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RECONNAISSANCE AND REPORT ON THE POTENTIAL
FOR AN AREA DEVELOPMENT PROJECT:
NORTH WEST PROVINCE,
UNITED REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON

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**REGIONAL PLANNING AND AREA DEVELOPMENT PROJECT
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AND PROGRAMS**

CONSULTING REPORT NO. 4

August, 1980

RECONNAISSANCE AND REPORT ON THE POTENTIAL
FOR AN AREA DEVELOPMENT PROJECT:
NORTH WEST PROVINCE,
UNITED REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON

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COMMON ABBREVIATIONS

CD	Community Development Department
DS/RAD	Development Support Bureau/Office of Rural Development and Development Administration (U.S. Agency for International Development)
DS/UD	Development Support Bureau/Office of Urban Development (U.S. Agency for International Development)
DO	Divisional Officer or Sub-Prefect
FED	European Development Fund
FONADER	Fonds National pour le Développement Rural
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IITA	International Institute for Tropical Agriculture
MINEP	Ministry of Economy and Planning
NWCA	North Western Cooperative Association
NWP	North West Province
SDO	Senior Divisional Officer or Prefect
UNC	Union Nationale Camerounaise
WADA	Wum Area Development Authority

I. INTRODUCTION

A three-member team consisting of Drs. William Bateson and Paul Beckett from the University of Wisconsin's Regional Planning and Area Development Project and Dr. Robert Simko, DS/RAD, visited Cameroon from July 5-26, 1980, to conduct a reconnaissance and prepare a report on the potential for an area development project in the North West Province (NWP).

An initial scope of work suggested by DS/UD focusing on urban places and urban-rural linkages was expanded by the team into an integrated area development approach more in keeping with the objectives of the contract between the University of Wisconsin and DS/RAD. The revised scope of work was reviewed and approved by AID/Yaounde and is appended to this report.

The remainder of this introductory section describes the activities of the team during our stay in Cameroon, including a detailed itinerary of our NWP survey. In Chapter II (our major chapter), we examine economic and developmental perspectives, potentials, and problems of NWP. We also identify and discuss specific potential interventions. In Chapter

III, we discuss government structure and processes in the province as they affect rural development and planning there. The fourth and concluding chapter is a summary of our report and conclusions. We include as an appendix a statement of the theoretical perspectives which underlie our interpretations and our recommendations. We also append the scope of work plan which guided our tour and an illustrative list of data on potential road projects.

It is important to note here the unselfish cooperation of the AID/Yaounde staff. Our efforts simply would not have been possible without their support. In particular, we wish to recognize the assistance and patience of Richard Goldman and Eric Witt. We thank the Mission and its Director, James Williams, for the additional courtesy of a four-wheel drive vehicle for use in the NWP survey.

A. CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF TEAM'S ACTIVITIES

- Sat., 5 July Bateson and Beckett arrive in Yaounde after visiting the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture in Ibadan, Nigeria.
- Sun., 6 July Bateson and Beckett reviewed AID's country strategy statement and other materials on NWP.
- Mon., 7 July Simko arrives in Yaounde and visits AID/Yaounde office. Bateson and Beckett visit European Development Fund (FED) and Ministry of Economy and Planning (MINEP). Unable to contact Mr. Schmidt-Burr and Mr. Trout, both of whom are out of town. Met with Mr. Beroud, Agronomic Engineer at MINEP, and with the World Bank's representative, Mr. Rabeharisoa. Richard Goldman returns to Yaounde from visit to Northern Province and meets with team.
- Tues., 8 July Morning meeting with Richard Goldman and Eric Witt. Agreed that preliminary scope of work needed expansion and that Wisconsin/RAD team would work on this for Wednesday meeting with James Williams (Mission Director) and staff.
- Met with Claudio Schuftan, AID/Yaounde nutritional expert, for his views on agronomic factors influencing nutrition and general health of rural populations in NWP.
- Worked on expanded scope of work during afternoon and evening.
- Wed., 9 July Morning meeting with Hon. Solomon Nfor Gwei, Vice-Minister for Agriculture, and listened to his views on the rural development priorities of NWP (his home area). He stressed

needed improvements in secondary roads, agricultural processing, storage, and marketing facilities.

Met also with Mr. Maynard, Plans and Projects Section of the Ministry of Agriculture.

Afternoon meetings at AID/Y with Stan Handleman, Chief of Human Resources, who briefed us on training and education at the secondary level, and Rudy Thomas, who discussed primary education problems and issues in the country.

Late in the afternoon, we met with James Williams, Mission Director, and his staff to discuss the revised scope of work proposed by the Wisconsin/RAD team. There was general agreement to the overall scope of work, with one cautionary note that we might not be able to accomplish everything stated during our thirteen days in NWP. It was agreed that Goldman would travel with us to the Northwest and remain as long as his schedule allowed. Evening meeting with E. Witt and T. Bethune for background information and discussion of AID's contribution to health and medical programs.

Thurs., 10 July Morning flight from Yaounde to Douala. Picked up four-wheel drive Toyota Land-Cruiser from U.S. Consulate (from Marketing Project) and drove to Bamenda, capital of NWP.

Fri., 11 July Wisconsin/RAD team and Goldman met with Governor David Abouera à Tchoyi and Mr. T. Tata, Provincial Delegate for Agriculture. Discussed purpose of team visit and solicited development priorities of the provincial government. Governor emphasized rural infrastructure and feeder roads in particular and suggested an itinerary for us to follow. It was agreed that we would be accompanied by Mr. Rudy Gwanfogbe, Head of Technical Section, Community Development, and Mr. Anthony Kigham, Community Development Department (CD) engineer from Donga-Mantung Division. We decided to depart Bamenda on Sunday for a seven-day circuit of 380 km. Ring Road. Mr. Tata generously provided a driver for the land cruiser.

Sat., 12 July Met with Mr. Tata for additional briefing of our reconnaissance. Met with Mr. Mbuy, Finance Manager of the North West Cooperative Authority (NWCA). Met with Mr. Ndofor, Credit Union League Manager. Final session with Goldman who was returning to Yaounde.

Sun., 13 July Left Bamenda for Nkambe via Kumbo.

Met in evening with Senior Divisional Officer (SDO) of Donga-Mantung Division, Mr. Nicholas Ade Ngwa. In addition to outlining his division's development problems, SDO suggested we revise the order of visits in our itinerary so that we could accompany him Monday and Tuesday on a farm inspection tour. We were pleased to have this opportunity and made the necessary changes. Our revised itinerary is appended.

Mon., 14 July

Drove from Nkambe to Ndu and toured Ndu Tea Estate, a unit of the Cameroon Development Corporation. Continued to Nwa over difficult mountainous terrain and a poor secondary road. Met with Mr. Ntete, District Officer of Nwa Subdivision and other local government and party officials, including Hon. J. Buinda, M.P. There was general agreement that the greatest needs of the Nwa area include an improved access road to the Ring Road, a road to the Nigerian border, and improved medical facilities.

Tues., 15 July

Drove from Nwa to Ndop to Sabongari on the Mbaw Plain and met with the traditional chief, the chief of post, the customs officer, an agricultural representative, the chief of police, and several farmers.

The agricultural potential of this vast lowland area was evident. It was equally clear that improved access to Ndop and the Ring Road, to markets in the Western Province, and to Nigeria was a prerequisite to development.

Drove to Ndu and met with Mr. E. Elondo, General Manager of the Ndu Tea Estate. He raised the interesting possibility of expanding tea production through the introduction of smallholder tea cultivation.

