artisans (women were earning incomes as potters, and weavers of cloth and mats). Provides some information on legal and inheritance rights of females and style of life of Fulbe women.

* 85. de Garine, Igor. Les Massa du Cameroun. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964.

de Garine's study is based on field research carried out over 14 months (in 1958 - 59) in 17 Massa villages in the department of Mayo-Danaye. He was attempting to discover the nature of the social life

of the Massa by studying their economy especially the activities of production, techniques used, results achieved, and the factors which determine how the production is distributed and used. Provides a detailed description of the residences of the Massa, the division of labor between men and women in various types of production and information on contrasting life styles of Massa living in rural and urban areas.

86. _____. "Population, Production and Culture in the Plains Societies of Northern Cameroon and Chad: The Anthropologist in Development Projects," Current Anthropology, Vol. 19, No. 1, March 1978: 42 - 57.

This article draws on information collected through field research in Cameroon and Chad among the Massa (North and South) Toubouri, Kera and Musey on different occasions between 1958 and 1975 to illustrate the types of information which anthropological research can provide for development planning efforts. Also describes the personal (and often difficult) position of anthropologists working for development projects.

87. Genest, Serge. "Savoir traditionnel Chez les Forgerons Mafa," Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1974: 495-516.

Study based on 18 months of field research among the Mafa blacksmiths in the early 1970s which included a sample survey of 201 blacksmiths and their 260 wives. Is primarily interested in how the special knowledge of the endogamous clan of Mafa blacksmiths is transmitted to their sons and daughters. Women of the clan are potters and midwives and Genest describes the techniques they use and the apprenticeship programs for the two vocations.

• 88. Guilliard, Joanny. Golonpui. Paris: Mouton, 1965.

This study of the social and economic life of the Toubouri was made in 1954-1957 to provide information for development projects planned for the area. Extensive information is provided on the agricultural production system including a description of the division of labor between men and women with respect to both food crops and cash crops and the annual cycle of work involved (shown on a month by month basis giving number of hours worked by husbands, wives and helpers respectively). The final section deals with the economy, the markets, the artisans and nutrition.

• 89. Guyer, Jane. The Women's Farming System, The Lekie Southern Cameroon. Yaounde: I.N.S.A., 1977.

Guyer studied the farming system of women in two Eton (a Tanguin tribe) villages over two farming years. The first village was studied from March - November 1975 and the second in the same period in 1976. The villages are in contrasting positions -- one (Nkometou III) has ready access to the main road and the markets in Yaounde, while the other (Nkolfeb) is much less accessible. It is known that women in the villages (and in most of Southern Cameroon) produce the bulk of agricultural produce and that they are selling sufficient amounts to provision the growing urban areas. The central question Guyer was examining was whether women were merely opportunistically selling the normal surplus produced by all subsistence systems, or whether they were systematically planning their production to allow for market sales. Although her conclusions could only be tentative in a changing situation, Guyer found that there was considerable evidence the latter situation was the case, particularly in Nkometou III. Her study includes detailed information on the agricultural calendar, land area cultivated, labor requirements, production techniques and yield of the farming systems as well as the cash incomes of the women.

• 90. Hallaire, A. "Marchés et Commerce au Nord Des Monts Mandara (Nord du Cameroun)," Cah. ORSTOM, ser. Sci. Hum., vol 9 , no. 3, 1972: 259-286.

Describes characteristics of markets in the area, including mapping the location of the 46 markets, indications of the ethnic groups who attend, types of products bought and sold, seasonal differences in markets, etc. Provides information on the sex ratio of sellers in the markets broken down by ethnic group as well as a description of the types of products handled by women.

• 91. _____. "Koubadje. Étude d'un terroir agricole de l'Adamaoua." Recherches et Etudes Camerounaises. No. 5, 1961-1962: 47 - 72.

One of the few studies found on agricultural communities in the Adamaoua. Provides information on demographic structure and economic activities including role of women in agriculture.

92. Henn, Albert E. Before Family Planning, The Implications of Infertility in Africa for Population Program Planning. World Population Society Meeting, Washington D.C., December 1976. Mimeo.

This is the transcript of a speech Dr. Henn made at the World Population Society Meeting in 1976. The main point of his presentation was that cultural attitudes in West and Central Africa and the problems of subfertility and infertility in certain portions of the area limit the effectiveness of programs narrowly based on providing services and contraceptives for family planning. Instead, an integrated maternal and child health delivery system which included programs to attack all types of fertility problems as well as other services to improve the health of this high-risk group could achieve the desired ends in a way which also met the needs of the persons involved and conformed to the desired development programs of the African governments.

93. Henn, Jeanne K., Peasants, State and Capital: The Political Economy of Rural Incomes in Cameroon, Phd Thesis, Havard, 1978.

The only portion of Henn's thesis which was available for review was the chapter entitled "Pre-Colonial Social Formation in Southern Cameroon." This chapter provides considerable information on the situation of women drawn from a number of ethnographic sources (primarily concerning the Pahouin tribes and especially the Beti). Henn's analysis (which has been prepared to make a contribution to Marxist theory) indicates that a class system existed within the largely autonomous family units of the area. She reconstructs the working week of men and women and estimates that men worked approximately 25 hours per week while women worked 45 hours. As women were also prevented from consuming an equal share of food and other items which they helped to produce, Henn estimates that 40% of their activities could be described as surplus labor (i.e. labor of a worker above and beyond the return that he or she derives from the labor).

94. Houdayer, R. Enquête sur les exploitations agricoles des ZAPI du Centre-Sud. Yaoundé: Min. Plan et Amenag. du Territoire, 1972.

95. Hugon, Phillipe. Analyse du Sous-Développement en Afrique Noire: L'Exemple de l'Economie du Cameroun. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968.

96. Huralt, Jean. "Eleveurs et Cultivateurs des Hauts-Plateaux du Cameroun. La Population du Lamidat de Banyo," Population, Vol. 24, No. 5, Sept. - Oct. 1969: 963-994.

Huralt used two sources of information for his article, an administrative census of the Banyo Lamidat made in 1954-55 and a second survey he participated in in 1967-68. He compares the demographic characteristics of three groups living in the area: the Foulbe, the tribes of farmers (e.g. Wawa) and the detribalised cultivators. As all the groups are subject to the same external factors, differences in life expectancy can be ascribed to differences in their life styles. The Foulbe had a significantly greater life expectancy than the other groups which Huralt believed was due to a variety of factors including the partial seclusion of females which helped to isolate young children so that they avoided infectious diseases and the Foulbe diet which was much richer in protein from milk and meat products.

