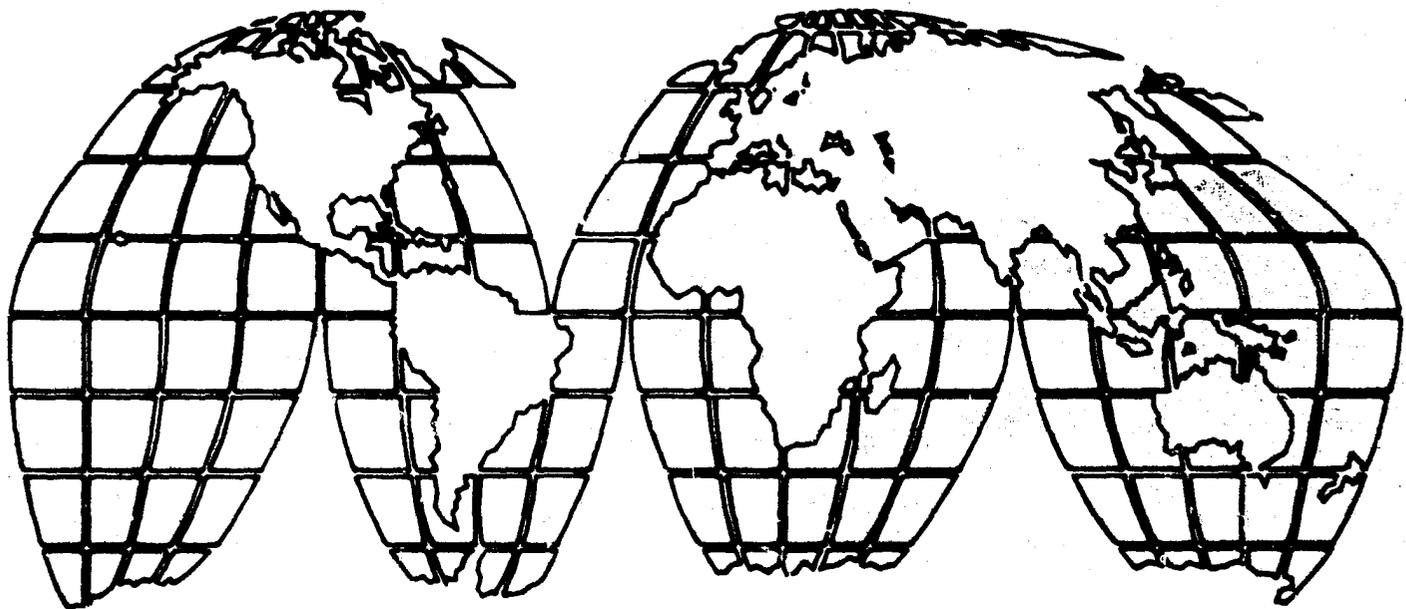


S 23

A.I.D. Evaluation Special Study No. 15

**THE PRIVATE SECTOR:
Ethnicity, Individual Initiative, And Economics
Growth In An African Plural Society:
The Bamileke Of Cameroon**



June 1983

U.S. Agency for International Development

PN-AAL-016

31650

ETHNICITY, INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE, AND ECONOMIC
GROWTH IN AN AFRICAN PLURAL SOCIETY: THE
BAMILEKE OF CAMEROON

A.I.D. Evaluation Special Study No. 15

by

Hazel M. McPerson, Ph.D.

U.S. Agency for International Development

June 1983

The views and interpretations expressed in this report are those of the author and should not be attributed to the Agency for International Development.

A.I.D. EVALUATION PUBLICATIONS

A complete list of reports issued in the A.I.D. Evaluation Publication series is included in the back of this document, together with information for ordering reports.

ii

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Foreword.....	v
Summary.....	vi
Preface.....	x
Map.....	xi
I. Introduction.....	1
A. Ethnic Pluralism in Cameroon.....	1
B. Colonial Policy and the Emergence of a Commercial Ethos.....	3
C. The Bamileke.....	5
II. Traditional Bamileke Culture.....	7
A. The Nomenclature Issue.....	7
B. The Bamileke "Problem".....	7
C. Ethnicity and Early Origins.....	9
D. Traditional Sociopolitical Organization.....	10
E. Traditional Authority System.....	10
F. Auxiliary Functionaries.....	12
G. The Inheritance System and Land Distribution.....	14
H. Traditional Title Societies.....	15
III. Economic Attitudes and Institutions.....	15
A. The Sociopsychological Foundation of Bamileke Society.....	15
1. Group Solidarity and Individualism.....	16
2. Belief in the Possibility of Individual Progress.....	17
3. The Spirit of Innovation.....	18
4. The Spirit of Competition.....	19
B. The Commercial Ethos of the Bamileke.....	20
1. Bamileke-European Economic Relations.....	20
2. Contemporary Entrepreneurship.....	23
C. Migration and Occupational Distribution.....	23
D. Contemporary Financial Institutions.....	24
IV. Conclusions and Lessons Learned.....	27

111

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

Appendixes

- A. Methodology and List of Contacts
- B. UCCAO: Success Story of a Bamileke Coffee Cooperative
- C. The IBO: Similarities with the Bamileke Experience
- D. Bibliographic Note
- E. Tables

References

SUMMARY

Cameroon is one of Africa's most ethnically and linguistically diverse countries. The Bamileke of Cameroon are one of the most enterprising ethnic groups in Africa. Their success in private-sector activities is traced in this study to (1) their traditional culture, which places a premium on the development of economically relevant personal skills; (2) external variables, such as the effect of land pressures, population density, and urban migration; and (3) the economic functions of traditional institutions.

The Development of Economically Relevant Personal Skills

Although the group solidarity of the Bamileke is strong, individual achievement is highly valued. Members of the group are expected to exercise individual initiative in the pursuit of economic goals. Individual acquisition of economic resources including private property, money, and other remuneration is stressed. Other cultural characteristics of the group that have been invaluable to their entrepreneurial skills are discussed below.

Belief in the Possibility of Individual Progress. Unlike the situation in many traditional African cultures, the social status of an individual in this ethnic group is not rigidly fixed; individuals--male or female--can improve their condition in life and are expected to do so. Commercial and business success is one of the most highly valued routes to prestige and status. Bamileke women are also expected to achieve economic and commercial success and there are few traditional limits placed on their economic participation.

The Spirit of Innovation. The Bamileke have consistently responded to a changing economic environment. Prior to the advent of German and French colonialism, the group was involved in indigenous trade with groups in the interior and the north of Cameroon. After the arrival of Europeans, the trading activities of the group shifted to specialization in goods desired by Europeans, such as ivory and other sought-after products. The commercial ethos of the Germans complemented the traditional entrepreneurial orientation of the Bamileke. The Germans desired products which only indigenous traders could secure, and the Bamileke were able to establish hegemony in trading activities around the coastal areas of Cameroon. This hegemony continued under the French, and it was during this period that the Bamileke displayed yet another example of their spirit of innovation: the ease with which they adapted to coffee farming in the Western Highlands--their traditional home

FOREWORD

In February 1982, the Administrator of the Agency for International Development (AID) requested that the Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, through its Office of Evaluation, initiate a series of studies examining the contribution of past AID efforts to strengthen the role of the private sector in the development process. As part of the first phase of this effort, four countries -- Malawi, Costa Rica, Thailand, and Cameroon -- were selected for in-depth evaluations of the central issues surrounding this question. In addition, several special studies on topics of interest were carried out. These topics reflected issues which emerged while planning for the country studies. Synthesis reports comparing the central themes investigated in the country studies are available.

Richard N. Blue, Ph.D.
Associate Assistant Administrator
for Evaluation
Bureau for Program and Policy
Coordination

area--has made them one of the most successful cash crop farming groups in Africa. The success of the Bamileke is not limited to farming, however; the group is also dominant in commercial and private-sector activities throughout Cameroon. As such, they have functioned as an important sector of indigenous economic activity.

The Spirit of Competition. The traditional values of the Bamileke stress individual competition and overt displays of "getting ahead." Individual Bamileke are expected to compete and to surpass each other's accomplishments. The emphasis on competition is not limited to economic activities, but is a feature of personal relationships as well: within families, children are expected to compete with their siblings; sons and daughters are encouraged to surpass the achievements of their parents. This, too, is in contrast to many African traditional values in which competition is viewed as a hostile act and as inimical to the maintenance of group values and solidarity.

External Influences: Land Pressure and Migration

In addition to their traditional cultural values, the Bamileke spirit of enterprise has been influenced by changing traditional land patterns and by the indigenous inheritance system. The high population density of the Western province of Cameroon--the Bamileke traditional area--has resulted in extreme land pressures and has caused younger people to push out into the urban areas where they have been expected to "make it" on their individual effort, albeit with support from others of their group. The traditional inheritance system favors a single heir, who is not obligated to share his inheritance with relatives. This also strengthens the strong compulsion to succeed on one's own.

In effect, this has meant that the severe limit on economic development, found by Ragnar Nurkse to apply in labor-surplus developing country agriculture,¹ has not been operative in Bamileke-populated areas of Cameroon. Nurkse had observed the phenomenon of large-scale disguised unemployment in agriculture--the existence of large numbers of people whose real wage is higher than their contribution to agricultural production. In this situation, the standard of living of the marginal agricultural laborers is in effect subsidized by the surplus of the more efficient. The savings potential is

¹Ragnar Nurkse, Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries. (References are shown in abbreviated form in footnotes. Complete references are in the bibliography.)

therefore expended to support the standard of living of marginal producers instead of being mobilized for investment and improving productivity.

The Bamileke ethos of individual contribution to group activity, which customarily entails the out-migration of the marginal producers, removes this common obstacle to the mobilization of savings and consequently to the expansion of production and productivity in Bamileke agricultural areas. At the same time, the mechanism of group support bolsters the chances of the individual out-migrant to achieve economic success in ways and locations that do not imply a burden for the group itself.

The Contemporary Economic Role of Traditional Institutions

Bamileke traditional institutions have been highly adaptive to modern economic functions. For example, the Mandjong, a traditional title society, plays an important role in generating capital through a savings and loan format. The Mandjong has two economic components: Le Bank and Le Ntsu'a. Le Bank is a savings system; each member, in accordance with specific procedural guidelines, pays in a sum of money which is deposited in a special, interest-bearing bank account. Le Ntsu'a (also called Susu or tontine) functions as a rotating credit association; members contribute monthly, and the funds are distributed among the group on a regular basis. Funds are allocated according to need or other criteria. Need does not mean impoverishment; rather, it may imply a specific business purpose. These informal associations vary in size and amount of monthly dues and disbursements. The urban associations tend to be larger and may handle very considerable sums. Their primary function is to generate capital, thus improving the access of Bamileke entrepreneurs to ready credit. Also, these organizations function as a device whereby richer members can offer assistance to younger business people just starting out. Membership brings access to larger lines of credit than a newcomer could expect from a commercial bank. Personal qualities and trustworthiness of younger members are recognized as collateral by a tontine, whereas they would not be normally taken into consideration by a bank.

The operation of the financial institutions highlights the complementarity between individualism and collective unity among the Bamileke. Individuals are expected to pay their own way while retaining a strong ethnic identity and group solidarity. This interaction is one of the factors accounting for Bamileke economic success. Members are expected to contribute as much to the group as they receive in return. Thus, cooperation is essential. The group is perceived as a system of

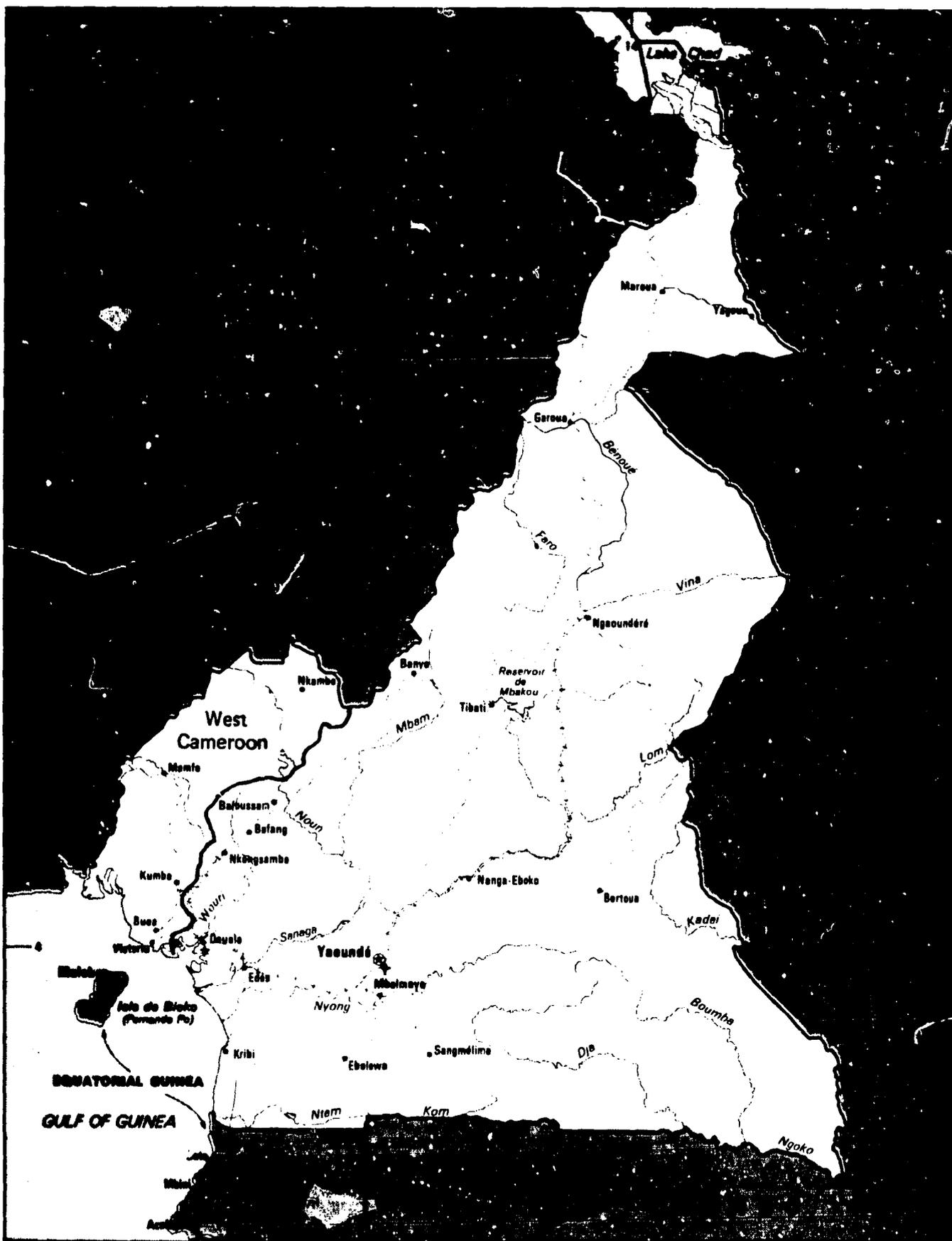
interdependence based on the strength of individual links. In financial matters, the group is indispensable. ("Unity makes strength.") However, individuals must not request or expect assistance for those things which they can do for themselves. It is important to underline this point: unlike in many traditional African and non-African societies, poorer relatives are not expected or allowed to lay claim to or live off the riches of wealthier family members.