Wed., 16 July

Drove from Ndu toward Nkambe. Visited Nkambe Area Cooperative Union and met with Mr. T. Kwalar, President, and members of his staff. Proceeded down escarpment to Berabe and Mbembe Plain. Attempted to reach village of Ako but flooded road made this impossible. Returned to Berabe and met with subchief, the head of the village development committee, and members of the village council. As in other villages visited, they stressed the need for better access roads, in this case both toward Nkambe and beyond Ako to the border. The need for health facilities was mentioned after roads. Drove from Berabe to Nkambe.

Thurs., 17 July

Simko and Beckett met with First Assistant to SDO, Mr. Victor Shei Ngringeh, while Bateson reviewed technical reports in Mr. A. Kigham's office. Mr. Ngringeh under-

scored the importance to the division of a good secondary road from Ako to the border and the upgrading of the roads from both the Mbembe and Mbaw plains to the Ring Road. He also pointed to a shortage of trained technicians.

Team met with Hon. N. Ngi Peter, M.P., Member of Central Committee, Union Nationale Camerounaise (UNC); Member of Political Bureau; Assistant Secretary of UNC.

Drove from Nkambe to Fonfuka to see bridge project being supervised by Mr. Gwanfogbe of the CD. This is the northern end of proposed Fonfuka-Fundong Road.

Drove to Wum and met with First Assistant to SDO, Mr. J. Molongo, and the Medical Officer, Dr. J. Leke Ason-ganyi. Also linked up with Mr. Tata, who then traveled with team to Bamenda.

Fri., 18 July

Met with Mr. Molongo and his staff in his office and reviewed development priorities of Menchum Division. Especially interesting was a map identifying a number of places to be developed as small urban centers. The role of the Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) was also discussed.

Drove to WADA, toured facilities, and met with Director, Mr. G. Mkakwa, and members of his staff. Reviewed problems and accomplishments of WADA.

Drove to Esu with Mr. Molongo to visit bridge project that will eventually provide linkage to Nigeria. Drove from Esu to Fundong.

Sat., 19 July

Looked at Fundong and the completed portions of the CD road to Fonfuka. Visited Njinikom Co-op and met with new manager, secretary, and treasurer. Discussed problems of land shortage in this area. Visited Njinikom market and then drove to Bamenda.

Sun., 20 July

Had luncheon meeting with Governor, Mr. Tata, and Mr. Gwanfogbe and reviewed our reconnaissance of the Ring Road and some possible University of Wisconsin interventions.

Mon., 21 July

Met with officials of FONADER. Met with Mr. Tata and Mr. Gwanfogbe. Arranged for Mr. Tata's driver to take us from Bamenda directly to Yaounde on Tuesday. Visited offices of MINEP and census.

Tues., 22 July

Drove from Bamenda to Yaounde. Dinner meeting and debriefing with Richard and Heather Goldman and Eric Witt.

Wed., 23 July Bateson began working on trip report and recommendations. Beckett and Simko met with Mr. Trout (German Technical Assistance Advisor with MINEP), who outlined the scope of European Development Fund (FED)-International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) project for North West Province. Apparently, this five-year, \$45 million effort will be province-wide and quite comprehensive. Team worked on report for remainder of day.

Thurs., 24 July Team worked on report and began taking sections of draft to AID/Y for typing.

Received cable from AID/Dakar advising that timing of our proposed stopover was inconvenient and suggesting alternate dates for visit. Accordingly, we did not visit AID/Dakar; but inability to revise travel bookings required us to spend two nights in Dakar between Douala and New York.

Fri., 25 July Final meetings with AID/Y staff--summary and conclusions and discussion of future activities. Preparation of revised full report.

Sat., 26 July Morning flight to Douala and onward to U.S.A.

B. REVISED TRAVEL ITINERARY IN NORTH WEST PROVINCE

Sunday, 13 July: Bamenda-Kumbo-Nkambe
Monday, 14 July: Nkambe-Ndu-Nwa
Tuesday, 15 July: Nwa-Ndop-Sabongari-Ndu
Wednesday, 16 July: Ndu-Berabe-Nkambe
Thursday, 17 July: Nkambe-Fonfuka-Wum
Friday, 18 July: Wum-Esu-Fundong
Saturday, 19 July: Fundong-Njinikom-Bamenda

II. AREA DEVELOPMENT OPPORTUNITIES

A. NORTH WEST PROVINCE (NWP) AS AN ECONOMIC AREA

As a region, NWP is typified by areas of heterogeneous factor endowments, numerous ethnic groups, diverse microclimates, and dramatic differences in farming systems and crop combinations. In the long run, income growth in each of the areas of the region will depend on relative product prices, residual productivity growth, and the transfer of labor and capital between agriculture and nonagricultural activities.¹ If the heterogeneous areas of NWP are to be placed on sustainable long-run development paths, these paths must be identified and short-run interventions appropriate to the long-run prospects of each area should be discovered and introduced. On the basis of our visit to NWP and our discussions with government officials, community leaders, farmers, and agricultural researchers, we believe that many areas of the province share some common problems. However, we identified no single intervention or simple set of interventions which would address the complex problems of all areas.

1. This, of course, depends on satisfactory productivity growth and capital formation in the urban-industrial sector.

B. MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING OF DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

1. National Perspectives and Priorities

From a national perspective, there are inevitably national priorities and concerns which must take precedence over provincial and local concerns. Among the broad set of national concerns, however, are concerns for regional equity within a national context. Regionally, as well as rural-urban, skewed income distributions are a matter of national concern in most developing countries. USAID and the University of Wisconsin's Area Development Project share this concern with the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon. We feel that it is appropriate that USAID gives serious consideration to supporting development activities in NWP, as this province lags behind the Western Province in current income per capita. Further, we are persuaded that NWP's relative isolation from major urban Cameroonian markets suggests that special attention is warranted for NWP.

The Government of the United Republic of Cameroon holds certain keys to the development of NWP. In particular, NWP is affected by national price policies for coffee and other commodities. Future income and productivity growth also depend on national policies regarding the potential export of food grains, roots, tubers, palm products, and cattle. National decisions regarding NWP's share of communications and transport budgets are also critical.

We have not inquired about priorities accorded to provincial development activities by the national government or about national planning procedures. We presume USAID/Yaounde is familiar with these procedures. However, to our knowledge efforts to disaggregate national plans by region have met with only very limited success elsewhere in the world.² Standard national development planning exercises disaggregate economic activities by sector rather than by region. This procedure is quite adequate for estimating certain macroeconomic magnitudes and for identifying selected constraints. However, critical distinctions which are important to understanding inter- and intra-regional magnitudes may be lost in aggregation. Generally, the kinds of questions which are important to the design and implementation of area development activities require a subnational perspective.

2. Provincial Perspectives and Priorities

The need for provincial and subprovincial planning and coordination is abundantly clear from the heterogeneity of the region. Areas and communities with different resource bases and farming systems will respond differently to any given set of incentives. Further, there are signi-

2. Several efforts have been made to vest regional input-output models within a national input-output model for the Netherlands, but the results have been disappointing. Tanzania, which relies heavily on regional development budget allocations, has no systematic method of relating regional development investments into a coherent national planning framework.

ficant ethnic differences between the hill farmer, the cattle herder, and the farmer of the plain. Thus, individual interventions and group interventions need to be tailored to the needs of different ethnic groups and to groups with different resource endowments.