97. _____. "Essai de Synthèse Du Système Social Des Bamiléké," Africa, Vol. 40, London, 1970: 1-24.

The field research for this article was carried out in 1968 and is a follow-up to the work done 10 years earlier which formed the basis for the study described below. It is especially interesting as it describes how Bamileke institutions had survived the transfer to an independent government. Huralt notes that the elaborate lineage and kinship institutions, chiefdoms and ward organizations had remained very active. He attributes their survival to their flexibility and the fact that they permitted upward mobility of all males. Clarifies land tenure situation, i.e. exceptional women may have title to land but land ownership is normally a male prerogative. On each concession there exists two distinct rights, that of the title holder which is the "real" right and the more precarious right of usage which belongs to the woman who farms the land. This right may be inherited by the woman's descendants, but the title holder generally assures that this does not continue long enough to result in alienation of the property. Women have rights to cultivate concessions based on their statuses as wives, daughters, daughter of a daughter etc. so the amount of agricultural production depends on the energy of the woman and not on the amount of land her husband owns. Traditionally women were the sole permanent labor in agriculture and this principle has been maintained. Notes that savings associations in rural Bamileke are the successors to the traditional male para-military organizations and only women who belong are mafos or inheritors of mafos.

96. _____. La Structure Sociale des Bamileké. Paris: Mouton, 1962.

Study based primarily on field research carried out in two Bamileke chiefdoms in 1955. It represented the first in-depth study of Bamileke kinship systems and their social structure. As such it provides a clarification of the true position of women and indicates the safeguards of it which were provided by the social system but are not immediately apparent. He begins with a brief description of the material life -- houses, agriculture, animal husbandry, markets and the division of labor between the sexes. His description of the complicated kinship, inheritance, and marriage systems is very clear. He also describes the status and rights of the chief's wives and of the mafo. As lands are settled on them which can be transmitted to their female inheritors, it is through them that women establish rights to acquire property.

99. Illy, Hans. F. "Savings and Credit System of the Bamileke in Cameroun -- A Study of the Internal Financing of Development," p. 293-314 in Voss, J. (ed.) Development Policy in Africa. Bonn: Publications of the Research Institute of Fredrich-Ebert-Stitung, 1973.

Description of the mode of operation of different types of Bamileke savings associations. Notes that, as a rule, men and women form separate groups. Although these groups do permit members to amass capital for investment ventures, Illy does not believe they could be turned into cooperatives as the "cooperative philosophy" is alien to them.

• 100. Institute for the Reform of Primary Education (IRAR) -- Buea. Report on the Reform of Primary Education. Buea, April 1977.

This report provides considerable information on the agricultural systems and handicrafts practised in the Northwest and Southwest Provinces. The field research on which it is based was carried out in the early 1970s. The objective of the work was to provide the background information necessary to revise the syllabus of the primary schools to make it more relevant to local conditions. Information is also presented on the mathematics curriculum and the language studies programs.

• 101. Jett, Joyce. "Cameroon", pages 75-97 in The Role of Traditional Midwives in the Modern Health Sector in West and Central Africa. USAID, January 1977.

The field work on which this report is based was carried out from September - November 1976. As is indicated by the title of the study, Jett was considering whether traditional midwives had a role to play in the delivery of modern health services and what steps health authorities were taking to train them to improve their techniques. In Cameroon she found that there was little interest and some hostility on the part of health officials to the idea of training and using TBAs, but a few doctors recognized their potential usefulness, especially in providing services in remote areas. Report provides data on health services available to care for women during pregnancy and childbirth as well as interviews with several TBAs.

• 102. Kaberry, Phyllis M. Women of the Grassfields: A Study of the Position of Women in Bamenda, British Cameroons. (No. 14) London: H.M.S.O. Colonial Research Publications, 1952.

Kaberry's study is based on research carried out between January 1945 and April 1948 during which time she spent 33 months in the field. She had been invited by the British Government of Nigeria which also administered former West Cameroon to undertake a study of the economic and social conditions of women prior to planning programs to improve the conditions. Kaberry believed that this would entail a study of the economic, kinship, religious and political institutions of the society in order to establish women's position within them. As such, her study provides a detailed view of the tribes in the area, and especially the Nsaw which was the largest of the Tikar chiefdoms. After discussing the political and kinship structures, Kaberry provides information on food farming in the area which was the principal activity of the women. She compiled a detailed agricultural calendar showing the annual schedule for the various crops grown, estimates of sizes of holdings cultivated (the average women with no assistants was cultivating between 1 and 1.5 acres) and she kept a diary of the days worked in the fields. Kaberry found that while men helped with the heavy work of land clearing, their total involvement in food crop farming did not exceed 10 days a year; women were working throughout the year, and on average spent 60% of their time in the fields. Kaberry's work is particularly useful for its clarification of land tenure and usage practices. She also provides considerable information on the activities of men which were influenced by the need to earn a cash income or produce items for barter in order to purchase palm oil from the forest tribes as none grew in the area. She provides detailed information on household budgets and the percentage which

was provided by women's activities (on average women provided around 40% of the household budget for the typical family), as well as a description of consumption patterns.

• 103. Koenig, Dolores B., "Education and Fertility Among Cameroonian Working Women," chapter in Caldwell, John C. (ed.) Education, Family and Fertility, Canberra: Australian National University Press, in press.

Koenig's analysis is based on information collected in the course of her doctoral research (reference 104 below). She is considering whether her data indicates that there is a correlation between education and fertility among employed Cameroonian women. She begins by reviewing the literature pro and con such a correlation (in terms of a reduction in fertility), especially in the African setting. She also examines empirical evidence from West Africa which generally indicates that there is an inverse correlation between education and fertility, although some recent studies have begun to raise questions about how general the trend is. The three different groups of women in her study have distinctly different educational attainments: plantation workers averaged .46 years of formal schooling, bank workers 11.1 years and elites 16.7 years. The numbers of living children also progressed in the same direction with plantation workers averaging 2.03 children per woman, bank workers 2.15 and elites 2.91. However, as bank workers were much younger than the other two groups of women, it appeared they were progressing to a higher completed fertility. Koenig concludes by considering factors in the Cameroonian situation which may have influenced the results.

• 104. _____. Sex, Work and Social Class in Cameroon. Doctoral thesis presented to Northwestern University, August, 1977.