Another of Nurkse's seminal insights concerning constraints to economic development also does not apply to Bamileke society. That is the well-known "demonstration effect." The Bamileke do not "keep up with the Kamas" through emulative consumption, but through competition in work effort, savings, and economic improvement. The demonstration effect among the Bamileke thus serves to raise their productive capacity, level of individual economic effort and, indirectly, works to the benefit of the country's economy as a whole.

PREFACE

This study is based on an in-country analysis of the importance of ethnicity and culture in economic development in Cameroon, with special reference to the Bamileke of the Western Highlands region. Research for the report was conducted during a 3-week visit to Cameroon in June-July 1982. The country visit included short stays in Yaounde, Douala, and Bafoussam. In addition to those interviewed and listed in Appendix A, I wish to thank the following people and organizations. The support of the USAID Mission in Yaounde was extensive, especially the assistance of Randall Thompson. The Yaounde office of the United States Information Agency was unstinting in helping establish contacts with key informants in Yaounde, Douala, and Bafoussam. Special thanks is expressed to Willie Holmes and his staff. Special appreciation for suggestions and assistance, as well as comments on drafts, is extended to Cindy Clapp-Wincek and Tim Mahoney of the Agency for International Development, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, Office of Evaluation.

Cameroon



519740 8-80

- International boundary
- ⊙ National capital
- ⊕ Road
- ✈ International airport

Boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.

"Le Bamileke ne s'amuse pas avec le fruit de son travail et ne permet pas aux autres de le traiter a la legere."

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Ethnic Pluralism in Cameroon

Cameroon, one of Africa's most ethnically and linguistically diverse countries, is often referred to as "Africa in microcosm." The country of almost 9 million contains over 200 ethnic groups, many of which are divided along regional and cultural lines. The people of the north--who are largely Muslim--are subdivided into numerous small groups: many are culturally related to the plateau groups of northern Nigeria; others are linked with groups from Chad or the Central African Republic. Most of the people of the north speak languages of the Adamawa-Eastern branch of the Niger-Congo family. Among the better-known of the region's inhabitants are the Kirdi, who number around 800,000 (the name "Kirdi" is a Fulani word for pagan), although the Kirdi are not a unified ethnic group. There are more than 25 subdivisions within this classification. The Kirdi have remained distinct from the Fulani livestock farmers who became their overlords, both before and during the colonial period.

The Fulani, who number more than 400,000, are the politically dominant group of the area. Their presence in northern Cameroon resulted from the 19th-century founding of a substantial Fulani empire. Fulani rule was extended over large portions of the north as well as parts of Nigeria and surrounding states, through a holy war (jihad) waged by their leader, Uthman dan Fodio, against the Hausa. The major Muslim traditional chiefdoms of the north are located in the towns of Maroua and Garoua. The Fulani empire consisted of a large number of smaller units, each ruled by an Emir who owed

allegiance to dan Fodio at the center.¹ Fulani traditional organization is a centralized hierarchy. The educational achievements of these groups have historically lagged behind those of groups from the south.

The central Cameroon highlands are inhabited by people of diverse origins, including the Tikar, Nsaw, Bamum, Bamileke, Banen, Bafia, and Bali. Many small, ethnically and linguistically related groups are subsumed under the name "Tikar." There are about 300,000 so-called Tikar people in West Cameroon; the Tikar are related to other tribes in this and other regions of the country. Included among their relatives are the Bamoun, who broke away from the Tikar hundreds of years ago, and the Bamileke (see Section II of this report). An important non-related group of the south is the Bassa-Bakoko, a Bantu-speaking people who number about 200,000.

The Douala of the coastal area, centered around the town of the same name, are another well-known group. The Douala were among the very first Africans to come into contact with Europeans as middlemen trading in slaves, ivory, and other commodities. The Douala were zealous traders, quick to realize the financial benefits to be gained from commerce; many became

¹The President of the Republic of Cameroon, Ahmadou Ahidjo, is from the north. An article in Le Monde summarized the qualities of the Fulani which are shared by the President: "Beneath the deliberately impassive expression, behind the apparent severity and beyond the surprising economy of words, lies hidden a great care for the warmth of human contacts. This reserved, even secret, man inspires both reverence and fear, sentiments which without doubt he seeks to instill, although in private he may yield to affability. But to understand the character and temperament of Cameroon's Head of State, one must go back to his Peul origins and discover the quality known by the members of his tribe as Poulaakou, a concept which could equally be described as 'Foulanity' since the terms 'Peul' and 'Foula' are interchangeable. Poulaakou is a subtle mixture of three ingredients blended in differing measure according to the individual. They are 'sentaande,' 'mournal,' and 'aliko.' Sentaande is a combination of reserve, modesty, and 'savoir-vivre.' Mournal means both patience and perseverance. Aliko indicates astuteness and diplomacy, but also prudence and discernment. Seen in this light, Ahmadou Ahidjo is a living example of Poulaakou." (Le Monde, No. 9793, July 20, 1976, p. 5.) Ahidjo was elected President by the National Assembly on May 5, 1960 at age 33. He is, at age 55, one of the longest-serving presidents in Africa.

quite wealthy. Their early commercial hegemony is described by Rudin:²

the Douala...were the ones with whom the Germans had their earliest and most constant dealings. These people had long held a monopoly of trade with the tribes of the interior, whom they sought to keep from direct commercial contact with the whites on the coast. In this ...they were aided by the climate, jungle and by superior weapons.... Their commercial rivalry with the whites and their refusal to work on plantations or to carry goods for traders made them highly unpopular with the Germans.³

The Douala, who were originally ruled as part of a coastal dominion by a single king (Manga Bell, who was hanged by the Germans), came to be governed in a number of separate entities as trade increased and various rulers began to compete for wealth. These chiefdoms were ruled by members of the ruling Douala dynasty who broke away from Bell. In the contemporary period, the commercial hegemony of the Douala has been surpassed by the Bamileke. The people of the south are chiefly Bantus, which include the Yamgassas and Bafias, and the Fang-Betis, who comprise several ethnic groups, including the Ewondoos, the Benes, the Boulous, and the Mvaes. Among the remaining ethnic groups of Cameroon are the Pygmies, of whom the Babingas are the largest group.

B. Colonial Policy and the Emergence of a Commercial Ethos

Immediately after the Berlin Conference of 1885, the Germans occupied the whole of "Kamerun" until 1919 when they relinquished sovereignty to England and France under the Treaty of Versailles.⁴ Cameroon was then divided between the two powers: England received, from the League of Nations, the mandate to administer the smaller West, while France received the mandate for the remaining four-fifths of the country. Under British rule, Western Cameroon was administered as an

²Harry R. Rudin, Germans in the Cameroon, 1884, 1914, p. 54.

³Fearful of a Douala-led rebellion, the Germans asked missions not to teach the Douala dialect to people in the interior.

⁴For discussions of Cameroon's past, see Victor T. LeVine, The Cameroon Federal Republic; Willard Johnson, The Cameroon Federation; and Neville Rubin, Cameroon: An African Federation; for the German phase, see Rudin.

integral part of Nigeria. It was divided into three districts which were attached to the provinces of Eastern Nigeria. The French administered their portion of Cameroon as a territory of French Equatorial Africa headed by a colonial governor.

In 1946, Cameroon became a Protectorate of Britain and France. In the same year, Eastern Cameroon was taken into the French Union as an "associated territory" with a local assembly. In the elections of April 1960, Ahmadou Ahidjo became Prime Minister and later President. The British Protectorate of Western Cameroon developed in a politically different manner. In 1954, it became one of the autonomous regions of Nigeria and was divided into two provinces: Northern Cameroon and Southern Cameroon. On January 1, 1959, the French granted internal autonomy to Eastern Cameroon, and on January 1, 1960, it became independent under Prime Minister Ahidjo. But independence did not mean reunification of the former British and former French areas of the country. In 1961, a referendum on reunification was held in the British regions of Northern and Southern Cameroon. The north voted 60 percent in favor of joining Nigeria; this union went into effect June 1, 1961. In Southern Cameroon, in contrast, the population voted 70 percent in favor of reunification. By July 1962, the country was reunified as the Federal Republic of Cameroon. In May 1972, a referendum, at the initiative of President Ahidjo, abolished the federal structure and established the United Republic of Cameroon.

The Germans established the foundation of a long-lasting commercial ethos in Cameroon, one that was essentially followed by the French, and, less rigorously, by the British. German colonial policy was pragmatic and business oriented; the emphasis was on economic gain through trade and the attainment of natural resources for German markets.⁵ In accordance with this policy, the Germans introduced a monetary economy, established plantations, and laid the foundations for significant infrastructure, including roads, communications networks, railways, and harbors. The Germans also relied extensively on the use of forced labor both for the transport of equipment and supplies and for working the plantations. The commodities that attracted German traders included palm oil and ivory. In addition, the importance of planters in colonial activities was established early in the chronology of German colonialism; in

⁵The economic rationale for German colonialism can be contrasted to the "civilizing mission" of the French and the "humanitarianism" of the British. For a comparison of European colonialism in Africa, see Rudolf von Albertini, Decolonization: The Administration and Future of the Colonies, 1919-1960.

1914, when the Germans lost their colony, planters comprised the second most important group of Europeans residing in the country. They were ranked after administrators and before missionaries.

C. The Bamileke

The Bamileke of the Western region have long been noted for their participation in private-sector enterprise and for their positive responses to market forces.⁶ Of the more than 200 ethnic groups in Cameroon, the Bamileke are considered by many to be the most economically successful. The Bamileke experience, which is the focus of this report, highlights an interesting feature of multicultural and multiethnic societies: culture and ethnicity, either separately or in combination, are important components influencing a group's economic orientation, achievement, and response to economic incentives.

The question of how, why, and under what set of circumstances a particular ethnic group becomes receptive to economic incentives and is able to take advantage of economic opportunity, while others remain resistant and indifferent to the same market forces, is an important one. Economic diversity among various groups is a salient feature of pluralistic societies. Students of comparative ethnicity and the cultural aspects of economic development, therefore, continue to explore the question: "Why does one group succeed while another will not even compete?" The question has far-reaching policy implications in several areas: (1) understanding the influence of human factors such as a group's motivations, beliefs, attitudes, and cultural values on private-sector development; (2) the interaction of human factors with the policy environment in which development occurs; (3) the implications of government intervention versus laissez-faire for mobilizing or impeding group participation in economic development; and (4) the development of practical strategies for maximizing private-sector involvement in an ethnically diverse country such as Cameroon.

Cameroon is divided into administrative provinces of the North, East, South Central, Littoral, Western Highlands, and the Southwest. The Western region is inhabited mainly by the Bamileke and is known as "Bamileke country." Because the Government of Cameroon discourages the use of ethnic

⁶As the introductory quote puts it, "the Bamileke does not take lightly the fruits of his work and allows no one else to do so either" (author's translation). See also Jean Louis Dongmo, Le Dynamisme Bamileke.

appellations--in an attempt to strengthen national unity-- "Westerner" is understood as a euphemism for Bamileke. The major city of the Western province is Bafoussam. There are five other major towns as well: Dschang, Foumban, Bafang, Mbouda, and Nkongsamba. The coincidence of ethnicity and regionalism is underscored by the geography of the area: Bamileke country is self-contained, mountainous, and surrounded by low-lying plains of the Southwest, the Littoral Province, and southeastern Nigeria.

The area has the distinction of being the only region named after an ethnic group that makes up the majority of its inhabitants. The Western region covers 31,000 square kilometers, or approximately 7 percent of the total area of the United Republic. Regionalism, coincident with the presence of a single ethnic group, has enormous consequences for the strong ethnic identity and group solidarity of the Bamileke. (This is not uncommon in Africa: the Ibo of Nigeria, for example, are another group whose strong ethnicity has been reinforced by their geographic concentration in the southeastern part of the country. The similarities between Ibo and Bamileke cultures are explored in Appendix C.)

Cultures develop in response to external variables including physical environment and geography. The enterprising nature of the Bamileke is, in part, the result of environment and the demands imposed by a mountainous region and other land pressures. Of their environment's effect on their lives, it has been noted that:

in Bamilekeland, there is no forest; people must build up their shelters themselves. They have to implement their own means of protection; in the face of hardship, they must come together and encourage closer relationships between the individual and the community.

In addition, the Western Highlands has the highest population density in Cameroon. The combined population of the Northwest and Western Provinces was 1.384 million in 1976--26 percent of the total population of the country; by 1980, the population had increased to over 2 million.⁸ The population of the Western region is largely rural: 75 percent are agriculturalists and 22 percent live in urban areas. The major city, Bafoussam,

⁷B.J. Fouda, "Le Theme de la Nature dans le Domaine Litteraire Negro-Africain," pp. 1-2 (author's translation).