Superficially, it would appear that growth and development in NWP is constrained by the lack of roads alone. In fact, a wide variety of other issues must be addressed. To illustrate, the following four issues (among others) must be addressed:

- (1) Will transportation and improved access create an environment which encourages cultivation of unstable, erosion-prone slopes? If so, do the Departments of Agriculture and Community Development know how to control or moderate this loss of soil?
- (2) Will improved transportation result in farmers' access to production-augmenting inputs which have the potential for establishing a base for sustained productivity growth, or will income rise slightly with little prospect for long-run growth? If the prospects for long-run growth are slim, it might be advisable to consider the construction of roads in Mbaw, or some other plain area, where the prospects for sustained productivity growth are higher.
- (3) Will improved transportation erode traditional institutions which now support community development programs and foster an attitude of self-reliance? If so, is it possible to design transportation improvements in conjunction with other technological and institutional innovations in order to preserve desirable cultural characteristics?
- (4) Will an improved transportation network, improved markets, and new production technologies result in a set of incentives and opportunities which may in turn result in a serious maldistribution of income and assets? If so, how can these tendencies be identified and what instruments are available to prevent them from occurring?

We feel that there should be a Provincial Planning, Management, and Monitoring Unit which has the capacity and responsibility for addressing such issues. Such a body, composed of ministerial delegates, chaired by the Governor and assisted by a secretariat, could provide much of the necessary information and programming inputs needed to plan (integrate strategic elements for short-run benefits and long-run growth), manage (coordinate seasonal and annual operations), and monitor (impact evaluation and mid-course readjustment) area and province-wide development activities.

In discussions with USAID/Yaounde, other donor agency representatives, Cameroonian officials, and on the basis of our own observations, we have formed the impression that there is potential for sustained growth and

development in NWP. However, the exact keys to that development are not entirely clear. We question whether simply building roads to presently occupied areas is sufficient. In the absence of an enhanced provincial capacity to plan, manage, and monitor, we suspect that both Cameroonian and international development investments will prove disappointing to the government and the people of NWP.

C. RURAL-URBAN INTERACTION

The intimacy and mutual dependence of urban areas and rural hinterlands are frequently overlooked in discussions of rural development. In particular, urban areas provide consumption goods and services as well as production inputs and product markets for rural areas. In our visit to NWP, we were impressed by the function played by the Ring Road towns. Visits to lesser towns such as Nwa, Sabongari, and Esu suggest that there are substantial and growing rural demands for urban services. Overwhelmingly, however, the urban functions which were present in these towns were in the categories of consumption goods, agricultural produce marketing services, entertainment, education, medical, and governmental services. Except for agricultural marketing services--and to a less direct degree, medical and governmental services--the volume of services directly related to agricultural production appeared to be small.³

If the agriculture in the hinterlands served by these urban service centers is to become more productive through the use of production-enhancing chemical, biological, and mechanical inputs to agriculture, these towns will play a key input supply function which they do not now play. The towns will also share in the rural income growth which is stimulated by agricultural inputs, both through the trade represented by the inputs and through rising rural demand for urban consumption services. Further benefits to urban areas from rural productivity growth lie in lower food prices to urban consumers and in stimulating off-farm employment. Although this would have little probable direct impact in the smaller NWP towns where most urban families still produce much of their own food, it would have a positive effect in Bamenda, we believe.

D. LOCATIONS AND TYPES OF POTENTIAL INTERVENTIONS IN NWP

1. Mbaw Area

The Mbaw Area gives the appearance of having an immediate growth potential centered on maize, coffee (Robusta), palm oil, groundnuts, and (possibly) rice. Immediate growth is constrained by inadequate transportation, an uncertain market for maize and rice, lack of health facilities, and the absence of mechanization which would allow farm households to cultivate five to fifteen hectares in an efficient rotation pattern.

3. Shops supplying hand implements were to be found, but the actual value of this input appears to be quite small relative to other trade.

Transportation. An improved road network linking the Mbaw Area with Ndu, the Nigeria border, Mblambe, and Western Province is clearly a necessary (but not sufficient) input to the orderly and sustained development of the area. Since population density on the plain is light, we question whether these roads can be constructed (and improved in the case of the seasonal, four-wheel drive vehicle roads that presently exist) exclusively by Community Development Department (CD) labor, even if CD had full external support in the form of technicians and machinery.

If roads are built only at the rate that the area is now being settled, the present pattern of labor-intensive, subsistence-oriented agriculture will be perpetuated. This form is unlikely to constitute a base for sustained productivity growth unless based on high-value crops and chemical fertilizers. It would seem more prudent to encourage a settlement pattern which would be less dependent on fertilizer and coffee prices.

We suggest that donors and the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon give serious consideration to establishing the road links mentioned above. We believe the road standard should be such that small and medium (two-wheel drive) trucks could pass on these roads in all but the most adverse weather. Farm to market roads should be laid out and constructed in a way which encourages settlers to establish farms in the five to fifteen hectare size range.

Mechanization. A second necessary and complementary input to sustained productivity growth in the Mbaw Area is the introduction of mechanization. Experience from other developing countries suggests that a mixture of oxen and tractors is likely to be appropriate. Oxen, together with small and medium tractors, allow farmers to till moderate holdings in a timely and efficient fashion. The Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) scheme has developed what we understand to be an effective training program for oxen farmers.⁴ The addition of tractor services will require close supervision and the establishment of maintenance facilities. Initially, tractor services might be provided by a parastatal organization. In the long run, these services are likely to be more efficiently provided and better integrated with oxen power through private ownership.

The introduction of oxen (with carts) and tractors (with wagons) will simplify transportation and reduce the immediate need for an extensive farm-market road network, since farmers will be able to create seasonal wagon/cart roads to evacuate their produce and to transport inputs to their farms. Thus, although a certain minimum road network is probably necessary to open fertile areas of Mbaw to moderately extensive, mechanized agriculture in the short run, the process of private mechanization becomes a substitute for a fully articulated road network in the medium term.

4. We note that the development and introduction of oxen-powered tools and complementary technology is a complex process requiring farmers to acquire new skills. We expect that the productivity of oxen-power inputs will grow as farmers obtain and refine these skills.

Health and Education. Increased farming activity and incomes in Mbaw will create a demand for education and health facilities. These should be located in appropriate proximity to existing and anticipated population densities. Siting of these facilities as well as of the road network could be done by the Provincial Planning, Management, and Monitoring Unit which we propose to be established in the Governor's office.

Agricultural Extension. We anticipate that a heavy investment in agricultural extension and demonstration will be necessary. What is proposed here for Mbaw is the establishment of agriculture which has the potential for sustained productivity and income growth. This implies new farming methods. These methods need to be tested before they are extended. This, in turn, implies that high priority be given to initiating trials and demonstrations based on the limited mechanization base suggested above. A necessary element of this is exploration of microclimatic and soil variations in Mbaw.

Markets. Work by Scott raises questions about the short- and medium-term market potential for maize and rice.⁵ The price data we have seen suggest that domestic rice and maize prices are at least twice the point-of-origin supply prices of major world suppliers of these commodities. Further, there appear to be serious grading and quality control problems in maize and especially rice. Since the ultimate quality and dimension of potential development of the Mbaw area will depend heavily on developing a regional surplus of food crops, USAID, the United Republic of Cameroon, and other international donors should investigate the potential for exports. African food grain supply and demand conditions suggest that regional and continental shortages will become more acute in the next decade.⁶

Even if regional and African market prices would sustain an expansion of maize and rice production from Mbaw, we question the capacity of existing cooperative institutions to respond in terms of storage, processing, and grading services. The improvement of roads, however, will permit private traders to enter the marketing system in Mbaw.