The objective of Koenig's doctoral research was to determine to what extent the educational and occupational decisions of modern Cameroonian women are constrained by their sex and to what extent by their place in the social structure. Her dissertation is based upon information collected by the Direction de la Statistic (see reference 42) and on her own field research carried out in the summer of 1974 and in 13 months from the summer of 1975 through the summer of 1976. Koenig's own research consisted of a larger sample survey of women plantation workers and bank employees and a smaller interview survey with a selection of the first two groups of workers and a sample of women in elite jobs. Her write-up provides extensive background information on the literature in the field, the ethnic

background and recent history of Cameroon, the educational system and the determinants of levels of education obtained, as well as information on aspects of employment such as the sexual composition of various occupational sectors and the determinants of pay. Social factors affecting women workers are also considered.

*105. _____. Why Women Migrate, Agricultural Workers in Africa. Paper presented at Annual Meeting American Anthropological Assn., Washington D.C. Nov.21. 1976.

In examining women as a migrant group, Koenig is studying a group of migrants who have largely been ignored. It is based on an investigation carried out on plantation workers in the rubber and oil palm plantation is Dizangue, Cameroon. She found that most of the 35 women were single with an average age of 37.5 years and over half of them were widows. They indicated that their motive for moving was to find better means of financial sucport for themselves and their children.

*106. _____. Women Bank Employees in Cameroon, 1974. Research Project Report, n.d. (mimeo).

*107. Kom, David. Le Cameroun: Essai d'analyse économique et politique. Montrouge: Editions Sociales, 1971.

*108. Laburthe-Tolra, Philippe. Minlaaba: Histoire et Société Traditionelle chez les Béti du Sud Cameroun. These Univ. of Paris V, 1975.

109. Lagerberg, C. and Wilms, G. Profile of a Commercial Town in West Cameroon, Research findings of a socio-anthropological enquiry in Kumba. The Netherlands: Tilburg University Press. 1974.

110. Lelleg, Raymond. An experiment in the ruralization of education: I.P.A.R. and the Cameroonian reform, study prepared for the International Bureau of Education, Paris 1974.

111. Lamare, Marc Mongbet, La Médecine Bamoun, Yaounde: Lamaro, 1975.

Lamare is a Bamoun who studied medicine and has a doctorate in ethnology. The study begins with a description of aspects of Bamoun social and economic life both traditional and modern with detail on marriage practices and the division of labor between the sexes. He then describes the approach taken by traditional healers to various health problems both mental and physical. Practices with respect to pregnancy and delivery are described as well as the aftercare of the mother and baby. The diet of the Bamoun is also examined in considerable detail and its nutritional quality is analyzed.

•112. Lantum, Dan. Cameroon women leaders speak on population matters. 1973 (mimeo).

Lantum's study was carried out in 1973 in the Northwest and Southwest Provinces among 256 members of the executives of sections and subsections of the Women's Cameroonian National Union with support from Ford Foundation. He elicited information on the women's attitudes on a variety of topics surrounding population and family planning, i.e. ideal family size (9[illegible].4% of the women indicated 5 or above), polygamy (40.23% favored monogamous marriages and 59.77% polygamous marriages), age at first marriage (75.4% favored ages between 18 and 21), desired size of Cameroonian population in 1982 (89% favored more than 7 million and nearly 50% favored above 9 million). Despite their expressed ideal family size, 68% of the women had 4 or fewer children. Lantum does not present information on the education levels of the women, their ages, or their knowledge and practices with respect to contraceptive methods.

•113. _____. Report of the Nutrition Survey of Pre-School Age Children of Bakiri and Mbandjock Districts of Cameroon Conducted in May 1977. Yaounde: Public Health Unit, C.U.S.S., Univ. of Yaounde, 1978.

*114. Lebeuf, Annie M.D. "The Role of Women in the Political Organization of African Societies." In: Paulme, Denise (ed) Women of Tropical Africa. London 1963.

*115. Lele, Uma, The Design of Rural Development, Lessons From Africa, Published for the World Bank by the John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1975.

*116. Lembezat, Betrand. Les Populations Païennes du Nord-Cameroun. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961.

Lambezat's work is a general review of ethrographic information including his own field research on the pagan tribes of North Cameroon (known collectively as the Kirdi). It was prepared as part of the International African Institute's project to provide an ethnographic survey of Africa (references 5, 7 and 127 are also part of the series) and provides a summary of all studies prepared up to 1959.

117. LeVine, Victor and M'Ballah, Henri. "Federal Republic of Cameroon," pages 519-532 in Helen Kitchen (ed.), The Educated African. New York: Praeger, 1962.

Provides outline of educational development in East and West Cameroon up to the time of Federation in October 1961. Figures presented give indication of involvement women in educational system. E.g. In 1946, enrollment of girls amounted to 14.7% of total enrollment in Eastern Cameroon. Their percentage had increased to 30% in 1956. By 1960 100% of boys of school age in Southern Cameroon and 30% of girls were in attendance, but the equivalent figures for Northern Cameroon were 36% of boys and 2% of girls.

*118. Manga, Lucien. "Education des Filles, Dot et Société Féminine chez les Béti," Revue d'Action Populaire, 180, July-August 1964: 822-832.

Manga asserts that among the Beti, the function of women was to give and care for life. The principle of the separation of the sexes was very strong and as a result all the instruction of girls was in the hands of women. Girls were taught to be modest and to observe the "secret" as it was on the mystery of women that their power rested - a well educated Beti woman was one who did not speak, but communicated with other women in a language of gestures that men did not understand.

Also discusses the nature of the "dot" (bridewealth) and its evolution. He asserts that the Beti system provided the women with considerable personal freedom. In addition, women created organizations to protect their interests vis-a-vis men and as such they constituted a solid group within the society. The feminine societies were very structured; age and status within marriage were the main criteria for achieving positions of power in their heirarchy.

119. Marchand, Claude. "Tentative d'adaptation de l'enseignement aux réalités camerounaises: l'enseignement agricole, 1921-1970," Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. VIII, no. 3, 1974: 539-551.

20. Marticou, H. Les structures agricoles du Centre-Sud Cameroun. Yaounde: Secrétariat du Developpement Rural, 1962.

121. Martin, Jean-Yves. Les Matakam du Cameroun. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Martin's report is based on field research undertaken in two successive periods, December 1965 to June 1966 and August 1966 to September 1967 among the Mafa (the title of the work is taken from the other name for the Mafa). It is the companion to the study of J. Boulet (reference 35) which concentrated on spatial relationships, agriculture production techniques, outputs, income and nutrition. Martin is describing the social organization of the Mafa, and also provides considerable information on the changes which occur in social arrangements when the Mafa move from the mountains down to the plains. After indicating the geographic and historic background of the Mafa, Martin proceeds to outline the details of all aspects of Mafa life, demography, political organization, lineage structures, the organization of subsistence production, practices surrounding engagement and marriage and religious practices. Inter alia he provides information on the special position of blacksmiths within the society.