⁸William Scott, Development in the Western Highlands, United Republic of Cameroon, p. 14.

has a population of over 100,000, and each of the five towns in the west has a population of over 50,000, with the exception of Nkongsamba, which has over 100,000 residents. Population density in the west is, thus, very high; in 1975, there were 275 people per square mile.

II. TRADITIONAL BAMILEKE CULTURE

A. The Nomenclature Issue

The term "Bamileke" has not been used traditionally by the group to refer to themselves, and does not exist in local dialects. The name was created by the Germans based on an apparent misunderstanding between a German explorer and his African interpreter. It is reported that the explorer asked his interpreter the name of the region around Victoria Coast in the direction of Mount Cameroon. The interpreter is said to have responded "Mbalekeo," which the German translated into "Bamileke." The nomenclature error has not been resolved by a new appellation; everyone in Cameroon now refers to the group as "Bamileke," and contemporary Bamileke also identify themselves in this way in conversation with foreigners. Thus, Bamileke is the current term under which a number of chiefdoms with the same origin and a common culture are grouped. In traditional society, however, the people use the name of the chiefdom to which they belong when identifying themselves.

B. The Bamileke "Problem"

On the one hand, the Bamileke are highly regarded in Cameroon as an innovative, progressive, highly successful group which continues to play a vital role in the economic development and growth of the country.⁹ On the other hand, the group's activities, scope of involvement, and group solidarity, combined with their individualistic orientation, have made them the source of some resentment, and there have been a number of serious ethnic conflicts between them and other Cameroonian people. The combination of population pressures in the Western Highlands, migration, outstanding Bamileke economic success,

⁹In a recent article, "Eros Bamileke," by L.M. Ongoum, the group is described thusly: "Naguere le peuple Bamileke faisait l'admiration de tous....," Abbia: The Cameroon Cultural Review, June 1979, p. 298.

and past political militancy has resulted in the development of what is termed in local parlance "le Probleme Bamileke"--reminiscent of attitudes towards the Ibos in Nigeria prior to the Civil War.

The "problem" has had several tragic dimensions. In the Tombel Massacre, 236 Bamileke were slaughtered by a group of Bakossi in the town of Tombel on December 31, 1967.¹⁰ The immediate catalyst for the violence was the robbery and murder of four Bakossi, including a school teacher, by a group of bandits--widely assumed to be Bamileke--shortly before Christmas. Victor T. LeVine writes that the deeper cause, however, was the underlying and continuing ethnic tension between the two groups as the Bakossi resented increasing Bamileke economic control of commerce in the area. A military court eventually tried 143 Bakossi for the massacre and meted out various sentences.

The Bamileke Rebellion was a guerilla campaign conducted between 1955 and 1962 by the militant wing of the later-outlawed Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC). The insurgents were mainly illiterate peasants from the Bamileke and Bassa regions in the Southwest and were led by several exiled UPC leaders from abroad (Moumie, Ouandie, and Kingue), and within Cameroon by Um Myobe. The rebellion resulted in a series of demonstrations and riots which caused extensive property damage and claimed many lives. The activities continued sporadically until 1970.

The UPC is generally regarded as the first nationalist party established in Cameroon. Rubin describes the role of the Bamileke in the following way:

Politically, the Bamileke were deeply involved with the rebellion which took place in the late 1950s, and played a leading role in the political party which advocated the use of violent means to achieve independence and unification....¹¹

In 1956, in an outburst of economic frustration, members of the Bulu group rioted against immigrant Bamileke in the southern town of Sangmelima, injuring seven of the latter and destroying their market stalls.

¹⁰See Victor T. LeVine and Roger P. Nye, Historical Dictionary of Cameroon; Johnson; and LeVine.

¹¹Rubin, pp. 16-16.

C. Ethnicity and Early Origins

The Bamileke are reported to have arrived in their present location, in a series of five groups, in the 17th century. Evidence suggests that they originally came from the region of the upper Mbam, which is today occupied by the Tikar people. Pressure from the invading Fulani apparently led to a series of southern migrations, undertaken at different times by different segments of the population. Many others remained where they were under the domination of conquering peoples. The migrants traveled to the area now occupied by the Bamum and remained to found their settlements.

Knowledge of a group's genealogy is important for understanding unity, particularly in economic activities: shared ethnicity, based on common ancestry, is important for group solidarity. Among the Bamileke, for example, ancestry is based on the belief that all members of the patrilineage are united in their allegiance to the same ancestral skulls. The patrilineal group consists of all those who trace their descent from a common ancestor. There is also a cult of the female ancestral skulls, but information on this is sketchy. The first chief and founder of the chiefdom is the most important figure in the ancestor cult. He is the guardian and protector of the chiefdom. He has the power to cause drought, famine, or rainfall and bestows his divine attributes upon his "son," the living chief.¹² Emphasis on common ancestry also is found among the Yoruba and the Ibo of Nigeria and the Ashanti of Ghana, to mention only a few of the many African groups which have strong group solidarity.

In addition to common ancestry, several other criteria can be used to define ethnicity: language, territory, social structure, cultural patterns, external administrative classification, and an active sense of group identification. In particular, the existence of a separate territory often reinforces strong ethnic identity--especially when coincident with regional differences in economic development. In Cameroon, regionalism and ethnicity are salient features of social organization, but the Government continues to downplay both at every turn because of the potential threat which ethnic conflict poses to the country. As in many recently independent African states, the violent aspect of ethnic tension is just below the surface, and the country's proximity to Nigeria is a visible reminder of what can happen if ethnic conflict is allowed to develop.

¹²Margaret Littlewood, "The Bamileke of the French Cameroons," is the source of this information.

D. Traditional Sociopolitical Organization

The Bamileke traditionally organized themselves in chiefdoms, of which there are now about 90 of various sizes. The largest chiefdom contains more than 30,000 inhabitants; the others less than 5,000, with about a dozen containing between 12,000 and 20,000 people and the smallest about 100 members. Each of the chiefdoms is headed by a fon ("chief"), whose position is hereditary within a localized patrilineal descent system.

E. Traditional Authority System

Traditional Bamileke society is rich in institutional differentiation and organizational specialization. The group's sociopolitical structure is based on a hierarchical, centralized chiefdom. The fon is assisted by subchiefs (fonte) and other important officials. The divine powers attributed to an ancestral chief are thought to have been bestowed by him on the reigning chief, who is his descendant in the male line. The chief is the living representative of this ancestor, the intermediary between the living and the dead, and the principal priest of the ancestor cult. All of the group's beliefs--social, spiritual, religious, judicial--as well as the system of land tenure, are centered on the chief. He is the pivot on which the whole tribal law and order revolves; he is the representative of the tribe for all things good or evil.¹³ In essence, the position of the chief among the Bamileke is all-encompassing: he may approach his subjects directly in judicial and other tribal matters. The fon has ultimate authority over the various local heads and chiefs.

One of the most important traditional functions of the chief is his role as custodian of tribal lands.¹⁴ All land within a chiefdom is under the titular ownership of the fon; all rights to the use of land ultimately derive from him. The responsibility for allocating land to individuals is delegated to the heads of the administrative units into which the chiefdom is divided. It is to these men that a person needing land would apply. No land is allocated, however, without the

¹³There are minor organizational variations among the many chiefdoms which, collectively, comprise the Bamileke.

¹⁴For a discussion of traditional chiefly responsibilities, see S. N. Eisenstadt, "Primitive Political Systems: A Preliminary Comparative Analysis."

approval of the chief. It is from the produce of the land within this unit that tithes are paid to the chief. The distribution of land is preeminently an economic function insofar as land is the chief medium of production in traditional society.

A second traditional responsibility of the chief is to help establish peace and order in the area of his chiefdom, thereby facilitating favorable conditions for trade and other economic activities. In the contemporary period, the economic role of the chief has declined, although he is still an important symbol. The erosion of his standing resulted, in part, from the growing resentment towards alleged abuses of power, particularly in land distribution, and from collaboration with French colonial authorities. A Bamileke scholar in Yaounde chronicled this loss of esteem:

Prior to colonization, chiefs had broad authority to raise armies, impose taxes (in the form of food, livestock, and other nonmonetary items), and to organize the units of government. When the Europeans arrived, they instituted a system of decentralization which also saw the chief become a salaried employee. There were several consequences of this change in traditional authority. First, the people now saw the chief as a collaborator with the Europeans. Second, the chief became exploitative. For example, the chief abused power in recruiting his subjects to serve as forced laborers, and for this he was given an amount for each person recruited. Third, after the introduction of the money economy, the chief became corrupt: chiefs began to sell land or to use communal land for private gain. Anti-chiefly sentiment was one of the factors propelling the independence movement; people welcomed independence as a way of relieving themselves of chiefly abuses and authority.¹⁵

Traditional authority was also weakened by the French colonial system of indirect rule, in which the chiefs became salaried government employees. In the contemporary period, many of the chiefs' duties, such as raising armies, levying taxes, and directing public works, have been assumed by the national government, further eroding traditional authority.

¹⁵Jean-Louis Dongmo, personal interview, June 15, 1982.

F. Auxiliary Functionaries

Traditionally, the chief was assisted by a number of auxiliary officials who are important for what they reveal about the functional divisions of traditional society. In the administrative and judicial realms, the chief was assisted by five counsellors (M-pfose), who were appointed by the head chief. The latter appointed two of his personal friends, while retaining three counsellors who had served the preceding chief. The duties of the counsellors were ceremonial and judicial rather than purely economic. Other officials in the hierarchy included attendants who were free-born men who served the chiefs and their counsellors. The attendants played a quasi-economic role: in addition to personal services, they also supervised work on farms.

Other officials included the chief's advisory council, the Kamvue, composed of notables descended from the nine original founders of the chiefdom. A Kamvue member held office by virtue of hereditary succession and could not be removed. The Kamvue controlled the activities of all secret societies within the chiefdom. There were also the chief's servants, organized into a hierarchy which included slaves and religious, administrative, and domestic servants, whose sole role was to personally serve the chief.

Finally, at least in the Bafoussam division, the chief was assisted by his Queen Mother (the Mafo), who played an important economic role. In the days when the medium of exchange was commodity money such as food, livestock, or other articles, the Mafo was often described as "a woman who has much food."¹⁶ One of the important traditional associations over which she presided was the Mue Su, an association of the best women cultivators. Members assisted each other in their agricultural work, and their extraordinary status was symbolized by the possession of a large knife which only they carried and which was used to clear the land.

As president of the society, the Queen Mother was entitled to free agricultural work to be performed on her fields by members of the society, for she was not permitted to do this herself. Another society over which she presided was the N'Dala, a similar organization which contained as many as 100 members. Both societies provided economic functions. First, in lieu of cash, food was the medium of exchange, and it was the task of the Queen Mother to divide the food, beer, and

¹⁶Phyllis Mayberry, Women of the Grassfields: A Study of the Economic Position of Women in Bamenda, British Cameroons.

other commodities among the members, reserving for herself the right to retain the largest share. Second, as noted by Phyllis Mayberry:

These societies [were] of some importance in the economy insofar as they are the one channel through which a part of the surplus harvest was distributed among a wide group of individuals who were not related.¹⁷

Third, the societies functioned as an incentive to spur agricultural production above the subsistence level, mainly by recognizing and rewarding outstanding production. The societies formed the basis of modern-day women's societies, which are important in contemporary economic development and capital accumulation.

Another feature of traditional society relevant to economic development was the importance accorded those who exhibited skills in marketing. The Bamileke have always esteemed successful traders and business people; those who demonstrated marketing skills were regarded as "clever" or intelligent. As a proverb has it, the man who buys without haggling is a fool, but the man who sells at the first offer is an even bigger fool.¹⁸

Thrift in the pursuit of business gain is another quality, and it is recognized that not all men are equally provident. This is given expression in the following adage:

Some men pick up a penny on the sale of pears; some pick up a penny for bananas; they do not despise it. They must work; they must get together the money. But some go to the market and do not know how to pick up the old copper. Then they stay where they are. They are not skilled.¹⁹

Economic success was, thus, a prerequisite for upward mobility.

The selling ethic is generally pervasive throughout Cameroon, as it is throughout many other countries of Africa. Visitors to Yaounde and Douala are greeted by the sight of hawkers, young and old, male and female, with goods perched atop their heads. Many of the articles have been acquired with little

¹⁷Mayberry, p. 45.

¹⁸Mayberry, p. 45.

¹⁹Mayberry, p. 45.

risk or capital, suggesting that laziness is condemned so that even if the individual has no other support he can at least make a visible effort to improve his economic position. Traditional Bamileke society provided avenues of upward mobility. All individuals, including slaves, could change their original status through hard work and individual initiative. This remains the case in contemporary society.

G. The Inheritance System and Land Distribution

A final feature of traditional society which must be noted is the system of succession and inheritance. Of all the elements characteristic of Bamileke social organization, this feature has been fundamental and has had far-reaching implications for the rate and pace of Bamileke participation in economic growth, development, and change. Succession and inheritance rules are determined by the principle of patrilineal descent. According to custom, the eldest son is the probable heir, but a father may choose any one of his sons to succeed him. An heir takes his dead father's name and inherits any titles held by the latter, including the right to membership in any societies to which he belonged. And, until the mid-1960s, when the law governing polygamy was changed, the heir also inherited his father's wives--a considerable economic responsibility. The rights in land held by the deceased were conferred upon the heir subject to the approval of the chief, and, in the event of financial inheritance, the heir was not obliged to share this with other family members. The ramifications of this are significant.

First, dispossessed family members were not automatically entitled to live off the wealth of the heir. Siblings who did not share in the inheritance were, therefore, strongly encouraged to make it on their own through individual initiative and by assuming responsibility for earning their livelihood. Second, this practice of individual responsibility in contrast to a system of strong family obligations prevented a drain on individual financial resources. Rather than spend all of the inheritance maintaining unproductive family members, the heir could, in the contemporary period, utilize his resources in more financially productive ways such as for savings and investment. This is important because extended family obligations, rooted in traditional society, have long been recognized as a drain on individual initiative, capital accumulation, and economic growth in many African societies. Finally, the system of inheritance, along with the large-scale migration resulting from population density and land pressures, is one of the internal incentives that accounts for Bamileke success in the nontraditional world.