Agricultural Credit. An expansion of cultivation in Mbaw--especially an expansion involving mechanization--will be more orderly and deliver benefits more rapidly if it is not constrained by lack of farm production credit. However, we doubt

5. William Scott, "Economic Parameters of Agricultural Marketing" in Scott, et al., Agricultural Marketing in the Northwest Province, United Republic of Cameroon (Washington, D.C.: USAID, 1980).

6. If research now underway at the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture (IITA) and at national research stations in West Africa results in substantial advances in root and tuber production, the regional calorie situation may not deteriorate. However, vegetable protein is likely to remain in short supply.

that the present cooperative credit system has the ability to expand credit operations at a rate which would be appropriate to the growth of credit demand. Accordingly, USAID and the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon should explore alternative mechanisms for farm credit supply. One possibility is to establish a public works program which would have the dual function of constructing roads and providing cash income.

Cattle Production. Historically, the Mbaw Area has served as dry-season pasture for cattle from adjoining areas. As agriculture expands in Mbaw, disputes and conflict between farmers and grazers will occur. Although mechanisms now exist to arbitrate this kind of conflict, we suspect that conflict will increase and that the grazers will be losers. This issue of resource management links the hills and Mbaw and suggests that steps should be taken to establish dry-season pasture and fodder supplies in the hills and to prevent the environmental degradation which may develop.

If development in Mbaw is based on limited mechanization involving oxen, hill herders will find a new demand for their cattle as oxen. This second link between Mbaw and the hills would benefit both herders and Mbaw farmers. We suspect that with a measure of advanced planning and coordination of activities in Mbaw and the hills, benefits to both areas can be enhanced.

Town Development. Sabongari is the principal town in Mbaw at present. We suspect that it will grow rapidly in the future as the demand for government services, schools, health, and consumer goods expands. We would also expect Sabongari to grow on the basis of farmer demand for agricultural implements and tractor services.

2. Mbembe Area

The Mbembe Area stands in stark contrast to the Mbaw Area. Casual observation suggests that health, education, and welfare problems are far more acute.

Transportation. Officials in NWP place a high priority on opening a road from Berabe to Ako (a potential site of a new subdivisional headquarters) and on to Abonshe at the Nigerian border. Given the light population densities in Mbembe and apparent serious road construction problems, we question whether CD can oversee this construction in a period of only a few years. If there is to be a road to Abonshe through Berabe and Ako, it should be more than a seasonal track for four-wheel drive vehicles. Such roads are a convenience to governmental officials but of limited benefit to trade and transport for local residents.

Health. We were concerned by what appeared to us to be a high incidence of nutritional and health problems among the children of Berabe.

If rice farming is to continue and expand in the area, we anticipate additional problems associated with schistosomiasis. Delivery of health services to the Mbembe people will be costly since it will require health education, diet improvement, and access roads to villages which are now remote. Establishing a subdivisional headquarters and health facilities at Ako is an important first step. Any development activities to be undertaken in Mbembe will be benefited by close coordination and integration with health and education.

Agricultural Potential. We were not able to see much of the Mbembe Area. On the basis of what we were able to observe, however, we have serious doubts as to the likelihood of a significant and broad-based short-run production response. In the long run, rice production for local consumption would improve the protein content of the diet. Since food habits do not change rapidly, this potential is limited in the short run. Rice cultivation at this altitude also carries the hazard of schistosomiasis. Conversations at Bambui⁷ and the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture (IITA) suggest that improved maize varieties appropriate to the Mbembe environment are not now available.

If new income is to be generated in the short run, and if that income is to benefit the Mbembe people, we suspect it must come from forest products exploitation and efficiency improvements in palm oil extraction. The planting and management of new and traditional palm varieties are activities which require investment and extension. The systematic exploitation of forest products for the sustained benefit of the Mbembe people will also require public investment and management. We suspect that very careful planning, management, and monitoring is needed.⁸

3. The Highlands Between Mbembe and Mbaw

The highlands area between Mbembe and Mbaw show the signs of overgrazing.⁹ If overgrazing should result in soil erosion and the silting of water courses leading to the Mbembe and Mbaw plains, the agricultural potential of the plain as well as the hills would be endangered. Accordingly, the hills and the two plains are a logical unit for an integrated area development planning approach.

7. The principal agricultural research facility in NWP.

8. If suitable maize varieties for the Mbembe plain are not likely to be discovered and adopted in the near term, the most likely source of additional protein consumption will be through trade. This suggests that cash income opportunities should be generated for those family members who are most likely to buy protein-rich foods for children.

9. Localized sheet erosion and displacement of pasture grasses by weeds and bracken fern are readily observed.

Transportation. We were highly impressed by the road from Ndu to Nwa which was built largely through CD efforts. However, until that road is upgraded to allow all-weather movement by small and medium two-wheel drive trucks, the benefits to the local population will remain limited. The effect of a better road to Nwa and beyond (linking Nwa with Sabongari to the south and looping northward to connect with the existing Binka-Mayo Binka Road) would unquestionably improve the access of an isolated population to urban services on the Ring Road. We suspect that Nwa would grow substantially as a result. The extent to which CD could accomplish such a task should be studied in detail. It may be that the time has come to pay local labor for road work.

Livestock and Agriculture. In this hill area, livestock herders and farmers are in competition for resources. If the impact of improved roads will be to stimulate agricultural production through the cultivation of more hill land, the conflict will be increased. If, however, better roads mean a shift to fertilizer use and high-value crops, competition may be reduced. This issue should be examined and steps planned to reduce conflict if it appears to be a serious problem.

Interface Between the Hills and Mbaw. If agricultural development proceeds briskly and profitably in the Mbaw Area, we anticipate that farm families will leave the hills for Mbaw where land is abundant and household incomes are likely to be higher. This will reduce conflict between herders and farmers in the hills but increase conflict in the Mbaw area. Clearly, this is an issue which demands integrated planning, management, and monitoring for the welfare of both areas.

4. Smallholder Tea Cultivation

When we visited the Ndu Tea Estate, the General Manager raised with us the possibility of establishing a smallholder tea scheme in the Ndu vicinity. We suspect that the Ndu Tea Estate personnel have all the necessary knowledge to plan and manage such a venture. USAID may or may not find such an intervention interesting. In terms of an area perspective, however, we feel that a smallholder tea development would provide desirable employment opportunities in a high-population, low-wage area. Tea need not compete with crops in land use.

5. Fonfuka-Fundong Highland Axis

We visited the village of Fonfuka, located south of the Ring Road in the eastern part of Menchum Division. The road--built by CD--passes through gentle hills that have abundant opportunity for limited agriculture by either traditional or oxen techniques, although some of the area appeared

to have shallow soils with a high stone content. Cattle populations appeared higher than that in the hill area between Mbembe and Mbaw.¹⁰ Obvious signs of overgrazing were less abundant, however.¹¹ Grass species appeared different. At the village of Fonfuka--a vigorous and apparently relatively recent agricultural settlement--we viewed a large bridge which had been under construction for several years with assistance and supervision from the CD. The construction was impressive, despite problems of erosion at one abutment and the loss of one pillar to the previous year's flood. We were told that a CD road would extend from Fonfuka toward Fundong as soon as the bridge was completed. Although we were impressed by the dimensions of the CD bridge at Fonfuka, we suspect that if the Fonfuka-Fundong road link is to be constructed by CD exclusively, it will be some years before it is completed.

At Fundong, we were told that there is a substantial unoccupied area between Fundong and Fonfuka. It was suggested that residents of the Fundong area would move into that area as the road through it was completed.¹² Since this area is in the upper water shed of the Katsena River, we urge that presettlement surveys be made prior to opening the area in order to identify and forestall undue watershed deterioration. Although opening of the Fonfuka-Fundong axis would clearly benefit densely populated areas in the short run, we question the existence of a long-run productivity growth potential.