*122. _____. Sociologie de l'Enseignement en Afrique Noire. Yaounde: CASTOR, 1971.

123. Martin-Sauvcar, F. Les résistances à la scolarisation d'une ethnie africaine: Les Matakam du Nord-Cameroun. Paris: OESFLSH, 1967.

124. May, Jacques Meyer. The Ecology of Malnutrition in the French-Speaking Countries of West Africa and Madagascar. New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1969.

• 125. Mboui, Joseph. Essai sur la vie domestique des Basa du Sud-Cameroun. These pour le doctorat des lettres. Universite des Bordeaux: 1971.

• 126. Mbouyom, Francois. "Le Statut Juridique, Politique et Social de La Femme au Cameroun," Bulletin de l'Institut International de Droit D'Expression Francaise, 2eme Semestre 1974, No. 23, Paris, 1974: 600-612.

Mbouyom's article provides a useful summary of the legal position of women in Cameroun. He begins by outlining their situation in traditional society, noting that there are differences of opinion concerning how hard women worked or whether they were mistreated. He proceeds to describe their duties and states that women always remained minors. However, they did have certain rights and the husband had to be careful not to overstep certain bounds which the wife could use as an excuse for returning to her family. He then outlines the steps that were taken in the colonial period to improve the position of women and concludes with the legal changes which have been instituted since independence. The equality of the sexes is established in the constitution of March 4, 1960 and subsequent laws have further extended women's rights.

127. McCulloch, Merran, Littlewood, Margaret and Dugast, I. Peoples of the Central Cameroons. London: International African Institute, 1954.

This work forms part of the Ethnographic Survey of Africa which provides a useful synthesis of information collected by ethnographers, administrators, missionaries and others up to the time of writing. McCulloch's description of the Tikars is based almost exclusively on Kaberry's work (reference 102), while Littlewood uses a variety of sources and personal communications in her discussion of the Bamoun and Bamileke. Dugast's description of the Banen is based mainly on her own work (reference 70) and the sources she used to prepare it.

128. Melone, Stanislas. "Régimes matrimoniaux et droits fonciers en Afrique," Penant, no. 732, 1971: 141-163.

129. _____. La Parenté et la terre dans la Stratégie du Développement. (L'expérience Camerounaise, étude critique). Paris: Klincksiek, 1972.

Melone is concerned with legal reform which will be favorable to development and to a blossoming of African culture. He does not believe that this means an uncritical acceptance of tradition as many elements of traditional culture are no longer useful and helpful in the present day. However, he points out that African societies are rural agrarian societies for the most part and that development will occur mainly by change in agriculture. The developed society of tomorrow will be an agricultural society even though it is modern agriculture. It is therefore a "ruralization" of law which must be carried out. He believes that family structure and inheritance laws are intimately connected to the system of land tenure, and if the latter is changed it would have a profound effect upon the former. Using an impressive range of sources, Melone proceeds to analyze the structure in southern Cameroon, and to suggest means of changing social institutions in the interest of fostering development through changes in the laws.

130. Mercier-Tremblay, Celine. "L'écolier nord-camerounais entre la tradition et la modernité," Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1974: 553-563.

*131. May, Gerhard, and Spirik, Hermann. La famille africaine en milieu africain. Yaounde, 1975.

This book is based on an interview survey carried out in Yaounde in 1974, involving 94 men and 64 women. Information was also collected on the 1068 persons living in the households of the interviewees. May and Spirik's report provides a wealth of information on attitudes to various aspects of family life (e.g. establishing a marriage, relations between husband and wife and between parents and children, numbers of children desired, education etc.) and perspectives on changes which are occurring in the urban environment.

132. MIDEVIV (Mission de Développement de Cultures Vivrières). Enquête Trafic Routier Autour de Yaoundé, Roneo, 1976.

*133. Mondjeli, Ndjokou. La Condition de la Femme en Société Traditionelle. L'exemple Dvasa ou Ndoue dans le Sud Cameroun. Memoire Licence, Droit, University of Yaounde, 1974.

*134. Nasah, B.T., et al. Family Planning in the United Republic of Cameroon, Analysis of First Years Experience. Paper presented to Mme Tsanga, n.d. (1976 or 77) mimeo.

This report provides a wealth of information on the clinical and socio-economic profile of a group of family planning acceptors in Yaounde. The report is based on the first 540 patients seen between January 1975 and January 1976 at a clinic established in the Central Hospital in Yaounde (a teaching hospital of the University Centre for Health Sciences). The report provides an indication of the factors which encourage mothers to seek family planning services (e.g. 60% had already had five or more deliveries and 70% were educated - 36% to the level of secondary or technical schooling). As such the clinic is collecting information which will be useful for planning an extension of services as part of a comprehensive maternal and child health program.

*135. _____, and Drouin, Dr. P. Obstretrical Report 1975: Maternite Principale and Central Hospital Yaounde. March 25, 1976.

This report primarily provides statistical information on the services provided and the problems encountered at the hospital.

136. National Academy of Sciences. Division of Medical Sciences. Public Health Problems in 14 French-Speaking Countries in Africa and Madagascar, II. Washington: National Academy of Sciences, 1966.

*137. Ndongko, Theresa. "Tradition and the Role of Women in Africa." Presence Africaine, No. 99/100, 1976: 143-154.

Ndongko generally surveys the position of women in Africa and especially in Cameroon. She makes many of the points which were brought out in the preceding narrative report. Women's traditional roles provided them with room for considerable independence in action and decision making, and they were proud of their responsibilities and the work they did.

*138. Ngoa, Henri. Le Mariage chez les Ewondo. These. Paris-Sorbonne. 1969.

Ngoa believes that the institution of marriage in a social order such as the Ewondo can be seen as a total social phenomena which is intertwined with institutions of all types in the society. In the first part he describes Ewondo society in general and in the second part of the study describes the marriage system in detail.

*139. _____. Non, La Femme Africaine N'Etait Pas Opprimée, Yaounde: Cameroon Tribune, 1974.

Ngoa provides evidence from the social traditions and proverbs of a number of African ethnic groups (including the Beti and the Bamileke) to support the premise in his title, i.e. that the African woman is not oppressed.