H. Traditional Title Societies

Reference has been made throughout the discussion to the existence of traditional societies as in the example of the women's organizations, the Mue Su and the N'Dala. Membership in these societies conferred prestige and recognized distinctions based on status. Traditional title societies have been important adaptive institutions in contemporary Bamileke social organizations. A title society is a group which one joins by paying a fee and, during an earlier period, providing a feast for the members. The members split the fee and the title-taker became a member for life, entitled to share the entrance fee of others and to pass on his membership to his heir. Simon Ottenberg has noted the dual purpose of title societies in traditional social organization: "In addition to being a financial institution, in some areas its members hold (or formerly held) political power and it is everywhere a prestige group."²⁰ Among the Bamileke, membership is open to adults, both male and female, although traditional organizations were sex-segregated. Membership is open only to those who have sufficient means to pay a variety of fees and to share economic benefits. The most important of these societies for economic development and capital accumulation, the Mandjong, is described in detail later.

III. ECONOMIC ATTITUDES AND INSTITUTIONS

A. The Sociopsychological Foundation of Bamileke Society

The economic success of the Bamileke and their propensity to private sector activity in the modern economy are, in the first instance, an indication of the adaptive aspects of traditional culture and associations. The Bamileke are modern innovators. The internal dynamics of their society stem from the group's cultural beliefs, the main points of which are (1) individualism within the framework of group solidarity, (2) belief in the possibility of individual progress, (3) belief in competition, and (4) a spirit of initiative.

²⁰Simon Ottenberg, "Ibo Receptivity to Change," p. 120.

1. Group Solidarity and Individualism

A notable feature of the group is the complementarity between individualism and collective unity. Individuals are expected to make their own way in the world while retaining a strong ethnic identity and group association. This interaction is one of the factors accounting for their economic success.²¹ Each individual, for example, is expected to contribute as much to the group as he receives in return. Thus, cooperation is essential. The group is perceived of as an interdependent system based on the strength of individual links. In financial matters the group is indispensable. ("Unity makes strength.") However, the individual must not request or expect assistance for those things which he can do for himself. It is important to underline this point: unlike the situation in many traditional African and non-African societies, poorer relatives are not expected or allowed to lay claim to or live off of the riches of wealthier family members.

The severe limit to economic development found by Ragnar Nurkse to apply in labor-surplus agriculture in developing countries is not operative in Bamileke agricultural society. Nurkse observed the phenomenon of large-scale disguised unemployment in agriculture, and thus the existence of large numbers of people whose real wage is higher than their contribution to agricultural production.²² In effect then, the standard of living of the marginal agricultural laborers is subsidized by the surplus of the more efficient. It follows that the savings potential is expended to support the standard of living of marginal producers. The Bamileke ethos of individual contribution to group activity, which customarily entails the out-migration of the marginal producers, removes this common obstacle to the mobilization of savings and consequently to the expansion of production and of productivity in Bamileke agricultural areas. At the same time, the mechanism of group support bolsters the chances of the individual out-migrant to achieve economic success in ways and in locations that do not imply a burden for the group itself.

Another of Nurkse's seminal insights concerning constraints to economic development also does not apply to

²¹This discussion is based on the following sources: T.J. Hurault, Les Structures Sociales des Bamileke, and R. Delaroziere, Les Institutions Politiques et Sociales des Populations Dites Bamilekes.

²²Ragnar Nurkse, Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries.

Bamileke society: that is, the well-known "demonstration effect." As will be illustrated later, the Bamileke do not "keep up with the Kamgas" through emulative consumption, but through competition in work, effort, savings, and economic improvement. Bamileke are spartan even though they enjoy economic success.

Upon realizing the economic benefits of a successful harvest, the Bamileke farmer does not retreat to a bar to indulge himself or to buy drinks for others. He does not fear being ridiculed by others outside the group for his frugality.²³

This even extends to the traditional relationship between a woman and her husband. According to Bamileke tradition, the ideal wife earns and manages her own money which she uses to buy her essentials. She is not expected to be completely dependent upon her husband. She is expected to sell produce raised on her own plot or otherwise earn money on her own. In contemporary times, the money received from her husband is used to buy children's clothes, for example, or to pay for their education. Westernized Bamileke women who have become materially dependent upon their husbands are viewed with condescension.

2. Belief in the Possibility of Individual Progress

A principal Bamileke belief is that individuals are, in the final analysis, responsible for their own fate. One makes one's way in society on the basis of individual qualities. Status distinctions and rank are not rigidly fixed and there is always the possibility of advancement. This is evident in beliefs about the status of slaves and other subordinates in comparison to those of high birth.

The status of the descendants of chiefs, for example, is not fixed. Although the chief himself is revered, the notion of a hereditary royalty entitled to deference based solely on the accident of birth is not adhered to. After the second generation, royal relations are regarded in the same way as are other members of society. Their status is conditional upon what they achieve. Also, there is no stigma attached to being a descendant of a servant or even of a slave. To the contrary, the position of servant to the chief is a distinguished one. In traditional society, at the end of service, the servant received a wife, land, a noble title, and, if he possessed exceptional administrative abilities, he received a district to

²³Jean-Louis Dongmo, p. 138 (author's translation).

administer. His descendants received all the rights and privileges of citizenship.

A second indication of the belief in continuous progress is the importance given to individual merit and achievement. Bamileke esteem successful men and women, and the attainment of material wealth is valued. The chief, descendants of servants, and rich commoners alike are considered equal in terms of opportunity. One can rise in the social hierarchy, and this is validated in the recognition accorded the individual by the chief. Each ascendant level of status is confirmed by public recognition. However, the individual must maintain the evaluated position; status can be lost, and it is possible to return to an inferior station in life. Finally, success is not necessarily synonymous with the attainment of a Western education.

It is difficult to find Bamileke traders who have gone beyond the level of the primary school. Many have not even completed primary school. There are also those who have not been to school. Meanwhile in order to communicate with their clients nearly all speak French of a grammatically incorrect, but comprehensible form. Although few are educated they hardly make mistakes when counting money and are excellent in making mental calculations. Thus they are essentially a bourgeoisie of illiterates.²⁴

This may be changing among younger people, however, as noted later.

The ethos of progress as well as the other Bamileke cultural values is in part a direct result of the traditional inheritance system. As already noted, individuals who do not inherit the wealth of the father must make it on their own. The criteria on which success is based are pragmatic, economic, and moral: successful individuals must surpass their siblings in virtue, as well as in economic and material success. Egotism, dishonesty, guile, and other frailties are frowned upon--even in the pursuit of economic advancement. Thus, the combination of personal economic success and personal rectitude constitutes the essentials of Bamileke progress.

3. The Spirit of Innovation

Bamileke response to innovation is a salient feature of the group. European colonization, first under the Germans and

²⁴Dongmo, p. 138, (emphasis added).

subsequently by the French, ushered in a new period of economic activity. European contact, per se, however, did not propel the Bamileke into economic activities. Rather, the resultant contact and conquest led to expanded opportunities and provided new cash-oriented incentives, such as the introduction of colonial taxes, the desire for European goods, and new methods of validating status and prestige. It is important to emphasize that Europeans did not introduce into the society new values upon which Bamileke success was then based. On the contrary, the cultural dynamics of Bamileke tradition created internal incentives which predated the arrival of Europeans and survived their conquest and departure. It is also true that the Bamileke have thrived in a laissez-faire, free enterprise system, relatively unfettered by Government intervention. Thus, the Bamileke have adapted to a number of changing economic circumstances, and a constant theme in their development is the ability to identify and take advantage of changing opportunities.

4. The Spirit of Competition

Bamileke are expected to compete against each other and to strive for individual advancement while maintaining a strong group solidarity. Competition is expected and is encouraged at all levels: between siblings and among members of social organizations. Competitive situations are always present. For example, in the Mandjong association (described later in Section III.D), the members challenge each other's riches, courage, and devotion, as well as those of the leaders. Employers try to increase the number of employees or customers. Generally speaking, in Bamileke society all try to surpass each other, and this is how innovation develops. This is manifested, as one observer notes, in building houses of good quality and construction, in the circumstances under which one's daughter is married, and in sending one's children to school.²⁵ Bamileke tradition thus instills values which are essential for economic success: a competitive spirit, keen ambition, open display of confidence in one's abilities, willingness to take risks, postponement of gratification, and diligence. As noted earlier, these values are tempered by an insistence on honesty and consideration for others.

²⁵T.J. Hurault, p. 5.

B. The Commercial Ethos of the Bamileke

The Bamileke are traditionally agriculturalists. Live-stock has played an insignificant role in their economy. A few cattle were owned mainly by chiefs for ceremonial purposes, and most households owned a few sheep and goats; these were and still are used as prenuptial gifts or as ceremonial offerings to the chief. Hunting, too, has played a small role in the traditional economy. Also, few were involved in the European slave trade--either as slaves or as middlemen traders.

During the precolonial period, the Bamileke were involved in local trade, usually in kola nuts, which they bartered to the people of the northern part of the country in return for salt, cloth, and similar commodities; in turn, these items were traded with the peoples of the forest region of the south in return for palm oil, spices, etc.

1. Bamileke-European Economic Relations²⁶

After the imposition of German colonialism and the concomitant emphasis on commerce, the Bamileke were quick to realize that middlemen traders, such as the Douala, were gaining economic advantage through their business activities. The Douala enjoyed an extensive monopoly as middlemen in the slave trade, bringing slaves from the interior to the coast. Their entrenchment was so significant that Rudin wrote:

The interior of the Cameroons assumed an exaggerated importance and value in the eyes of the German traders because of the reports of the huge profits made by the natives who had the monopoly of the middleman's trade or Zwischenhandel, as the Germans called it. In their acceptance of German rule in 1884, the Douala monopolists had no intention of surrendering this profitable trade to the white man.... It was not to be wondered at that the Douala people gave up their primitive agriculture and all other forms of economic activity for the advantages to be derived from trade.... Superior weapons acquired by trade with the white men assured the monopolists of means

²⁶Unless otherwise noted, the information in this section is based on Jean-Louis Dongmo, Le Dynamisme Bamileke, and on personal conversations with him.

to keep natives of the interior from reaching the coast for direct trade with the whites.²⁷

An exception to this observation were the Bamileke traders who were able to successfully penetrate the monopoly of the Douala, thereby gaining a substantial foothold which has endured up to the present. Jean-Louis Dongmo writes of Bamileke economic displacement of the Douala:

The Bamileke were...successful in replacing the Douala as the primary commercial group in the important areas of the country, such as in the towns of Yaounde and Douala.²⁸

Thus, the Bamileke became traders in ivory and European commodities which they made available to the people of the interior.

Up to the 1930s, many Bamileke--along with other Africans in the country--were forced to work on European-owned plantations and on construction projects in the interior of the country. Because the conditions under which they were expected to work, as well as the salaries they received, were poor, the Bamileke refused to work for either the Germans or, later, the French. The one European activity to which they did respond was coffee-growing, which developed on a scale that was of considerable importance to Cameroon's economy. After the Germans lost the country, a small number of former German-owned properties were made available to a few Africans, among whom were some Bamileke. The events surrounding Bamileke plantation activity provide an example of Bamileke resourcefulness and desire to remain free of Government intervention, particularly in economic matters.

The climate of the Western Highlands is especially suitable for coffee-plantation farming, particularly for growing arabica coffee. Although the Germans had experimented with coffee production in the Western Highlands, it was not seriously attempted until around 1923 in Dschang. Bamileke interest in growing coffee was evident from the start, so much so that the French imposed a series of restrictions so that food production would not fall as indigenous planters concentrated on coffee as a lucrative cash crop. The first Government regulation controlling the number of acres allotted for food was promulgated about 1927. The ordinance stipulated that coffee production could not begin until a certificate of authorization was received from the chief of a district in the

²⁷Rudin, pp. 75-76.

²⁸Dongmo, p. 55.

Western Highlands. Control was so strict that a Government monitor was charged with personally verifying the reported acreage; excess coffee plants were to be uprooted and the offending farmer fined or imprisoned.

The reaction of Bamileke farmers was predictable; just as they had chafed against German attempts to compel them to provide forced labor, so they rebelled against French intervention. The Bamileke have always demonstrated a strong streak of independence, particularly in defense of laissez-faire market forces. Upon the eve of World War II, Bamileke farmers were advocating an end to colonial rule as a means of liberalizing coffee production. In addition, farmers defiantly continued to plant unauthorized coffee crops because the incentive of a lucrative cash yield was too great to ignore. A final action was the emergence of a quasi-political movement led by the Koumze--a traditional military association modified to contemporary purposes. The movement was led by Mathias Djodmessi, an important Bamileke chief of the Dschang area.²⁹ The response of the Government to this resistance was immediate liberalization; coffee production was thrown open to all without limitations. It is interesting to note that the fears of the French that the Bamileke would sacrifice food production for a cash crop have not been substantiated. The Bamileke today are the major Cameroonian producers of food crops.

Thus, the Western Highlands has developed as one of the most important agricultural regions in the country. The view that only Bamileke who migrate from the Western Highlands are successful is not borne out by the facts. Agriculture accounts for over 65 percent of the gross domestic product of the region, as well as for over 40 percent of the value of agricultural production in the Cameroon economy. The region produces important percentages of maize, Irish potatoes, beans, and green vegetables, in addition to grains and root crops. Finally, the success of Bamileke farmers is reflected in the operation of the cooperative movement in their region. Of all of the regional cooperatives in Cameroon, only the Bamileke cooperative--Union des Cooperatives de Cafe Arabica de l'Ouest (UCCAO)³⁰--founded by Chief Mathias in the mid-1960s, is truly viable.³⁰

²⁹The leadership role of a traditional chief in these events is interesting. His role was unique in that there was great opportunity for the rulers to abuse the system of controlled production since they, more so than commoners, were likely to be given authorization to grow coffee.

³⁰For a summary description of the author's visit to UCCAO operations in Bafoussam in July 1982, see Appendix B.