6. Small Urban Centers Development

The growth of urban centers along the Ring Road appears to have been rapid in the last decade. Most have seriously inadequate domestic water supply systems. CD water systems are being installed and upgraded. Conversations with the CD engineer of Donga-Mantung Division suggest that CD is able to help in the design and construction of small water systems without relying unduly on government and foreign assistance.¹³

Divisional Headquarters Towns. Divisional headquarters towns on the Ring Road (Kumbo, Nkambe, and Wum) may be expected to grow in size and diversity of urban functions. Their rate of growth would appear to depend on population and income growth in the hinterlands they serve. There appears to be a substantial unmet demand for street and domestic water supply improvement.

10. This may have been an illusion, as the white cattle of this area are more easily seen than the red cattle to the south.

11. A lower frequency of bare soil and erosion were observed, but patches of overgrazed pasture were marked by short-cropped grass and the growth of brush and inedible herbaceous species.

12. We were also told of a mature highland tropical forest in the area.

13. Where foreign assistance is required, delays of more than a year appear to be common before a donor is located and funds made available.

We question whether CD will be an effective mechanism through which to supply these services in the long run. USAID and the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon may wish to consider options to strengthen local government in these towns so that a substantial fraction of these urban services would become self-financing.¹⁴

New Rural Towns. The growth of new, small urban centers off the Ring Road appears to depend on the establishment of governmental functions (as in Ako) and the growth of agriculture (as might be the case in Sabongari). The First Assistant SDO of Menchum identified a potential set of new growth towns in Menchum, north of the Ring Road. A similar exercise has apparently been conducted in Bamenda at the Governor's direction. We were pleased to learn that potential rural growth towns were being identified; however, the system by which these towns were identified was not explained.

The identification of potential growth centers for the purpose of stimulating their orderly development is highly complex. Small town growth patterns are determined by factors which are difficult to identify and by events which cannot be anticipated. In our view, the proposed Provincial Planning, Management, and Monitoring Unit would be well advised to study the designation of rural growth centers and develop a methodology for evaluating potential interventions which are intended to stimulate and guide their development.

14. The same option might be extended to the well established subdivisional towns such as Ndop, Jakiri, Kumbo, and Fundong.

III. GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN NORTH WEST PROVINCE

A. DESCRIPTIVE OBSERVATIONS

Through interviews we obtained descriptions of government organization and processes (as they affect rural development) at provincial, divisional, subdivisioanal, and village levels. We also looked in some detail at the structure and functioning of the two principal types of semi-public, semi-autonomous organizations that play important roles in provincial development efforts--namely, the cooperatives and the credit unions.

We were alert to the possibility that regional planning and area development at the provincial and lower levels might be trammled by a high degree of centralization from the national level. We found instead a complex and somewhat fluid interplay of principles of centralization and decentralization in a situation of structural ambiguity which seems to be exploited (per our conversations with informants) creatively and positively, both from above and below.

At the provincial level, government agencies are branches of the national functional agencies (Agriculture, MINEP, Health, etc.). They are, however, given a measure of provincial direction and coordination by the governor who, since the Administrative Reform Decree, acts as the link in policy-related communications between the provincial delegates and their parent agencies in Yaounde. The governor is thus--theoretically at least--in a position to monitor fully the work of the individual delegates and their organizations and to coordinate the work of all. NWP personnel feel that the strength of provincial government there draws on deeply rooted provincial traditions, in addition to the leverage afforded by the Administrative Reform Decree and the energetic character of the present Governor.

The general pattern is reproduced successively at divisional and subdivisional levels as the hierarchies of general administration and the functional agencies reach downward in parallel stages. Thus the Senior Divisional Office (SDO or Prefect) theoretically is fully informed and in a position to control the decisions made by the representatives of agriculture, health, etc., at the divisional level. The Divisional Officer (DO or Sub-Prefect), meanwhile, is meant to play a similar (but apparently not so strong) coordinating role at the subdivisional level, where central government interfaces with the system of village councils and Chefferies.

To this structure of administration (colonial government as revised) has been added a developmental and theoretically participatory dimension. Villages elect councils from which the members of the "rural council" are chosen. The rural council, chaired by the DO, meets at the divisional level and disposes of funds derived from the local capitation tax--which we were told is retained entirely at the divisional level. Paralleling this is the structure of "development committees" at the village, subdivision, division, and provincial levels. At the local level there is also likely to be a "project committee" to plan and administer village community development projects. We found that the membership of these three committees (council, development, project) at the local level is likely to overlap almost entirely, consisting of the better educated "progressives" of the village.¹

The subdivision is, therefore, the level where government from above meets government from below. We were surprised at the density of officials, institutions, committees, and representatives that must interact in development activities at this level--either directly and constantly, or indirectly and sporadically. These include--besides the DO and staff and the village councils and committees--divisional or subdivisional representatives of agriculture, community development, élevage or livestock, health, and education. The activities of the cooperative union and its primary organizations, and, more variably, credit union societies and special-project organizations like WADA also have an impact on this level.

1. Omitted from consideration here are still another set of village institutions: the chiefs and their "traditional" councils.

Additionally, the supra-village legal system originates in the subdivision level, where a land commission transcends the authority of chiefs in disputes over land use.

The structure of development committees is itself in a process of development at present, and is being bolstered by a CD program of leadership training for village mobilizers. We were told that the village development committee structure is far from complete. In fact, however, in our two principal meetings at the village level, we found development committees organized and active.

A certain amount of general planning for project initiation, development, and administration occurs at all levels. This can be illustrated with examples collected during our thirteen days of experience in the province. The Governor and his associates (especially the agriculture and MINEP delegates and the Community Development Provincial Chief of Service) are designating priorities for development in the province (border areas, Mbaw, etc.). They consider themselves the effective point of coordination for donor planning and project implementation in the province as well. From our interviews it was evident that officials at the provincial level have an extremely detailed knowledge of local level development problems and activities. Their ability to effectively shape and coordinate the larger patterns of development in the province is more doubtful--especially major donor projects like WADA and the imminent FED/IFAD North West Province Project.

Planning also occurs at the divisional level. To illustrate, officials at Wum (Menchum Division) unveiled for us a development plan for ten "central villages" in the division which--connected by improved roads and equipped with packages of infrastructure/amenity features--would bring services to their hinterlands and encourage voluntary patterns of settlement and growth considered desirable by the authorities. This plan seems to illustrate the interplay of centralization/decentralization with particular aptness: the village list was devised by division authorities, and the idea seems not to have been paralleled in the other division which we studied (Donga-Mantung). But the Provincial Agriculture Delegate was asked independently for a corroborative list of such villages for the same area, and the divisional level proposals have gone to the national president's office for final approval.

The picture our tour provided us of divisional and local level development planning activities was less complete. But it is at this level that rural council funds are allocated. At this base level, an extremely complex interplay occurs since the DO and his staff preside over one set of activities and interactions, while the CD structure reaches down to involve villages in projects. Finally, our conversations suggested that villages and groups of villages may exercise a considerable degree of autonomy in making their own decisions about community labor projects.

B. EVALUATION AND CONCLUSIONS

The view developed from our interviews with participants amounts largely, and inevitably, to a self-description of a system. Based on this view--even with a measure of discounting--the system seems to combine effectively elements of centralization and decentralization to potentially permit realization of the benefits of each.