140. Ngong, L. "Signification et Portée des rites 'Libérateurs' chez les Béti du Sud-Cameroun." Cahiers des Religions Africaines, (Kinshasa), no. 2, July 1968: 261-287.

*141. Noah Zinqui, Jacques. "L'espacement des Naissances: tradition et modernité, problèmes des jeunes couples au Cameroun," Afrique Médicale, No. 157, February 1978: 131-133.

This article appears to be the first portion of a two part discussion of methods of spacing births in Cameroun as it concerns only the traditional situation and the title indicates that it is concerned with the modern situation as well. The reviewer has not located the next issue of the magazine which should contain the second portion. The article describes traditional practices concerning pregnancy and breastfeeding among the Beti and the rites which were required before a couple could resume marital relations after the end of breastfeeding. Also describes the close relationship between mother and child.

*142. _____. "L' Homme et La Femme Dans le Cameroun d'hier et d'aujourd'hui." mimeo, n.d.

This discussion- which was prepared for a radio broadcast, describes traditional family structure and the attitudes toward women exemplified by the proverbs of a number of Cameroonian ethnic groups. He then considers the modern situation which he believes has created problems for families and children.

143. Nordin, Christina. Les Marchés en Pays Bassa du Cameroun. Description des Arrondissements Pouma et Makak, Réflexion sur le Programme de Recherches, Douala: I.F.D., March 1974.

This is a write-up of the research project Nordin currently has under way. Her field research was carried out in Cameroon in 1973 and she is now analyzing her data. Nordin is studying the periodic markets in the rural areas of Bassa country to analyze the local and regional exchanges of food products against manufactured products. The hypothesis she is testing is that the Buy'em Sell'um (B.S.) are carrying out an irreplacable professional activity which is perfectly adapted to current market conditions in Cameroon. Her write-up briefly reviews other research on the B.S. and then describes the areas in which she intended to carry out her research and the types of information she intended to collect.

144. O'Kelly, Elizabeth. Aid and Self-Help. A General Guide to Overseas Aid, London: Charles Knight and Co.Ltd., 1973.

Part One of O'Kelly's book describes the types of aid programs which are used to deal with disasters. Part Two describes overseas aid in general. Despite her title, she does not discuss American aid programs or most other bilateral programs with the exception of British Aid. Her main focus is on the activities of the United Nations and on private voluntary and non-governmental organizations. Chapter 13 deals with the part women can play in the development of rural areas. Part Three is most important for this survey as it provides a complete description of the activities she directed in West Cameroon in the 1950s which included literacy programs, and especially the corn mill societies and subsequent activities which were organized through them.

145. _____. "Corn Mill Societies in the Southern Cameroons," African Women, No. 1, 1955: 33-35.

Short write-up of plans for the corn-mill societies which was prepared just after the beginning of the project.

146. _____. "Working Women of the Southern Cameroons," Corona, February 1961: 66-71.

This is another short article which summarized the success with the corn mill societies and the other activities which they were undertaking.

147. Ongla, Jean. Etude Economique de la Production Vivrière dans la Zone d'Intervention de Yemessoa. Yaounde: E.N.S.A. , 1973.

148. O'Riordan, J.L. "Medicine in the Southern Cameroons," The Lancet. September 1, 1962: 447-449.

*149. Pan-African Institute for Development. Annuaire des Anciens Etudiants de l'I.P.D. Douala: I.P.D., 1977.

Summarizes information on the first twelve classes of the Douala Institute (graduating between December 1965 and June 1977). Lists the country of origin of the students, their sex, specialities pursued, and pass rate. The final section provides current information on the jobs which former students are doing; most of them are involved in development linked activities.

*150. Pan-African Institute for Development. Principal editors Alain Laffitte and Sr. Marie Roumy. Enquête Participation Sur Le Secteur Artisanal De La Zone Nylon. Douala: I.P.D., 1978.

This study into the problems of artisans in the Nylon district of Douala was carried out in December 1977. The only women artisans interviewed were seamstresses and embroiderers. The study discusses the method of work and difficulties of various types of artisans and then goes on to a general discussion of possible solutions.

*151. Podlewski, Andre. "Cameroon." Pages 543-564 in Caldwell, John C. (ed.), Populations Growth and Socioeconomic Change in West Africa. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1975. Published for the Population Council.

Podlewski's chapter in this survey of the changing demographic conditions of West Africa, summarizes information collected in a number of surveys carried out in Cameroon in the 1960s. It is interesting to note that the population projections prepared on the basis of the data of a population of 6,355,000 by 1980 had been surpassed by 1.3 million by the time of the 1976 census. Article discusses population distribution (which is very unequal in Cameroon), age at marriage, number of marriages, and contraceptive practices as well as demographic data such as mortality rates, migration figures, urbanization rate, etc.

152. _____. La dynamique des principales populations du Nord-Cameroun. (a) Part I. entre Benoué et Lac Tchad. Cah. ORSTOM, series Sci. Hum., vol. 3, No. 4, 1966. (b) Part II. Piemont et Plateau de l'Adamaoua. Cah. ORSTOM, series Sci. Hum., vol. 8, No. special, 1971.

The two volumes of this useful study provide a description of the demographic characteristics of north Cameroon based upon surveys carried out in the 1960s. Fifteen communities were surveyed in the area between the Benoue and Lake Chad, and ten in the Adamaoua and the plains south of the Benoue. The most important communities were covered by the survey, and the data is provided on a community by community basis making it possible to compare the characteristics of different groups.

153. Pontaby, Phillipe and Jeber, Jacque. Contribution a l'Etude des Problèmes Economiques de la Santé au Nord-Cameroun. Univ. of Grenoble: I.R.E.P., March 1972.

154. Pouka, Louis-Marie. "Les Bassa du Cameroun," Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer (Bordeaux), III, No. 10, April-June 1950, 153-165.

Pouka outlines Bassa traditions of origin and then describes social, political and economic life. Indicates division of labor and position of women. In last section, analyzes effects of change; although Bassa were now better housed he felt food crop production and consequently nutrition of people had declined, and the chiefs appointed by the administration were not always the best men for the job. The amount of the bridewealth had reached 50,000 CFA.

155. Report to the Government of Cameroon on Land Use and Agricultural Development. (series No. 2,062) Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization, 1965.

156. Reyburn, William D. "Polygamy, Economy and Christianity in Eastern Cameroun," Practical Anthropology, Vol. 4, No. 1, January-February 1959: 1-19.

157. Richard. Madeleine. Histoire. Tradition Et Promotion de la Femme Chez Les Batanga. Bandundu, Zaire: Centre d'Etudes Ethnologiques, 1970.