2. Contemporary Entrepreneurship

In nonagricultural pursuits, Bamileke have been attracted to those occupations which, until recently, required little formal education, but provided the opportunity to excel or to fail, depending on one's ability. It is also important that these activities provide the financial means and skills to go into more lucrative ventures. For these reasons, Bamileke are the dominant employees in the commerce and retail trade, in the transport industry, and in such occupations as taxi drivers, sales clerks, domestic servants, and street hawkers. Also, Bamileke entrepreneurs have gained a foothold in those sectors of the economy which are African-oriented and which have a mostly African clientele, such as small pharmacies, grocery stores, sidewalk tailoring, and market stalls in rural areas.

In the cities of Douala and Yaounde, Bamileke enterprise is evident. For example, of the 200 proprietors of taxis operated in Douala, 136, or 68 percent, are owned by Bamileke.³¹ It is interesting to note, as Jean-Louis Dongmo recently did, that Bamileke entrepreneurs, particularly cab drivers, are multidimensional in their economic activities; among their ranks he noted traders, garage owners, planters, and women married to civil servants. He cites the presence of the latter as an example of civil servants attempting to bypass a law which restricts Government employees from establishing other than agricultural-based businesses. The law is circumvented by purchasing taxis in the names of the wives. Finally, of the 258 transporters in Cameroon, 113, or 43.8 percent, are Bamileke. The remaining transports are owned by Europeans who rank first, and by Hausas, who rank third.

C. Migration and Occupational Distribution

Migration, as noted earlier, is a salient feature of contemporary Bamileke society. Migrants are located mainly in the urban areas of the south and southeast, in the port city of Douala, and the capital city of Yaounde. Bamileke migrate for a number of reasons. First and foremost is the high population density and the "push" factor of land pressure. Second are the "pull" factors which include (1) economics and the search for work, (2) the desire to accompany a spouse who is migrating, and (3) the desire to study at the University of Yaounde or at one of the technical schools. It is estimated that out of a total Bamileke population of about 800,000 in 1971, about

³¹Dongmo, p. 59.

100,000 Bamileke had emigrated from the Western Highlands in the 25 years after 1931.³² Both the large number of Bamileke and their economic superiority have made them the focus of much animosity. Their numbers in Douala rose from just over 8,000 in 1947 to 29,650 in 1965, by which time they outnumbered the indigenous Douala people, as indicated in Appendix E, Table E-1. They are also the dominant group in Yaounde (see Appendix E, Table E-2). Of 12,583 economically active Cameroonians in Yaounde in 1970, Bamileke represented 15.65 percent, the highest proportion of any single group. (However, they also have a 21 percent unemployment rate.) The rate of economically active Bamileke (those of working age who found work) was 42.7 percent, compared to 49.7 percent for the entire Yaounde population. The occupational distribution of the Bamileke in Yaounde in 1972 is given in Appendix E, Table E-3.

It was mentioned earlier that among the Bamileke, education is secondary to possession of wealth as a determinant of status and prestige. But education, particularly among younger Bamileke, is becoming increasingly important. The changing significance of education is reflected in the high proportion of Bamileke enrolled at the University of Yaounde.³³

D. Contemporary Financial Institutions

The economic significance of the Mandjong--the most important of the traditional societies now adapted to contemporary purposes--has been recognized by a number of observers. The association's role is not limited to work. It is also a savings and credit agency. This second role is significant. The Mandjong has two economic components: Le Bank and Le Ntsu'a.³⁴

Le Bank is a savings system; each member, in accordance with specific guidelines, puts up a sum of money, deposited with the treasurer who, in the contemporary period, places it in a special, interest-bearing bank account. Funds are distributed in two ways. First, if a member needs funds for

³²The first figure is from LeVine, p. 48; the second is given in Rubin, p. 75.

³³Dongmo, p. 55.

³⁴Cf. Steve Haggblade, "Africanization from Below: The Evolution of Cameroonian Savings Societies into Western Banks;" Shirley Ardener, "The Comparative Study of Rotating Credit Associations;" G. Gosselin, "Le Credit Mutuel en Pays Bamileke."

whatever purpose (business or personal), he can borrow from the fund with the amount to be repaid without interest within a specific period. Second, at the end of the fiscal year, the bank is broken ("casse le Bank"); every member receives his original contribution plus a share of the accumulated interest.

Le Ntsu'a (also called Esusus, Susu, or Tontines) is organized along different lines. This is essentially a rotating credit association whose members make regular monthly contributions to a shared fund which is distributed among the members. The Bamileke are fervent believers in the adage: "L'union fait le force" ("Unity is strength"). This is evident in the following discussion on the composition, purpose, and financial role of Le Ntsu'a; the emphasis is on associational membership, mutual fulfillment of obligations, and individual contributions.

The funds are allocated according to need or other criteria. Need does not mean impoverishment. Rather, it is utilization for a specific financial purpose. In traditional rural groups and title societies, division of goods and assets was set in several ways: (1) according to age and/or rank and social standing, (2) by necessity in the case of hardship, or (3) by drawing lots. In the urban areas, certain ambiguities have arisen; for example, in the matter of social standing it is unclear whether a chief or a wealthy commoner is first in rotation. Therefore, in urban associations, assets are divided on the basis of alphabetical order, economic power, and trustworthiness. A younger, less established member is generally put last in the rotation so that there is no danger of collecting an early pool and then not continuing to reimburse the others with monthly dues payments.

In addition, rotation can be altered depending on the need for utilizing capital at a specific time. For example, if one member knows that he will have a shipment arriving in July, he may bring this up at the initial organizational meeting and can usually succeed in being assigned the July draw.³⁵ Last-minute needs can also influence rotation so that a member who has wrecked his taxi three months before his turn, for example, can request that his turn be accelerated.

Organizations vary in size and amount of money contributed monthly. As an example, an urban Ntsu'a has 12 members and meets once a month. At each meeting everyone pays a fixed amount. A typical case would be a monthly contribution of 1,000 francs (about \$3.00) for a total pool of 12,000 francs per month. At the allotted month the selected member takes the

³⁵Unless otherwise noted, this account is based on Haggblade.

entire pool which he spends as he wishes. By the end of the 12-month period, each member will have had one turn to collect the pool, and, over the cycle, each member will have repaid the 12,000 francs in the form of his 12 monthly dues payments.

A primary function of urban associations is the generation of capital, thus guaranteeing Bamileke entrepreneurs a source of seed money or capital for expansion. Membership in these associations is particularly important for younger, unestablished members who might otherwise have difficulty borrowing from banks. Urban financial associations are, even by American standards of measuring small- to medium-size business enterprises, often impressive. There is another important consideration: the amount of dues is progressive and is intended to increase continually. Reports of amount of dues vary.³⁶ At the upper end of the scale, estimates include the case of a Bamileke woman in Douala who pays monthly dues of \$200 into a 12-person Mandjong, to another group composed of 12 1/2 members who pay monthly dues of \$1,600 each, making the total pool worth \$20,000. The "half member" is a "small man" who pays \$800 a month. A full member collects the standard \$20,000 pool while the half member collects \$10,000. This last aspect is an interaid device whereby richer members offer assistance to younger business people who are just starting out. Membership brings access to larger lines of credit than a newcomer could expect to borrow from a bank.

Another example is the case of a single individual who received back-to-back collections of \$40,000 over a period of two months. The membership of the particular association was sufficiently wealthy to make this possible. It has been noted by knowledgeable observers that there is a maximum level beyond which Mandjongs will not grow. This has been established to be around the \$20,000 to \$40,000 per month figure. Members are generally aware of the limitations of these societies; the realism with which "big men" regard the associations is reflected in the following example. One Bamileke is the head of a \$20,000 Mandjong, and yet, at the same time, he is reported to have authorized bank credits of up to \$200,000. The basis of his participation is as follows:

He has property income of \$2,400 per month, and out of this fixed income he pays \$1,600 dues. When his turn comes to collect the pool, he builds another house and rents it. Essentially he uses the association to keep his petty cash circulating. In the

³⁶This is difficult to verify because of the reluctance of individuals to reveal the exact amount of their wealth or to bring it to the attention of the Government.

words of a Cameroonian tycoon, "the Mandjongs are for your pocket money, not for your real capital."³⁷

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND LESSONS LEARNED

While each section of this report has contained its own conclusions, it is worth noting here that the commercial success of the Bamileke highlights a little-noted characteristic of development: group solidarity can be a positive force in economic development and does not necessarily stifle individual initiative and private enterprise. This is contrary to two popular notions; one, often expressed by African socialists, is that individualism and attitudes which foster private-sector activity and entrepreneurship are inimical to group solidarity and the maintenance of traditional cultural values. A second view is that group solidarity is obstructive to economic development, growth, and innovation--especially when this involves mutual obligations and reciprocity, as in, for example, the extended family.

The Bamileke experience belies these notions. The solidarity of the group is as strong as the individualism which features so prominently in its economic success. Bamileke aggressiveness, mobility, and receptivity to Western economic stimuli have made them the engine of much of Cameroon's private sector economic development. They are well represented in the country's key economic sectors: export crop farming, commerce, the transportation industry, and the professions. Many Bamileke have attained vast personal wealth as measured in Western terms.

Bamileke business enterprise, individual initiative, and economic success have developed within a policy environment which is nonideological, pragmatic, and in which there has been

³⁷Haggblade, p. 37.

limited Government intervention.³⁸ There are other salient features. First, not all ethnic groups in Cameroon have attained comparable levels of success, nor have they been responsive to the same stimuli. Some groups, such as the Bamileke, have benefited from the absence of Government intervention; others (such as the Pygmies) will not make economic headway until and unless the Government intercedes on their behalf. Second, the underlying differences point up the significance of traditional culture, as well as a group's historical experiences with external forces such as European traders and colonial and post-colonial government authorities.

Ethnicity in plural societies always looms close to the surface as a potentially disruptive social issue. As a result, post-independence African governments, faced with the task of welding a nation out of so many disparate elements, generally downplay the importance of ethnicity. The Government of Cameroon is no exception in this regard. Ethnicity as a topic of public debate is discouraged, because it is dangerous to national unity. In Cameroon, ethnicity reached its most threatening potential during the series of elections and events preceding unification of the former British and former French Cameroons. Therefore, the Ahidjo Government, in the interest of maintaining the unity of Cameroon as a nation and of managing and containing the potential for ethnic conflict, has rendered it a "nonissue" euphemistically submerged beneath the heading of regionalism. In Cameroon, one does not speak today of ethnic groups, but of regions, regional disparities, and the like.

Ethnic tensions are managed, in part, by the relative prosperity of Cameroon's economy. This suggests that ethnic tensions are less likely to erupt in a prosperous economy.

³⁸The pragmatism of President Ahidjo is summarized in his discussion of "planned liberalism": "We have, in fact, deliberately chosen planned liberalism as our method of development. If planning expresses our concern, however legitimate, to make an efficient use of the resources available, to limit the role of chance in economic undertaking and consciously orientate development towards measured and predetermined targets, we are, on the other hand, convinced that liberalism remains a decisive factor of progress...because, finally, it alone can reconcile harmoniously the demands of rationalisation with the necessity of private (international) cooperation in a country where savings is still in an elementary stage of growth, and the State, even though it may be called upon, by force of circumstance, to play a determining role of impulsion and control, is far from possessing the means of assuming the whole 'burden' of development." Quoted in Rubin, p. 170.

Cameroon has experienced sustained economic growth since independence, and inflation has been kept to manageable levels. In any event, it is clear that ethnicity has to be considered (along with culture) in any strategies of public or private sector development.

APPENDIX A
METHODOLOGY AND LIST OF CONTACTS

The study of the role of ethnicity and culture in economic development in Cameroon is a spinoff of a larger study on the role of the private sector in the economic development of the country. The initial preparatory explorations for the study focused on the role of the entrepreneur in economic development; it was believed that the entrepreneur provided an ideal framework for the study of a commercial group such as the Bamileke. It soon became evident, however, that entrepreneurial studies were not appropriate for the following reasons.

First, the major writers on the subject focused on deviant and/or marginal personalities and individuals. For example, Bert Hoselitz's "A Sociological Approach to Economic Development" argued:

...innovations in the economy leading to improved output and living standards are in all cases the consequence of social deviance. The introduction of two additional variables (social structure and degree of centralization in decision-making) permits a more precise evaluation of the function performed by social deviance, or the presence of marginal individuals....¹

Another writer argued that entrepreneurial types were to be regarded as "pathological,"² and a third perceived of them as reflecting the need for high individual achievement.³

The limitations of these theories for a plural, group-oriented nonwestern society such as Cameroon are obvious. In a western context, deviant and individualistic theories of recruitment are relevant because of the anti-group ethos governing opportunity, success, and achievement. In a nonwestern context, in contrast, the emphasis is on the group, and economic behavior is determined by culture and peer group pressure. Deviance theory, therefore, does not explain the success of entire groups, such as the Kikuyu, the Baganda, the Ibo, and the Bamileke.

Second, entrepreneurial studies do not take into account traditional social organization and culture. Each is important in providing environments that are favorable to higher levels of economic motivation, market formation, and group wealth. A

¹Bert Hoselitz, "A Sociological Approach to Economic Development," p. 59.

²Ralph Linton, "Cultural and Personality....," p. 10.

³Everett E. Hagen, "Colonialism and Economic Growth," p. 22.

traditional cultural focus helps to identify those institutions which are most likely to play a role in the economic development of specific groups. Among the Bamileke, for example, contemporary economic cooperatives, as well as savings and commercial institutions, have their origins in the men's and women's associations and traditional title societies. None of these are considered in entrepreneurial studies.

The research for this study was twofold. Prior to leaving for Cameroon, I drafted the initial proposal and an annotated outline and research schedule. Phase I also included literature surveys on pluralism, ethnicity, culture, and economic development in Africa and other nonwestern societies. Phase II of the study was conducted in Cameroon: in Yaounde, Douala, and Bafoussam. Contacts were established and interviews conducted with a number of respondents (listed at the end of this section). The respondents fall into seven categories.