- (1) Structures of centralized authority (including national budgetary and parliamentary processes, not discussed here) are ample to make national development policy effective throughout the country.
- (2) The organization of provincial administration provides a potentially effective locus of regional planning where national policies can be adjusted to provincial realities, and at which an extremely complex range of development-related activities (Cameroonian and foreign, public, semi-public, and private) can be coordinated.
- (3) Organization at divisional, subdivisinal, and local levels also offers potentially effective opportunities to coordinate and to develop the "ground truth" micro-perspectives which discover opportunities and problems specific to local traditions, ecologies, and resources.

At the same time, weaknesses resulting in only partial realization of such potentials were apparent even in the process of a superficial investigation. A study in greater depth of organization for planning and development in NWP would probably point to the following types of organizational weakness:

- (1) Provincial administration staff, data management, and planning mechanisms are not adequate to realize the levels' potential for coordination of donor efforts, both among themselves and in relation to government efforts and policy.
- (2) The provincial planning and development management organization also is not sufficiently strong and comprehensive to permit provincial officials to "see" the entire picture of their development activities and their consequences and interrelations.
- (3) Coordination of parastatal and semi-public institutions--between themselves and in relation to state activities--could be improved with cost-efficient benefits to the province.

- (4) Local level coordination and integration at the point of interface between development "from above" and "from below" is probably the greatest point of weakness, endangering the validity of provincial, divisional, and subdivisinal planning and coordination for local development and the vitality of the community impulse toward self-help and participation in a centrally guided development process.

C. RECOMMENDATIONS

The foregoing observations, in the context of the perspectives we have developed in the rest of this paper, suggest the following types of efforts are needed to strengthen and further improve the planning and administration of development in the province. (It should be noted that an in-depth study would be required both to confirm these tentative recommendations, and to design measures of improvement. See also the general recommendations of this report in Chapter IV.)

- (1) Assistance to strengthen provincial capacity to plan, coordinate, direct, monitor, and evaluate development activities.
- (2) Assistance to strengthen and improve divisional, subdivisinal, and local capacity to plan, prioritize, sequence, and implement development projects, emphasizing improvement of connections between village development committees and the institutions and agents of government.

IV. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AN AREA DEVELOPMENT PROJECT IN NORTH WEST PROVINCE

We offer the following recommendations for future interventions by USAID in North West Province:

- (1) The development of roads connecting remote areas with the Ring Road is essential to the extension of public and urban services to rural populations.
- (2) The development of "farm-to-market" roads are of critical importance to areas with a strong potential for generating a substantial volume of marketed surplus.
- (3) Although roads are a necessary input for agricultural development and access to urban services, they will be inefficient interventions unless:

- (a) Complementary efforts are made to develop markets, production inputs, credit, and new technologies which are appropriate to local resource endowments.
 - (b) Government services such as education and health facilities are coordinated and integrated with the development of the road network.
 - (c) The need for improvements in small urban centers is anticipated and met.
- (4) The economic, environmental, and administrative linkages which exist in NWP suggest strongly that development activities in any area of the province should be planned and managed in an integrated fashion with activities in all areas of the province. Given the likely presence of multiple donor agencies providing assistance in NWP, we strongly recommend that a Provincial Planning, Management, and Monitoring Unit (PPMMU) be established at Bamenda. That unit should be chaired by the Governor, include among its membership the provincial delegates of relevant ministries, and be assisted by an appropriately skilled secretariat.
- (5) We recommend that AID/Yaounde open discussions with the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon on the possibility of funding an area development project in parts of Bui, Donga-Mantung, and Menchum Divisions. We recommend that USAID and the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon come to an early agreement that such a project will involve interventions in the form of roads, health, education, agricultural development, agricultural marketing, credit, input supply, and support to a PPMMU.
- (6) We believe that a PPMMU will significantly enhance the productivity of all AID and other donor-sponsored development activities in NWP. Further, we believe that AID/Yaounde should explore all opportunities to initiate support to a PPMMU (and its secretariat) as early as January, 1981, if possible.
- (7) We further recommend that, if established, the PPMMU participate with AID/Yaounde in the design of an area development project in NWP.
- (8) If the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon and AID/Yaounde concur in the recommendation for an AID-assisted area development project and the establishment of a PPMMU in NWP, the Regional Planning and Area Development Project would welcome an invitation to provide continuing technical assistance and other services, including project design and appropriate training, in accord with our mission and capabilities.

V. ANNEXES

ANNEX A

SOME THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON AREA DEVELOPMENT
IN NORTH WEST PROVINCE

A. OBJECTIVES, PROCESSES, AND PRIORITIES

1. Growth and Distribution of Personal Income

In the design and implementation of rural/area development interventions for North West Province (NWP), a high priority should be placed on establishing a desirable and compatible balance between growth and distribution of income. We identify four types of income growth and three dimensions of distribution which are critical to this issue of compatibility and balance:

Growth of Directly Consumable, In-Kind Income. At present most, if not all, of the rural subareas of NWP appear to be minimally self-sufficient in food production. There is variation, however, in both the abundance and nutritional composition of the home-produced diet. Inter-household exchanges and rural-to-rural market activities serve to balance diets. We understand that AID-assisted household nutrition and consumption studies are contemplated. However, interventions oriented primarily or exclusively toward improvement of subsistence crops may not be the most rapid, effective, or cost-efficient way to improve rural welfare in general.¹

Growth of Cash Income. Throughout our tour of NWP and in travels between Douala and Bamenda and between Bamenda and Yaounde, we were impressed by the spatial association of cash crops and the subjective appearance of rural prosperity. A substantial fraction of cash income appears to be devoted to meeting basic needs in the form of housing, clothing, and higher order food items. We feel confident in suggesting that the consumer goods marketing system generally is sufficiently responsive to rural consumer demand so that cash income growth forms both a short- and long-run foundation for meeting those basic needs

1. Accordingly, we do not feel that a study of the current nutrition status of households per se is a high priority item. A study of intra-household nutritional patterns, however, would be a useful informational input in project design, as it would logically form the basis for subsequent impact evaluation and for educational programs to improve child and maternal diets. Similarly, studies which would lead to an improved understanding of the effects of changes in prices and incomes on inter- and intra-household consumption and nutrition would be useful inputs in designing an area development project.

available from the private sector. In the final analysis, households are at least as likely to purchase and consume protein and vitamin-rich foods out of cash income as they are to forego cash production in order to produce such commodities directly. Further, considerations of economic efficiency and inter-regional income distribution suggest that market forces should be allowed full play in determining whether households choose to allocate their land and labor to cash crops or to directly consumable commodities. We qualify this statement to the extent that it would be imprudent to encourage a large group of farmers to become wholly dependent on a cash crop whose price is highly uncertain. However, we feel confident in suggesting that farmers are quite aware of the hazards of over-specialization and the historic behavior of international cash crop markets; accordingly, they are unlikely to place themselves in jeopardy through complete cash crop specialization.

Growth of Income/Welfare Through Consumption of Public Services. In any developing society, it is incumbent on national and local authorities to provide and facilitate a balance between the growth of private consumption and the supply of public goods. In some arenas, public goods and private income are substitutes--for example, private income may substitute for public expenditure for some types of education, health, and physical mobility demands. In other arenas, public goods and services enhance the value of private incomes--for example, public expenditure on basic literacy, public health, farm-to-market roads, and export market exploitation can enhance the value of household resources and improve personal income.

Growth of Future Personal and National Income Through the Stimulation and Mobilization of Private Savings. Capital formation--both human and physical--is an undisputed element in the foundation of future growth in private and public incomes. Domestic savings may be mobilized directly through taxation of incomes and assets or through the aggregation of private savings which result from individual, private decisions.² We believe that an area development project should not ignore potential interventions which encourage households to save (to defer present consumption) and to make those savings available for local, regional, and national capital formation. Critical to the mobilization of private savings is an understanding of consumption and savings decisions by households, the relation of savings to income and the relation of savings to such factors as inflation, risk, and liquidity of savings and other household assets.