Richard developed her information on Batanga women both through observation of Batanga life during the 8 years she lived and worked in the area, review of the archives of the missions and mayor's office in Kribi, and a interview survey in 300 Batanga homes in May-September 1968 (both men and women were interviewed). In order to indicate changes in the women's situation over time, she compares the experiences of women interviewees in three age groups, 16-30 years old, 30-50, and 50+. Provides details on the traditional Batanga social system, a history of the Batanga from the late 19th century to the time of writing, and a description of the lives of modern Batanga women in both rural and urban areas. Data is provided on many interesting subjects: e.g. educational experiences of the different age groups of women; breakdown of types of work women are involved in; information on who chose women's husbands, themselves or others and type of marriage; differing values of men and women (when asked to indicate which of four situations they considered most desirable, having a good job, many children, riches or good health, 60% of men chose many children as compared with 30% of women, conversely 50% of the women chose good health as compared with 27% of men); ambitions of women for their male and female children; and women's organizations and savings associations.

158. Ritzenthaler, Robert E. "Anlu: A Women's Uprising in the British Cameroons," African Studies (Witwatersrand Univ. Press, Johannesburg), Vol. 19, No. 3, 1960: 151-156.

159. _____, and Ritzenthaler, Pat. Cameroon Village: An Ethnography of the Bafut. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1962.

The Ritzenthaler's study is based on field research carried out between January and May 1959. Pat Ritzenthaler collected most of the information pertaining to women. The study is informative on many details of the life of the Bafut (a Tikar tribe) including social customs, agricultural techniques, housebuilding, markets, etc. and the many photographs make it easier to conceptualize the descriptions. A section of the report provides information on the Fon of Bafut and his wives; the compound they lived in is diagrammed and details of the rituals, duties and perogatives of the royal family are explained.

• 16[illegible]. Rosa, Franz W. The Setting for Population/Family Planning Activities in Sub-Saharan Africa, photocopy, n.d.

This article was provided for review by the USAID/Yaounde Health Office and the reviewer is uncertain whether it was a chapter in a book or an independent article as no publishing details were available. Rosa is discussing the inter-relationship between extended amenorrhea following the birth of a child due to long term breast-feeding, and postpartum taboos on intercourse during the period of breastfeeding in terms of the basis they provide for family planning programs in Africa. He notes that lactation amenorrhea is providing 10,000,000 couple years of contraceptive protection per annum in Sub-Saharan Africa.

161. de Rosny, Eric, Ndimsi, ceux qui soignent dans la nuit, Yaounde: Editions CLE, 19[illegible]4.

162. Ruel, M.J. "The Modern Adaptation of Associations among the Banyang of the West Cameroons," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 20 no. 1, 1954.

Ruel's study describes the attempts of a male association to deal with the modern problem of runaway wives. Young Banyang women who had been given in marriage by their lineage groups were finding it possible to run away from the marriages and make a living in the towns or the labor camps of the plantations further south by prostitution. They were resented and criticized by the home society as they had opted out of the network of rights and duties. The association was initially successful in getting the women back home but it later foundered and all of the women who had returned home left for the south again.

• 163. Santerre, Renaud, "Aspects Conflictuels de Deux Systèmes d'Enseignement au Nord-Cameroun," Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 5, No. 2, Spring 1971: 157-169.

Santerre's article is based on studies he made of the Koranic schools and the modern French schools in North Cameroon during 12 months in 1965-66 and three months in 1970. He describes and contrasts the two school systems, the teachers and their students. There are few women teachers in either school system and there were also a very limited number of girls in attendance though there has been improvements in recent years.

•164. _____ and Genest, Serge. "L'École franco-arabe au Nord-Cameroun," Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 8, no. 3, 1974: 589-605.

This article is based on the 1965-66 field research of Santerre and a follow-up study made by Genest in 1973-74. It explains the policies of the French colonial government towards Koranic education and then describes the establishment of joint French Koranic schools following independence. At the time of Santerre's study the schools had a number of difficulties and the Koranic and French elements had not been merged very successfully. By the time Genest made his survey in 1973-74, many of the problems had been solved.

•165. Sanwogou, Lardja. Les coutumes de nos ancêtres face à la vie. Yaoundé, Presses du Centre d'Édition et de Production de Manuels et d'Auxiliaires de l'Enseignement, 1973.

Sanwogou's book is a description of traditional African practices affecting life and health, e.g. practices with respect to fertility, nutrition, illness, death, etc. Most of the information relates to the Central African Republic (now Empire). A short section (pages 66-69) discusses the food habits of the Bassa of Cameroun.

166. Sasnett, Matena, and Sepmeyer, Inez, Educational Systems of Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966.

•167. Schultz, Emily Ann. "Ethnic Identity in a Plural Society: The Fulani of Northern Cameroon," photocopy of a research proposal, n.d.

This write-up is the research proposal Ms. Schultz presented in support of her request for a Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Grant. She received the grant and conducted her research in the mid-1970s. Mention is made of it here to indicate that the research had been done as knowledgeable individuals in Cameroon indicated that her final presentation should include information of women.

168. SEDES. Enquête sur le niveau de vie dans la zone cacaoyère du Centre. 1965.

169. _____. Mission d'évaluation des ZAPI du Centre-Sud. 1972.

•170. Sheffield, James R., and Diejomah, Victor P. Non-Formal Education in African Development. New York: ASI, 1972.

Survey conducted in 1971 which attempted to identify non-formal educational programs in African countries which were "successful, innovative and transferable." Descriptions are provided of six Cameroonian programs and females apparently participate in all of them.

171. Soen, Dan and de Camarmond, Patrice. "Les Associations traditionelles et bénévoles d'entraide, La Coopération Moderne Dans La Région de Bassa, Cameroun," Revue des Etudes Cooperatives, Paris, Vol. 52, no. 167, 1972: 33-42.

Soen and Camarmond were analyzing the extent to which traditional forms of cooperation could be used as a basis for modern cooperatives as part of an FAO study. Their field research was carried out in the Fall of 1968 in Bot Malak, a Bassa town with a population of 12,300. In this article they are reporting on two of the forms of cooperation they observed, female farming groups, and savings associations (whose memberships might be either male or female). Women were primarily responsible for subsistence agriculture, and most of the work involved was carried out by small mutual aid groups. These were unstructured with few rules concerning rights and responsibilities, and their membership varied from year to year. Accordingly, Soen and Camarmond believed they would be a poor basis for modern cooperatives and that a first step would be to work to rationalize and consolidate the groups. They noted it was astonishing that women had received so little assistance in improving their food crop farming activities; programs for women were concentrated on their other roles of wife and mother. They believed that the savings associations could be more easily used as a basis for cooperatives as they had a formal structure and rules and had been formed to meet modern needs.