(1) University contacts--including a Bamileke scholar, an economist, and an agricultural sociologist familiar with the activities and history of the group. Also consulted were official documents and reports on the Bamileke and other Western Highlanders, available only at the library of the University of Yaounde. (2) Field observation of small-scale entrepreneurs--both Bamileke and others--in Yaounde and Douala. (3) Interviews with non-Bamileke informants were invaluable for learning other ethnic groups' perceptions of the Bamileke, especially in relation to the Bamileke role in economic development and to what outsiders attributed Bamileke success. (4) American personnel in Yaounde and Douala. These included contacts at USAID, the American Embassy, and the United States Information Agency in Yaounde and Douala. The personnel at USIA were especially helpful in establishing African contacts. (5) The Institute of Human Research, Yaounde. The cooperation received from this source was nonexistent. The Director, in particular, was singularly uncooperative and suspicious of "foreign researchers" who did not contact him prior to their arrival in-country. (6) The AID/Washington Private Sector Economic Evaluation Team was also in-country during the period of my research. They were very kind in permitting me to piggyback on their visits to major donor countries and multilateral organizations, Government officials, parastatal staff, and private sector representatives in industry, services, and agriculture. (7) A visit to the Bamileke cooperative UCCAO; a report of this visit is included as Appendix B.

Finally, brief mention must be made of the difficulties of conducting research on ethnicity (but not culture) in Cameroon. Ethnicity is a touchy subject and people are sometimes reluctant to discuss it--including many Bamileke, whose culture and ethnicity are the focus of this study. On several occasions, after asking a direct question about ethnicity, I was told, "We are all Cameroonians. We do not like to dwell on the past"

(i.e., prior to the current Government emphasis on unification of the various regions of the country). Thus, it was helpful to use euphemisms for ethnicity, such as Western Highlander or cultural group. The result was cooperation and willingness to give the desired information.

PERSONS CONTACTED

Jean-Louis Dongmo, Chief, Geography/Sociology, University of Yaounde

Peter Chateh, Library, University of Yaounde

Dr. Felix Loung, Director, Institute of Human Research, Yaounde

Jean-Denis Gbetnkou, Associate General Manager, UCCAO, Bafoussam

Mdme. Germaine Tamwo, Chief, Sales Division, UCCAO, Bafoussam

Magellan Nguewo, Chief of Electronics, UCCAO Processing Plant, Bafoussam

Paul Djeume, Sales Division, UCCAO, Bafoussam

John Horton, Researcher, Yaounde

Ronald Levin, Director, USAID Mission, Yaounde

William Holmes, Acting Public Affairs Officer, USIA, Yaounde

Hume Horan, Ambassador, United States Embassy, Yaounde

Dr. James Ottu Vsicaxoe, USIA, Yaounde

Dr. Taleh, Professor, African American Studies Department, University of Yaounde

Dwayne Sams, Economic Counsellor, U.S. Embassy, Yaounde

Emmett George, Cultural Affairs Officer, USIA

Gemuh Akuchu, Sociologist, USIA

John Scamper, Agricultural Economist, USAID, Yaounde

Randall Thompson, Evaluation Officer, USAID, Yaounde

Moses Asuquo Niger-Thomas, History, University of Yaounde

James Rousch, Private Sector Evaluation Team, USAID/Washington

Dr. Nkwee, Department of African American Studies, University
of Yaounde

Paul Henri, USIA, Yaounde

APPENDIX B

UCCAO: SUCCESS STORY OF A BAMILEKE COFFEE COOPERATIVE

The Union of Arabica Coffee Cooperatives in the West (UCCAO), located at Bafoussam, the Western province's principal urban center, was formed in 1958 from the spontaneous union of the six coffee cooperatives in each of the province's districts. In recent years, about 100,000 smallholders have used the cooperatives to market about 18,000 tons of coffee and to purchase about 20,000 tons of fertilizer annually. Cooperatives in Cameroon are plagued with problems, mainly stemming from management difficulties. UCCAO is the notable exception, mentioned throughout Cameroon as an example of success. I visited the cooperative and saw firsthand its efficiency and streamlined operations--economic, technical, and managerial. The success of UCCAO is a testimonial to the overall initiative and innovation of the Bamileke. It also provides a rare glimpse into the communal and individual orientation of the group.

I. PROBLEMS OF COOPERATIVES IN GENERAL

The problems of cooperatives are not specific to Cameroon. In the early stages there are always difficulties--usually managerial--at all levels. A cooperative is an organization for the common good, rather than an individual preserve, and it must be handled with special care. Furthermore, cooperatives are usually characteristic of poor countries; in rich countries, farmers have the individual resources which cooperatives provide in poorer areas. Cooperatives are a means of pooling small individual assets, but the absolute requirement for their operation is to find honest, able people to manage them. In the less developed countries, these qualities are often as scarce as any other resource--including the moral capacity to distinguish an individual asset from the community's assets, and to distinguish between owned funds and funds held in trust. Also, some of the difficulties of cooperatives are, in reality, derived from the general economic circumstances. Problems in transporting coffee from storage centers to Douala for embarkation, for example, are seen as problems of cooperatives, whereas they are problems resulting from the lack of transport equipment.

II. ORIGIN AND ORGANIZATION OF UCCAO

The formation of the cooperative movement dates from about 1932 and the establishment of the Cooperative des Planteurs Bamoun de Cafe d'Arabie (CPBCA). In 1933, in Dschang, the Cooperative Agricole des Planteurs Bamileke du Cafe d'Arabie (CAPBCA) was created. At this time, however, cooperatives were not indigenous; they were operated by European planters who were the primary beneficiaries of their activities. It was

much later that a purely Bamileke cooperative movement was established. This was the Production, Collection, and Sales Cooperative (COOPCOLV), under the leadership of Chief Mathias. The COOPCOLV merged with CAPBCA in 1956, but this was short-lived, and in 1958, the organization merged with the Bamoun cooperative (CPBCA) to form the UCCAO.

Although chartered by the Government, both the cooperatives and UCCAO fully control their own affairs, including finances and terms of employment of the staff. Members of each cooperative elect a delegate assembly which, in turn, elects directors of the cooperative who appoint an executive committee and a chairman to manage routine operations. These include the purchase of coffee at the collection centers throughout each district, where the coffee is weighed, graded, sorted, sacked, and shipped to central warehouses to await sale abroad. The cooperatives also distribute fertilizer and equipment, and administer the seasonal credits which are used by members to finance the purchase of production inputs.

UCCAO has a board of directors--the chairman and selected executive directors of the cooperatives--and is run on a day-to-day basis by a director and a central secretariat.

III. FUNCTIONS AND OPERATIONS

UCCAO's primary function is to market coffee overseas. It also arranges for a line of credit to finance the purchase of the crop, and when coffee is delivered, UCCAO performs additional electronic sorting to improve quality. UCCAO also is the central buying agent for the fertilizer and agricultural material required by its members. In this capacity, it arranges for delivery and distribution to cooperatives and helps defray the distribution costs from the 1 percent commission it takes on the value of the coffee sold. UCCAO also represents the interests of the growers with the Government, which sets coffee prices to producers and determines the amount to be paid from the price stabilization funds at the end of the crop year.

UCCAO also maintains vehicles and equipment and keeps the central accounts. Finally, UCCAO manages the reserves accumulated from the difference between the f.o.b. price for coffee and the payments made to producers minus the operating costs of the union. By law, about 20 percent of these reserves must be retained as long-term protection for coffee producers' incomes. Most of the remainder can be invested in developmental projects with Government approval. In 1978, UCCAO became the implementation agency for an integrated rural development project which was supported by the International Development Association. As part of the project, the cooperatives of UCCAO also made

additional investments in their infrastructure, and are diversifying their participation in the development of rural areas to include food crop production.

UCCAO has the following division of labor among farmers, cooperatives, and itself. UCCAO markets coffee. The planters (peasants) grow it, their department's cooperative processes it, and UCCAO buys it from the member cooperative and takes care of transportation to Douala and marketing. Arabica costs more not only because world demand is higher and quality is better, but also because the processing is much more time-consuming. Refer to Table B-1 for the division of labor.

Table B-1. Coffee: Farmer/Cooperative/UCCAO Division of Labor

Stage	Operation	Agent
Unprocessed Beans	Tree Planting Tending, Fertilizing, etc. Harvesting	Farmers
Basic Processing	Washing Depulping Drying	
Further Processing	<u>Decorticage</u> (peeling) <u>Calibration</u> <u>Triage</u> (sorting), Manual <u>Triage</u> (sorting), Electronic	Cooperative
Distribution	Packing Transporting Marketing	UCCAO

A recent visit to the UCCAO headquarters, the UCCAO processing plant, and the Bafoussam coffee cooperative revealed a viable, thriving enterprise. As discussed in the text, while the Bamileke as a group are highly cohesive, they do exemplify an individual initiative that reaches its maximum expression, oddly enough, in a cooperative setting.

The UCCAO processing plant is modern, efficient, well equipped, and well staffed. It is basically a sorting (trriage) and packing plant. The operation uses very advanced equipment for the electronic sorting of the coffee beans--by weight and color--into the various grades. Each electronic sorting machine (of British manufacture) was purchased for \$50,000. It was reported that these machines replaced American equipment because of their better maintenance and repair record. This attention to recurrent cost considerations is quite unusual in developing countries and a clear indication of UCCAO's managerial soundness.

Another operation--the actual multifaceted cooperative--provided an illustration of Bamileke enterprise in action. The first sight is a remarkable scene: small groups of women and children--obviously family members--diligently filling small plastic sacks of specially treated soil into which young coffee sprouts will be planted. The industry of the smallest child is as serious as that of the elders. Another activity for women and children is the coffee bean sorting operation, a first-stage activity done by hand and paid on a piecework basis. The operation, housed in a large shed, involves hundreds of girls and women: mothers with babies strapped to their backs, teenage girls, and old women.¹ Here, too, individual competition within a framework of group cooperation and support is evident.

IV. A BRIEF EVALUATION

There appear to be three major reasons for the success of UCCAO in the midst of difficulties in Cameroon's agricultural cooperatives. First is the important consideration that UCCAO emerged from the spontaneous union of already-functioning cooperatives; it was neither imposed from above, nor did it have to contend with the burdens of weak component organizations. It is undeniable that the relationship between UCCAO and its member cooperatives--and between each cooperative and the district's farmers--is a symbiotic and not an adversarial one.

Second, while the organization is chartered by the Government and is granted a marketing monopoly in exchange for the Government's power to fix the levels of producers' coffee prices, Government intervention in the day-to-day management of the individual cooperatives and of UCCAO is minimal. Aside from the provision of advice and equipment (especially in the renewal of tree stocks), the cooperatives of the West have operated autonomously.

¹As an interesting sidelight, the cooperative's warehouse, by contrast, is run entirely by men and boys.

Third, and partly related to the previous two points, UCCAO is well run, in a managerial, technical, and economic sense. This, however, begs the issue. The important question is why this particular organization is well managed. More than luck is at stake here; virtually the entire UCCAO staff and the member cooperatives, as well as the myriad farmers being served by them, are Westerners. In the final analysis of Bamileke response to economic incentives, the success of UCCAO is due to the same valuable combination of individualism and group cooperation and support which underpin much of Bamileke economic success in other areas.

APPENDIX C

THE IBO: SIMILARITIES WITH THE BAMILEKE EXPERIENCE

Simon Ottenberg's classic study of the Ibo of Nigeria illustrates the importance of culture and ethnicity in the economic activity of a particular group in an African plural society.¹ In common with the Bamileke, the Ibo exhibit strong group cohesion and individualism; in addition, the study illustrates the importance of the prestige motive as a spur to economic development and positive response to change and opportunity.

The Ibo are a sedentary agricultural people who live mainly in the tropical forest areas of southeastern Nigeria. Members of the group at the time of Ottenberg's study of the pre-Civil War period numbered about 5 million. The Ibo, writes Ottenberg, "are probably most receptive to culture change and most willing to accept western ways of any large group in Nigeria":

Hundreds of thousands of them have migrated to other parts of the country as a result of culture contact following the British conquest between about 1860 and 1915. The majority of them [moved] to urban centers such as Zaria and Kano in Northern Nigeria, Calabar in the southeast, and Lagos in the southwest. Cities which were nonexistent in the Ibo area previous to European contact in the last fifty years, developed rapidly around transportation, trade and administrative headquarters.²

Prior to the Civil War, the Ibo held many of the white-collar and domestic positions in Nigeria and were employed in Government and private firms greatly out of proportion to their total numbers. Ibo traders were active throughout the country, and played an important--but not dominant--role in the African trade in Nigeria. The Ibo also avidly pursued education. Not surprisingly, and similar to the Bamileke, the Ibo were in the forefront of the nationalist movement in Nigeria and were active in national politics prior to the war.

Ottenberg traces Ibo receptivity to economic opportunity and social change to four factors: (1) the nature and organization of Ibo culture, (2) the influence of the European slave trade, (3) the nature of direct European contact following the end of the slave trade, and (4) the high population density in Ibo country.

¹Simon Ottenberg, "Ibo Receptivity to Change."

²Ottenberg, p. 120.

Prior to European contact, the Ibo consisted of more than 200 independent territorial groups, each composed of one or more villages or dispersed residential groupings. The internal organization of these territorial groups was based on patrilineal clans and lineages. Though there was some trade and intermarriage, each group had its own government and was relatively independent of the others. Hostility and small-scale warfare between neighboring units were common. There were no large political groupings--no states or kingdoms--to unite the groups and provide them with an overall unity of social structure and culture. The absence of large-scale political groupings resulted in the British administering the area through direct rule.

Among the Ibo, where large-scale political groupings were lacking, the British appointed a chief for each local group. This practice was unpopular, the chiefs often having little real authority with their own people. Leadership by single individuals was rare, since the authority of a group of influential elders, perhaps with a few dominating leaders, was a common pattern. As a result, conflict developed between the appointed chiefs and the traditional leaders, culminating in the Aba riots of 1920 and the reorganization of the native authority government in the 1930s and 1940s on the basis of village and village-group councils of traditional rulers--the elders. By this time it was too late to develop a system of indirect rule....³

The British were not aware of the true nature of Ibo authority and leadership and thus failed to stabilize the traditional system of government within the framework of the colonial administration. The traditional system of control was weakened, and authority lines were ambiguous. These factors helped permit the rapid rise of a new educated and acculturated group into positions of authority. Ottenberg speculates that if the British, from the first, had crystallized the traditional government by creating councils of elders, the rise of new leaders would probably have occurred more slowly.