2. We include here savings which may arise from national policy instruments, such as price policies for certain export crops which return less than "world prices" to producers. Also included are excise taxes, import, and export duties.

Inter-Household Income Distribution. Consistent with the policy statement of the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon and the directives under which USAID operates, we believe that any development project should accord a high priority to the pursuit and/or maintenance of relative income equality among households. In NWP, we have formed the impression that the distribution of inter-household income and assets is not seriously skewed on a community-by-community basis. Accordingly, we hold the view that development interventions should be oriented to raising the income of households generally, on a community-by-community basis, rather than oriented toward any particular subsector of a community. However, since it is inevitable that some households will benefit more (and/or faster) from particular interventions than other households, we expect to see a growing inter-household income disparity at the onset of any new development activities. We feel it is incumbent on government and donor agencies to monitor changes in income distribution within communities and to be prepared either to compensate "losers" or (if possible) to restructure interventions in a way which will bring them benefits.

Inter-Area Income Distribution. In our tour of NWP we were continually struck by the degrees and magnitude of cultural, physical, and economic diversity. It is precisely because of the heterogeneity of the areas of the province we visited that we feel any single development intervention is likely to have dramatically different impacts on incomes and welfare, both among areas of the region and between communities within areas.³ Accordingly, our opinion is that interventions must be balanced and integrated in a way which meets the problems and potentials of areas and communities. No less, we hold the view that the impact of interventions must be monitored and that sufficient flexibility in programming be maintained to prevent unbalanced and disorderly development of the sort which may be observed in many countries throughout the developing world, including West Africa.

Intra-Household Income Distribution. Descriptions of the agro-economic system of NWP have placed heavy emphasis on sex-specific roles in crop production, with women assuming responsibility for food crops and men tending and marketing cash crops.⁴ At first glance this description suggests that shifts in crops in pursuit of greater total household income might be constrained by sex-specific labor roles. It also suggests that changes in product prices that would be expected to result from improved roads and marketing facilities would result in potentially socially disruptive reallocations of income within the family. This concern for

3. Examples of development interventions are an improved variety of maize, coffee, cassava, or oil palm; a change in the relative prices of various crops; improvement in public health and education facilities; farm-to-market, inter-urban, and international road links.

4. See, for example, the excellent descriptive work of Scott. See also Phyllis M. Kaberry, Women of the Grassfields: A Study of the Economic Position of Women in Bamenda, British Cameroons (London: Her Majesty's Statuary Office, 1952).

consequences arising from sex-specific labor roles is blurred, however, by the observation that men are frequently involved in the production of food crops such as maize and rice when these crops are also significant cash crops. Further, it might be noted that women participate marginally in the production of coffee through their attention to inter-cultured subsistence food crops. Accordingly, we question the correspondence of reality to the stylized truths about sex-specific labor roles. However, we suggest that male-female income distribution implications of contemplated interventions be studied prior to implementation efforts.

2. Orderly and Equitable Development from Short-Run Opportunities Toward Long-Run Growth

Development implies structural change. Structural changes frequently are seen by development theorists and commentators to have their roots within the developing society.⁵ If there is a message or bottom line in development assistance and national development strategies, it is that external resources can be used to accelerate or short cut what otherwise might be a much longer process, and, inter alia, to create roots for continuing, orderly, and equitable structural change, leading to desirable future income and income distribution states.⁶ Our view here is that long-run growth and structural change can be effected through deliberate national policies--and foreign assistance--which create new incentives in the short run.

Exploitation of Short-Run Opportunities. In the short run--say one to five years--we identify six mechanisms through which household incomes might be augmented:

5. These views of the present as springing immutably from historic roots are somewhat distressing when one considers the historic foundations for development in many contemporary developing countries. For a less deterministic perspective of endogenously stimulated growth and structural change in agriculture, see Yujiro Hayami and Vernon Ruttan, Agricultural Development: An International Perspective (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971). See also Hayami, A Century of Agricultural Growth in Japan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1975).
6. See, for example, Robert Evenson and James Boyce, National and International Agricultural Research and Extension Programs (New York: Agricultural Development Council, 1975). This and other works by Evenson and colleagues trace the relationship between, and estimate the contribution of, deliberate public decisions to invest in agricultural research. The results suggest that returns on national and sub-national agricultural research investments have been high, and that international transfers from more developed to less developed countries have been high where the knowledge transferred has been of the scientific or basic type. Applied research does not show rates of return as high as basic research, where international transferability is concerned.

- (1) Improving the prices of commodities that rural people sell relative to those that they buy.
- (2) A shift to crops which return higher incomes to household resources.
- (3) The utilization of price-elastic production inputs, such as biological, chemical, and mechanized inputs.
- (4) The cultivation of a greater area of crops/livestock.
- (5) Off-farm or public works programs which would provide more income than agriculture alone or provide it in seasons when household labor is less productively employed.
- (6) The direct provision of consumption (welfare-conferring) goods and services and/or the reduction of the private cost of acquiring urban-origin commodities through the agency of roads and other transportation improvements.

These six mechanisms or themes appear in various forms in our discussion of potential interventions in the main body of this report.

Sustained Productivity Growth. The six mechanisms or themes for income/welfare enhancement have been tested and proven under a broad range of agro-economic and institutional conditions, although it is unlikely that all six would be simultaneously feasible or prudent at any single location.

In the long run: land is limited; the terms of trade between agriculture and the nonagricultural sectors can be pushed only so far; chemical and mechanical inputs will probably become relatively more expensive over the next several decades; there are practical limits to the shifting of cropping patterns; off-farm employment opportunities can be exploited only to the extent that there is an effective demand for such products and so long as agricultural surpluses are available to feed off-farm workers; and, the value of public services and roads is subject to the principle of declining marginal utility.

Sustainable per capita rural income growth hangs on two basic mechanisms or processes in the long run:

- (1) Steady, positive residual factor productivity growth over time, with relative emphasis on the most limited residual factors of production.⁷

7. This means that the percentage change in agricultural output (per year) is greater than the contribution-weight sum of the percentage change (per year) of inputs. For an exposition of the international validity

- (2) Off-farm and urban employment opportunities which are more remunerative than agriculture because of urban-industrial capital formation and rising labor productivity in the urban-industrial sector, resulting in a gradual decrease in agricultural labor inputs.⁸

B. SOME UNRESOLVED ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

1. Input and Product Prices

We encourage AID and the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon to make a careful study of export markets for the products which are likely to flow from agricultural development. A grain surplus is of little value to a farmer if its value in exchange is slight. At the present domestic prices for maize and rice, there is little likelihood of substantial exports in competition with major world suppliers of maize and rice. Cameroon may be in a better position, however, in terms of trade with Nigeria, Chad, Central African Republic, Gabon, Congo, and Zaire. The Foreign Agriculture Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture or the International Food Policy Research Institute may have a reasonable basis for evaluating such opportunities.

We did not have an opportunity to inquire about fertilizer prices. We were told that maize frequently benefited from chemical fertilizers; this was substantiated by casual observation of maize fields. If Cameroonian fertilizer prices are at about world levels, fertilizer use on maize could be quite extensive. If Cameroon were to develop a domestic fertilizer industry based on its own petroleum industry, fertilizer prices could be set below world price levels.