•172. _____. "Savings Associations Among the Bamileke, Traditional and Modern Cooperation in Southwest Cameroon," Journal de la Société des Africanistes, Vol. 41, no. 2, 1971: 189-201.

This article also resulted from work carried out in 1968 for the FAO. Noted that the Bamileke were unusual in the extent to which savings associations were developed among them -- it could be assumed that all males were members of at least one savings association. Stated that women did not belong to the associations in rural areas, but Bamileke women living in urban areas did form savings associations. Describes different needs which are met by the associations, and their methods of operation.

173. de St. Croix, F.W. The Fulani of Northern Nigeria. Lagos: The Government Printer, 1945.

St. Croix compares the social system of the settled and nomadic Fulani in Northern Nigeria. The reference is included in this review as there are many similarities between the Fulani in Nigeria and those in Cameroon especially with respect to the nomadic Fulani. Islamic beliefs are much stronger among the settled Fulani and as a consequence their wives are kept in seclusion. This is not the case among the nomadic Fulani. Details are given on the social customs of the nomadic Fulani including those concerning marriage and birth, and on the economic activities of the women, the most important of which is dairying. Women milk the cows (in contrast to the settled Fulani where milking is normally done by men) and make butter and soured milk. They sell any surplus in town markets, and the income derived is theirs to use as they see fit. The general impression given of nomadic Fulani women is that they have considerable independence and freedom of choice.

*174. Tchala-Abina, Francois. Contribution à une expérience de vulgarisation agricole: Yemessoa. Yaoundé: Etude Technique No. 1, ENSA, June 1974.

This is a two part work by Tchala. Part one describes the area in the Lekie where the Yemessoa project (an activity assisted by ENSA which is designed to increase food production in the area) is operating, including the social structures and production methods which are used by the inhabitants. Part two, which the reviewer did not locate, apparently provides a description and evaluation of the Yemessoa project.

*175. de The, Marie-Paule. Des Sociétés Secrètes aux Associations Modernes: Le Femme dans la Dynamique de la Société Béti, 1887-1966. Thèse E.P.H.A., Paris 1970.

176. _____. "Evolution Féminine et Evolution Villageoise chez les Béti du Sud-Cameroun," Bulletin de L'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire, Vol. 4, 1968: 1533-1565.

This article is an extract from the "memoire" cited below. Begins with a brief history of the position of women in Beti society, and then compares the current situation in two contrasting villages she studied in 1963 (the first was in touch with change through its position on the crossroads of two main roads, and the second was isolated with few modern amenities). Found that women in the first village had a more cooperative relationship with their men and a greater belief that improvements were possible through group and individual action. Describes the different types of groups women were involved in and their activities. The number of adult women in both villages who were either single or widowed (a total of nearly 50%) is quite striking.

177. _____. Influence des femmes sur l'évolution des structures sociales chez les Bêti du Sud Cameroun. Mémoire pour le diplôme de l'EPHE, Paris 1965.

178. Tissandier, Jean. Zengoaga (Cameroun). Paris: Mouton and Co., 1969.

Tissandier spent eight months from January to September 1964 in Zengoaga in the Haute-Sanaga department conducting the field research on which this study is based. It is a detailed survey of the agricultural production system in an area which is on the borders of the rain forest and the savannah. A crop by crop assessment of the time required for each stage of production is provided, broken down between the time worked by men and women. Therefore, it is possible to determine exactly the work inputs of the two sexes. An assessment is also provided of the amounts produced, and the value of the diet the inhabitants enjoy as a result as well as the amounts which are available for sale. Hours worked by females on household tasks are also diagrammed for the year as a whole. In the final section, the budgets of six households are analyzed, showing revenues separately for men and women.

179. United Nations Development Program/Food and Agriculture Organization. Recensement Mondial de l'Agriculture et Etablissement d'un Système Permanent de Statistiques Courantes-Résultats du Recensement Agricole 1972/73 Pour le Cameroun. Rome: AG:DP/RAF/71/86, 1977.

This survey provides a variety of useful information including the land areas cultivated in various crops and their relative importance in different parts of the country; the number of farm households, the sex of the household heads and their marital status, numbers of persons living on the various exploitations, sex and their relationship to the household head; the relative importance of various age groups providing agricultural labor; the tools used by the farm households etc. The information is based on a sample survey of 6,935 farms which represents approximately one farm in every 130 which existed in Cameroon at the time.

180. United Nations International Labor Organization. Report on ILO/ECA/YWCA/SIDA Workshop on Participation of Women in Handicrafts and Small Industries, Kitwe, Zambia, 1974. (ANCU Publication).

181. United States Department of Army. (Authors Nelson, Harold D., et al). Area Handbook for the United Republic of Cameroon. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974.

Very useful document which provides recent information on all aspects of life in Cameroon (social, political, economic, etc.) and an extensive bibliography.

*182. Vincent, Jeanne-Francoise. "Données sur le mariage et la femme mofu." Cah. ORSTOM, Séries Sci. Hum, Vol. 9, no. 3, 1972: 309-323.

Vincent's study specifically concerns the situation of Mofu women who are members of a tribe living in the Mandara Mountains just to the east of the Mafa. Her study was made from April to June 1970. The principal interviewers were two Mofu men from the areas covered. Each interview covered personal details of the woman and especially her marriage history, divorces, separation or widowhood. The survey included 334 married women or approximately one-fifth of those living on the two mountains. Mofu marriages proved to be quite stable with 79 out of 100 women being still married to their first husband (this was the highest rate for any of the Northern ethnic groups on whom Vincent presents the data). Eleven percent of the women interviewed had remained single after a divorce or a widowhood and most did not expect to remarry. The size of this group of single women was surprising to the researchers.

*183. _____. Traditions et Transitions, Entretiens avec des femmes Béti du Sud-Cameroun. Paris: Berger-Levrault. 1976.

This book reproduces 17 conversations between Vincent and Beti women, most of whom were quite elderly. The conversations were conducted in 1967 and 1971; the twelve interviews from 1967 were written down while the five made in 1971 were tape recorded. They are an enjoyable experience to read as the women recount with spirit and humor their life histories and other information on the profound changes their societies had undergone in the period. The interviews are preceded by an essay prepared by Vincent which presents the themes touched on and analyzes the importance of certain of the perspectives provided by the conversations.