On the economic front, in southeastern Nigeria the trade in palm products replaced the slave trade in the middle of the last century. The significance of this is that economic relations between the Ibo and Europeans were intensive, continuous, and long lasting. Through trade, first in slaves and later in palm products, the Ibo acquired many new items of material culture, new wealth, and new standards of values and prestige.

³Ottenberg, p. 120.

43

Most important for our discussion is traditional Ibo culture. Ottenberg identifies those aspects which help explain Ibo receptivity to change. The Ibo are a highly individualistic people. While a man is dependent on his family, lineage, and residential group for support and backing, strong emphasis is placed on his ability to make his own way in the world. The son of a prominent politician had a head start over other men in the community, but he still had to validate his status by his own efforts. While seniority in age is an asset in secular leadership, personal qualities are also important. A secular leader must be aggressive, skilled in oratory, and able to cite past history and precedent. A man gains prestige by accumulating sufficient capital (formerly foodstuffs, now largely money) necessary to join title societies and assume other responsibilities. Much of the capital necessary for these activities is acquired through salaried employment, skill in farming, and the ability to obtain loans. Successful farming is not merely a matter of diligently using the proper agricultural techniques, but often of a person's ability to obtain loans. In addition, emphasis is placed on a person's ability to obtain the use of land--either from friends, conjugal relatives, or the lineal group. The ability to secure loans is a reflection of a person's prestige, the respect granted him, and the effectiveness of his social contacts.

Ibo society is fluid. The possibilities of enhancing status and prestige are virtually open to all individuals except descendants of certain slaves; mobility is not restricted to members of particular lineages, clans, or other social units. Ibo society, concludes Ottenberg, is "thus, in a sense, an 'open society' in which positions of prestige, authority, and leadership are largely achieved." Following British conquest, the Ibo quickly recognized the superior authority and influence of the new rulers, and though they objected to it, they did not completely reject it. Rather, acquiring this power and authority became an important goal. The task was not merely to control British influence but to capture it. Education was seen as an avenue to white-collar jobs with the Government. In addition, culture contact gave special meaning to the well-developed pattern of individualism within the traditional culture. Ibo culture is also competitive. Individuals are conscious of the relative status of groups with whom they are associated: "European culture, essentially competitive even in the colonial form, [gave] these traditional group rivalries new dimensions."⁴ Villages compete to build the first

⁴Ottenberg, Ibid.

or the best school or to improve their markets. Families strive to push their children ahead in school and to obtain scholarships.

Individuals who acquire schooling, wealth, or political influence are expected to use their new social standing to benefit the groups with whom they are associated. Ibo society also provides a number of alternative paths to success and prestige. Individuals have a choice of career options. The significance of this is that Ibo culture provides alternatives which the individual must decide upon on the basis of his own skills and knowledge. The individual is, therefore, encouraged to take risks, make decisions, and explore alternatives--all useful in developing a strong market orientation.

A final factor which is similar among the Bamileke is the high population density of the traditional Ibo area:

The high population density of parts of Ibo country undoubtedly is a basic factor [in Ibo] mobility.... Agricultural communities in certain central areas, such as Owerri and Onitsha, cannot support the local population, and many Ibo, particularly younger sons, turn to trade, crafts, urban livelihood...for survival.⁵

Thus, there has been a continuous pattern of settlement and re-settlement of small groups, particularly families or individuals, either within one local group or from one to another. This pattern provides a precedent for individuals and small groups to move within Ibo country or out of it. Not only are Ibo enticed by the possibilities of accomplishment in other areas, but they are accustomed to mobility. All of these influences and particularly the role of culture in motivating group and individual success, competition, and quest for prestige are similar to the influences acting on the Bamileke.⁶

⁵Ottenberg, p. 127.

⁶Ottenberg makes a comparison between the Ibo and the Kikuyu: "It is instructive to compare the Ibo with the Kikuyu of Kenya.... Both share many similarities in culture and in social organization. Both have reacted to direct European contact by migration to urban areas, rapid assimilation into jobs under Europeans, strong demands for education and political freedom and so on. But the presence of permanent white settlers near the Kikuyu has led to increasing tensions through the blocking of Kikuyu demands for rapid change and the assimilation of European culture. This has not occurred in Ibo country. The British have rarely for long blocked Ibo aspirations." Ottenberg, p. 136.

APPENDIX D

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE

The role of culture, ethnicity and economic development in the commercial and agricultural success of the Bamileke is significant. In these years of increasing economic difficulties in developing countries, it has become more urgent to acquire an understanding of the determinants of domestic resource and effort mobilization. Economists from Joseph Schumpeter through Albert Hirschman have considered a society's "ability to invest" to be a fundamental determinant of economic growth. A vast literature exists (centering especially on the journal Economic Development and Cultural Change) on the complex interaction of social and cultural phenomena with economic development. A major facet of this economic growth in plural societies is the influence of ethnicity on individual achievement, the dynamism of private markets, small-scale investment, and the broad-based distribution of resources. This aspect of individual-centered economic growth--illustrated in the Bamileke example and the focus of early analysis of cultural pluralism by researchers such as Boeke and Broek--has in recent times been badly overlooked relative to the attention paid to large-scale, physical capital-intensive, frequently state-centered models of economic development.

In addition, in traditional societies, more so than in nontraditional areas, cultural beliefs provide a signpost which influences attitudes toward economic activity--including the range of acceptable activities, attitudes towards risk and competition, methods of capital formation, and responses to change, innovation, growth, and development. This has been noted in comparative studies of, for example, the Lele and the Bushong of the former Belgian Congo, the Kikuyu of Kenya, the Baganda of Uganda, and the Ashanti of Ghana, and in theoretical studies of economic development.¹

¹Cf. Mary Douglas, "Lele Economy Compared With the Beeshong," Ali Mazrui, Cultural Engineering and Nation-Building in East Africa; and David Apter, The Politics of Modernization.

APPENDIX E

TABLES

Table E-1. Ethnic Population in Douala, 1947-1976
(percentages)

Ethnic Group	1947	1956	1967	1973	1976
Douala	49.2	19.5	15.0	12.1	10.5
Bassa	15.9	17.0	18.0	19.3	20.7
Beti	17.4	16.6	11.0	10.2	9.5
Bamileke	17.4	25.0	39.0	42.2	47.0

Source: Jean-Louis Dongmo, Le Dynamisme Bamileke, p. 70.

Table E-2. Ethnic Population in Yaounde, 1957-1976
(percentages)

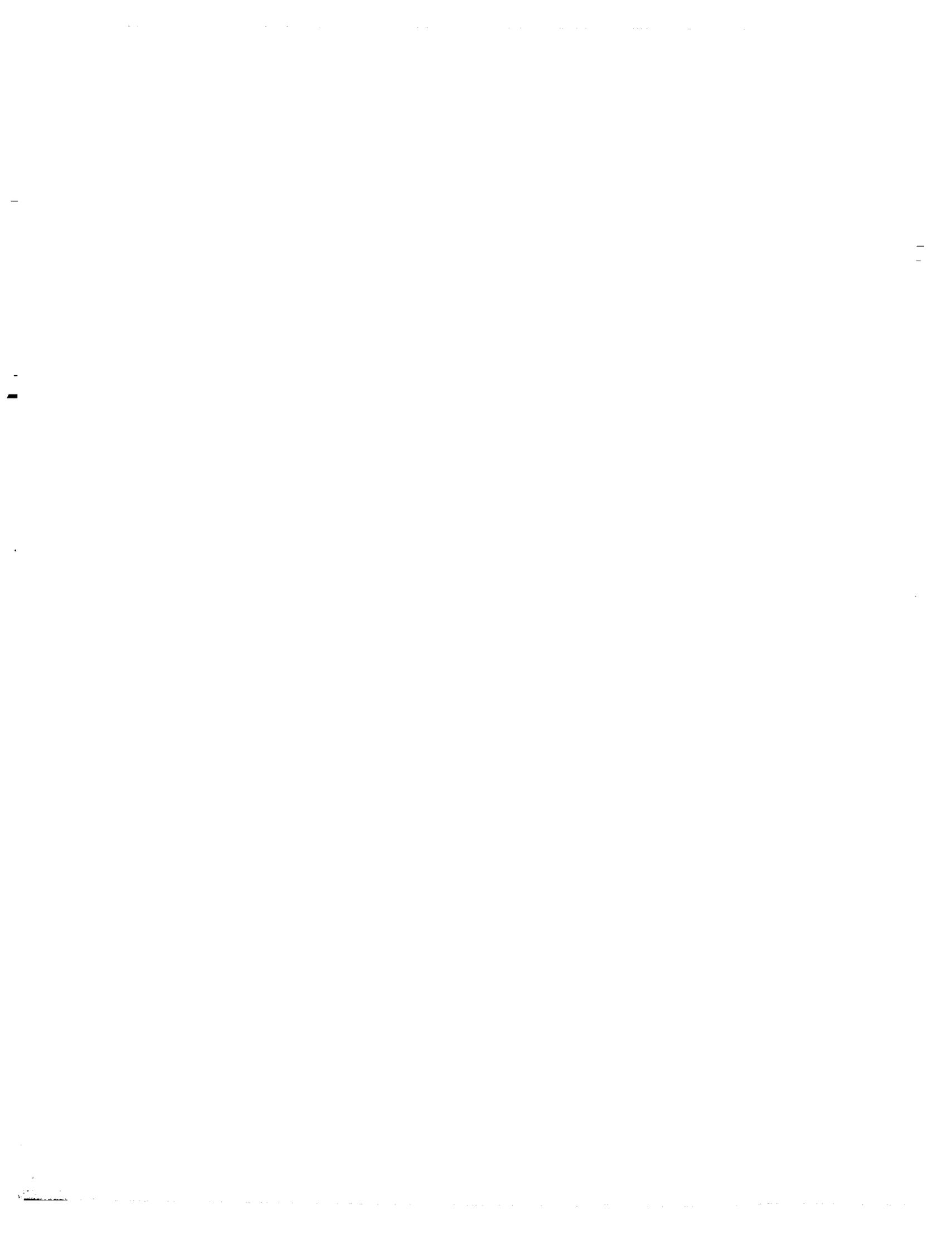
Ethnic Group	1957	1962	1964	1976
Bamileke	14.4	21.2	18.9	27.8
Ewondo	24.6	18.6	20.2	25.2
Eton	10.6	10.7	9.9	10.0
Mbamois	5.4	7.4	7.0	6.9
Bassa	10.4	7.2	8.7	9.4

Source: Jean-Louis Dongmo, Le Dynamisme Bamileke, p. 75.

Table E-3. Bamileke Occupational Distribution
in Yaounde, 1972

Occupation	Number	Percent
Commerce	1,455	12.1
Manager	4,549	38.5
Higher Education (Faculty, Staff)	1,096	9.1
Professions Requiring no Apprenticeship or Training	1,178	9.8
Manual Training	1,441	11.0
"Intellectual Jobs"	1,002	9.0
Craftsman	1,259	10.5
Total	11,980	100.0

Source: Census, Occupational Distribution, Yaounde, 1972.



REFERENCES

- Albertini, Rudolf. Decolonization: The Administration and Future of the Colonies, 1919-1960. New York: Doubleday, 1966.
- Apter, David. The Politics of Modernization. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.
- Ardener, Shirley. "The Comparative Study of Rotating Credit Associations," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 94, 1964.
- _____. Plantation and Village in the Cameroons: Some Economic and Social Studies. London: Oxford University Press, 1960.
- Delaroziere, R. Les Institutions Politiques et Sociales des Populations Dites Bamilekes. Paris: L'Afrique et L'Asie, 1948.
- Dongmo, Jean-Louis. Le Dynamisme Bamileke. Vols. I and II. Yaounde, 1981.
- Douglas, Mary. "Lele Economy Compared with the Bushong: A Study of Economic Backwardness," in Dalton, George, (Ed.), Economic Development and Social Change: The Modernization of Village Communities. Garden City, New York: The Natural History Press, 1971.
- Eisenstadt, S.N. "Primitive Political Systems: A Preliminary Comparative Analysis," in Eisenstadt, S.N. (Ed.), Political Sociology. New York: Basic Books, 1971.
- Forde, Darryl, (Ed.). African Worlds: Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- Fouda, B.J. "Le Theme de la Nature Dans le Domaine Litteraire Negro-Africain," in Ozila. Yaounde: Cameroon Literary Workshop, No. 12, 1971.
- Gosselin, G. "Le Credit Mutuel en Pays Bamileke," in Developpement Traditionnel des Societes Rural Africaines. Geneva: Bureau Internationale de Travail, 1970.
- Gulliver, P.H., (Ed.). Tradition and Transition in East Africa: Studies of the Tribal Element in the Modern Era. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
- Hagen, Everett E. "Colonialism and Economic Growth," in Dalton, George (Ed.), Economic Development and Social Change: The Modernization of Village Communities. Garden City, New York: The Natural History Press, 1971.

- Haggblade, Steve. "Africanization from Below: The Evolution of Cameroonian Savings Societies into Western-style Banks," Rural Africana, 1978.
- Hirschman, Albert O. The Strategy of Economic Development. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958.
- Hoselitz, Bert. "A Sociological Approach to Economic Development," in Novack, David E., and Lekachman, Robert (Eds.), Development and Society. New York: St Martin's Press, 1968.
- Johnson, Willard. The Cameroon Federation. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.
- Hurault, T.J. Les Structures Sociales des Bamileke. Paris: Mouton, 1962.
- Mayberry, Phyllis M. Women of the Grassfields: A Study of the Economic Position of Women in Bamenda, British Cameroons. London: HMS, 1952.
- Kuper, Leo and Smith, M.G., (Eds.). Pluralism in Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.
- LeVine, Victor T. and Nye, Roger P. Historical Dictionary of Cameroon. Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1974.
- LeVine, Victor T. The Cameroon Federal Republic. 2nd Edition. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971.
- Littlewood, Margaret. "The Bamileke of the French Cameroons," in Forde, Darryl, (Ed.), Peoples of the Central Cameroons. London: International African Institute, 1954.
- Maquet, Jacques. Power and Society in Africa. London: George Weidenfield and Nicholson, Ltd., 1971.
- Mazrui, Ali. Cultural Engineering and Nation-Building in East Africa. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1972.
- Minogue, Martin and Molloy, Judith, (Eds.). African Aims and Attitudes: Selected Documents. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974.
- Nurkse, Ragnar. Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries. Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Ongoum, L.M. "Eros Bamileke," Abbia: The Cameroon Cultural Review. Yaounde, 1979.