In the long run, we would expect the "producer-cost" of maize and rice to fall. In the case of rice, it will fall as local experience and skills in growing rice develop. In both cases, producer cost will fall as new, better adapted varieties are developed and introduced. It also will fall because mechanized production (oxen and tractors used in an appropriate mix) in areas such as Mbaw will make land and labor more productive than is now the case in the areas growing maize and rice. As a consequence of

of this process, see Hayami and Ruttan, op. cit. This principle of productivity growth has been observed in both Japanese and U.S. agriculture, even though the relative endowments of land and labor were very different. Japanese agricultural growth prior to 1940 arose as the result of improvements in irrigation, rice (and wheat) varietal improvements, and fertilizer use, all of which increased the productivity of land which was Japan's least abundant residual factor of agricultural production. In U.S. agriculture (also Australian and Canadian), investments in mechanization increased the productivity of labor--U.S. agriculture's least abundant residual factor of production.

8. The decrease is offset by rising productivity of those who remain in agriculture.

declining produce prices for maize, hill farmers who now produce for the market will see their cash incomes fall.⁹

2. The Development, Extension, and Adoption of New Production Techniques

Two members of our team (Bateson and Beckett) spoke at length with staff at IITA (Ibadan) before arriving in Cameroon. The full team also visited the agricultural research station at Bambui. It is reasonable to believe that these research facilities will produce a stream of new crop varieties which will increase the productivity of land and labor in North West and Western Provinces. We understand that USAID is consummating an agreement with IITA to accelerate its research activities in parts of NWP. Although there is always a degree of uncertainty in the development of new varieties and in matching varietal characteristics to changing farming systems, experience elsewhere in the world suggests that progress in this area is highly likely.¹⁰

3. Potential Impacts of an Area Development Project on the People of North West Province

Elsewhere in the developing world there have been serious problems of maldistribution of income arising from rapid development. Here we point out that circumstances in NWP are such that serious problems of income maldistribution can be avoided.

The Mbaw Area. In the Mbaw area, labor is relatively the scarcest factor of production. The "price" of unimproved land is low. Labor-augmenting inputs such as oxen and tractors will increase the returns to labor as long as land remains relatively abundant. A common source of maldistribution of income in agricultural development is that new technology raises the returns on land. Since land can be accumulated in large holdings, maldistribution of personal income is observed. In the Mbaw region (and westward), however, the extent of new land is so great that labor is likely to be the least available factor of production for some time.

The Mbembe Area. In the Mbembe area, unimproved land is abundant in relation to labor. Here, however, the potential of technology and public expenditures to make labor more productive are far less certain than in Mbaw.

9. The impact, however, will be a function of the amount of maize marketed. If the proportion of grain produced which is marketed is as small as five or ten per cent, the impact will not be large.

10. See Evenson, et al., op. cit.

Hill Areas. In the hill areas of NWP, land is far more scarce and labor more abundant than in the plains. Accordingly, the economic value of land is higher relative to labor than is the case in the plains. Fortunately, however, the distribution of land among households is not seriously skewed. Thus, it is largely immaterial in the short run whether development in the hills favors land relative to labor or vice versa.

ANNEX B

WESTERN HIGHLANDS AREA DEVELOPMENT:
SCOPE OF WORK FOR EXPLORATORY MISSION

The Regional Planning and Area Development Project at the University of Wisconsin-Madison has been established to assist USAID country missions and developing countries to conceive, plan, coordinate, monitor, and implement integrated development activities which will improve the welfare, income, and productivity of the rural poor. In order to evaluate the potential contribution which the Regional Planning and Area Development Project might make to the welfare of the people of the Western Highlands and to the program of USAID/Cameroon, we have developed the following scope of work.

- A. To conduct a reconnaissance to familiarize ourselves with the broad parameters of the region, including on-going development projects.
- B. Although extensive descriptive and analytical materials for the Western Highlands exist and have been made available to us, we feel the need to interview local officials and residents to gain a fuller appreciation of the region and its problems as felt by the local population.
 1. The Agricultural Sector
 - Agricultural productivity: sources and constraints
 - Agriculture production support systems
 - Access to markets
 - Pricing mechanisms
 - Land tenure
 - Mix of livestock, food, and commercial crops
 - Transportation and associated infrastructure
 2. Human Services
 - Nutrition and health
 - Education and man-power needs
 - Domestic water supply
 3. Administrative Structure and Procedures
 - Structure and functioning of government administration at the province, division, and subdivision levels
 - Hierarchical relations of government institutions and appointed or elected officials from area councils through provincial government

- Relation of public authority, institutions, and parastatal organizations in development activities in the region
 - Participation in formulation of annual budget for province and and the quinquennial plan for the province
 - Relation between the annual budget for the province and the quinquennial plan for the province
 - Organization and capacity for planning at various levels of government
 - Extent to which structure and process of government administration encourage effective playing of local variations on national themes
 - Whether and how capacity for participation in regional planning and responsiveness to development objectives could be strengthened
4. A preliminary analysis of the needs and functions of the region's urban centers, which will include inter-urban and urban-rural production, consumption, and exchange linkages.
- C. To augment this understanding and appreciation of the region through further interviews with farmers, artisans, businessmen, and other community leaders.

TENTATIVE ITINERARY

Thursday, 10 July	Yaounde-Douala-Bamenda
Friday-Sunday, 11-13 July	Bamenda
Sunday, 13 July	Bamenda-Kumbo (Banso)
Monday-Tuesday, 14-15 July	Kumbo
Tuesday, 15 July	Kumbo-Nkambe
Wednesday-Thursday, 16-17 July	Nkambe
Thursday, 17 July	Nkambe-Wum
Friday-Saturday, 18-19 July	Wum
Saturday, 19 July	Wum-Mbengwi
Sunday-Monday, 20-21 July	Mbengwi-Bamenda
Wednesday, 23 July	Bamenda-Yaounde
Thursday-Friday, 24-25 July	Write report, debriefing
Saturday, 26 July	Depart Cameroon

- D. For the purpose of discussion in Yaounde, Washington, and Madison, outline a potential project in regional planning and area development for the Western Highlands. This will include the establishment of priorities and a time line for studies and other activities leading to a Project Identification Document (PID) and a Project Paper (PP).

ANNEX C

LIST OF ROADS FOR POTENTIAL CONSTRUCTION AND IMPROVEMENT*

ROAD SEGMENT	UPGRADE (U) OR NEW (N)	APPROXIMATE LENGTH (KM)	ESTIMATED COST	
			PER KM (Millions of CFAF)	CFAF (Millions of CFAF)
Nkambe-Berabe	U	15	3 to 4	45 to 60
Berabe-Abonshe	N	50	5 to 6	250 to 300
Dumbo-Ado	N	75	5 to 6	375 to 450
Ndu-Nwa	U	60	3 to 4	180 to 240
Nwa-Kom	N	60	5 to 6	300 to 360
Kom-Binka	U	35	3 to 4	105 to 140
Nwa-Sabongari	N	15	5 to 6	75 to 90
Ndop-Sabongari	U	40	3 to 4	120 to 160
Sabongari-Nigeria	N	25	5 to 6	125 to 150
Sabongari-Solkolony	N	30	5 to 6	150 to 180
Kumbo-Mbiane	U	30	3 to 4	90 to 120
Mbiane-Ntem	N	35	5 to 6	175 to 210
Mbaw Plain (farm to market)	N	150	5 to 6	750 to 900
Subtotals	U	180	--	540 to 720
	N	440	--	2200 to 2640
GRAND TOTAL (CFAF)	U+N	620		2740 3360

* List developed by R. Gwanfogbe and W. Bateson, 20 July 1980,
Bamenda, North West Province. Approximately CFAF 200 per US \$.