*184. Walker, Sheila S., and Brazier Ellen. "Women, Education and Rural Development in Cameroon, the Fulbe of the Garoua Region," The African American Scholar, Vol. 1, No. 5, June 1977.

Walker and Brazier's study was made in 1976 and consisted primarily of a general fact-finding effort which looked at the social and economic roles of three types of Fulbe women: traditional, transitional and modern. The object was to identify factors which would aid or hinder women's involvement in development. The three most important factors identified were education, economics, and religion. A description of the history of Fulbe women in the North is provided and details on the ways in which their lives have changed in recent times.

*185. Weber, J. Structures Agraires et Evolution des Milieux Ruraux. Le Cas de la Région Cacaoyère du Centre-Sud Cameroun. Yaoundé: ORSTOM, 1974.

Weekes-Vagliani, Winifred, and Bekombo, Manga. Family Life and Structure in Southern Cameroon. Paris: OECD, 1976

The authors surveyed 632 persons (56% of whom were women) to prepare this study -- 329 living in the villages of the Central South Province and the Mouanko regions (these were people from culturally homogenous backgrounds) and the balance from Douala (here the daily contact with people from a variety of ethnic groups created the possibility of greater changes in attitudes and social practices). Preparatory work and field investigations were carried out in late 1973 and together took twelve weeks. A variety of topics were covere by the study -- household composition, attitudes towards polygamy, fertility both desired and actual, male-female relationships, employment, etc. The study also analyzed whether there was any relationship between specific socio-economic characteristics and fertility.

27. Winter, G. Le niveau de vie des Populations de l'Adamaoua. C.R.S.T.O.M.-I.N.S.E.E., Secrétariat d'Etat à la Co-operation, 1967.

28. _____. Méthodologie Des Enquêtes "Niveau de Vie" En Milieu Rural Africain. Paris: ORSTOM, 1970.

This report primarily discusses the methodology used in carrying out a series of standard of living surveys in Cameroon in the 1960s which were written up in other reports (see refs. 28, 168, and 187 as examples). It also contains a large number of tables which provide a summary of information collected including nutritional status, time-in-motion studies of the activities of both men and women, and household budgets showing sources of revenues and the amounts spent on different items.

29. "Women in Development: Women in Cooperatives." Papers prepared for a seminar organized by the Pan-African Women's Organization, Yaounde, Nov. 7-17, 1977.

This series of papers was prepared for a seminar on women in cooperatives which was sponsored by the Pan-African Women's Organization and attended by women from several French-speaking countries in Central Africa. The papers which pertain to Cameroon provide a history of the women's cooperative movement as well as information on specific cooperative activities. A report on the conference is in preparation and should be available in 1979.

*190. World Bank. United Republic of Cameroon, Economic Memorandum. Report No. 1793-CM, March 22, 1978. (a). Vol. I: Main Report, (b). Vol. II: Statistical Annex.

Useful analytical report with most recent statistical information on economic trends in the various sectors.

*191. Zang, M. Kouma. Speech delivered at the Conference Regionale Africaine Sur La Mise En Oeuvre Des Plan Nationaux, Du Plan Regional Et Du Plan D'Action Mondial Pour L'Integration Des Femmes Au Developpement. Nouakchott, 27 September - 2 October 1977.

This speech summarizes the situation of women in present day Cameroon from a variety of perspectives: family law, education, economic activities, work and employment and political activities. Up-to-date statistical information is provided for all these areas. The steps taken by the government and O.F.U.N.C. to involve women more actively in development are outlined.

APPENDIX A

LOCATION OF REFERENCES AVAILABLE IN CAMEROON

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ENSA -- National Advanced School of Agriculture Library, Yaounde.

MULPOC -- Multi-national Operations Center for Central Africa Library, Yaounde.

ON/I -- ONAREST Library at the Institut des Sciences Humaines, Yaounde.

PAID -- Pan African Institute for Development, library at the Ecole des Cadres, Douala.

UC -- University of Cameroon Library, Yaounde.

U/Y -- USAID Offices, Yaounde.

1.	U/Y	66.	ON/I	125.	UC
2.	ON/I	69.	ON/I	126.	U/Y
4.	U/Y	70.	ON/I	129.	UC
5.	ON/I	71.	ON/I	131.	U/Y
12.	U/Y, ON/I	72.	UC	133.	UC
13.	U/Y, ON/I	73.	U/Y, MULPOC	134.	U/Y
16.	U/Y, PAID	74.	U/Y, MULPOC	135.	U/Y
17.	U/Y	75.	U/Y, MULPOC	137.	U/Y
20.	U/Y, ON/I	76.	U/Y, MULPOC	138.	ON/I
27.	U/Y	80.	U/Y	139.	U/Y
28.	U/Y, ON/I	81.	U/Y	141.	ON/I
32.	U/Y, PAID	83.	U/Y, ON/I	142.	ON/I
33.	U/Y	84.	U/Y, ON/I	143.	PAID
34.	ENSA	85.	ON/I	147.	ON/I
35.	U/Y, ON/I	88.	ON/I	149.	PAID
36.	U/Y	89.	U/Y, ENSA	150.	PAID
37.	U/Y	90.	U/Y, ON/I	151.	U/Y
41.	U/Y. ENSA	91.	U/Y, ON/I	152.	U/Y, ON/I
42.	U/Y	92.	U/Y	160.	U/Y
43.		96.	ON/I	163.	U/Y
44.	U/Y	100.	U/Y	164.	U/Y
45.	U/Y	101.	U/Y	165.	U/Y
46.	U/Y, MULPOC	102.	UC	167.	U/Y
47.	U/Y	103.	U/Y	170.	U/Y
48.	U/Y	104.	U/Y	172.	ON/I
49.	U/Y	105.	U/Y	174.	PAID
50.	MULPOC	106.	U/Y	175.	ON/I
51.	MULPOC	107.	ON/I	178.	U/Y
52.	U/Y	108.	ON/I	179.	U/Y
53.	MULPOC	112.	U/Y, UC	181.	U/Y
54.	U/Y	113.	U/Y	182.	U/Y
55.	U/Y	114.	UC	183.	U/Y
56.	U/Y, ON/I	115.	U/Y	184.	ON/I
61.	U/Y, ON/I	116.	ON/I	185.	U/Y, ON/I
63.	U/Y	118.	ON/I	189.	U/Y
64.	U/Y	121.	U/Y, ON/I	190.	U/Y
65.	U/Y, ON/I	122.	U/Y	191.	U/Y

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