- Ottenberg, Simon. "Ibo Receptivity to Change," in Herskovitz and Bascomb, Williams, (Eds.), Continuity and Change in Africa. Northwestern University Press, 1967.
- Rubin, Neville. Cameroun: An African Federation. New York: Praeger, 1971.
- Rudin, Harry R. Germans in the Cameroons, 1884-1914. London: Jonathan Cape, 1938.
- Schiavo-Campo, Salvatore, et al. The Tortoise Walk: Public Policy and Private Activity in the Economic Development of Cameroon. Washington, D.C.: Agency for International Development, 1982.
- Scott, William. "Development in the Western Highlands, United Republic of Cameroon." Cameroon: Office of Agricultural and Rural Development, Agency for International Development, 1980.
- Smelser, Neil J. "Mechanisms of Change and Adjustment to Change," in Dalton, George, (Ed.), Economic Development and Social Change: The Modernization of Village Communities. Garden City, New York: The Natural History Press, 1971.

A.I.D. EVALUATION PUBLICATIONS

The following reports have been issued in the A.I.D. Evaluation Publication series. Those documents with an identification code (e.g., PN-AAG-585) may be ordered in microfiche and paper copy. Please direct inquiries regarding orders to:

Editor of ARDA, S&T/DIU/DI
Bureau for Science and Technology
Agency for International Development
Washington, D.C. 20523
U.S.A.

CROSS REFERENCE LIST BY SECTOR

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

Discussion Paper:

No. 13: AID Experience in Agricultural Research: A Review of Project Evaluations (May 1982) PN-AAJ-611

Impact Evaluations:

- No. 2: Kitale Maize: The Limits of Success (May 1980)
PN-AAH-723
- No. 14: Central America: Small Farmer Cropping Systems
(December 1980) PN-AAH-977
- No. 27: Korean Agricultural Research: The Integration of
Research and Extension (January 1982) PN-AAJ-606
- No. 30: Guatemala: Development of ICTA and Its Impact on
Agricultural Research and Farm Productivity (February
1982) PN-AAJ-178
- No. 33: Food Grain Technology: Agricultural Research in Nepal
(May 1982) PN-AAJ-614
- No. 34: Agricultural Research in Northeastern Thailand (May
1982) PN-AAJ-615
- No. 44: West Africa Rice Research and Development (May 1983)
PN-AAL-012

EDUCATION

Impact Evaluations:

- No. 19: U.S. Aid to Education in Nepal: A 20-Year Beginning
(May 1981) PN-AAJ-168
- No. 23: Northern Nigeria Teacher Educational Project (Sept.
1981) PN-AAJ-176
- No. 25: Thailand: Rural NonFormal Education - The Mobile
Trade Training Schools (October 1981) PN-AAJ-171
- No. 37: Radio Correspondence Education in Kenya (August 1982)
PN-AAJ-620
- No. 38: A Low-Cost Alternative For Universal Primary Education
In The Philippines (September 1982) PN-AAL-001

CROSS REFERENCE LIST BY SECTOR

EDUCATION (con't)

Impact Evaluations:

No. 46: U.S. Aid to Education in Paraguay: The Rural Education Development Project (June 1983) PN-AAL-017

Special Study:

No. 5: Korean Elementary - Middle School Pilot Project (October 1981) PN-AAJ-169

ENERGY [Rural Electrification]

Discussion Paper:

No. 3: Rural Electrification: Linkages and Justifications (April 1979) PN-AAG-671

Impact Evaluations:

No. 15: The Philippines: Rural Electrification (December 1980) PN-AAH-975

No. 16: Bolivia: Rural Electrification (December 1980) PN-AAH-978

No. 21: Ecuador: Rural Electrification (June 1981) PN-AAH-979

No. 22: The Product is Progress: Rural Electrification in Costa Rica (October 1981) PN-AAJ-175

[Fuelwood]

Special Study:

No. 1: The Socio-Economic Context of Fuelwood Use in Small Rural Communities (August 1980) PN-AAH-747

EVALUATION METHODOLOGY/EVALUATION ISSUES

Manager's Guide to Data Collection (November 1979) PN-AAH-434

Discussion Papers:

No. 8: Assessing the Impact of Development Projects on Women (May 1980) PN-AAH-725

No. 9: The Impact of Irrigation on Development: Issues for a Comprehensive Evaluation Study (October 1980)

No. 10: A Review of Issues in Nutrition Program Evaluation (July 1981) PN-AAJ-174

No. 12: Turning Private Voluntary Organizations Into Development Agencies; Questions for Evaluation (April 1982) PN-AAJ-612

Special Study:

No. 8: Toward A Health Project Evaluation Framework (June 1982) PN-AAJ-619

CROSS REFERENCE LIST BY SECTOR

FOOD AID

Program Evaluation:

No. 6: PL 480 Title II: A Study of the Impact of A Food Assistance Program in the Philippines (August 1982)
PN-AAJ-622

Discussion Paper

No. 15: Food Aid and Development: The Impact and Effectiveness of Bilateral PL 480 Title I-Type Assistance (December 1982) PN-AAL-003

Impact Evaluations:

No. 8: Morocco: Food Aid and Nutrition Education (August 1980) PN-AAH-851
No. 39: Sri Lanka: The Impact Of PL 480 Title I Food Assistance PN-AAJ-623
No. 45: PL 480 Title I: The Egyptian Case (June 1983)
PN-AAL-015

HEALTH/NUTRITION

Discussion Papers:

No. 1: Reaching the Rural Poor: Indigenous Health Practitioners Are There Already (March 1979) PN-AAG-685
No. 10: A Review of Issues in Nutrition Program Evaluation (July 1981) PN-AAJ-174

Impact Evaluations:

No. 8: Morocco: Food Aid and Nutrition Education (August 1980) PN-AAH-851
No. 9: Senegal: The Sine Saloum Rural Health Care Project (October 1980) PN-AAJ-008
No. 36: Korea Health Demonstration Project (July 1982)
PN-AAJ-621

Special Studies:

No. 2: Water Supply and Diarrhea: Guatemala Revisited (August 1980) PN-AAJ-007
No. 8: Toward A Health Project Evaluation Framework (June 1982) PN-AAJ-619

INSTITUTION BUILDING

Discussion Paper:

No. 11: Effective Institution Building: a Guide for Project Designers and Project Managers Based on Lessons Learned From the AID Portfolio (March 1982) PN-AAJ-611

CROSS REFERENCE LIST BY SECTOR

INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Impact Evaluations:

- No. 28: Philippines: Bicol Integrated Area Development
(January 1982) PN-AAJ-179
- No. 43: Egypt: The Egyptian American Rural Improvement
Service, A Point Four Project, 1952-63 (April 1983)
PN-AAL-011

Special Study:

- No. 7: The Vicos Experiment: A Study Of The Impacts Of The
Cornell-Peru Project In A Highland Community (April 1982)
PN-AAJ-616

IRRIGATION

Discussion Paper:

- No. 9: The Impact of Irrigation on Development: Issues for a
Comprehensive Evaluation Study (October 1980)

Impact Evaluations:

- No. 4: Philippine Small Scale Irrigation (May 1980) PN-AAH-749
- No. 12: Korean Irrigation (December 1980)
- No. 29: Sederhana: Indonesia Small-Scale Irrigation (February
1982) PN-AAJ-608
- No. 31: Sudan: The Rahad Irrigation Project (March 1982)
PN-AAJ-610
- No. 35: The On-Farm Water Management Project in Pakistan (June
1982) PN-AAJ-617
- No. 42: Bangladesh Small-Scale Irrigation (April 1983)
PN-AAL-010
- No. 43: Egypt: The Egyptian American Rural Improvement
Service, A Point Four Project, 1952-63 (April 1983)
PN-AAL-011

LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT

Discussion Paper:

- No. 6: The Sociology of Pastoralism and African Livestock
Development (May 1979) PN-AAG-922

Program Evaluation:

- No. 4: The Workshop on Pastoralism and African Livestock
Development (June 1980) PN-AAH-238

CROSS REFERENCE LIST BY SECTOR

POPULATION/FAMILY PLANNING

Discussion Paper:

No. 5: Study of Family Planning Program Effectiveness (April 1979) PN-AAG-672

Program Evaluations:

- No. 1: Family Planning Program Effectiveness: Report of a Workshop (December 1979)
No. 2: A.I.D.'s Role in Indonesian Family Planning: A Case Study with General Lessons for Foreign Assistance (December 1979) PN-AAH-425
No. 3: Third Evaluation of the Thailand National Family Planning Program (February 1980) PN-AAH-006

PRIVATE SECTOR

Impact Evaluation:

No. 41: Impact Evaluation of Housing Guaranty Programs In Panama (March 1983) PN-AAL-008

Discussion Papers:

- No. 14: Private Sector: Ideas and Opportunities: A Review of Basic Concepts and Selected Experience (June 1982) PN-AAJ-618
No. 16: The Private Sector, The Public Sector, And Donor Assistance In Economic Development: An Interpretive Essay (March 1983) PN-AAL-007

Special Studies:

- No. 4: The Social Impact of Agribusiness: A Case Study of ALCOSA in Guatemala (July 1981) PN-AAJ-172
No. 6: The Economic Development of Korea: Sui Generis or Generic? (January 1982) PN-AAJ-177
No. 9: Private Sector: Costa Rica (March 1983) PN-AAL-005
No. 10: Private Sector: The Tortoise Walk: Public Policy And Private Activity In The Economic Development of Cameroon (March 1983) PN-AAL-004
No. 11: The Private Sector And The Economic Development Of Malawi (March 1983) PN-AAL-006
No. 12: Ventures In The Informal Sector, And How They Worked Out In Brazil (March 1983) PN-AAL-009
No. 14: The Private Sector: The Regulation Of Rural Markets In Africa (June 1983) PN-AAL-014
No. 15: The Private Sector: Ethnicity, Individual Initiative, And Economic Growth In An African Plural Society: The Bamileke of Cameroon (June 1983) PN-AAL-016
No. 16: Private Sector Evaluation: The Dominican Republic (June 1983) PN-AAL-0

CROSS REFERENCE LIST BY SECTOR

PRIVATE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

Discussion Paper:

No. 12: Turning Private Voluntary Organizations Into Development Agencies; Questions for Evaluation (April 1982) PN-AAJ-612

Impact Evaluations:

No. 7: Effectiveness and Impact of the CARE/Sierra Leone Rural Penetration Roads Projects (June 1980) PN-AAH-751

No. 10: Tunisia: CARE Water Projects (October 1980)

No. 24: Peru: CARE OPG Water Health Services Project (October 1981) PN-AAJ-176

Special Study:

No. 12: Ventures In the Informal Sector, And How They Worked Out In Brazil (March 1983) PN-AAL-009

ROADS

Discussion Papers:

No. 2: New Directions Rural Roads (March 1979) PN-AGG-670

No. 7: Socio-Economic and Environmental Impacts of Low-Volume Rural Roads -- A Review of the Literature (February 1980) PN-AAJ-135

Program Evaluation:

No. 5: Rural Roads Evaluation Summary Report (March 1982) PN-AAJ-607

Impact Evaluations:

No. 1: Colombia: Small Farmer Market Access (December 1979) PN-AAH-768

No. 6: Impact of Rural Roads in Liberia (June 1980) PN-AAH-750

No. 7: Effectiveness and Impact of the CARE/Sierra Leone Rural Penetration Roads Projects (June 1980) PN-AAH-751

No. 11: Jamaica Feeder Roads: An Evaluation (November 1980)

No. 13: Rural Roads in Thailand (December 1980) PN-AAH-970

No. 17: Honduras Rural Roads: Old Directions and New (January 1981) PN-AAH-971

No. 18: Philippines Rural Roads I and II (March 1981) PN-AAH-973

No. 26: Kenya: Rural Roads (January 1982) PN-AAH-972

CROSS REFERENCE LIST BY SECTOR

SMALL-SCALE ENTERPRISE

Impact Evaluation:

No. 40: Assisting Small Business In Francophone Africa -- The Entente Fund African Enterprises Program (December 1982) PN-AAL-002

Special Study:

No. 13: The Evaluation of Small Enterprise Programs And Projects: Issues in Business And Community Development (June 1983) PN-AAL-013

WATER

Discussion Paper:

No. 4: Policy Directions for Rural Water Supply in Developing Countries (April 1979) PN-AAG-691

Program Evaluation:

No. 7: Community Water Supply in Developing Countries: Lessons from Experience (September 1982) PN-AAJ-624

Impact Evaluations:

- No. 3: The Potable Water Project in Rural Thailand (May 1980) PN-AAH-850
- No. 5: Kenya Rural Water Supply: Program, Progress, Prospects (June 1980) PN-AAH-724
- No. 10: Tunisia: CARE Water Projects (October 1980)
- No. 20: Korean Potable Water System Project: Lessons from Experience (May 1981) PN-AAJ-170
- No. 24: Peru: CARE OPG Water Health Services Project (October 1981) PN-AAJ-176
- No. 32: Panama: Rural Water (May 1982) PN-AAJ-609

Special Studies:

- No. 2: Water Supply and Diarrhea: Guatemala Revisited (August 1980) PN-AAH-747
- No. 3: Rural Water Projects in Tanzania: Technical, Social, and Administrative Issues (November 1980) PN-AAH-974

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Discussion Paper:

No. 8: Assessing the Impact of Development Projects on Women (May 1980) PN-AAH-725